



Governing the future of a shrinking city: Hoyerswerda, East Germany

GRIBAT, Nina

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**Governing the Future of a Shrinking City:
Hoyerswerda, East Germany**

Nina Gribat

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Abstract

The notion of ‘shrinking cities’ emerged in the context of population loss and economic decline in East Germany around the turn of the 21st century. Different practices, policies, academic research and public debates developed, which were mainly concerned with how to deal with this problem. However, the emergence of shrinkage as an urban problem in Germany and what it entails have so far rarely been examined. This includes the starting points and assumptions on which different approaches to shrinkage are based. In employing Foucault’s notion of problematisation in a research perspective of governmentality, this thesis argues that taken-for-granted practices and rationalities of governing shrinkage can be decentred and attention can be drawn to the contingencies of practices, rationalities and techniques which emerged in relation to shrinking cities. A particular focus on conflicts and contestations shows the extent to which practices and assumptions are contested or not.

Fieldwork was undertaken in the city of Hoyerswerda in Saxony, once the booming Second Socialist City of the GDR, which has lost almost half its inhabitants since German Unity in 1990. The empirical material gathered comprises semi-structured interviews and a diverse set of documents. The main analytical focus was on how spaces, times, subjectivities and subjects were problematised in the future discourses and practices in Hoyerswerda and on the issues around which conflicts, contestations and counter-conducts emerged.

The research found a unanimous agreement in the examined shrinkage discourses that a difference can be made locally if shrinkage is governed properly. The differences of opinion and the conflicts over policies centre around rationalities, practices and techniques of *how* to govern shrinkage and which spaces, times and subjectivities are considered beneficial or detrimental to the future. The main conflict in the government of shrinkage in Hoyerswerda concerns the question of how to deal with the city’s GDR past: which historical and spatial continuities to avoid or to foster and the subjectivities associated with these spaces and times.

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Glossary of foreign terms

<i>Altstadt</i>	Hoyerswerda, old town
<i>Aufbau Ost</i>	Reconstruction East; post-Unity economic policy programme
<i>Bund</i>	Federal State of Germany
<i>Bund-Länder</i>	joint initiative by the Federal State of Germany and the federal states
<i>DIE LINKE</i>	The Left Party, successor of the East German party <i>Linkspartei.PDS</i> , which joined forces with a West German leftist party in 2007
<i>Freistaat Sachsen</i>	Freestate of Saxony
<i>Kombinat</i>	combine, people-owned business in the centrally planned economy of the GDR
<i>Länder</i>	federal states in Germany (e.g. Berlin, Brandenburg, Bavaria)
<i>Neue Bundesländer</i>	new federal states, expression used for East Germany (Mecklenburg Pommerania, Berlin, Brandenburg, Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Thuringia)
<i>Neustadt</i>	Hoyerswerda, new town
<i>Ossi</i>	colloquial for an East German person
<i>Schwarze Pumpe</i>	gas combine near Hoyerswerda
<i>Stadtumbau Ost</i>	Urban Regeneration East; urban policy programme in East Germany that finances demolition of housing and upgrading of remaining urban realm
<i>Stadtumbau West</i>	Urban Regeneration West; urban policy programme in West Germany that finances demolition of housing and upgrading of remaining urban realm
<i>Wessi</i>	colloquial for a West German person

Acronyms used in the text

BBR	The Federal Institute for Research on Building and Spatial Development [<i>Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung</i>]
BIfBE	Berlin Institute of Population and Development [<i>Berlin-Institut für Bevölkerung und Entwicklung</i>]
BMVBS	Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Development, since 1998, BMVBW before [<i>Bundesministerium für Verkehr, Bau und Stadtentwicklung</i>]
BMVBW	Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Housing, until 1998, then BMVBS [<i>Bundesministerium für Verkehr, Bau und Wohnungswesen</i>]
CDU	Christian Democratic Union [<i>Christlich Demokratische Union</i>]
FNP	land utilisation plan [<i>Flächennutzungsplan</i>]
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
GDR	German Democratic Republic
HY	abbreviation for Hoyerswerda (based on the city's number-plate for cars)
InSEK	Integrated Urban Design Concept [<i>Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept</i>]
PDS	Party of Democratic Socialists [<i>Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus</i>]
SED	German Socialist Unity Party [<i>Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands</i>]
SEKo	Urban Development Concept [<i>Städtebauliches Entwicklungskonzept</i>]
SMI	State Ministry of Internal Affairs, Saxony [<i>Staatsministerium des Inneren, Sachsen</i>]
SMWA	State Ministry of Economy, Technology [<i>sic</i>] and Transportation, Saxony [<i>Staatsministerium für Wirtschaft, Arbeit und Verkehr</i>]
SOZ	Soviet Occupied Zone (which turned into the GDR in 1949) [<i>Sowjetische Besatzungszone</i>]
SPD	Social Democrat Party [<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i>]
UDC	Urban Development Concept
WK	housing complex [<i>Wohnkomplex</i>]

1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

At the end of the 1990s the notion of ‘shrinking cities’ emerged in the context of debates around the future of East Germany¹. A myriad of explanatory frameworks was assembled around phenomena of population loss and economic decline that were seen to constitute shrinking cities. These included: deindustrialisation, spatial polarisation, and suburbanisation (Hannemann 2000) or even the end of growth (Kil 2004) - all of which can be seen as wider effects of post-socialist transition, globalisation and neoliberalisation, or a combination thereof (Land 2003). Broad fields of interventions have developed in the context of shrinking cities, ranging from urban and regional policies that seek to manage shrinkage or initiate growth to cultural practices of dealing with shrinkage. However, explanatory frameworks of what a shrinking city is and why it emerged, and how the interventions and practices that formed in different contexts interweave to form certain assemblages are seldom examined. There is a lack of analyses that focus on the intersections of certain ways of understanding and dealing with shrinkage. In examining these intersections in a particular shrinking city, this thesis seeks to provide some insights into how urban shrinkage was constituted and worked upon and the conflicts that emerged in this context.

This thesis takes its starting point from Foucault’s (2001) conceptual and methodological notion of ‘problematization’, which entails analysing ‘how and why certain things (behaviour, phenomena, processes) became a *problem*... while other similar forms were completely neglected at a given historical moment’ (Foucault 2001: 171, original emphasis). How and why did shrinking cities become a problem in Germany? Analysing shrinking cities as a problematization is not based on assessing whether shrinkage ‘actually’ is a problem, and moreover a problem located in cities. It rather suggests focusing on how shrinking cities are constituted in particular contexts, for instance, how shrinkage was linked to certain cities and how some interrelated, and

¹ In the German context, the notion East Germany (*Ostdeutschland*) emerged after German Unity in 1990. Other terms include New *Länder* (*Neue Bundesländer*). Unlike in the Anglophone context, it was not commonly used for the GDR before German Unity.

potentially also contradictory, ways of dealing with it formed. It entails questioning how particular ways of understanding and dealing with shrinkage became institutionalised and taken-for-granted and how this has changed over time. In addition, it includes showing that alternative ways of thinking about shrinkage and cities are possible and examining how current ways are already contested.

This chapter provides an overview of the policy and academic contexts of the emergence of shrinking cities in Germany after German Unity and the problematisations (and solutions) they revolve around. Three interrelated strands of argument about what constitutes shrinkage and how to deal with it emerged when population loss and economic decline were increasingly identified and problematised in relation to certain places: the need to manage shrinkage in cities; demands to initiate growth by focusing state investment on local potentials; and quests for alternative, radically new ways of dealing with these phenomena. These debates constitute the problem of shrinkage differently and provide a varied context for different interventions on shrinkage in cities. They are thus an important basis from which the constitution and workings of shrinkage can be examined in a particular city. The chapter concludes by stating the aims of the thesis in more detail and provides an outline of the argument.

1.2 The emergence of shrinkage

After German Unity was enacted in 1990, the question of what represented the envisaged future for East Germany seemed clear, despite an ensuing debate amongst intellectuals (Brockmann 1991): a quick convergence with West Germany. Chancellor Kohl's famous claim reflects this:

Through united effort, we will soon succeed in transforming Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Saxony Anhalt, Brandenburg, Saxony and Thuringia into blossoming landscapes, in which it is worthwhile to live and to work^{2 3} (Kohl 1990, quoted in: Gloe 2005: 298-299).

The term 'blossoming landscapes' was used as a synonym for a self-supporting economy in East Germany, which would – once installed successfully – grow and

² Original versions of the German illustrations are provided in footnotes throughout the thesis. Unless otherwise stated, the translations into English are by the author.

³ 'Durch eine gemeinsame Anstrengung wird es uns gelingen, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern und Sachsen-Anhalt, Brandenburg, Sachsen und Thüringen schon bald wieder in blühende Landschaften zu verwandeln, in denen es sich zu leben und zu arbeiten lohnt' (Kohl 1990, quoted in: Gloe 2005: 298-299).

flourish on its own, allowing the East to ‘catch-up’ with the West. Even though Kohl’s blossoming landscapes were not uncontested at the time (Irmen *et al.* 2001), they provided the main direction for post-Unity development, not least in terms of policy approaches (DifU 2005).

The background for this direction of the post-Unity development of East Germany has often been related to the way in which German Unity was enacted, which according to Habermas (1991: 85) followed a ‘course of annexation’ of the East by the West. Initially, German Basic Law provided two avenues for Re-unification: either the accession of other parts to the FRG taking on board the whole economic, legal and social systems of the FRG; or a joint writing of a new constitution for the new enlarged state. The first avenue was chosen, which meant that East Germany became part of the FRG (Gunlicks 2002: 132-133) and the GDR’s state socialism was transformed into the FRG’s Social Market Economy. The West German economic, political and social systems were extended to the East as agreed in the enactment of the Currency, Social and Economic Union a few months before German Unity.

The main measure to assess whether German Unity was progressing as planned was derived from spatial planning with the main principles and aims of establishing ‘similar standards of living... in all regions’ (Federal Regional Planning Act [*ROG*] 1.6) and to eliminate ‘the regional and structural imbalances between the territories which had been separated prior to German unification’ (FRPA, 1.7). Even though the difficulty of defining and measuring standards of living was emphasised (DifU 2005), progress in terms of the aim of convergence of standards of living [*Angleichung der Lebensverhältnisse*] was regularly measured based on different statistical indicators and subjective assessments (Böltken 2001).

The transfer of institutions and the convergence of standards of living were largely considered a success (Zapf 2000; DifU 2005; Böltken 2001), whereas the achievements in terms of economic development were more controversial (Münter and Sturm 2002; Land 2003; Busch 2005). In addition, the unification process was also seen to include the German people, who were to become one as ‘internal unity’ [*innere Einheit*] was to be achieved (Veen 1997; Pollack 2006). The differentiation between structural and mental transformations in East Germany characterises much of the debates since German Unity (Noll and Habich 2000; Hufnagel and Simon 2004).

However, the lack of economic development and loss of population in the East persisted: in the first five years after German Unity, the balance of migration shows that more than half a million people left East Germany (most migrated to the West) by 2000 the number had risen to 900,000⁴ people. Population loss and economic decline did of course not go unnoticed (e.g. Dienel 2005), but there was no talk of ‘shrinkage’ in policy and academic discourses until the early years of the 2000s when a range of events brought it onto the political agenda. It can be argued that the aim of a linear and spatially homogeneous and balanced transition as suggested in the idea of ‘blossoming landscapes’ was increasingly questioned and that this was an important step towards problematising shrinkage in smaller spatial units such as cities and regions.

Problematizations of shrinkage started to emerge in relation to certain places after the turn of the 21st century. Three discursive shifts are examined in order to show how problematisations of the future in post-Unity East Germany have changed: a new urban policy was set up to deal with urban shrinkage by demolishing empty housing stock; there was a shift in the economic policy discourse, which suggested focusing state investment on promising locations and not on the whole territory; and certain more radical suggestions for alternative futures emerged, based on allowing for more difference in living conditions in the East. It is necessary to consider the emergence of ‘shrinking cities’ in this wider context of changing discourses about the future after Unity to show how it coincided with a variety of emerging questions of a linear and spatially homogenous accession. Moreover, the examination of these discourses demonstrates how shrinkage is based on different problematisations.

1.2.1 Urban policy: urban shrinkage and demographic change

The notion of ‘shrinking cities’ emerged in the urban policy discourse of Germany, driven by housing companies in East Germany, which faced bankruptcy because of empty housing stock (Kil 2004). In November 2000, a commission of experts, funded by the Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Development [*BMV/BW*], found that one million apartments were vacant in East Germany and advised the Federal Government to set up a new state funded urban policy programme to demolish around 300,000 to 400,000 apartments (Pfeiffer *et al.* 2000). Soon after, the multi-billion Euro

⁴ East Germany 1990: 16,028 million; 1995: 15,476; 2000: 15,120 (source: Statistisches Bundesamt, destatis)

Bund-Länder urban regeneration policy *Stadtumbau* began with an urban policy competition, held from 2001-2002 (BMVBW 2001).

The main point of this competition was to support participating municipalities in compiling Integrated Urban Development Concepts [*Integrierte Stadtentwicklungskonzepte (InSEKs)*], which were seen as an important means to bring about the main aim of *Stadtumbau*: ‘to develop East German cities into attractive places of habitation, which will be accepted by citizens and potential investors alike’⁵ (BMVBW 2001: 3). On the basis of these *InSEKs*, the formal part of *Stadtumbau Ost* began. With a budget of € 2.5 billion for the period from 2002 to 2009, it was the first large-scale urban policy in Germany to address population loss and vacant buildings with state funded demolition of housing (Bernt 2009). And although it first emerged in relation to East Germany, it was soon extended to the West, but on a much smaller scale (BMVBS and BBR 2006a).

The *Stadtumbau* programme continues to finance demolitions and thus helps housing companies get rid of vacant housing stock that would otherwise be a burden on their balance sheets. In addition, it finances the regeneration of the remaining urban realm, be it through the upgrading of housing stock, the adaptation of infrastructure or the regeneration of public spaces (BMVBS and BBR 2006b; Wiedemer 2004). The program does not finance the construction of new buildings on demolition plots. The challenge for participating municipalities is to organise and manage the ‘renaissance through demolition’ process of *Stadtumbau* (Bernt 2009) in a way that enables the city to improve while getting smaller. The *Stadtumbau* policy is subject to regular analyses and evaluations (BMVBW and BBR 2004b; BMVBS and BBR 2006b, 2007).

In the context of *Stadtumbau*, the academic literature in Germany can be distinguished according to a range of fields. There are analyses that focus on *Stadtumbau* as a response to urban shrinkage that brings about new forms of communication, partnerships and governance (Weiske *et al.* 2005), which also raises an issue in terms of the assumptions of the actors involved in the process (Bernt 2005). In addition, some approaches concentrate on the ways in which the population deals with shrinkage and the *Stadtumbau* policy (Kabisch *et al.* 2004).

⁵ ‘die ostdeutschen Städte und Gemeinden zu attraktiven Wohnorten zu entwickeln, die von den Bürgern und potentiellen Investoren gerne angenommen werden’ (BMVBW 2001: 3).

In recent years, a new problem of ‘demographic change’ (BMVBW and BBR 2004a) began to emerge in the urban policy discourse, which can be seen to gradually question the orientation towards adapting urban systems and form as suggested in the *Stadtumbau* policy. Demographic change, in this context, is understood as the failure of the population to reproduce itself because birth rates are lower than death rates, which result in a decreasing and ageing population, not least because there is not an adequate level of migration to Germany which would make up for the losses (Kaufmann 2005). By 2050, the prognosis on which this debate is based showed population losses between 2.7 million and more than 12 million, depending on the chosen scenario (BIfBE 2009: 17, based on data from Statistisches Bundesamt). In the context of this debate, some interesting suggestions of how to deal with the impending transformation in cities and regions were made.

A widely publicised report stated that several cities had lost their function (BIfBE 2006) and some regions were on the verge of dying out due to people moving away and declining birth rates. Here, the situation could not be reversed in the near future:

In many industrial cities in Germany, in the last decade, the population disappeared together with the loss of work places. Hoyerswerda for instance... has lost a third of its population since the industries collapsed after German Unity ... Hoyerswerda became a city without function. Because cities can only exist where people can find work⁶ (BIfBE 2006: 42).

Interestingly, in this context, *Stadtumbau* or other urban policies were no longer seen to provide a solution to population loss and empty apartments in cities. Instead, the report suggested: ‘Give up cities and quarters without functions... Help remaining inhabitants with their relocation’ (BIfBE 2006: 43). ‘Cities without a function’ should thus cease to receive any state funding, which would provide more money for increased state investment in other, more promising locations. Issues of demographic change have not yet led to transformed urban policy practices but have mainly been discussed in a regional, *Länder* and Federal policy context, in which the need to properly manage and plan it was emphasised (BMVBW and BBR 2004a; SMI 2005b).

⁶ In vielen Industriestädten Deutschlands schwand im vergangenen Jahrzehnt mit den Arbeitsplätzen auch die Bevölkerung. In Hoyerswerda etwa... ging mit dem Zusammenbruch der Industrie seit der Wende Drittel der Bewohner verloren... Hoyerswerda ist eine Stadt ohne Funktion geworden. Denn Städte können nur dort existieren, wo die Menschen Arbeit finden (BIfBE 2006: 42).

One question that arises from the foregoing discussion is how problematisations of population loss changed. While *Stadtumbau* policy is based on adapting cities to a smaller population that in time would stabilize – reducing the size of certain cities to match the reduced population - demographic change suggests a self-perpetuating, continual population loss. However, a similar strategy of adaptation is considered, yet it shifts the focus to cities in relation to other cities. It was suggested that certain cities may have to cease to exist unless they can provide a ‘function’ for their population. In addition, the timeframe, in which a normalisation is expected, rises: futures are considered increasingly insecure. Demographic change can be seen to pose greater challenges to the future of cities (Steinführer and Haase 2007) than population loss that is understood to originate from post-socialist transition, which is presumed to be overcome at some point.

Similar tendencies of calling for a focus on particular spaces can be observed in the related, but different economic policy discourse, which became increasingly concerned with ways of overcoming shrinkage by initiating growth.

1.2.2 Economic policy: focus investment on growth poles

In 2004, fourteen years after German Unity, the governmental advisory group ‘Talk Circle East’, found that all hitherto existing economic policies that aimed at initiating economic development in the whole of East Germany had failed: state subsidies and tax money had been wasted in places where development had not taken off. In order to make better use of resources, the Talk Circle proposed a ‘Correction of the Course of Reconstruction East’ (Dohnanyi and Most 2004a, b): to concentrate investments and infrastructure on so-called ‘growth poles’ in East Germany, which would then produce enough growth for their surrounding and less successful areas, following a ‘trickle down’ principle.

Reconstruction East [*Aufbau Ost*] is an umbrella term for the main economic policies of the Federal State that aim to alleviate the inequalities which emerged in the context of German Unity in East Germany (DIfU 2005). The most important aim of Reconstruction East was to achieve a self-supporting economy in East Germany, which was seen as one of the means by which ‘similar conditions of living’ – the main aim of spatial planning - will come about. The measures of Reconstruction East include state

subsidies for economic development and infrastructure-based state investments (DIfU 2005), which were allocated with the aim of alleviating inequalities.

In the policy documents on the progress of German Unity, the suggestions of a Correction of the Course of Reconstruction East were taken up and translated into a new paradigm for investments of ‘strengthening strengths’ [*Stärken stärken*] (BMVBW 2005: 26; BMVBS 2006: 30). This was to be followed in order to prevent the continuous waste of public money and achieve the desired results in terms of regional growth. In the public discourse this proposed shift of economic investment emerged in the form of convincing metaphors: state subsidies to instigate economic investment should no longer be wasted with the ‘watering can’, but rather focus on ‘lighthouses’ (beacons) - promising locations (AFP 2004; Berg *et al.* 2005). In addition, academic research found ‘cores of economic development’ [*Ökonomische Entwicklungskerne, OEKs*] (Rosenfeld *et al.* 2006a) and economic clusters (Rosenfeld *et al.* 2007) in East Germany.

The representations of regional prospects for development increasingly differentiated in the economic policy discourse on the future of East Germany: several urban and regional rankings such as the Future Atlas [*Zukunftsatlas*] of the consultancy company Prognos AG (2004; 2007) found that there are regions with different degrees of ‘chances for the future’ and regions with different degrees of ‘future risks’ and that the differences between chances and risks cannot be explained on the basis of the type of region (Prognos AG 2004, 2007). In the 2007 Federal Report on the Progress of the Reconstruction East (BMVBS 2007) these findings were used as an argument for the development potential of all regions:

The study of Prognos shows that growth and dynamic innovation are not limited to several regions or types of space such as cities, rather it demonstrates that all regions have their own potential, independent of their present strengths and weaknesses⁷ (BMVBS 2007: 7).

⁷ Die Prognos-Studie belegt hierbei, dass Wachstum und Innovationsdynamik nicht auf bestimmte Regionen oder Raumtypen, wie etwa Städte, begrenzt sein müssen, sondern dass vielmehr alle Regionen unabhängig von ihrer aktuellen Stärke oder Schwäche eigenes Potenzial haben (BMVBS 2007: 7).

Implicitly, this statement claims that if regions focus on ‘their own potential’ they can develop positively. It is no longer about producing equality by balancing inequalities, but about supporting regional development potentials.

A closer examination of the ‘Annual Reports of the Federal Government on the State of German Unity’ (BMI 1997; BMWi 1998; BBANL 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004; BMVBW 2005; BMVBS 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009) and of the Spatial Planning Reports [*Raumordnungsberichte*] (BmRBS 1990, 1991, 1993; BBR 2000, 2005) since Unity shows that an increasingly differentiated picture is drawn of the situation of East Germany. There were no longer just the two big containers of ‘the’ East and ‘the’ West, or different *Länder*. Some places were found to develop ‘better’ and ‘faster’ than others. In the policy discourse the focus was on ‘successful’ places (cities and regions alike) and on how places can build on their strengths. In addition, the temporal assumptions started to shift: the aim of achieving convergence in a particular timeframe seemed out of reach (Land 2003) and instead some places were expected to achieve convergence faster than others.

The debate around the spatial planning law’s aim of achieving equivalence of conditions of living in all parts of the country shows a similar tendency. The Federal President of Germany, Horst Köhler, placed this issue onto the political agenda when he claimed that attempts to balance spatial disparities produced debts for the next generation and that it was more important to create free spaces for the ideas and initiatives of future generations (Krumrey and Markwort 2004; see also: Gatzweiler and Strubelt 2006: I). The ensuing debate in a spatial planning context (BBR 2006; Brake 2007) emphasised the ambivalence of the spatial planning aim and highlighted the importance of being clear in defining the terms, for instance, of ‘similar conditions of living’ (Kawka and Sturm 2006). This is expressed most clearly in relation to considerations of how to define similarity – or how much difference is acceptable under what circumstances:

The acceptance of spatial difference should be compensated by chances that allow the individual... to evade it through individual mobility... Similarity is not only characterised by its spatial distribution, but also in terms of the individual

possibilities and chances independent of any spatial location ⁸ (Strubelt 2006: 308).

The aim of achieving similar conditions of living in all parts of the country can be reinterpreted from an absolute aim to an aim of providing similar chances for the individual – if necessary, the individual can move. On this premise, more difference between different spaces could be allowed.

The preceding discussion shows that the discourses on economic policy changed in East Germany: from the overall aim of achieving a convergence of conditions of living in all parts of the country to the increasing acceptance of different paths and speeds for regional and urban development. It can be argued that this was based on a reinterpretation of the spatial development aim of achieving equivalence in conditions of living in all parts of the country and a different conception of the role of the state. Rather than investing in cities and regions that lag behind and thus balancing uneven development, claims emerged that state investment should better focus on growth poles, cores of economic development or ‘clusters’ (Rosenfeld *et al.* 2007, 2006b). In these discourses, the problem of shrinkage is not a problem to be managed, but to be overcome by focusing on the region’s or city’s intrinsic potentials: if a city or a region develops positively it is because it focused on its development potentials. Inequality or difference are no longer problematised, instead the focus is on a lack of growth, or innovation. This has implications for the suggested policy approaches: these are no longer based on an identified need to balance inequalities, but on supporting growth.

This tendency of increasingly focusing on particular locations was also observed in the previous section that dealt with urban policy responses to shrinkage and the recent emergence of demographic change as a new challenge: if shrinkage continues, these different, but - as is argued here - related discursive shifts suggest it would be better to ‘give up’ certain places and no longer direct any investment to them.

These shifts readily lend themselves to a range of theorisations, but before embarking on this discussion at the start of the next chapter, the following section deals with an

⁸ Das Hinnehmen von räumlichen Ungleichwertigkeiten sollte dann aber kompensiert werden durch Chancen, die es dem Einzelnen... erlauben, dem durch individuelle Mobilität zu entgehen... Gleichwertigkeit bestimmt sich also nicht nur in ihrem räumlichen Niederschlag, sondern insbesondere auch in den individuellen Möglichkeiten und Chancen, unabhängig von jeglicher räumlicher Verortung (Strubelt 2006: 308).

alternative set of approaches that emerged in the context of shrinking cities and the debates about the future of East Germany, for instance, suggestions that shrinkage is a symptom of the end of growth, which requires more fundamental changes such as radically different ways of thinking about the economy, space and cities.

1.2.3 Alternative approaches to shrinkage

Alternative approaches to shrinkage include: firstly a diverse set of critiques of the directions and assumptions of the German policy approaches to urban shrinkage, which often suggest different ways of dealing with shrinkage; and secondly wider concerns with urban shrinkage, which question the role of cities more broadly and consider urban shrinkage as a useful concept for cities beyond Germany. Both areas are considered in turn.

Several strands of critique developed in response to the problematisation of shrinkage in urban and economic policy discourses. The orientation of the *Stadtumbau* policy to the housing market was, for instance, not considered to solve the problem of shrinkage (Kil 2003, 2006; Hannemann 2003), instead, there were claims for shrinkage to be seen as a ‘multi-dimensional notion’ (Brandstetter *et al.* 2005; Lang and Tenz 2003). In addition, cultural issues of understanding transformation and shrinkage were seen as underdeveloped (Dietzsch and Bauer-Volke 2003); a narrow focus on (East) Germany was considered misleading (Oswalt, P. 2004; Oswalt 2005); and the significance of growth as the main underlying paradigm of planning and urban theory was questioned (Kil 2004). These critical interventions show that several assumptions of both the urban and economic policy discourses were contested and that other, alternative ways of seeing and dealing with shrinkage (and also the transformation in East Germany) were suggested.

The main starting point of alternative approaches to shrinkage was to emphasise that phenomena of population loss, economic decline and vacant apartments may not only be seen as negative processes, which need to be overcome, but as processes that also provide a range of chances and possibilities for alternative developments, for instance, the availability of space and the absence of economic pressures (Oswalt *et al.* 2007; Kantzow and Oswalt 2004). However, in order for the more positive aspects to come to the fore, alternative approaches tended to argue that certain perspectives needed to change. It was, for instance, argued that economic growth can no longer be regarded as

the sole assessment of success and progress (Oswalt, W. 2004). One of the suggestions that developed in the context of this broader problematisation of shrinkage was to decouple development and progress from growth and instead explore if and how higher qualities of life can be achieved in a context of shrinkage (Kil 2004).

It was argued that urban shrinkage can be seen as signs of a fundamental transformation of economy and society, as symptoms of ‘the end of growth’ (Kil 2003) or ‘the end of labour society’ (Engler 2002): an epochal, radical change from the longstanding paradigm of growth, which underpinned industrial modernity. In ‘the difficult retreat from the world of growth’ Kil (2004) starts from the premise that certain cities and parts of the population became superfluous in the context of transformation in East Germany. They are no longer needed for the economy to work (Kil 2004, 2006). But instead of trying to instigate growth in East Germany, based on a West German model (e.g. ‘blossoming landscapes’, or ‘growth pole’ approaches), commentators demand that certain spaces be ‘freed’ or liberated from the paradigm of growth: ‘Peace to the landscapes!’⁹ (Engler 2006). People in these areas should receive a state-financed basic income and experiment with alternative ways of living.

The spaces that are left behind by the industrial era [could become] paradises for gardeners and DIY people, for thinkers and dreamers and researchers and enjoyers, for the explorers of a completely new lifestyle: Would that really be such a scary vision? ¹⁰ (Kil 2004: 158).

Related approaches suggest that analyses of shrinkage should highlight the emergence of new cultural and social practices in everyday coping strategies. In this context East Germany is often portrayed as a ‘laboratory’ (Dietzsch and Bauer-Volke 2003), in which new ways of dealing with shrinkage and with transformations are developed. Dietzsch and Bauer-Volke (2003), for instance, claim that the situation in East Germany can be viewed as bringing to the fore a ‘cultural dimension of societal change’:

The processes of transformation in East Germany have deeply questioned cultural paradigms of the industrial society and brought about new strategies for action. Far too often, these are only recognised as reactive crisis management. However,

⁹ Friede den Landschaften! (Engler 2006)

¹⁰ Die vom Industriezeitalter entlassenen Ländereien als Paradiese für Gärtner und Bastler, für Denker und Träumer und Forscher und Genießer. Für die Kundschafter einer völlig neuen Lebensweise. Wäre das eine wirklich so erschreckende Vision? (Kil 2004: 158)

the simple every-day strategies of individuals often contain important potentials for the future. To observe them closely and to make them available in a broader context in the form of professional knowledge could lead to new impulses and political ideas¹¹ (Dietzsch 2003: 365-366).

This critique can be seen as a response to the marginalisations of individuals' coping strategies in the public discourse, but it can also be related to the reclaiming and redefining of perspectives on East Germany and East Germans. These are often portrayed as deficient and lacking in relation to West Germany and West Germans in the German discourse (Roth 2004; Ahbe 2004; Kollmorgen 2007), which is partly related to the way in which German Unity was enacted (Bittner 2009). It was claimed that the situation in East Germany and the way in which people deal with it can potentially serve as a model for the West (Hannemann 2003). This is underpinned by a conviction that wider parts of the country will eventually face a similar situation. In this context, East Germans can be seen as a 'vanguard' because they were forced to develop more flexibility in adapting to social and economic change than West Germans (Engler 2002).

The broader concern with urban shrinkage is based on assessing the wider use of what is considered a new perspective on cities. It is largely based on the very first emergence of 'shrinking cities' before German Unity in an urban sociology discourse in relation to West Germany (Häußermann and Siebel 1987, 1988). Häußermann and Siebel's approach to shrinking cities was based on seeing the development of cities in relation to mobile industrial capital: cities shrink if capital goes somewhere else. At the time, their suggestions did not receive much response (Hannemann 2004), but in the context of the shrinking cities debate in East Germany, some of the claims were rediscovered (e.g. Brandstetter *et al.* 2005).

Part of this argument is that shrinkage can be seen as a 'normal' phase of urban development: historical examinations of urban crises, for instance, are used to emphasise that phases of rebuilding and adapting cities to new challenges are normal

¹¹ Die Transformationsprozesse in Ostdeutschland haben kulturelle Denkmuster der Industriegesellschaft in tiefgreifender Weise in Frage gestellt und neue Handlungsstrategien hervorgebracht. Viel zu häufig werden diese jedoch nur als reaktives Krisenmanagement wahrgenommen. Dabei enthalten oftmals die einfachen Alltagsstrategien Einzelner wichtige Potenziale für die Zukunft. Sie genau zu beobachten und in Form von professionellem Wissen für größere Zusammenhänge verfügbar zu machen könnte zu neuen Impulsen und politischen Ideen führen (Dietzsch 2003: 365-366).

phases of development (Lampen and Owzar 2008; Owzar 2008). In this context, it is argued, that contemporary shrinkage may, for instance, also be seen as a chance to rebuild, reinvent and reorganise cities for the future (Fuhrich 2003): starting points for new developments may emerge in times of scarcity and loss. In this context, reference is often made to close interrelations of growth and shrinkage in natural and social sciences, particular in biology and economic theory (Hager and Schenkel 2000; Bischof 2000; Jorden 2000) in which phases of decline are often the basis for new growth.

This broader context allows for an examination of shrinkage as an international phenomenon in a broader cultural context (Oswalt, P. 2004; Oswalt 2005). A focus on shrinkage, it is argued, may entail new ways of reflecting about cities more generally (Oswalt 2005). Post-socialism is not used as the main point of reference, rather the focus is on deindustrialisation, spatial and economic polarisation and suburbanisation processes in the context of globalisation and neoliberalisation (Müller 2004). These may lead to different paths of shrinkage (Prigge 2004). In short, in parts of the German discourse on shrinking cities phenomena of shrinkage are considered as global. An ‘Atlas of Shrinking Cities’ (Oswalt and Rieniets 2006) or the choice of case studies of different cities such as Detroit in the US, Ivanovo in Russia, Manchester and Liverpool in the UK and Halle/Leipzig in Germany (Oswalt, P. 2004) shows this.

However, even though phenomena of shrinkage such as population loss and economic decline can be found in different kinds of cities all around the world it needs to be emphasised that these are rarely problematised as ‘shrinking cities’ outside the German speaking world. This does not mean that developments in such cities are not considered as requiring certain forms of attention and intervention. There is a rich literature on urban decline (Beauregard 1993; Clark 1989; Bradbury *et al.* 1982; Shields 1991) and there were and there are various interventions that aim at planning and managing decline. In the UK, there range from the D-village policy in the county Durham (Pattison 2004) to the call for an Urban Renaissance (Urban Task Force 1999) and to the more recent Housing Market Renewal programme. However, these do not address ‘urban shrinkage’ directly, but represent different forms of problematisation.

There have been a few attempts to push shrinking cities on a wider academic agenda (Pallagst *et al.* 2009), for instance by building certain academic networks such as The Shrinking Cities International Research Network (SCiRNTM). But even in circles that support this move, it is noted that shrinking cities are not of widespread concern yet:

Pallagst (2010: 3), for instance, writes that there is ‘no active discussion of shrinking cities [in the US]’ and for France and Great Britain, both countries with a growing population, Cunningham-Sabot and Fol (2009: 25) note that ‘when surrounded by growth areas, pockets of decline pass unnoticed... France and Great Britain are still in denial when considering urban shrinkage.’ This begs several questions about the interests behind pushing for certain academic agendas and more generally about what would be gained and lost if urban shrinkage was considered as a problem in a wider context.

In this study, the focus was thus put on how urban shrinkage became an issue to be dealt with, not only in the national urban and economic policy context in Germany, but foremost in the local context of a city. How did shrinkage emerge as a problem that required intervention locally and how do wider programs that are set up to deal with this issue transform local practices and ways of thinking about shrinkage.

In sum, the examination in this chapter of three different discourses on the future has provided an overview of the debates that emerged in the context of shrinking cities around the turn of the 21st century in Germany. The examination showed that shrinking cities are problematised differently in each of these discourses, which has implications for the suggested interventions.

- (1) The strand of discourse focusing on urban policy approaches such as *Stadtumbau* problematised shrinkage mainly in relation to population loss and increasingly also demographic change, which put certain systems of housing and infrastructure provision at risk because they are no longer economically viable. The suggested response was to manage shrinkage by adapting these systems to fewer users, for instance, by subsidising the demolition of empty housing stock in *Stadtumbau Ost*, or maybe even by giving up particular cities, which have lost their function as suggested by BIfBE (2006).
- (2) A strand of economic policy discourse problematises shrinkage in terms of a lack of growth. Suggestions to focus subsidies on promising locations such as growth poles are expected to initiate the needed growth.
- (3) Alternative discourses problematise shrinkage as a potential signal for more radical socio-economic transformations, for instance, the end of growth in East

Germany and potentially also the wider world. In this context, shrinkage is seen to require fundamentally different and potentially also unknown ways of dealing with it.

It is apparent in the three fields that a need for change is being identified – there is a problem: things are not considered to be able to go on as previously. What is seen as the problem, however, differs. Yet, while these debates operate on an abstract general level, the issues they deal with and the assumptions they are based on make a difference on the ground. In focusing on problematisations in their empirical complexity it is argued, that the political implications which are negotiated in these seemingly natural discursive shifts can be rendered explicit.

In order to examine the complexities between discursive problematisations and the rich, contextualised arena in which they play out, but through which they also come about, this thesis aims to analyse how shrinkage is governed, using the example of Hoyerswerda, the fastest shrinking city in Germany. The reason for choosing to focus on different ways in which shrinkage is constituted and worked upon – how it is governed - in a shrinking city and not in the context of a general policy is based on an interest in showing what is at stake and what the consequences are of thinking and acting on a problem (e.g. shrinkage) in one way or another (Dean 1999). In addition, in focusing on the government of shrinkage in a city, this thesis contrasts the abstract emergence of rationalities of shrinkage in national and local discourses with their ‘messy actualities’ (O'Malley *et al.* 1997). The analysis focuses on an examination of how different practices and discourses that address the phenomena of shrinkage connect or contradict each other. In particular, the focus is on how practices, discourses, techniques and technologies of dealing with these phenomena have changed over time, analysing the transformed ways in which shrinkage was approached in the city. This provides a new way of reflecting on ways of understanding and dealing with certain problems in cities and how these may change over time. The critical purchase of this approach lies in analysing the different political implications that are negotiated in governing shrinkage. These considerations are tackled throughout the analysis outlined in the following overview of the argument of the thesis.

The motivation to undertake this study is based on my previous involvement in a shrinking cities project at Bauhaus Dessau (von Borries and Prigge 2005) as a freelance architect over a four week period in spring 2005. The small intervention aimed at

developing a scenario of East Germany in 2030 based on the premise that the federal state of Germany would stop any investment in East Germany outside of the metropolitan regions of Berlin and Saxony (“Metrosachs”). In addition, people living outside these metropolitan regions were to receive incentives to relocate to Berlin or Metrosachs. A graphic designer prepared two maps, which showed the intended concentration of people and resources in these two metropolitan regions. During the short project a range of questions about the potential of alternative future practices of dealing with shrinkage formed in some heated discussions, but could not be addressed in the final presentation for the sake of achieving a clear provocation. The discussions we had in working on this short intervention fuelled my interest to examine in depth how the future is governed in a shrinking city, including the conflicts that emerged in this context.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The research aim of analysing the ways in which shrinkage is governed in a city builds upon a conceptual framework derived from literature on governmentality (Foucault 2002a; Burchell *et al.* 1991; Dean 1999; Rose *et al.* 2006), which is discussed in detail in Chapters Two and Three. Before embarking on a discussion of this analytical perspective, several fields of literature, which also lend themselves to an examination of issues of shrinkage are briefly discussed. These include: examinations of urban and regional decline; neoliberalisation, globalisation and post-socialism; and urban regeneration, renewal and renaissance. The discussion serves to provide an assessment of the points on which these theoretical frameworks differ from governmentality perspectives. Chapter 2 also provides an in-depth introduction to the research perspective of governmentality based on the central notion of ‘government’, which can be understood as a ‘hinge’ negotiating between power and subjectivity, and between technologies of power and forms of knowledge (Lemke 2008) – government as the ‘conduct of conducts’ and as an assemblage of practices, technologies and techniques, which are rendered internally consistent by rationalities. In addition, Chapter 2 also discusses the particular conception of subjects and subjectivity that government entails based on an examination of debates around advanced liberal forms of government in contemporary transformations of governmentalities.

Chapter 3 focuses on spatial and temporal rationalities and examines the intended effects that governing space and time has on subjects. Questions of space in

governmental projects have recently been developed in geographical governmentality studies (Osborne and Rose 1999; Elden 2001; Huxley 2008), but the ways in which time is integral to government has received little attention. The development of an analytical tool of time represents the main conceptual contribution of this thesis. In addition, Chapter 3 deals with some of the criticisms of governmentality studies, which contend that these tend to focus too much on the rationalities of government, ignoring the messy actualities of government on the ground. It is argued that a closer examination of counter-conducts – a concept that similarly has not received much attention – can provide a useful way of focusing on issues of conflict and contestation to government as it emphasises the critical edge of a governmentality approach.

‘Methodology’ is discussed in Chapter 4. Starting with the research questions, the chapter outlines how the empirical material, consisting of responses to semi-structured interviews and a wide range of documents, was gathered, ordered and analysed. Foucault’s approach to discourse analysis, with a particular focus on problematisations and their assemblages represents the analytical strategy this thesis is based upon. The chapter touches on the issue of using governmentality in a largely contemporary setting and also contains a brief discussion on issues of translation and language, which arose from doing the fieldwork in my native language German, but writing in English.

Chapter 5 introduces Hoyerswerda as the chosen exemplar of this study. It provides historical context to the period in the GDR when the city’s new town [*Neustadt*] was constructed and to the city’s post Unity development. This includes an overview of three moments in which problematisations of shrinkage emerged in urban policies and public debate: as an issue to be managed; as an issue to be overcome by initiating growth; and as an issue of conflict and contestation. These emerging problematisations guide the empirical analysis in Chapters Six to Eight. The themes of space, time and subjectivity are woven through each of these chapters.

Chapter 6 discusses the practices and rationalities of managing shrinkage in Hoyerswerda. The spatial rationalities on which shrinkage is based rest on a clear division of areas in the city between those considered beneficial for the future and others that are seen as detrimental. The ideal of a European city form underpinned the strategies of managing shrinkage in the early years. Later on, this ideal has remained important even though the references are not as direct and detailed any longer. The temporal rationality of managing shrinkage is to overcome it because if it were a

continuous process the city would eventually cease to exist. The demolition of vacant housing in Hoyerswerda's *Neustadt* induces a process associated with healing and rescuing (in terms of both the city's spatiality and its temporality). The demolition strategy 'from the peripheries to the centre' is based on forced relocations of tenants from 'demolition areas' to 'preservation worthy areas' of the city. This entails subjects that play along. Only the subjects in the *Altstadt* [old town] are seen as capable of autonomous self-government, which is mainly associated with their status as homeowners as opposed to tenants in *Neustadt*.

Chapter 7 discusses the different approaches to initiating growth based on finding a new role for the city. This is apparent not only in the Mission Statement, but also in economic policy documents. The ideal of the European city, commonly associated with the *Altstadt* is seen to bring about economic benefits, as it is considered to possess economic self-healing powers. *Neustadt*, which least resembles this ideal, is seen as detrimental to realising these economic benefits. In terms of the temporal assumptions, historical continuities that link to pre-GDR traditions are seen as more valuable than GDR-traditions. This is also apparent in the subjectivities that are considered as beneficial or detrimental to initiating growth: a 'GDR mentality', associated with passivity and accepting one's fate, is considered as detrimental, whereas entrepreneurial characteristics are seen as beneficial.

In Chapter 8 an examination of the conflicts that emerged in the context of governing shrinkage in Hoyerswerda shows the extent to which certain associations and cultural initiatives work according to different spatial and temporal rationalities. *Neustadt* and its period of construction are more readily accepted as important parts of the city. The same applies to ideas about the population: while the dominant governmental rationalities portray tenants of *Neustadt* as less loyal to the city than the owner-occupiers of *Altstadt*, these appear as the more active and involved parts of the population in the governmental counter-rationalities. The examination of several arts and cultural projects shows that different ways of dealing with shrinkage also emerged. These are not only based on new spatial practices, in which derelict spaces are used for different projects, but also on new temporal practices, which are not characterised by a governmental object of a better future, but of an improved present. In this context, 'doing-it-yourself' can become a means to improve one's quality of life and thus a necessity if one decides to stay. The main point of Chapter 8, however, is to show how

counter-conduct is constituted in Hoyerswerda: while activists view their critique and their practices as attempts at participating in shaping the government of the future of their city, their conduct appears as ‘counter’ to the dominant governmental rationalities.

Chapter 9 draws the findings of this thesis together in offering a cross-section of the spaces, times and conflicts of governing the future of Hoyerswerda. In linking the findings to the wider debates presented in Chapter 1, the chosen research strategy and the findings that it produced are evaluated. This is needed to explicitly draw out the critical potential that a governmentality approach offers. It is suggested that more nuanced ways of understanding conflicts and contestations in cities are not based on foregrounding these as outright resistance, but as potential attempts at governing. This also highlights the potentials that a focus on time or temporal issues in government provides: for example, ways of reflecting about the possibilities of governing with open futures, in which a concern with the present may push the aim of achieving a certain future in the background.

2 Governmentality, subjects and subjectivity

2.1 Introduction

The main aim of this research, to examine how a shrinking city is governed, lends itself to a range of theoretical approaches, which can be used to aid the analysis. Shrinking cities can, for instance, be understood as effects of uneven development under capitalism, or as brought about through globalisation, neoliberalisation or post-socialist transition. Furthermore, the way in which a city is governed can be analysed from the perspective of urban regeneration or governance. However, it can be argued that the chosen approach of viewing urban shrinkage as a problematisation (see Chapter 1) suggests different starting points, for instance, tracing the ways in which shrinkage was constituted as a problem.

The first part of the chapter steps away from the detailed examination of the debates and developments in the context of the emergence of ‘shrinking cities’ in post-Unity East Germany and examines how similar concerns with urban decline and approaches to overcome it are discussed in Anglophone urban and economic geography contexts. A brief examination of a few widely used approaches shows how different theoretical frameworks problematise and approach shrinkage in different ways and how these are distinct from the chosen framework of governmentality. The second part of the chapter outlines the main features of Foucault’s concept of governmentality. In particular, the different starting points of this perspective are highlighted: rather than beginning with an explanation, governmentality provides an analytical angle that allows for investigating the complex relationships of practices and rationalities and how these impinge on conduct. The third part then focuses on liberal governmentality and subjectivity. The chapter concludes by linking these theoretical considerations back to the problem of shrinking cities.

2.2 Decline in the wider literature

Different ways of problematising phenomena and processes related to shrinkage can be distinguished in the wider literature. These are briefly examined in this section to show how different theoretical approaches in urban and economic geography are based on certain assumptions, and how they differ from the chosen framework of

governmentality. In particular, the discussion aims to highlight that different problematisations of the causes of shrinkage and decline result in different solutions to these issues. Rather than attempting to cover large and diverse grounds of literature, the discussion focuses on the main points of divergence between these approaches and governmentality studies. This may run the danger of simplifying a complex field, but the primary aim of the discussion is to clear the ground for a more detailed discussion of the research perspective of governmentality, which follows in the ensuing sections of this and the next chapter.

The first part of the discussion deals with conceptions of ‘uneven development’ focusing on different ways of understanding it in relation to ‘the economy’ and capitalism more generally. The second part examines a range of common explanatory frameworks of urban transformations, such as neoliberalisation, globalisation and post-socialist transition, which tend to highlight increasing spatial polarisation. The third part considers different approaches to urban regeneration and governance, which are often considered as adequate responses of cities to wider transformations. The section concludes in drawing these different aspects together and linking them to the research aim.

2.2.1 Uneven development, ‘the economy’ and capitalism

In the economic and urban geography literature there are different approaches to understanding urban decline: for instance, as an effect of changing capital accumulation; as a by-product of capitalism more generally; as discursively constructed; or as a temporary process, which will be eventually overcome by economic development. In many approaches, ‘the economy’ or capitalism take quasi-natural positions as determining, structuring factors of decline. However, in other approaches, the economy is seen as a powerful construct, which also suggests a different perspective on decline. Following Foucault’s (2001) concept of problematisation, how the problem of decline is constituted in economic and urban geography can be related to how it is thought of being resolved. Central to this are assumptions about the economy, which often underpin the constitution of decline.

A focus on the socio-spatial effects of transformations in capital accumulation, for instance, the shift from Fordism to post-Fordism, from manufacturing to services, or from production to consumption, is an important starting point for many Marxist

approaches in economic geography (Harvey 1990, 1992, 1996; Swyngedouw 2000). Studies concerned with economic restructuring tend to be based on fundamental epochal shifts, which lead to transformations that affect places, economic and political systems, technologies and people. The literature of uneven economic development starts from the assumption that there are structural imbalances, produced by the capitalist system, which account for uneven development (e.g. Smith 2008b; Harvey 2000). In this context, uneven development is considered 'endemic to capitalism as an historical-geographical system' (Brenner and Theodore 2002a: 8). It can be seen as providing a basis, but also a barrier for the capital accumulation process (Brenner and Theodore 2002a: 8) and it can only really be overcome if the capitalist system is abolished or radically reformed (Harvey 2000).

Viewed from this perspective on uneven development, it is largely predictable that certain areas such as those characterised by mono-structural industries will decline when the methods of production change. Particular types of spaces face particular problems as shown in a range of case studies in different national contexts, which are based on such assessment of quasi-natural change: old mining or industrial areas in the North of England, the US or Australia and elsewhere (Hudson 1998); East Germany and other post-socialist contexts (Hudson 2002; Land 2006); and structurally weak or peripheral regions (Hudson and Lewis 1985). Mono-industrial or single-industry resource towns are seen to be particularly vulnerable (Bradbury 1979) as they are only considered to survive economic transformations if they diversify (Hayter 2003).

Several critiques address approaches that represent capitalism (or other structures) as deterministic (Massey 1995). To ameliorate these tendencies, critics suggest paying more attention to cultural issues and difference, that orthodox accounts of Marxist economic geography are claimed to ignore (Gibson-Graham 1996): for example, issues of gender and race in understanding economies, cities and spaces. Considerations of the 'cultural turn' have also contributed to a lively debate in economic geography (Amin and Thrift 2000), in which concerns about the way in which economy and culture are understood are negotiated. Cultural political economy approaches (Sayer 2001; Jessop and Oosterlynck 2007; Ribera-Fumaz 2009) seek to steer their analyses by taking the cultural turn seriously while being engaged with issues of political economy (see also Gribat forthcoming).

However, it has been contended that often, these other issues such as culture are merely considered as ‘additional “layers” which contextualise, or complicate, place-based economic processes that can nevertheless be isolated’ (Prince and Dufty 2009: 1752). Economic processes, this suggests, often remain to be seen as structuring forces even if the importance of ‘culture’ or other issues is acknowledged. The ‘economy’ and ‘culture’ can also be considered as ‘powerful ideas’, which organize thought and practice (Castree 2004; for culture, cf.: Mitchell 1995). This means economy and culture cannot be solely deduced from the facts of life as ontological realities, but are considered socially constructed. ‘[T]he ideas of economy and culture’, as Castree (2004: 224) writes, ‘help create realities they purport only to mirror.’

Gibson-Graham (1996) go a step further in suggesting that ‘the’ Economy or Capitalism (both with capital letters) tend to be seen as far too unified processes and thus do not leave much space for difference. In ‘decentering “the” Economy’, they suggest, alternative economies can be discovered, a position that is not only informed by a poststructuralist starting point, but also by a commitment to action research:

Poststructuralist research on “the economy” highlights the social and discursive construction of local, regional, national, and global economies, and works against dominant representations of these entities as real containers and determinants of social life. The literatures on post-Fordism, globalization, and development, to name but a few, are not taken as sophisticated descriptions of economic reality but as discourses that actively constitute economic possibility, shaping and constraining the actions of economic agents and policymakers (Gibson-Graham 2000: 103).

Walters (1999: 321) argues that a governmentality perspective can contribute a particular focus to this project of decentering the economy in asking questions such as:

Where does this idea of a[n economic] system come from and what are its power effects? What function does it serve in making the real thinkable and amenable to intervention? Who can speak in its name, and what claims to authority can they make?

A governmentality perspective is interested in the emergence of the economy and of particular economic subjectivities (Barnett 2001; Prince and Dufty 2009). In this way, governmentality studies can be understood as a particular critique of literature on uneven development, asking questions about:

how the economic emerges as a sphere of activity understood as distinct from the cultural, political and social spheres. It is this process of emergence, out of attempts to govern, that a governmentality perspective is focused on. And this emergence involves the assembly, alignment, coordination and conduct of a wide variety of interests, objects and actors – a process played out in space through the emergence of the spatialised economic forms economic geographers study (Prince and Dufty 2009: 1752).

The perspective of governmentality does not start from an explanatory framework that seeks to reveal the ‘true’ causes of the emergence of shrinking cities (or uneven development more generally). Rather, it starts from analysing how certain issues such as ‘urban shrinkage’ came to be seen as requiring some action. This includes considerations of how certain areas became areas of intervention and what this entailed – whether, for instance, shrinkage was constituted as something that the state should ameliorate and balance, or whether it was somehow considered as a lack of local efforts. These constellations can change, which is then also part of the analysis. In the next section different takes on neoliberalism, globalisation and post-socialist transition are distinguished. The examination follows a similar structure and serves to add more detail in highlighting the specificities of a governmentality perspective.

2.2.2 Neoliberalisation, globalisation, and post-socialist transition

This section first deals with contrasting approaches to neoliberalisation and globalisation, which can be seen as processes that have certain parallels (Peck and Tickell 2002), for instance, both being understood as external forces, with tendencies of homogenisation and with certain causal implications. Second, issues of post-socialist transition or transformation are discussed.

Notions of ‘neoliberalisation’ and ‘globalisation’ are often used to describe complex transformations that led to re-orderings of the economy, the state, space and time. The same accounts for ‘post-socialist transition’, even though it is often treated as a sub-set to these wider transformations (Land 2006). Urban and regional decline can be seen as a result of these reordering processes. However, different approaches to these terms can be distinguished, for instance, approaches that understand processes of globalisation and neoliberalisation as abstract forces, which bring about certain effects; and approaches that show how these processes are more complex, hybrid and contextualised and not as abstract as common understandings may suppose. Furthermore, as this section shows,

viewed from the perspective of governmentality studies these processes can also be seen to constitute new global, neoliberal or also post-socialist subjects and subjectivities (Larner and Walters 2004; Larner 2000).

Peck and Tickell (2002: 34) observe two tendencies of discussing neoliberalism in geography, firstly ‘overgeneralized accounts of a monolithic and omnipresent neoliberalism, which tend to be insufficiently sensitive to its local variability and complex internal constitution’; and secondly, ‘excessively concrete and contingent analysis of (local) neoliberal strategies, which are inadequately attentive to the substantial connections and necessary characteristics of neoliberalism as an extralocal project’. Critical examinations of neoliberalisation in Geography, so Peck and Tickell (2002) claim, were inclined to focus on the second, ‘excessively concrete and contingent analysis’. Consequently, they focus on the more generic qualities of neoliberalism and identify several tendencies in urban governance that highlight the influence of neoliberalism on different cities (see also Peck 2004): amongst others ‘a “growth first” approach to urban government’, the ‘naturalization of market logics’, and ‘public sector austerity and growth-chasing economic development’ (Peck and Tickell 2002: 47). For Peck and Tickell, processes of neo-liberalisation in cities have these common characteristics, even though there are local variants.

Larner (2000) examines neoliberalism from a different angle in distinguishing between the understanding of neoliberalism as policy, ideology, and governmentality. According to this distinction, neoliberalism as policy represents the most common conceptualisation of neoliberalism, understood as a particular uniform policy framework, criticised on the basis of its effects. Larner’s (2000: 9-12) discussion of neoliberalism as ideology is fuelled by neo-Marxist and socio-feminist approaches to neoliberalism drawing on Stuart Hall’s (1988) analyses of Thatcherism as an ideological transformation. Instead of considering neoliberalism as a ‘system of ideas’ and rather than recognising power as located in the state Hall (1988) emphasised the way in which a hegemony of neoliberalism was accomplished in constant contestations and struggles. This raises the issue of identity, which is the main point of interest for Larner (2000: 10): ‘Rather than dismissing the attraction of the English working class to Thatcherism as “false consciousness,” [Hall] explored the ways in which individual and group understandings were reconstructed through and against these ideological processes.’ On the basis of this Larner introduces neoliberalism as governmentality as a perspective

that supports analyses of the way in which identities are reconstituted in neoliberalism. This examination takes a different starting point from most approaches to neoliberalism in questioning the ways in which it is being discussed and in considering the assumptions that are being made.

In examining neoliberalism as a contextualised local and hybrid form, a governmentality perspective can contribute two particular focal points. Firstly, governmentality studies examine the techniques of neoliberalism, ‘the apparently mundane practices through which neoliberal spaces, states, and subjects are being constituted in particular forms’ (Larner 2003: 511), which are otherwise rarely reflected upon. Secondly, governmentality approaches enable an understanding of the way in which neoliberal subjects are constituted: ‘the assumption that neoliberalism is best understood as a top-down impositional discourse leaves us powerless to explain why people (sometimes) act as neo-liberal subjects’ (Larner 2003: 511).

In terms of globalisation, Larner and Walters (2004: 507) offer a similar analytical intervention to more common interpretations of globalisation as an abstract force:

globalization is not necessarily global and not simply “out there.” Rather, globalization is usefully understood as a situated process that involves diverse subjects and objects, including nation-states and sociotechnical networks and bodies. We are suggesting that globalization is not so much a new epoch as it is a way of imagining human life. It is a “world in the making,” but this “making” is being done through very specific imaginaries, processes, and practices.

As this discussion shows, a governmentality perspective provides a distinct approach to neoliberalisation and globalisation. Some selected analyses based on the idea of a ‘post-socialist transition’, which can be seen as particularly well-suited to examining the emergence of shrinkage in an East German city are briefly examined next. This section concludes by rendering explicit the implications of problematising shrinking cities as an effect of neoliberalism, globalisation and post-socialism and of applying a different approach.

The notion of ‘post-socialist¹² transition’ is often used as an expression of a process ‘of “catching up” with the West’ (Kolodko 2001; cited in: Herrrschel 2007: 439) and has for this reason been controversial. Transition, so Stenning and Hörschelmann (2008: 319-321) claim, has been used in a range of contradictory and complementary ways, e.g. in terms of a process that aims at the return to ‘Europe’, to ‘normality’, which both imply the ‘end of difference’ between East and West: ‘the diversity, depth and scale of the region’s particular histories and geographies are erased as they become (just like) the west’ (Stenning and Hörschelmann 2008: 321). Transition understood in this way has an implied end point and a direction, with all the related implications that the East is only viewed through the eyes of the West and progress is merely measured against the Western standard. However, there are approaches that question the validity of post-socialism on the basis of too much difference (Stenning and Hörschelmann 2008: 321).

As a remedy to these trends of generalising and homogenising processes under a banner of post-socialist transition, there were suggestions to undertake more ethnographic studies into the differences in post-socialism (Hörschelmann 2002; Hörschelmann and Stenning 2008); paying more attention to people’s everyday lives in the context of post-socialist transformation (Smith and Rochovská 2007; Stenning 2005). In addition, it was contended that the values of post-socialist frameworks may also be seen in their working against ‘tendencies to marginalise the experiences of the non-western world in a discourse of globalisation’ (Stenning and Hörschelmann 2008: 314). Yet, it was argued that the positionality of researchers involved in this undertaking also begs certain questions, for instance, a critical exchange about theories, which are thought to decentre the West (Smith and Timár 2010).

Much of this discussion was concerned with post-socialism being a more or less adequate notion to describe the processes in post-socialist countries. Yet, as suggested in the preceding sections on neoliberalisation and globalisation, viewed from the perspective of governmentality these notions can also be seen to raise questions in terms

¹² Herrschel (2007: 440) distinguishes socialism from communism as follows: ‘“communism” and, consequently, “post-communism” ... refer to the practical application of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy through an authoritarian regime. Socialism, by contrast, entails the society-focused idealism, with a strong emphasis on egalitarianism. Following this philosophy need not mean an authoritarian regime’. The GDR could thus be characterised as a communist state, which would suggest the use of post-communism for the period after the Wall was brought down, however, based on the self-identification of the GDR as a socialist state, the use of post-socialism can be justified.

of the techniques and technologies involved in assembling transition and in terms of the subjects that are constituted as transitioning.

The implications of seeing shrinkage as a problematisation can show how issues which are connected to wider processes of neoliberalisation or post-socialist transition affect the problematisation: if shrinking cities are problematised as a side-effect of post-socialist transition, it is implied that shrinkage is considered a temporary process which comes to an end in parallel with post-socialism. As the next section shows, these assumptions about temporal horizons or the characteristics of certain transformations play a role in how urban regeneration and governance are considered to work.

2.2.3 Urban regeneration and governance

This section examines different approaches to urban regeneration and urban governance that emerged in academic research in the context of the literature on globalisation, neoliberalisation and post-socialist transformation. It demonstrates how an uncritical and normative approach to urban regeneration as a needed response to change that affects cities and requires new forms of governance can be distinguished from critical approaches that examine the effects and implications of these policy approaches and others that question starting points of urban regeneration and governance.

Brenner and Theodore (2002b: v) observe that processes of neoliberalisation and globalisation have led to a ‘revival of the local’: ‘localities are increasingly being viewed as the only remaining institutional arena in which a negotiated form of capitalist regulation might be forged.’ National states, national economies and national societies in contrast are seen to have gradually lost their influence and importance. However, the urban and regional are not only seen as the appropriate levels of response to these processes, they are also considered ‘key institutional arenas in and through which neoliberalism is itself evolving’ (Brenner and Theodore 2002b: vii). This complicates the idea that neoliberalism is an external force to which cities are subjected. However, analyses of urban restructuring can contribute to understanding ‘actually existing neoliberalism’ (Brenner and Theodore 2002a). And for industrial cities in post-socialist countries the persistence of specific challenges of urban restructuring has been emphasised (Lintz *et al.* 2006).

Urban restructuring is often approached in urban regeneration, of which Roberts (2000: 17) offers a definition:

[It is a] comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change.

In this account, urban regeneration stands for positive and necessary processes in which cities manage to adapt to a changing economic, social and environmental context. Mainstream approaches (Roberts and Sykes 2000; Couch *et al.* 2003; Evans and Jones 2008) tend to be relatively uncritical of the assumptions on which urban regeneration is based. For example, they do not question whether the urban sphere represents an adequate spatial level to address certain, often wider economic and social problems and do not draw attention to the different and sometimes contradictory effects of regeneration.

The main assumption of these approaches is that (urban) problems can be resolved if they are managed or planned properly: cities (and regions) can and should reinvent themselves. There are certain ways in which this is considered to happen successfully and the importance of several issues that make for successful regeneration are emphasised (Urban Task Force 1999): strategic and integrated planning; establishing urban governance networks; increasing public-private partnerships; focusing on new sectors, for instance, the cultural economy; following a cultural, arts or events-led regeneration strategy, or attracting and supporting the creative class; and more generally on fostering growth and competition. Attention may be drawn to issues of best practice as case studies of different cities such as Barcelona (Marshall 2004), Glasgow (Keating 1988) and Liverpool (Couch 2003) demonstrate.

Critical approaches to urban regeneration raise attention to the ‘dark side’ of urban regeneration, renaissance and renewal (Porter and Shaw 2009), asking questions about who benefits and who loses in current urban policy practices. This includes approaches that focus on issues such as increasing social and spatial disparities or ‘injustices’ (MacLeod 2002); gentrification (Smith 2002, 2008a); and dislocation of certain parts of the population (Slater 2006, 2008; Shaw 2008). These approaches provide critical perspectives on various effects of (e.g. neoliberal) urban regeneration policies and practices. In addition, strategies, for instance, that are based on placing cities in

particular competitive urban segments may appear ambivalent from the perspective of certain cities such as Berlin (Cochrane and Passmore 2001; Cochrane and Jonas 1999; Cochrane 2006b). Approaches to the establishment of governance structures between cities and hinterland, which are based on assumptions that these bring about economic success are sometimes also more ambivalent in their effects and dependent on more complex criteria (Gore and Fothergill 2007).

Other critical approaches to transformations in urban policy start from investigating the spatial assumptions that play a role in constituting certain issues as urban problems that can be solved by urban policy. Cochrane (2007: 3-4), for instance, shows that the problems urban policy seeks to solve are not necessarily of urban origin and that urban regeneration, is far from being a clearly defined approach:

The definition of the “urban” being “regenerated” and, indeed, the understanding of “regeneration” have varied according to the initiative being pursued, even if this has rarely been acknowledged by those making or implementing the policies... In some approaches, it is local communities or neighbourhoods that are being regenerated or renewed... In others, it is urban economies that are being revitalized or restructured with a view to achieving the economic well-being of residents and in order to make cities more competitive. In yet others it is the physical and commercial infrastructure that is being regenerated, in order to make urban land economically productive once again. And there has also been a drive towards place marketing... in which it is the image... of cities that has to be transformed.

A focus on problematisation can thus contribute to analysing certain assumptions on which different forms of interventions under the banner of ‘urban regeneration’ are based. What counts as ‘urban’ or as ‘regeneration’ varies in each case. The main starting point however is that urban policy does not intervene in natural or given spaces, but is an important factor of constituting these spaces as spaces of intervention (Dikeç 2007).

Governmentality studies can contribute a different critical perspective on urban regeneration or governance, for instance, in questioning what kinds of subjects are assumed to carry these strategies and what techniques and technologies are employed to assemble these strategies as quasi-natural responses to urban change.

In sum, Section 2.2 has indicated what a governmentality approach can offer applied to academic research, policies and possible arenas of conflict. The next sections focus on explaining the research perspective of governmentality in more detail.

2.3 Governmentality

Developed by Foucault in the late 1970s (2007; 2008), since the early 1990s ‘governmentality’ has been taken up as a fruitful research perspective in a wide range of disciplines such as cultural studies, medicine and public health, accountancy, sociology, political sciences and geography. It is not a uniform research perspective that prescribes certain forms of research (even Foucault has used governmentality to do different things: see for instance Foucault 2007: 108-109). It is thus important to clearly set out the way in which governmentality was employed as a research perspective in this study.

On the most general level governmentality addresses questions such as ‘[h]ow we think about governing others and ourselves in a wide variety of contexts’ (Dean 1999: 210). There is a controversy about the origins of this notion: some claim it is based on the French notion ‘*gouvernemental*’ – ‘concerning government’ (Senellart 2004: 564; Lemke 2008: 13); others see it as a fusion of the notion of ‘government’ and ‘mentality’ (Dean 1999; Lemke 2001), yet, both approaches feature ‘government’ as a central notion. ‘Government’ can be seen as a hinge negotiating between power and subjectivity and between technologies of power and forms of knowledge (Lemke 2008: 13)¹³. Dean’s definition of ‘government’ highlights this more specifically:

Government is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through our desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes (Dean 1999: 11).

Government, thus, has a (potential) plurality because it can originate from different sources and take different shapes, but it works in particular ways employing some form of truth and attempting to influence the way in which people act or think of themselves. Rose (1999: 21) argues for governing to be understood nominalistically: ‘it is neither a concept nor a theory, but a perspective’. Understood in this way, government, is not equated with the state. This is crucial, as Foucault (2007: 109) suggests:

¹³ Foucault (2000a: 88) describes the study of governmentality as answering a ‘dual purpose’; and Burchell (1993: 268) sees it as ‘a “contact point” where techniques of domination –or power – and *techniques of the self* “interact”’.

[T]he state, doubtless no more today than in the past, does not have this unity, individuality, and rigorous functionality, nor... this importance. After all, maybe the state is only a composite reality and a mythicized abstraction whose importance is much less than we think.

Foucault also compared the idea of a theory of the state with an indigestible meal. This does however not mean that the perspective of governmentality does not give any consideration to the state, rather it is seen to provide a tool for critical analysis of the state: 'The state is not a universal nor in itself an autonomous source of power... The state is nothing else but the mobile effect of a regime of multiple governmentalities' (Foucault 2008: 76-77). In this context, Rose and Miller (1992: 176-177) suggest:

[T]he state can be seen as a specific way in which the problem of government is discursively codified, a way of dividing a "political sphere", with its particular characteristics of rule, from other 'non-political spheres' to which it must be related, and a way in which certain technologies of government are given a temporary institutional durability and brought into particular relations with one another. Posed from this perspective, the question is no longer one of accounting for government in terms of "the power of the State", but of ascertaining how, and to what extent, the state is articulated into the activity of government: what relations are established between political and other authorities; what funds, forces, persons, knowledge or legitimacy are utilised; and by means of what devices and techniques are these different tactics made operable.

In some governmentality studies the notions 'government' and 'the state' may appear conflated, which limits their critical leverage: in assuming its place with the state they are not able to analyse how government is constituted. Dean (1999: 29) goes into further detail in highlighting the distinctiveness of governmentality:

This approach thus stands in contrast to theories of government that ask "who rules?", "what is the source of that rule?" and "what is the basis of its legitimacy?" An analytics of government brackets out such questions... because it wants to understand how different locales are constituted as authoritative and powerful, how different agents are assembled with specific powers, and how different domains are constituted as governable and administrable. The focus on "how" questions, then, arises from a rejection of the political *a priori* of the distributions of power and the location of rule.

The perspective of governmentality is empiricist and analytical. This becomes clearer in distinguishing this perspective from theories of 'governance' that have become common

in political sciences (Rhodes 1996; Stoker 1998) and increasingly also in studies concerned with urban analysis (Brenner 2004a, b).

In avoiding equating government with the state, governmentality shares some of the concerns with studies of 'governance', however, there are important differences: governance attends to the complexities of people in systems and institutions of government - what Rose (1999: 19) calls 'sociologies of rule'; while '[a]n analytics of government examines the conditions under which regimes of practices come into being, are maintained and are transformed' (Dean 1999: 21). Walters (2004: 27) presents three more specific lines of critique based on 'foundational assumptions and political implications of governance': (1) governance is anti-political and displaces political conflict because it is based on the aim of achieving consensus, following a 'politics without enemies', while governmentality research puts conflicts and the instability of government explicitly in the focus (even though O'Malley *et al.* 1997 maintain that this has not been followed through in practice, see Section 3.4); (2) governance is rooted in a too narrow idea of the welfare state against which the post-welfare state marks a too distinct and too new development. This is a normative and often also epochal distinction, which governmentality would have to establish; and (3) governance is based on a meta-narrative of increasing social complexity demanding new forms of management, which represents a historical development logic that governmentality refuses. So again, similar to the examples of 'uneven development' and 'economic restructuring' discussed at the beginning this chapter (Section 2.2) not only are the starting points for conceptualising governmentality different, so too are the questions the research perspectives pose. In governmentality studies researchers are cautioned against making assumptions regarding universal or epochal transformations. Instead, this perspective encourages analyses of how certain concepts and ways of viewing certain processes were constituted, for instance, how they emerged as accepted forms of knowing and acting on the world.

The understanding of governmentality as a 'hinge' of the relationship between power and subjectivity on one side and technologies of power and forms of knowledge on the other side guides the next two sections. Firstly, the focus is on government as the 'conduct of conducts' with its two poles of 'power over life', which means bringing government in relation to individuals and the population. Secondly the discussion deals

with the ways in which rationalities and practices encompass the complex interrelationship between technologies of power and forms of knowledge.

2.3.1 ‘The conduct of conducts’ and two poles of ‘power over life’

The central notion of ‘government’ can be understood as ‘the conduct of conducts’: ‘[it] encompasses not only how we exercise authority over others, or how we govern abstract entities such as states and populations, but how we govern ourselves [and others]’ (Dean 1999: 12). The full meaning of conduct can only be revealed in relation to the French original:

[T]he word “conduct” refers to two things. Conduct is the activity of conducting (*conduire*), of conduction (*la conduction*) if you like, but it is equally the way in which one conducts oneself (*se conduit*), lets oneself be conducted (*se laisse conduire*), is conducted (*est conduit*), and finally, in which one behaves (*se comporter*) as an effect of a form of conduct (*une conduite*) as the action of conducting or of conduction (*conduction*) (Foucault 2007: 193).

In short, government includes a variety of actions as well as a range of directions spanning different spheres from governing others to governing the self, and how these different spheres work in relation to each other.

These relationships can, for instance, be found in the problem of unemployment in relation to the constitution of the entrepreneurial subject, or the unemployed self in relation to an active society or to ‘the social’ (Dean 1995; Walters 2000); or in programmes and knowledge of health in relation to dietary regimes or obesity (Nettleton 1997; Guthman 2009). Unemployment and health are issues that the individual can use to question his or her own conduct in order to better govern themselves, such as get more training or eat more healthily. This means that neither training nor a healthy lifestyle have to be imposed on the population or on individuals as bans or prohibitions. Rather knowledge, practices, techniques, technologies and certain rationalities of healthy eating and education and training work through people’s desires, hopes and dreams. Whether these effects come about or not, however, cannot be predicted. Governmentality ‘is a perspective, then, that seeks to connect questions of government, politics and administration to the space of bodies, lives, selves and persons’ (Dean 1999: 12). Employing a governmentality perspective also suggests looking at the ways in which effects on human conduct are sought: even if a study is about ‘the economy’, ‘shrinking cities’ or ‘globalisation’, it may ultimately investigate

the way in which human conduct is addressed, for instance, in constituting active, entrepreneurial or global subjects. Governmentality may for this reason be seen as a perspective that brings together interests in micro- and macrophysics of power (Lemke 1997).

Drawing on a range of Foucault's texts, Huxley (2007: 187) differentiates between four ways in which Foucault has addressed human conduct: (1) as discipline over bodies (anatomo-politics); (2) as the 'supervision of the inhabitants of the sovereign's territory' (police-science; *Polizeiwissenschaft*); (3) as the regulation of the population (bio-politics); and (4) as the formation of the self (ethical care of the self). These can be seen as addressing different aims or 'objects' of government: bodies, populations and selves. And they can also be seen to do so in different ways such as requiring subjection, exercising total control or working through self-government. In this sense they can also be understood as specific forms/techniques of power.

Governmentality does not offer a new theory of power, but it is concerned with power – analytically - as the outcome of the analysis. Power is seen as mobile and 'not a zero-sum game played within an *a priori* structural distribution' (Dean 1999: 29). One of the distinct characteristics of governmentality is 'its specificity in identifying how government is formulated, how it problematizes, what techniques it uses, and so on' (Rose *et al.* 2006: 97). In short, governmentality studies seek to understand how government works - and are not based on preconceived notions of *how* it should work.

Governmentality can be seen as closely linked to Foucault's previous work on discipline (Foucault 1991: 135-230) and bio-power (Foucault 1998:139-145; 2004: 239-264). Rather than seeing governmentality as a break from these earlier concerns, the emphasis is laid on understanding governmentality in relation to similar concerns and themes, which may be based on a different - and sometimes admittedly confusing - conceptual vocabulary. O'Farrell (2005: 11) suggests focusing on a fairly broad coherence in Foucault's work, 'namely how human beings seek to impose order on the world via their social structures and knowledge, the points at which this order breaks down and how they change with the passage of time.' Most commonly, three forms of power are distinguished in Foucault's work, which coincide with different periods in his works that have succeeded one another, but which are not entirely separable (Rose 1999: 23): sovereignty, discipline, government - each developed on the basis of different 'historical configurations' (O'Farrell 2005: 101). It is important to note though

that one understanding of power has not replaced the other and made it obsolete, rather, each new concept of power can be seen to refine the previous one.

In distinguishing disciplinary from sovereign forms of power, Foucault (1998: 139) introduces the idea of power over life as one of the decisive differences:

The disciplines of the body and the regulation of the population constituted two poles around which the organization of power over life was deployed... - characterized as a power whose highest function was perhaps no longer to kill, but to invest in life through and through.

Both forms of power have different objects: the body and the population; they rest on different techniques and different contexts such as the disciplining of the body in the classroom, the factory, or the prison and regulating the population by observing birth and death rates, health. Yet, they are both forms of 'power over life' aiming to make life more productive. In government these can still be seen to work, yet the way in which life is made more productive entails a power that works not so much through surveillance, control and discipline, but through the desires, wishes and aspirations of individuals and the population (see also Section 2.3).

These elaborations of government as the conduct of conducts suggest focusing on the ways in which conduct is addressed in the context of governing shrinking cities. As outlined in the Introduction to this thesis the emergence of shrinking cities in German discourses is closely related to a concern for conduct, most clearly in raising issues of potentially different qualities of life, of a changing demographic context and of discussing different ways of dealing with shrinkage. The next section shows how government as the conduct of conducts is constituted in focusing on rationalities and practices of government. It becomes clear that government can be seen as an assemblage.

2.3.2 Rationalities, practices and technologies of government

In governmentality, the relationships between rationalities and practices can be seen as bridges between power and forms of knowledge - truth. This is useful in that it stresses that both aspects need to be taken into consideration, but it is also dangerous, because it seems to suggest that rationalities and practices are separate. Yet, in Foucault's work, rationalities and practices are closely interrelated and cannot be seen as separate from each other:

“Practices” don’t exist without a certain regime of rationality... If I have studied “practices”, ... it was in order to study [the] interplay between a “code” which rules ways of doing things ... and a production of true discourses which serve to found, justify and provide reasons for these ways of doing things ... [My] problem is to see how men govern (themselves and others) by the production of truth (Foucault 2002b: 230).

So, practices can be understood as ‘ways of doing things’ and rationalities are the ‘codes’ that rule, and also the reasons for these ways. Practices and rationalities are thus inextricably interlinked. It is misleading to understand rationalities as immaterial and practices as material. Rationalities do not exist without practices and vice versa, they can thus be seen as material as practices. Rationalities should therefore not only be equated with representations, or something ‘ideal’, and practices not only with actions, or something ‘real’.

The focus on practices again underlines the rejection of universals as starting points for the analysis:

[C]hoosing... to start from governmental practice is obviously and explicitly a way of not taking as a primary, original, and already given object, notions such as the sovereign, sovereignty, the people, subjects, the state, and civil society... all those universals employed by sociological analysis, historical analysis, and political philosophy in order to account for real governmental practice... I would like to do exactly the opposite and, starting from this [governmental] practice as it is given, but at the same time as it reflects on itself and is rationalized, show how certain things – state and society, sovereign and subjects, etcetera – were actually able to be formed, and the status of which should obviously be questioned. In other words... instead of starting with universals as an obligatory grid of intelligibility for certain concrete practices, I would like to start with these concrete practices and... pass the universals through the grid of these practices (Foucault 2008: 2-3).

The examination of practices and rationalities has two interrelated functions: firstly to show how certain things came about and secondly to question their constitution. Things could be different.

In this concrete form, closely interlinked with practice, rationality can be understood as ‘instrumental and relative’ (Foucault 2002b: 229; see also Lemke 2008: 41). It is not measured against an external ideal of rationality, but renders practices internally consistent (Rose *et al.* 2006). Rationalities are thus relative to their context and take a

particular function in tying (sometimes disparate) practices together. Foucault's (2002b: 229-230) examination of penal practices illustrates this point:

The ceremony of public torture isn't in itself more irrational than imprisonment in a cell; but it's irrational in terms of a type of penal practice that involves new ways of envisaging the effects to be produced by the penalty imposed, new ways of calculating its utility, justifying it, fixing its degrees and so on. One isn't assessing things in terms of an absolute against which they could be evaluated as constituting more or less perfect forms of rationality but, rather, examining how forms of rationality inscribe themselves in practices or systems of practices, and what role they play within them – because it is true that “practices” don't come without a certain regime of rationality.

Rather than seeing practices of imprisonment as a progression from public torture to incarceration, following a common understanding based on the Enlightenment, according to which reason gradually wins, Foucault perceives practices and rationalities as mutually constitutive.

In relation to the discussion of practices and rationalities it is important to examine the technical aspects of government, also called '*techné* of government' (Dean 1995). It is an important aspect of the analysis of government because it counters different ideas of government which see it mainly in relation to values, ideologies or worldviews (Dean 1999: 31). Governmentality studies conceive of government as technical, which means paying attention to:

The diverse and heterogenous means, mechanisms and instruments through which governing is accomplished. These concepts emphasize the practical features of government which might include forms of notation, ways of collecting, representing, storing and transporting information, forms of architecture and the division of space, kinds of quantitative and qualitative calculation, types of training and so on (Dean 1999: 212).

Many studies that employ a governmentality perspective are based on analyses of these technical aspects of government such as census data (Hannah 2000) and show that seemingly neutral techniques play an important role in making up certain subjects and subjectivities (see also Hacking 2002).

It is important to understand technologies and rationalities in a similarly complex and mutually constitutive relationship as rationalities and practices:

The relation between technologies and rationalities could easily be misinterpreted as equivalent to that between material practices vs. paradigms or discourses; but it is quite different, in that technologies do not *express* or *implement* a previously constituted arrangement of knowledge/power but rather help to constitute both the theory of the power and the power of the theory. Particular technologies can be used for different purposes and can have quite different meanings depending on their articulation with specific rationalities (Valverde 1996: 358, original emphasis).

This has implications for the ways in which governmentality studies work, as Rose *et al.* (2006: 99) emphasise: ‘the orientation of governmentality work, then, is not ideal typification, but an empirical mapping of governmental rationalities and techniques.’ Government is best understood as an assemblage, as expressed in the notion ‘regimes of practices’, as something that comes about because of relations between different things such as practices, techniques, technologies, knowledge, truths. Governmentality studies, then, work on deciphering these assemblages, which also means identifying how these assemblages are made coherent by governmental rationalities.

To understand how the future of a shrinking city is governed as an assemblage is particularly useful because it takes shrinking cities out of the contexts in which they appear as ‘natural’ effects of post-socialist transition or globalisation, which require or are based on a transformation of the state and the economy. Instead, it allows for processes to be analysed as part of government, which are otherwise often seen to provide neutral evidence, such as population statistics and historical comparisons (Hacking 1991).

The foregoing discussion suggested that the central notion of ‘government’ rests on two axes of enquiry: firstly, on the way in which government seeks to influence conduct and thus works as a ‘power over life’, addressing the ways in which individuals and populations are worked upon (through their desires, aspirations, wishes, dreams and hopes). Secondly, it rests on a link to truth, which can be found in the complex interrelations of practices, rationalities and technologies. Understood in this way, government is unstable both internally and externally. Rose *et al.* (2006: 98) emphasise the first aspect in characterising government as an open, heterogeneous process that is in constant change:

[T]he assembled nature of government always suggests that rationalization - the process of rendering the various elements internally consistent – is never a

finished process. Rationalities are constantly undergoing modifications in the face of some newly identified problem or solution, while retaining certain styles of thought and technological preferences.

Secondly, even if government intends a certain effect, for instance, a certain form of conduct, the outcome may be different. There is always a potential for resistance, contestation or plain failure. Both forms of instability contribute to making government prone to change - it does not stand still.

In the next section, the issue of liberal governmentality and subjectivity are discussed. This is because they are often seen to provide particularly useful approaches to contemporary governmentality studies (Rose and Miller 1992; Barry *et al.* 1996; Rose 1993).

2.4 Liberal governmentality and subjectivity

In contemporary governmentality studies the perspective of governmentality is often seen to be particularly useful for the examination of changing ways in which government relates to individuals and the population. One of the main concerns is to analyse how forms of political rule have changed from largely authoritarian to increasingly liberal or advanced liberal forms of rule and what this means for governed individuals or populations (Burchell 1993). Foucault's notion of liberalism as 'a distinctive form of political reason' (Hindess 2001: 93) is used in this context to describe how liberal government works by inducing and building upon the self-governing capacities of the population and of individuals rather than on coercively regulating their conduct. This shift can be seen as reflecting a liberal concern of governing too much or of excessive government. It may also be seen to rest on increasing developments of governmental techniques and technologies to act at a distance (Rose and Miller 1992: 180) for which expertise is important and which may be regarded as one of the key characteristics of liberal government.

However, far from suggesting that liberal government represents a uniform shift of government by the state or related institutions to the self-government of autonomous subjects (or 'the government of freedom'), many contemporary governmentality studies caution that forms of authoritarian rule, unfreedom (Hindess 2001: 94), despotism (Valverde 1996) and sovereign and coercive powers (Dean 2007) also play a role in liberal forms of government and that it is crucial to analyse these ambivalences. The

different ways in which liberal forms of government distinguish between the subjects of government according to their capacities for autonomy (Dean 2007) is one way in which to examine the differences.

For an analysis of how the future of a shrinking city is governed, these considerations are useful because they provide a critical handle on contemporary issues of government and they complicate simplified explanations that rising concerns with responses to shrinkage by individual cities or regions may reflect a ‘roll-back’ of the national state or a rise of globalisation or neoliberalisation. Furthermore, it allows for a refined focus on the kinds of subjects that are constituted by the government of shrinkage as desirable or problematic. Two issues are discussed in this section: the notion of liberalism and advanced liberalism and secondly how this links to (autonomous) subjects of government.

2.4.1 Liberalism, advanced liberalism

Foucault’s (2008: 321) understanding of liberalism as ‘a form of critical reflection on governmental practice’ can be clearly distinguished from common usages of liberalism as an ideology or political philosophy. Liberalism in the Foucaultian sense may be seen as a critique of excessive government: as a form of political reason, liberalism takes the opposite approach to ‘police’, which from the 17th century was understood as ‘the set of means by which the state’s forces can be increased while preserving the state in good order’ (Foucault 2007: 313). Police was founded on attaining comprehensive knowledge and control of ‘the population, the army, the natural resources, the commerce, and the monetary circulation’, which became possible and also supported the development of statistics (Foucault 2007: 315), guided by a fear of not knowing enough.

The way in which liberalism operates is closely linked to the relationship it assumes with the subjects of government - how it constitutes its subjects:

Liberalism, particularly its modern versions, constructs a relationship between government and governed which increasingly depends upon ways in which individuals are required to assume the status of being the subjects of their lives, upon the ways in which they fashion themselves as certain kinds of subjects, upon the ways in which they practise their freedom. Government increasingly impinges upon individuals in their very individuality, in their practical relationships to themselves in the conduct of their lives; *it concerns them at the very heart of*

themselves by making its rationality the condition of their active freedom
(Burchell 1993: 276, original emphasis).

The assumed freedom of the governed subjects is at the basis of liberalism. Subjects are supposed to become active in governing themselves, which is also ‘a way of practising their freedom’. Dean (2007: 114) contends that, ‘[t]he problem of “too much governing” was... not so much that the population were governed too much but that the state was liable to do too much of the governing.’ This means it is acceptable if the population or subjects govern themselves more: government may be seen to be enacted in other institutions, experts, individuals and the population – it is not presumed to originate in the state.

This relates to some of the concerns of neoliberalism, which may be understood as, ‘a political discourse about the nature of rule and a set of practices that facilitate the governing of individuals from a distance’ (Larner 2000: 6). These also include the construction of political subjects. However, Larner also calls for a close attention to the specificities of different neoliberalisms, which may also reveal contradictory and multiple processes in terms of subjects:

Neoliberalism, it was argued, is leading to the inevitable decline of democratic processes and to increased sociospatial polarisation... In... accounts of neoliberalism, for all their geographical and scalar diversity, little attention is paid to the *different variants* of neoliberalism, to the *hybrid nature* of contemporary policies and programmes, or to the *multiple and contradictory aspects* of neoliberal spaces, techniques, and subjects (Larner 2003: 509, original emphasis).

If neoliberalisation is used as an umbrella for complex processes, it tends to gloss over the differences such as the ‘multiple and contradictory aspects of neoliberal subjects’. Furthermore, the failure to attend to the diversity of neoliberalism also disables the particular form of critique that a governmentality perspective suggests: ‘describing diverse contemporary regimes or rationalities as neoliberal... tends to blunt one of the cutting edges of governmentality – its specificity in how government is formulated, how it problematizes, what techniques it uses’ (Rose *et al.* 2006: 97). It can be argued that a focus on contradictory practices relating to the constitution of subjects by (neo)liberal forms of government provides a particularly useful and tangible way to sharpen the cutting edges that a governmentality perspective may provide.

2.4.2 (Autonomous) subjects

The examination of liberalism may suggest that there is a unified logic in government to govern less – that is, to transfer more tasks to autonomous subjects so that they govern themselves. However, in examining more closely how government relates to its subjects, particularly what kinds of subjects are constituted in liberal forms of government, certain ambivalences and complexities come to the fore. Contrary to what the initial examination of liberal government may have suggested, liberalism does not dispense with domination and coercion of illiberal subjects in order to transfer certain aspects of rule to the self-government of autonomous subjects:

[G]overning liberally does not necessarily entail governing *through* freedom or even governing in a manner that respects individual liberty. It might mean, in ways quite compatible with a liberal rationality of government, overriding the exercise of specific freedoms in order to enforce obligations on members of the population (Dean 2007: 109; 2002: 38).

This suggests that it is necessary to distinguish between different forms of subjects that are constituted by liberal forms of government. The autonomous liberal subject active in its own self-government may not be the norm. Dean (2007: 119-120) distinguishes between four ‘(fluid) categories of liberal subjects of government grouped according to their capacities for autonomy’:

those who have attained capacities for autonomy, including the practice of exercising “ethical despotism” upon themselves where necessary – Group A;

those who need assistance to maintain capacities for autonomy as in the case of the social citizen under T.H. Marshall’s welfare state and the “job-ready” of contemporary workfare – Group B;

those who are potentially capable for exercising liberal autonomy but who are yet to be trained in the habits and capacities to do so – Group C [the underaged, etc.];

those who, having reached maturity of age, are for one reason or another not yet or no longer able to exercise their own autonomy or act in their best interests – Group D.

The last group includes people who are chronically welfare dependent, who suffer from specific mental or physical illnesses, or from drug, alcohol or other addictions. In addition, it also contains certain parts of the elderly and most people in developing countries. Dean (2007: 120) adds that there is a ‘mode of government that acts in the

best interest of those who cannot act in their own best interests even were they to know them.’ Dean’s distinction between different forms of subjects is not the only one; in a similar way, Hindess (2001) distinguishes between ‘hopeless cases’, ‘subjects of improvement’ and an ‘ethos of welfare’, that is government supporting the development of its subjects’ capacities.

The crucial point, however, is not the distinction that can be drawn between the different kinds of subjects, but the relation between these. Dean suggests that the common representation of the autonomous subject as the rule in relation to several exceptions (Group B-D, see above) in the analysis of liberalism is misleading:

Presented as a list of different types of subject, organized according to their potential or actual capacities for liberal autonomy, the analysis of liberalism nevertheless remains at a purely formal and descriptive level. It reproduces the view that the autonomous individual is the rule to which the exclusions form practical exceptions... the reverse is in fact the case: ... the liberal norm of the autonomous individual is a figure carved out of the substantive forms of life that are only known through these exceptions, for example insufficient education, poor character, welfare dependency, statelessness, underdeveloped human capital, absence of spirit of improvement, lack of social capital, absence of citizenship of civilized state, inadequate methods of labour and cultivation, and so on (Dean 2007: 121).

In this way, liberal autonomous subjects may be seen as an exception from the rule, even if liberal governmentalities are often associated with the transferral of government to these subjects with the right capacities of self-government.

[A] story of the diminution or end of national state sovereignty is aligned with the deployment of sovereign and coercive powers, as well as forms of culture-governance, over the lives of a substantial majority of the world’s inhabitants (Dean 2007: 129).

The diminution of national state sovereignty can thus not be seen as giving rise to the self-government of autonomous subjects, even though this may be suggested commonly. Capacities for autonomous self-government may be seen as abilities that have to be attained or earned. However, as Dean’s reflections show, this is not always up to the individual’s activities. Capacities for autonomous self-government are not stable, once attained they can also be taken away. Subjects may also be considered as an autonomous subject in relation to one area and as a subject that has not attained

capacities or who will not be able to gain these capacities for self-government in another area. This discussion adds to the complex relationship between techniques of domination and techniques of the self, which were discussed in Section 2.3.

In examining how a shrinking city is governed the considerations of these different kinds of subjects of liberal government may also play a role. As the discussion in the Introduction to this thesis suggested, concerns for the remaining population in shrinking cities underpin debates about population loss: are ‘the right kind of people’ still left to initiate change?

This section sought to highlight different aspects of governmentality as a research perspective that a concern with (advanced) liberal forms of rule can bring to the fore. A critical analysis of the ways in which government relates to its subjects was introduced e.g. as autonomous subjects with a capacity for self-government or as subjects that need assistance to keep up their capacities for autonomy, and as those who still require training but also as subjects who are not or no longer able to exercise their autonomy (Dean 2007: 120).

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter began with a discussion of a range of approaches that readily lend themselves to an examination of shrinking cities, such as uneven development or globalisation and neoliberalisation. The discussion was used to distinguish the different focal points that different theoretical traditions suggest. In addition, a range of approaches were distinguished that deal with transformations in cities and regions, e.g. urban regeneration or urban governance. In short, the first section of this chapter aimed to set apart the framework of governmentality from other frameworks of analysis of urban decline and restructuring.

On the basis of this a broad introduction to the main terms related to governmentality studies was provided. The central notion of government is situated at the intersection between power and subjectivity and technologies of power and forms of knowledge. This distinction guided most of the discussion in the rest of the chapter. Government was further examined as ‘the conduct of conducts’ and as being constituted by an assemblage of rationalities, practices and technologies. These concerns with government go beyond the state, as government is considered to apply to how people govern themselves and others in a wide variety of contexts.

A concern with liberal forms of government was introduced as an important focus in many contemporary governmentality studies. Liberalism in this sense is not connected to an ideology or political theory, but rather as a fear of too much government. This includes a concern with the way in which subjects are constituted as active in their self-government. The ways in which liberal forms of government view their subjects is highlighted. The examination showed that different kinds of subjects can be distinguished according to their assumed capacities for autonomy. Many subjects are not considered to possess these capacities. The idea is that (neo-)liberal forms of rule increasingly transfer parts of government to subjects who are capable of governing themselves in this way complicated because while such a shift may happen, subjects who are not considered capable of governing themselves may still be governed in a coercive and illiberal manner.

The different considerations in this chapter set up governmentality as a complex research perspective that allows for a range of different directions of enquiry. The next chapter deals with the particular foci of this study: space, time and conflict. It shows that space and time can be seen as integral to any governmental project: conducts of conducts and attempts to foster subjectivities are shaped by certain constructions of space and time as much as counter-conducts.

3 Space, time and conflict

3.1 Introduction

Temporal and spatial assumptions can be seen as important, but largely implicit, aspects of the discourses about shrinking cities and the future of East Germany. It makes a difference in terms of the problematisation whether shrinkage is imagined to be a finite or an infinite process, and whether it is associated with particular spaces or the whole territory. Instead of accepting certain developments as ‘natural’ or inevitable, e.g. the shrinkage of a mono-industrial city, an analytical focus of research on different problematisations of space and time renders explicit the politics inherent in naturalisations such as this. Furthermore, space and time were identified as playing a role in the responses to shrinkage: certain effects are assumed in relation to certain spatial and temporal interventions.

While the discussion of governmentality in Chapter 2 provided a general introduction to this research perspective, this chapter focuses on specific points, which characterise the particular approach that this thesis follows. The concentration on issues of space and time was developed on the basis of the different discourses around shrinkage in Germany and the attentiveness to issues of conflict and contestation was founded on a strand of critique, which claims that governmentality studies often fail to attend to the complexities of government in focusing too much on governmental rationalities and paying too little attention to the ‘messy actualities’ on the ground (O'Malley *et al.* 1997).

A focus on the way in which space and time are used in envisaging the future and in acting upon it can render explicit the implications of governing the future in particular ways, which normally go unquestioned. This is different from examining the relation between space, time and power, which is why it is important to distinguish the focus of this study from other influential concerns of space and time in geography such as Marxist or historical materialist approaches. Section 3.2 deals with space, time and power and examines the specificities of a using a governmentality perspective. The following sections on space, spatiality and government, and on time, temporality and government go into more detail in providing conceptual tools for the analysis such as a distinction between space and time as objects of government, the idea that there are

spatial and temporal rationalities and that government also rests on certain spatial and temporal techniques and technologies. Furthermore, this chapter examines issues of conflict and contestation in government, which, it was claimed, have been rarely acknowledged sufficiently in governmentality studies (O'Malley *et al.* 1997).

3.2 Space, time and power in the wider literature

This section discusses some differences in approaching space and time from a governmentality perspective from looking at space and time in other analytical frameworks, which are often used for the analysis of phenomena such as shrinking cities and regions. The discussion is based on the argument that one of the distinct avenues that a governmentality perspective offers lies in the way in which space and time are based on a particular relation between power and subjectivity. This does not mean that power and subjectivity are not considered in other approaches, it merely suggests that these are used differently.

A particular concern of critical geography is exploring space (and time) in relation to power. Power is seen to shape space, which means an analysis of space reveals clues about power. Of course, such an analysis is not a simple exercise: 'Entanglements' of domination and resistance, for instance, which as a couplet, are seen to be 'always played out in, across and through the many spaces of the world (Sharp *et al.* 2000: 1) provide a sense of the complexities.

Governmentality studies approach space and time differently in rejecting the universal assumptions about the production of space and time. It has been emphasised that governmentality studies cannot offer 'a theory of space' (and time) or a 'history of space' (Huxley 2008: 1646); instead, space and time are considered in relation to government, e.g. how space or time work in government and to which assumed effects (whether these finally come about or not). In order to examine some of the differences in more detail, the following sections deal with the idea of spaces and times as products of social relations and then with the differences governmentality studies can make.

3.2.1 Space and time as products of social relations

If space and time are considered as being shaped by capitalism or globalisation, spatial transformations may hint at transformations in capitalism or globalisation. In this context, capitalism, space and time can be seen as mutually constitutive:

[C]apitalism... is *constituted* spatially and temporally. It is not a system whose operation occurs *in* space and *through* time, as if these were empty matrices waiting to be filled with the diverse products of human activity. Instead, space and time are... core components of capitalism. While irreducible to one another, they cannot be understood separately either (Castree 2009: 27, original emphasis).

This means capitalism is produced by and also produces a distinctive spatio-temporality. Changes in capitalism, or in capitalist accumulation, are seen to result in different space-times and vice versa. Capitalism is seen as a driving force of the way in which space and time are produced.

The concept of time-space compression (Harvey 1990, 1996) takes as its starting point the speeding up of social relations, based on the transformation of capitalism from Fordism to flexible accumulation, which is seen to have led to new ways of experiencing and practising space-time. Space and time are considered as socially constructed and closely linked to material processes: 'Each distinctive mode of production or social formation will, in short, embody a distinctive bundle of time and space practices and concepts' (Harvey 1990: 204). This also means that geographical and historical context and difference play important roles in the social processes in which time and space are constructed. The differences may lead to conflict. Harvey, however, does not go into great depth in exploring these, because for him, time-space compression, driven by capital accumulation, eventually goes in one direction: the annihilation of space by time – following Marx's famous claim. Power is located with capital and results in an acceleration of time, which leads to time conquering space. In this context, capitalism finally leads to a privileging of time in comparison to space. Castells (1996) offers a similar pattern of spatial and temporal polarisation in juxtaposing integrated global spaces to disintegrated local spaces - spaces of flows versus spaces of places.

The concept of time-space compression was criticised by Massey (1993) as insufficient and economically deterministic because it ignores the impact of ethnicity, gender, sexuality, disability and age on the experience of both space and time. In taking difference into account, Massey's conceptions of space, power and subjectivity are far more complex. Yet, to some extent, a similar starting point of understanding time and space as effects of social relations remains: they are more complex, but still decisive.

In this thesis, the idea is not to approach space and time as either independent realities or as effects of social processes but to analyse how space and spatiality and time and temporality are made amenable to government and how they are used in programmes of government to achieve particular effects on conduct. It is important to note that conceptualising time and space in this way means that time and space are not primarily seen as being shaped by abstract or distant forces of construction such as capitalism or globalisation. In contrast, space and time can be understood as configured differently in changing governmental rationalities as they respond to different ‘problematisations’.

3.2.2 The differences that other conceptions of power (and subjectivity) make

Of particular influence in geographical work that relates to Foucault is the idea that ‘space is fundamental in any exercise of power’ (Foucault 2002c: 361). There are, however, considerable differences in approach, which seem to rest on the way in which power is understood: conceptions of power as limiting and oppressive entail foci on different aspects of space and time than notions of power as enabling and productive. A brief reconsideration of Foucault’s notion of power, which entails particular relations to subjectivity (see also Section 2.3.2), serves as a starting point to explore what this means in relation to understanding space and time. Foucault has emphasised power as productive: ‘power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge gained of him belongs to this production’ (Foucault 1991: 194). The subject does not exist prior to power: rather it is produced by it.

It has been contended that governmentality studies concerned with space have tended to foreground the disciplinary spaces of control and surveillance, based on a narrow interpretation of Foucault’s analysis of Bentham’s Panopticon¹⁴ (Foucault 1991), neglecting productive attributes of space (Huxley 2006, 2007; see also: Elden 2001; Braun 2000). The discussion of different spaces in *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault 1991) such as the military camp, the school, the factory and the hospital, however, shows that Foucault did not only imagine the related spatial formations to work as a means to observe and control people, but also to bring about (or produce) certain

¹⁴ Bentham’s Panopticon represents a diagram for a model prison, which relies on the principle that each cell can be observed from a central room, but that it is not possible to tell if somebody is watching from each cell. There is no longer total surveillance, but inmates are expected to conduct themselves properly because they may be watched at any time.

qualities in subjects such as docility or productivity. This productive conception of spaces has not received the same attention as narrow interpretations of control and surveillance. The latter are often directly derived from discussions of the Panopticon. Instead Elden (2001: 148) suggests taking a wider focus on ‘panopticism’ as ‘a functional device (*dispositif*) that makes the exercise of power more effective and enables subtle coercion of the society.’ Understood in this way, space can be seen as a ‘critical tool of analysis’ (Elden 2001: 119) in Foucault’s work:

If we examine Foucault’s major works, we see that his histories are not merely ones in which space is yet another area analysed, but have space as a central part of the approach itself. In other words, rather than merely writing histories of space, Foucault is writing spatial histories (Elden 2001: 118).

However, in focusing on the role of space, many urban geography governmentality studies tend to ignore Foucault’s discussion of the productive role of time. The engagement with time rarely goes beyond methodological concerns for taking a historical approach (see also Section 4.2). A close reading of *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault 1991: 149-162), however, shows that disciplinary time was considered as productive as disciplinary space: ‘The disciplines, which analyse space, break up and rearrange activities, must also be understood as a machinery for adding up and capitalizing time’ (Foucault 1991: 157). This machinery is mainly derived from the military and gradually translated into different pedagogical practices. Foucault particularly emphasises the role of the timetable and of exercise (developing from religious practices), which can be seen to have brought about ‘a new way of administering time and making it useful, by segmentation, seriation, synthesis and totalization’ (Foucault 1991: 160). Building upon Elden’s remark concerning Foucault’s spatial histories could be a starting point to consider how Foucault has written spatial *and* temporal histories in which space as well as time have particular effects in making up a new subject.

This section has shown that a particular link between power and subjectivity as suggested in the research perspective of governmentality can make a difference in terms of their relation to space and time. The suggested productive relation is considerably different from an understanding of space and time as products of capitalist accumulation (see Section 3.2.1). The conception of space and time in relation to power and subjectivity differs from ontological concerns: space and time are not seen as *a priori*

categories or ‘realities’ (and neither is capitalism). They also differ from approaches that are concerned with how space and time are produced and what can be known about them. Rather, this focus on power and subjectivity suggests focusing on how a productive power configures time and space, that is: how space and time may be seen to bring about different subjects in governmental programmes and strategies – whether these finally come about or not. In Sections 3.3 and 3.4 this is further developed so that time and space can be considered as objects of government, which implicitly or explicitly intend to bring about certain effects in subjects.

3.3 Government, space and spatiality

Since the mid 1990s, a productive engagement of governmentality studies with space has developed in geography (for a discussion see: Elden and Crampton 2007; Hannah 2007; Huxley 2008). A related concern of these diverse studies is an analysis of the different roles space plays in government. Assuming place to take an integral space in rationalities of government, Huxley summarises a variety of ways in which space may play a role in the analysis of government focusing on:

how different kinds of spaces are constituted as *objects and aims* of government; how they figure in *programmes and practices* of government; and how material spaces and built forms are deployed as *techniques of rule* by multiple institutions of reform and control, which may or may not be linked to the state (Huxley 2008: 1649, original emphasis).

These different focal points are based on a broad understanding of space ranging from ideas and representations of spaces such as in maps, statistics, urban policy, plans and programmes to material spaces such as built forms, urban configurations, architecture and the internal organisation and layout of buildings.

So, the analysis is not of the effects of government in space, but in contrast, the focus is on how space is an integral part of government, be it as an object or aim of government, as a spatial rationality or as a spatial or environmental technology.

3.3.1 Space as an object of government

This section discusses how space is constituted as an object of government and how it is linked to intended effects on the population and on subjects, whether these do finally come about or not. A broad distinction can be made between a consideration of how

space can be seen as an object of government and how space as this object may be used to aim for effects on subjects.

Studies that are concerned with how space is made amenable to government, how it is made 'governable' (Rose 1999: 31-40) are based on the idea that government does not intervene on 'natural' or given spaces, but constitutes and produces the spaces (and problems) on which it then intervenes. This is particularly clear in some critical urban policy studies in which urban policy, and also statistics and maps are seen to *produce* their areas of intervention:

[The spaces of urban policy] are constituted as part of the policy process...
[G]overnmental practices, insofar as they involve both formation and intervention, are not merely "confined" to designated spaces; they constitute those spaces as part of the governing activity (Dikeç 2007: 23).

The spaces on which policies work are constituted as part of the policy process. The view of space as an object is concerned with how it is divided up, measured and mapped and what spatial and environmental qualities are considered desirable in what places and how these are differentiated. Furthermore, the intervention into particular spaces can be seen as a response to the association of particular problems such as particular parts of the populations or specific individuals with these spaces. Working on these spaces, however, also means to work on the problems of the population and of individuals associated with these spaces:

[P]roblem definition starts from area rather than individual or even social group, although, of course, a concern with the area is often used as a coded way of referring to a concern about the particular groups which are believed to be concentrated in it (Cochrane 2007: 3).

Working on spaces may in this way be seen as implicitly linked to seeking effects on individuals, groups or populations. It is then a gradual move to see spaces as also contributing to making up and constituting these as particular subjects of government.

Studies that focus on how space is used in government as a tool to achieve certain ends, e.g. in making subjects governable and producing certain subjects can be seen to explicitly link spaces to effects on individuals, groups or populations. This can involve a focus on the disciplinary use of space that seeks to fabricate docile and productive subjects by spatial control and division, as described with reference to factories, the

military camp and class rooms in *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault 1991). But it can also be transferred to the urban sphere and involves the idea of the city as the source of and ‘the site of remedy’ for social problems (Osborne and Rose 1999: 746): the city may appear as a ‘machine’, which produces a ‘social field’ and not just as a spatial context for inherent social processes (Osborne and Rose 1999: 748). Healthy, open and transparent spaces are seen to produce healthy subjects and thus work against the urban problem of morbidity and sickness or degeneration more generally.

The notion of ‘spatial and environmental causality’ (Huxley 2006: 772) deals with the productive role of space most directly and also makes a distinction to the disciplinary effects of space:

[S]paces and environments are not simply delineated or arranged for purposes of discipline or surveillance, visibility or management. In projects of political subjectification of governmental self-formation, appropriate bodily comportments and forms of subjectivity are to be fostered through the positive, catalytic qualities of spaces, places and environments. These productive spatial rationalities operate in different modes, making use of different combinations of, for instance, geometric, biological, medical, environmental or evolutionary causalities (Huxley 2007: 195).

The idea is that specific spaces or spatial configurations are intended to have causal effects on the population and on individuals. Spatial rationalities of government intend desired effects, whether these come about or not. This is different from spatial and environmental determinism positing that space, in and of itself, actually *has* these effects in the real.

This study seeks to examine how the spatial rationalities of governing the future of a shrinking city may be seen as seeking to foster particular subjectivities that are conducive to the city’s future. This choice of empirical material is different from examining ideal city types or projects, which play an important role in Huxley’s and Osborne and Rose’s studies. Yet, the insights gained from these studies can offer valuable starting points and directions. These become clearer in the examination of spatial rationalities in the next section.

3.3.2 Spatial rationalities

Governmental rationalities are defined as rendering diverse elements of government understood as an assemblage of technologies of power and forms of knowledge that are internally consistent (see Section 2.2.2). In terms of space, this understanding of rationality means:

[T]he difference between examining spaces that projects of government might produce “in the real” and an analytics of spatial rationalities of government lies in the focus on the *truths* about the relations between subjects and spaces that inform the *aspirations* of government to transform “what is” into “what ought to be” (Huxley 2005: 92, original emphasis).

Government can be seen to operate with certain spatial rationalities – truths - in order to achieve certain effects. The question of how space is thought of and how spatial causality is conceived is hence an important point of the analysis. Space can be thought to be ‘productive’, generating certain desired effects on the population and individuals.

A closer reading of *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault 1991) shows that disciplinary power also goes beyond the narrowly interpreted ideas of spaces of control and surveillance. This is pertinent in the discussion on ‘docile bodies’, which focuses on spaces of the military, the factory and the classroom and is based on the workings of ‘disciplinary power [which] produces not merely docile bodies, but also productive bodies’ (Osborne and Rose 2004: 217). In addition, this form of power makes bodies malleable: ‘[a] body is docile that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved’ (Foucault 1991: 136). Disciplinary power can therefore be seen to bring about a new subject:

A meticulous observation of detail, and at the same time a political awareness of these small things, for the control and use of men, emerge through the classical age bearing with them a whole set of techniques, a whole corpus of methods and knowledge, descriptions, plans and data. And from such trifles, no doubt, *the man [sic] of modern humanism was born* (Foucault 1991: 141, emphasis added).

It is useful to consider the way in which this power is imagined to work, which brings this discussion back to a spatial element: for disciplinary power, the figure of Bentham’s Panopticon is central. However, the Panopticon is a principle, which is transferable to many other sites than the prison - a characteristic, which can be termed a ‘diagram’:

The figure of Bentham's Panopticon is a 'diagram' that, at one and the same time, not only encapsulates the aims of disciplinary practices of temporal routines, spatial divisions, bodily training and categorisations of types, but also foreshadows the aims of a liberal governmentality to constitute freely acting subjects in whom duty and self-interest coincide (Huxley 2008: 1640).

So, how can these characteristics be transferred to a study concerned with a city, particularly in terms of liberal forms of rule? Osborne and Rose (1999) use the notion in relation to the urban. They emphasise that a diagram can be understood as an 'operative rationale' rather than a model or an ideal type (Osborne and Rose 1999: 738): '[e]ach diagram depicts and projects a certain "truth" of the city' and contains 'a will to action' – to act on this truth. Diagrams can thus be considered as responses to particular problem spaces:

[The] work of diagnosis is a kind of reconstruction of the problem spaces to which particular urban diagrams provide different answers. The liberal diagram presupposes the insanitary city; the eugenic diagram presupposes the degenerating city; the eudaemonic diagram presupposes the city of deviant, antisocial subcultures; and so on. The forces of ungovernability are not, then, to be romanticised as being somehow outside the urban diagram altogether. On the contrary, urban governmentality uses the insidious ungovernability of the city as a resource and an inspiration (Osborne and Rose 1999: 759).

This means that in 'urban diagrams' urban problems and answers to these problems can be seen to interlink. For an analysis of the ways in which urban shrinkage was constituted and how responses emerged in relation to it, the identification of urban diagrams might provide a useful direction, not least because a diagram is understood to work as a bracket that includes diverging approaches to governing:

To speak of diagrams is to try and individuate the regularities that are giving form to the multitude of local, fluid, fleeting endeavours, stratagems, and tactics that characterise the forces seeking to govern this or that aspect of urban existence (Osborne and Rose 1999: 758).

Huxley (2005; 2006; 2007) emphasises the relationship between spatial rationalities and the hoped for effects on subjects more strongly in developing the concept of 'spatial and environmental causality':

In order to broaden understandings of the way space figures in rationalities of government, we might begin to examine *causal and productive* powers attributed

to spaces and environments in aspirations to catalyze appropriate comportments and subjectivities (Huxley 2007: 193).

Huxley (2005; 2006; 2007) examines three different spatial rationalities: ‘dispositional rationalities’ - the idea of a spatial order that produces social order; ‘generative rationalities’ - technologies of sanitation, which bring about healthy bodies and moral behaviour; and ‘vitalist rationalities’ – the progressive development and creative evolution of humanity.

Space can be seen as standing in a causal relationship to bring about desirable effects, which can be discerned as truths of the relationship between subjects and spaces, as spatial rationalities. The causal logic does not necessarily produce its ends, as effects can turn out differently. In relations of power there is always the potential for resistance: the healthy city does not necessarily produce healthy subjects despite governmental intentions. There may also be mismatch or plain failure.

In examining the ways in which a shrinking city governs its future, a focus on spatial rationalities is particularly useful because it suggests examining spatial causalities that underpin the different ways in which the future of the city is conceived and worked towards.

In the next section, spatial techniques and technologies are examined that form an equally important part of the conceptual toolkit.

3.3.3 Spatial techniques and technologies

Techniques and technologies that make space and what is considered in it tangible are discussed in this section. This includes diverse techniques: surveys, maps, statistics, diagrams, census data and other means. The intention is not to offer a comprehensive discussion, but to reflect on a few issues related to spatial technologies such as the extent to which they entail certain spatial rationalities.

The notion of “‘tableaux vivants” which transform the confused, useless or dangerous multitudes into ordered multiplicities’ (Foucault 1991: 148) summarises the way in which disciplinary techniques function. Order is imposed and knowledge gained by drawing up tables: distribution and analysis, supervision and intelligibility. In this way, ‘the table was both a technique of power and a procedure of knowledge’ (Foucault 1991: 148). This has also been described as the inter-relation of making space

‘thinkable’ and making it ‘practicable’ (Osborne and Rose 2004), in which ‘technicians of space’ such as social statisticians, doctors, urban reformers and town planners have played an important role.

Statistics and mapping, for instance can be seen as important techniques of delineating the spatial boundaries of particular social phenomena. In this way, mapping may be seen as a technique to visualise what had previously been invisible (see e.g. Söderström 1996: 258) and to visualise it may be seen as the first step to act upon what was then known. In Osborne and Rose’s (2004) discussion of the work of Charles Booth and Patrick Geddes, it becomes clear that even though both men mapped certain aspects of cities, they had different interventions in mind on the basis of their results. Booth’s surveys of spaces are seen as serving to order and control conduct in these spaces. Osborne and Rose (2004: 214) take them as suggesting ‘a kind of moral space – a fixed public order of conduct’. Geddes’s maps in contrast intend to enable citizens to rethink their environment and their future. Osborne and Rose (2004: 214) understand these to entail ‘a kind of ethical space – a self-regulating life of civic existence.’ So, two different ways of social survey mappings intend two different effects in terms of subjects and population: Booth’s maps show linkages between certain kinds of space and certain forms of conduct. They are in this sense similar to disciplinary space; Geddes’ maps are based on an ‘ethics of outlook’ in giving ‘the disadvantaged the resources to take charge of their own evolutionary capabilities’ (2004: 200) – that is to govern themselves. Osborne and Rose’s example of Booth and Geddes are relevant in this context because the distinction between the two show that seemingly similar technologies of mapping can entail different effects on the mapped subjects and also different ways of intervening upon them.

This also means that ‘*knowing* human collectivities spatially was bound up with projects of *intervening* upon such collectivities spatially’ (Osborne and Rose 2004: 225). Yet, the directions of intervention are not necessarily pre-defined in the techniques and technologies of space as demonstrated with Geddes’s and Booth’s maps of Edinburgh and London. The next example shows that spatial techniques and technologies are not only available to government; they can also be used as forms of empowerment. Appadurai (2001) shows this in a study of groups of the urban poor in Mumbai, India, who started to produce their own data about slums and slum dwellers. This enabled the groups to build partnerships with official agencies supporting their own cause.

From the discussion in the foregoing sections we can see that even if space is understood as an object or aim of government this does not necessarily entail a direct focus on subjects or populations in these spaces. However, space can also be seen to bring about certain effects on subjects as was demonstrated in the section on spatial rationalities, which may even employ the notion of spatial causality. This focus emphasises the productive qualities of spaces. If we take government to intend effects on human conduct, the focus on spatial rationalities can provide useful insights. The discussion on spatial techniques and technologies has demonstrated that these can be used for diverse and sometimes contradictory spatial rationalities, which is important to keep in mind in the analysis.

How these considerations of space in government relate to a concern with time and temporality as objects, rationalities and techniques of government, has not yet received much attention in governmentality studies. In studying shrinking cities, issues relating to time are brought to the fore. Population loss, for instance, produces certain insecurities in terms of the future: questioning, for example, the extent of services that can be maintained in the city.

3.4 Government, time and temporality

A certain, rarely explicitly recognised unpredictability forms the basis of governing: a concern with the future. The debates about the future of East Germany and in particular about shrinking cities that were examined in Chapter 1 have demonstrated this. Expectations of the speed at which the East would catch up to the West were regularly adjusted. So, contrary to what calculations, prognoses and forecasts may suggest, what happens in the future is not clear – things may turn out differently. But still, predictions, such as of demographic change in Germany, are often portrayed as infallible as an illustration by a demographer suggests: ‘Our [demographic] prognoses unfold like clockwork, there are no surprises’¹⁵ (Berg *et al.* 2004: 38). The question that arises from this for this thesis is how assumptions about time, for instance, in terms of durations or directions of development play a role in government. Prognoses contain grains of insecurity because they are merely based on probability patterns of past processes, which are extended into the future in using different formulas such as certain social

¹⁵ ‘Unsere Prognosen laufen ab wie ein Uhrwerk, Überraschungen gibt es nicht’ (Berg *et al.* 2004: 38).

science theories about future developments or certain tendencies in policies. Yet, as this section shows, prognoses may be seen as a temporal technique of governing.

This section shows that time, as much as space, may be seen as an object, rationality and technique of government. Government aims for the future and as a basis of this it employs certain ways of thinking about time in terms of predictions, or (social) scientific theorisations. Social processes such as urban shrinkage can be related to different temporalities. They may be seen as temporally limited processes, for instance, as a necessary ‘adaptation’ of a city to a smaller size, or as temporally unlimited processes, which lead to complete decline. This also applies to the wider context, in which shrinkage can be seen as a necessary step to progress and further development, or as a first sign of regress. Concepts such as ‘post-socialist transition’ or ‘restructuring’ contain an anticipated temporal horizon: their start and end are pre-defined, they go from x to y - for instance, from GDR’s state-socialism to FRG’s social market economy. How long this takes and whether the aim is a moving target or a fixed one is difficult to determine before it actually happens.

Temporal considerations of government are however not limited to the context of shrinkage, growth also raises certain issues in terms of time: how long can certain processes continue if resources and space are limited? This section reflects on the future as an object of government, it considers temporal rationalities and discusses temporal techniques and technologies.

3.4.1 The future as an object of government

The ‘Utopian element of government’ (Dean 1999: 33) is a good starting point for a discussion of the future orientation of government because it shows that government is based on a temporal assumption:

that government is not only necessary but possible. It is to suppose that such government can be effective, that it can achieve its desired ends, or... that there can be a match between outcomes and intentions of policies... It is to assume that we can draw upon and apply forms of knowledge of the world and of human beings in that world, that we can “make things better”, improve how we do things, and so on.

In this way, government is oriented towards achieving a better future, and is thus a practice concerned with time and temporality. It involves reflections of the present, the

past and of possible better futures. In this context, Dean's reference to 'Utopia' does not suggest a non-achievable static, spatial ideal such as in Thomas More's classic essay. In contrast, it refers to the ends and goals, the *telos* of government. 'Every theory or programme of government presupposes an end of this kind – a type of person, community, organization, society or even world which is to be achieved' (Dean 1999: 33).

An important precondition of this is the conception of the future as open to and shaped by, human intervention and not fixed or determined by transcendental interference (Reith 2004). In other words, it is necessary to conceive the future as governable or administrable. This is different from, for instance, historical temporality of the Middle Ages, which aimed towards a universal time of the final Empire - Christ's return (eschatology). In this, rule was assumed to be finite as 'no state or kingdom [was] destined to indefinite repetition in time' (Foucault 2007: 260). Historical time, then, became indefinite due to 'indefinite character of the political art' (Foucault 2007: 260), in which government has no implied aim or end and cannot be overcome. 'There will always be governments, the state will always be there, and there is no hope of having done with it' (Foucault 2007: 355). Government, in this sense, is based on a certain temporality of an open future that can be endlessly transformed.

In shrinking cities, part of what is to be achieved through government is to stop shrinkage, because if shrinkage continues, so the logic goes, the city may eventually not have a future, i.e. it will come to an end, cease to exist. Government, in this context, is not only based on achieving a better future, but on securing a future in the first place, that is, achieving a future at all. This may not necessarily be in terms of progress, in contrast, it may, as the next section shows, also rest on the idea that time has a certain productivity in terms of the associated effects on subjects.

3.4.2 Temporal rationalities

This section develops an approach to temporal rationalities based on the discussion of spatial rationalities (see Section 3.3.2). Based on Huxley's development of spatial rationalities (2005: 92) temporal rationalities of government may be seen as focusing 'on the truths about the relationships between subjects and [time] that inform the aspirations of government to transform "what is" into "what ought to be."' This raises

the question of how subjects or certain subjectivities may be related to time, temporal practices and techniques, or how temporal ‘truths’ can be understood.

It is necessary to start with an examination of the productive aspects of time as developed in *Discipline and Punish* (1991), in which Foucault draws a direct line between ways of administering and controlling time and the coming about of a new form of subjectivity. The maximum extraction of time through meticulous control and surveillance may be seen as a disciplinary temporal rationality: ‘The disciplines, which analyse space, break up and rearrange activities, must also be understood as machinery for adding up and capitalizing time’ (Foucault 1991: 157). And again, there is a double-function: the ways in which time is ‘cut up’, divided and controlled in order to get most use out of the disciplined body also represents the coming about of new subjects in terms of both ‘the progress of societies and the genesis of individuals’ (Foucault 1991: 160). Furthermore, Foucault (2002d: 80) sees new ways of working with time as pre-conditions for the coming about of industrial society:

First, individuals’ time must be put on the market, offered to those wishing to buy it... in exchange for a wage; and, second, their time must be transformed into labour time. That is why we find the problem of, and the techniques of, maximum extraction of time in a whole series of institutions.

The introduction of a universal time as opposed to different localised times, which went hand in hand with the introduction with faster modes of transport and communication (Schivelbusch 2002; Cresswell 2006) can be considered as important steps to arrive at this extraction of time. Rose distinguishes between the disciplinary management of time and the advanced liberal management of time as an act of self-control:

The bell, the timetable, the whistle at the end of the shift *manage time externally, disciplinary*. The beeping wrist watch, the courses in time management and the like *inscribe the particular temporalities into the comportment of free citizens as a matter of their self-control* (Rose 1999: 31, emphasis added).

The move from disciplinary time to the time of liberal government means that the external control of time is replaced by an internalised control of self-government, which represents a new temporal rationality.

This section has sought to explain that time can be understood in different ways in relation to government. The discussion led from concerns with the direct disciplinary

control of time to a liberal approach to time. The first requires docile subjects and aims to extract the maximum amount of time from them. The second transfers the temporal control and management to autonomous subjects, who have attained capacities of temporal self-government. Subjects become masters of their own time. This transferral goes along with a range of temporal techniques that also serve to make future eventualities calculable and to provide a basis for decision-making.

3.4.3 Temporal techniques and technologies

The notion of ‘risk’ plays an important role in making the future amenable to government. Government is oriented towards the future it seeks to influence: the ‘not yet’. In this, it is confronted with certain problems, e.g. shrinkage, which can be seen as a risk – as a risk related to the population, to demography, death rates, birth rates, the economy and the environment. It is important to note that in this understanding risk is not seen as ‘real’. ‘Nothing is a risk in itself; there is no risk in reality. But on the other hand, anything *can* be a risk; it all depends on how one analyzes the danger, considers the event’ (Ewald 1991: 199, original emphasis). How one analyses danger is closely related to constituting a problem. Risk in this sense is not a social reality that one can experience or live; instead, ‘risk is the calculation of uncertainty in the future’ (Reith 2004: 386).

Risk calculations are based on determining patterns in large samples and for this reason they can only provide insight into the likelihood of certain phenomena occurring, for instance the rate at which smokers develop lung cancer; or the rate at which local inhabitants who become unemployed leave the city to find a job elsewhere; or the rate at which under-25s leave the city to go to university. No matter how accurate these risk calculations are, they cannot predict what is going to happen in each individual case of a smoker, an unemployed person or an under-25 old. One can therefore say that ‘the utility of the notion of “risk” lies not in its ability to correctly predict future outcomes... but rather in its ability to provide a basis for decision making’ (Reith 2004: 394). The extrapolation of today’s situation into the future, for instance through prognoses, statistics and mappings, can be seen as a form of risk-minimisation in government.

This understanding of risk is distinct from realist approaches to risk, which may be based on an understanding that risk exists as an *a priori*, objective social phenomenon such as the influential discussion on the ‘risk society’ may suggest (Beck 1992; see a

critique in: Reith 2004: 385-386). When risk is understood as a construction, as suggested above, different levels of risk cannot be attached to particular times. An increased level of risk, for instance, cannot be related to epochal transformations, e.g. the post-industrial society. Times do not become increasingly uncertain, instead, government based on risks may also be a form of governing as little as possible, a form of liberal government, which governs through freedom (see next Section).

The technique of insurance, which serves to secure the future, but also as a technique to govern one's life through less direct control and more self-government may be seen as related to the calculation of risk:

Insurance is a moral technology. *To calculate risk is to master time, to discipline the future.* To conduct one's life in the manner of an enterprise indeed begins in the eighteenth century to be a definition of a morality whose cardinal virtue is providence. To provide for the future does not just mean not living from day to day and arming oneself against ill fortune, but also mathematizing one's commitments. Above all, it means no longer resigning oneself to the decrees of providence and the blows of fate, but instead transforming one's relationship with nature, the world and God so that, even in misfortune, one retains responsibility for one's affairs by possessing the means to repair its effects (Ewald 1991: 207, emphasis added).

Calculations of risk may be seen to provide security (Ewald 1991: 209); such calculations may, however, also be seen to provide a basis for government. If population loss is identified as one of the risks in a shrinking city, the calculation of its probable extension into the future provides security in terms of governing it.

Security provides a measure for decision-making and induces certain forms of self-government as it does not prescribe which actions to take or not take. For this reason, Gordon (1991: 28) understands 'liberalism as an effective practice of security':

The rationality of security is, in Foucault's rendering, an inherently open-ended one: it deals not just in closed circuits of control, but in calculations of the possible and the probable. The relation of government with which it corresponds is not solely a functional, but also a "transactional" one: it structures government as a practice of problematization, a zone of (partially) open interplay between the exercise of power and everything that escapes its grip (Gordon 1991: 35-36).

From the foregoing we can see that, unlike the way space has been elaborated in geographical developments of governmentality, time or the temporal aspect of

government has not been subject to the same degree of theoretical development in governmentality studies. This study expands on the conceptual development of time and it does so for a particular (empirical) reason: time as well as space are prominent issues in the debates and practices of governing the future of East Germany – be it in terms of the different temporal expectations in relation to the unification process or in terms of spaces that are seen to have no future. Hence, temporality can be seen as an important element of government. Elden's (see 2001: 147) statement about space as an analytical instrument may serve as an inspiration for thinking about the use of time: how time can be understood, not simply as an object of analysis, but as part of the conceptual armoury for the analysis.

3.5 Contestations, conflicts and counter-conduct

Discussing issues of contestation and conflict is intended to address some of the criticisms of governmentality approaches, which can contribute to a better understanding of the complexities and instabilities of government. Foucault's approach to working on these was historical. The present study builds on a relatively short time-span as the notion of shrinking cities emerged around the turn of the century and related discussions also only date back to times of German Unity in 1990. For this reason, a different approach needs to be developed in order avoid falling into the trap of 'ideal typification' of the complex assemblages of government (see Section 2.3). The particular focus on contestation and conflict also serves to provide a framework to conceptually counter these issues in a largely contemporary study.

Responding to critiques that governmentality approaches have rarely been linked to a 'critical politics' (O'Malley *et al.* 1997) and that governmentality studies focus too much on the view of the programmer, offering no space for 'escape' (Amin and Thrift 2002: 128, 108), this section critically explores the idea that analyses of government should pay more attention to 'messy actualities' (O'Malley *et al.* 1997). Two forms of critique can be distinguished in the governmentality literature: the first strand suggests that governmentality studies tend to neglect the 'effects' of government (O'Malley *et al.* 1997; Legg 2007) while the second strand maintains that rationalities and techniques/technologies of government are often messier than commonly represented (Valverde 1996; Stenson 1998). In examining both directions of critique more closely, the argument is made that a few concepts and approaches can be found in the governmentality literature to address these. It is argued that the notion of 'counter-

conduct' (Foucault 2007: 201-202) can be used to address issues of resistance, contestation and conflict as important aspects of the empirical analysis. Finally, the criticism that governmentality does not follow any inherent politics or is apolitical (Stenson 1998) is discussed and the potential for a critical politics in using a governmentality approach is explored.

3.5.1 'Messy actualities'

O'Malley *et al.* criticise a tendency in governmentality studies to focus too much on rationalities and technologies, which may in turn seem more coherent and stable than a closer attention to the complexities of 'messy actualities' of social relations would suggest:

Studies of government have constructed their theoretical object as one of political rationality and technologies, a restriction that precludes problematizing *effects*, and thus presumably eliminates the possibility of assigning costs to any mentality of rule. Thus, as long as we retain a set against examining "the messy actualities" of social relations, the diagnostic value of governmentality studies will be weak and the general modelling of critique on diagnosis will have marked limitations (O'Malley *et al.* 1997: 509, emphasis added).

A similar argument can be found in Legg's (2007) study of 'Delhi's Urban Governmentalities': 'while [Foucault] has an acute awareness of the geometry of power and the striations of social space, he underplays the messy aliveness of place' (Legg 2007: 15). To respond to this, Legg suggests focusing on place, employing a 'notion of space as a stubborn, alive and problematising medium' (Legg 2007: 17).

The concern that some governmentality studies do not attend to the complexities of government can be shared, however what seems to loom with 'messy actualities' and the 'messy aliveness of place' is an observation of a tendency that governmental rationalities and technologies are often represented as ideal forms, which should be confronted with messy realities on the ground in order to counter-play the ideal form. However, it can be argued that government is a messy actuality throughout and not only when it meets reality, or is 'implemented'. As an assemblage of diverse practices, which are worked on to present a coherence by rationality, government is real throughout - it is not something that is conceived of in a quiet chamber and then released to the world. In addition, it is not something 'pure' and ideal that gets 'messed up' in something like 'reality'. Government may thus be thought of as a messy actuality in itself. This,

however, needs to be rendered explicit, which is why an operation with some logic of implementation is misleading.

Instead of messy actualities in the sense of an effect or an implementation, the notion of ‘counter-conducts’ may be more useful because it shows that government can lead to all sorts of different unintended conducts. A discussion of the reasons to focus on instabilities of government shows that these enable the exercise of a particular form of critique.

3.5.2 Relations of power, resistance and ‘counter-conduct’

Resistance is commonly linked to a particular understanding of power, in which power is seen as oppressive or dominating and resistance is understood as the necessary means to ‘free’ people from this oppression or domination (for an overview, see Sharp *et al.* 2000). Resistance thus bears the promise of producing freedom and is for this reason, generally understood as something ‘good’; whereas power, in this logic, is understood as something ‘bad’. Moreover, power is often associated with ‘structure’ and resistance with ‘agency’ – with varying degrees of relations between them, which sometimes also represent critiques of this binary (see Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1986).

Governmentality works with different ideas of power and resistance, based on the notions of ‘relations of power’:

[W]hen one speaks of *power*, people immediately think of a political structure, a government, a dominant social class, the master and the slave... I am not thinking of this at all when I speak of *relations of power*... I mean a relationship in which one person tries to control the conduct of the other. So I am speaking of relations that exist at different levels, in different forms; these power relations are mobile, they can be modified, they are not fixed once and for all... in order for power relations to come into play, there must be at least a certain degree of freedom on both sides... This means that in power relations there is necessarily the possibility of resistance because if there were no possibility of resistance (of violent resistance, flight, deception, strategies capable of reversing the situation), there would be no power relations at all. (Foucault 2000b: 291-292, original emphasis)

Power relations are thus not predefined, but local, contextual and subject to change. Their constitution has to be analysed; it cannot be preconceived. Relations of power and the potential for resistance go hand in hand, which debilitates claims that Foucault’s

relations of power – especially in governmentality - are inescapable (Amin and Thrift 2002: 128). This involves a different understanding of freedom:

It is not, then, that studies of governmentality neglect resistance to programs of government, or to techniques for the shaping of conduct; what they do refuse is the idea of resistance derived from the analytical framework of agency versus structure that has haunted so much contemporary social theory. After all, if freedom is not to be defined as the absence of constraint, but rather as a diverse array of invented technologies of the self, such a binary is meaningless. But more than this, structure almost always implies limits to freedom and almost always implies some underlying logic or social force that has to be overcome in order that the structures be breached or transformed (Rose *et al.* 2006: 100).

In contrast, relations of power (and their analysis in particular) can be seen to emphasise the potential for change such as: ‘to contribute to changing certain things in people’s ways of perceiving and doing things; to participate in this difficult displacement of forms of sensibility and thresholds of tolerance’ (Foucault 2002b: 234). Practices of freedom can only exist when there is no state of domination – they can exist in power relations. If power relations are ‘blocked’ or ‘frozen’ and turn into situations or states of domination ‘instead of being mobile, allowing the various participants to adopt strategies modifying them... practices of freedom do not exist or exist unilaterally or are extremely constrained and limited’ (Foucault 2000b: 283). Resistance, understood in relation to this idea of freedom, is far from being romanticised (Keith 1997; see also Huxley 2008: 1649). If resistance is not understood as opposed to power or as the means to achieve freedom, it may be useful to look at it as a practice that is based on different governmental rationalities.

Foucault’s concept of ‘counter-conducts’ corresponds to the different forms of governmentality he analyses: ‘I have tried to show how the art, project, and institutions for conducting men, and the counter-conducts that were opposed to this, developed in correlation to each other’ (Foucault 2007: 355). Counter-conducts in this sense are inherent in assemblages of government. If assemblages of government change, what was previously considered a ‘normal’ conduct may turn into counter-conduct. Foucault’s (2007: 198) example of military desertion shows this:

Desertion was an absolutely ordinary practice in all the armies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But when waging war became not just a profession or even a general law, but an ethic and the behavior of every good citizen of a

country... when being a soldier was therefore no longer just a destiny or a profession but a form of [political and moral] conduct... you see a different form of desertion... Refusing to be a soldier... appears as a form of conduct or as a moral counter-conduct, as a refusal of civic education, of society's values, and also as a refusal of a certain obligatory relationship to the nation...

A once unproblematic conduct turns problematic because of changing assemblages of government. In some studies, the potential for 'counter-conduct' takes centre-stage such as in the Community Partnering Project in the Latrobe Valley, Victoria, Australia, which is based on the question:

[H]ow might subjects located in a predominantly single-industry resource region that has been devastated by processes of rationalization and privatization think about new regional economic futures when subjection to the Economy appears to be the most powerful and present determinant of their contemporary identity? (Gibson 2001: 639).

The concept of counter-conduct is not employed in Gibson's study, but a framework derived from Butler's (1997) concepts of 'subjection' and 'becoming', based on Foucault's understanding of power as both limiting (controlling, restrictive, oppressive) and enabling (productive, creative) (Gibson-Graham 2006: 23): 'A power *exerted on* a subject, subjection is nevertheless a power *assumed by* the subject, an assumption that constitutes the instrument of that subject's becoming' (Butler 1997: 11, emphasis added; quoted in Gibson-Graham 2006: 23). In the Community Partnering Project, the fine line between the two processes is explored: 'how [do] subjects "become" (that is, how they shift and create new identities for themselves despite the seemingly hegemonic power of dominant discourses and governmental practices)' (Gibson 2001: 641). In the theoretical frame of government as the conduct of conducts the question can be reformulated once again: how does counter-conduct appear?

This is a relevant question in the context of shrinking cities: Kil (2004), for instance, whose essay was mentioned in the Introduction (see Section 1.2.3) may be seen to pose a similar question. Is there a different form of life beyond growth? What forms of life does sustained shrinkage bring about? Yet, the difference to Gibson's concern is that for him, sustained shrinkage will eventually *require* a different form of life, which should, then, also be subsidised by the state in the same way as farmers are supported by the European Union when they do not continue to farm their land [*Stillegungsprämie*].

While counter-conduct can be understood as a tool or moment to examine how unstable government is – after all, government is not seen to necessarily bring about what it intends – it does not explicitly deal with the question of ‘so what?’ or ‘why do all this?’ To render explicit what has so far been implicit, the next section discusses the reasons for showing that government is assembled, unstable and thus changeable.

3.5.3 Instabilities of government and the role of critique

The trajectory of governmentality studies is different from many other research approaches because governmentality studies do not deliberately attempt to produce a prescriptive, normative outcome of ‘what is to be done’. Rather, in analysing the ways in which assemblages of government are formed and transformed, they formulate a specific critique of what is, and what has so far not been, questioned. But nevertheless, governmentality studies have been criticised for not employing a specific politics: Stenson (1998: 350), for instance, advocates a normatively committed form of governmentality studies, in order to ‘[renew] liberalism as the most civilized tolerant framework for living yet devised.’ This idea is not only based on a different starting point to liberalism from Foucault’s (see Section 2.3), it also suggests that governmentality studies should have a particular normative aim, which is alien to this analytical and empirical perspective.

However, a governmentality perspective does want to achieve something – and that is critique, which, for Foucault, is the starting point of transformation. It is necessary to provide some space to explore Foucault’s reasoning on this because it is central to understanding the way in which governmentality studies embody a critical perspective:

[I]t’s true that certain people, such as those who work in the institutional setting of the prison – which is not quite the same as being in prison – are not likely to find advice or instructions in my books that tell them “what is to be done”. But my project is precisely to bring it about that they “no longer know what to do”, so the acts, gestures, discourses that up until then had seemed to go without saying become problematic, difficult, dangerous... it seems to me that “what is to be done” ought not to be determined from above by reformers, be they prophetic or legislative, but by a long work of comings and goings, of exchanges, reflections, trials, different analyses (Foucault 2002b: 235-236).

A destabilisation of the ‘taken-for-granted’ opens possibilities for new practices, discourses and different ways of thinking: it is a practical approach to change, which

does not prescribe an ideal outcome, but contributes to incremental transformations and reforming ways of doing things by those who do them. The role of critique is pivotal for these changes as it can fuel processes of conflict, posing questions about the present ways of doing things. Critique, thus, is seen to have a value in itself:

The necessity of reform mustn't be allowed to become a form of blackmail serving to limit, reduce, or halt the exercise of criticism... Critique doesn't have to be the premise of a deduction that concludes, "this, then, is what needs to be done." It should be an instrument for those who fight, those who resist and refuse what is. Its use should be in processes of conflict and confrontation, essays in refusal. It doesn't have to lay down the law for the law. It isn't a stage in a programming. It is a challenge directed to what is (Foucault 2002b: 236).

The justification of critique lies in its ability to stimulate those who work on governing shrinkage in practice to think differently. This also means that solutions, such as 'what is to be done', are not provided by critique, but come from those who work on governing shrinkage in practice:

The problem... is one for the subject who acts... through which the real is transformed. If prisons and punitive mechanisms are transformed, it won't be because a plan of reform has found its way into the heads of the social workers; it will be when those who have a stake in that reality... have come into collision with each other and with themselves, run into dead ends, problems, and impossibilities, been through conflicts and confrontations – when critique has been played out in the real, not when reformers have realized their ideas (Foucault 2002b: 236).

Hence, change can come from each subject who acts: there are no preconditions such as freeing subjects from domination or bringing an end to capitalism. Change can start right now, yet, it will never be finished - there is no ideal to be reached because freedom is a practice. Yet, this does not mean that there is nothing governmentality studies can do. Dean (1999: 33) suggests that their trajectory...

... is not to make the transformation of these practices appear inevitable or easier, but to open the space in which to think about how it is possible to do things in a different fashion, to highlight the points at which resistance and contestations bring an urgency to their transformation, and even to demonstrate the degree to which that transformation may prove difficult.

The identification of these points is an empirical task. The aim is to do some form of what Foucault terms 'diagnosis' (see also: Rose 1999: 55-60):

It does not consist in a simple characterization of what we are but, instead – by following lines of fragility in the present – in managing to grasp why and how that-which-is might no longer be that-which-is. In this sense, any description must always be made in accordance with these kinds of virtual fracture which open up the space of freedom understood as a space of concrete freedom, i.e., of possible transformation (Foucault 1990: 36).

The aim, thus, is to enable people to change their world - it is not to say how the world is to be changed.

This section has shown that a focus on contestation and conflict in government can be useful in three ways:

(1) Rationalities of government and effects of government can be understood as messy actualities, that is government is messy in itself and not only in terms of its outcome. It is not particularly helpful to limit the messiness to the *effects* of government – government is also not as pure as a focus on rationalities may suggest – understanding government as an ‘assemblage’ highlights this.

(2) On the basis of better understanding the relationship of messy actualities as the effects of government lies a particular understanding of relations of power in which resistance is not seen as an escape from power and a means to achieve freedom, but as potential for counter-conduct. It can be argued that counter-conduct provides a more nuanced way of analysing intended and unintended effects and instabilities of government than the less specific messy actualities.

(3) Analysing the assemblages of government (with their instabilities) is a way to question the taken-for-grantedness of government. To figure out different ways of doing things is a matter of practice not of critique. Dean (1999: 37) emphasises this point:

All an analytics of government can do is to analyse the rationalities of resistance and the programmes to which they give rise and to make clear what is at stake and what are the consequences of thinking and acting in such a way.

Foucault’s method to achieve this has been historical analysis. This research seeks to show that in carefully attending to messy actualities, counter-conduct and a particular form of critique (as outlined in this section) this can also be achieved in a largely contemporary study. This claim requires careful attention in the next chapter, in which methodological issues that arise from these conceptual reflections are discussed. These

issues are not often addressed in contemporary analyses of government, which means that this is an area in which this research makes a contribution. However, before embarking on a discussion of the methodological aspects of this study, the conclusion presents a summary of the particular take of a governmentality perspective, which is employed in this thesis.

3.6 Conclusion

The research perspective of governmentality was introduced as based on the central notion of government at the intersection of power and subjectivity and technologies of power and forms of knowledge. Understood as an assemblage of practices, rationalities, techniques and technologies liberal governmentality fosters and works through the aspirations, needs and desires of individuals and not in the form of a coercive power.

In contemporary governmentality studies, there is a tendency to focus on liberal and advanced liberal forms of government. (Advanced) liberalism is in this context not seen as an ideology or political philosophy, but as a concern with governing too much, in order that individuals should govern themselves through their capacities for autonomy. However, a focus on (advanced) liberalism often ignores other forms of subjectivity that have not attained capacities for autonomy. This includes subjects that are seen to have lost their capacity to autonomous self-government or that need support to achieve this form of self-government. Subjects that have not (yet) attained capacities for their autonomous self-government may be in the majority; which questions the common perception of (advanced) liberal forms of government as relying on autonomous subjects (Dean 2007; Hindess 2001). This focus on the different subjectivities that government problematises or intends is considered particularly useful as it provides a critical tool for the analysis.

Spatial issues are an important aspect of the debates about the future of East Germany and also about shrinking cities, but are rarely critically examined. Rather, the way space figures in government such as in particular programmes that focus on specific spaces is often considered as natural or given. Space can be used as a technique or technology of government (e.g. statistics and mapping) and it can be an object or goal of government. To focus on the relationships that are drawn between certain spaces and their subjects means to look at spaces as certain vehicles to achieve particular effects. Governmentality can be used as a critical tool to examine these.

A focus on the temporal aspects of governing the future represents this study's main theoretical contribution. There is relatively little consideration of temporal rationalities in governmentality studies. The idea to develop this focus is based on observations from the shrinking cities literature. How long certain processes such as shrinkage are thought to last is, for instance, crucial as to whether cities are seen able to adapt to changes or whether they are constituted as having no future, e.g. ceasing to exist. In this context, the forecasted population loss can serve as a measure of security to determine the extent of demolitions. In addition, the temporal government of shrinkage can be based on certain historical-temporal readjustments: past, present and future can in these instances be realigned to form new developmental logics and also to render shrinkage explicable. Understood in this way, time is both malleable and calculable – it can, for this reason, be used as a critical tool for the analysis.

Some criticisms of governmentality studies argue that a focus on governmental rationalities produces a too stable and deterministic account of government as the conduct of conducts, and does not examine the conflicts and contestations that render explicit the instabilities of government. Foucault used a historical perspective to show the contingencies of government, but in a largely contemporary study it is argued that a focus on conflicts and contestations can help achieve a similar destabilising effect. It was argued that the notion of 'messy actualities' seems to suggest a logic of implementation of seemingly ideal forms of government, which are then complicated by the messy actualities on the ground. In contrast, it was proposed that government is messy and sometimes contradictory in itself and that rather than working with messy actualities, a focus on counter-conduct and conflicting rationalities, practices and technologies of government may be helpful in diagnosing instabilities of government, which can contribute to their transformation.

In sum, this study employs a governmentality perspective that is attentive to different forms of subjectivity implicated in different areas of governing the future of a shrinking city. A focus on conflicts, contestations, or plain failure renders explicit the otherwise often implicit instabilities of governing the future. Space and time are introduced as specific analytical tools, which – as spatial and temporal rationalities – can be considered to suggesting certain effects on subjects.

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The concept of problematisations and the research perspective of governmentality chosen to examine the government of shrinkage in Hoyerswerda, suggest certain methodological viewpoints such as scepticism towards things that appear as taken-for-granted truths in order to investigate how and why they emerged. Yet, it is important to examine in more detail the issues these conceptual considerations entail in terms of methodology and methods because some of the distinctness of Foucault's approach can only be revealed then.

Foucault frequently discussed methodological starting points and implications of his work. Most of his books, texts and interviews contain sections on methods and some are entirely dedicated to methodological considerations (Foucault 1974, 2003, 2002b, 1977). While there is no lack of source material, there is no step-by-step approach one needs to follow in order to do a Foucault-inspired study employing a governmentality perspective. Despite, or possibly because of, the range of methodological considerations in Foucault's writing, his approaches and concepts are often cited in studies that do not pay much attention to the particularities of his approaches.

[T]here is something rather strange in scholars who analyse contemporary verbal exchanges claiming Foucault as a methodological inspiration: the more clear the distance between their own analyses and the meticulous positivism of *The Archaeology of Knowledge* becomes, the more obvious it is that Foucault is being used to establish a certain authority and legitimacy rather than as the basis for a rigorous method (Soyland and Kendall 1997: 11).

This seems to suggest that there is a particular way of 'using' Foucault – or at least that there are certain tools and approaches one cannot dispense with when doing a 'Foucaultian' study (Kendall and Wickham 1999; O'Farrell 2005).

The important Foucaultian methodological tool of history, for instance, provides a challenge in the context of studying shrinking cities because the notion emerged only fairly recently. One of the issues that the methodological considerations in this chapter has to tackle is the question of how to keep the main characteristics of Foucault's approach while modifying or dispensing with some of its diverse aspects. The aim is to

retain what Foucault sought to achieve with his genealogical approach, while doing a largely contemporary study.

This chapter is structured in three sections, the first of which deals with the research questions and the formulation of the methodological approach of the study. The second section considers the methods used in this study; and the third section provides reflections on the research process.

4.2 Research questions, methodological approach

This section outlines the research questions and the principles and assumptions that inform the choice of techniques that were employed in the empirical work, the methodological approach, which is often related to ontological and epistemological issues (Lees 2003). Even though Foucault's work is commonly associated with a post-structuralist approach (Harrison 2006), Dean (1998: 183) argues, it sits uneasily in regards to ontology and epistemology: 'it is not possible to characterize [Foucault] as offering an account of how knowledge is or can be attained [i.e. epistemology], or of the nature of the reality to be known [i.e. ontology]'. Instead of engaging in situating Foucault in 'the topography of epistemology, ... that maps out positivisms, constructionisms, realisms, empiricisms, rationalisms' Dean (1998: 183) seeks 'to discover the type of map [Foucault] has drawn up and to learn how to read it.' This is what this section focuses on after outlining the research questions.

4.2.1 Research questions

This thesis started with the suggestion that the emergence of 'shrinking cities' in the German discourse on the future of East Germany can be seen as a problematisation. It showed that in the context of the emergence of shrinking cities, a range of other related discursive changes occurred. There was, for instance, a shift in the economic policy discourse, which suggested focusing state-investments on growth poles and a range of alternative discourses, which called for seeing shrinkage as a context that questions cities and ways of living in a more fundamental manner. The emergence of these discourses in relation to shrinking cities has rarely been questioned and neither have the assumptions on which the emergence is based, for instance, about the subjects and places of shrinkage, or of what shrinkage means and how the problem might be solved. The emergence, development and implications of different ways of dealing with

shrinkage can be analysed in a shrinking city. The research perspective of governmentality was introduced as providing useful tools for this analysis.

It was argued that while other theoretical approaches often used to examine processes of shrinkage, including frameworks of uneven development, neoliberalisation, globalisation and post-socialism, provide useful starting points, they often rely on particular assumptions about the causes and effects of shrinkage. Governmentality is equally concerned with how government is assembled by diverse practices, programmes, techniques and technologies, which are rendered internally consistent by certain forms of rationality; and how it works as a non-coercive form of power through the aspirations, needs and desires of subjects.

An examination of liberal and advanced liberal government provided more detail on the central link between subjects and government. In liberal forms of government, the subject is conceived of as autonomous and possessing capacities for self-government. However, as Hindess' (2001) and Dean's (2002, 2007) critical analyses of different liberal governmental subjectivities demonstrates, the autonomous self-governing subject is not the norm and liberal governmentality entails coercive rule over several categories of subjects not yet or no longer seen as, possessing sufficient capacities of self-government.

A focus on the spaces, times and conflicts in government was introduced based on the observation from the discourses about shrinkage in Germany, which are concerned with different spatial and temporal assumptions, such as shrinkage being a finite or infinite, or spatially bounded or boundless process. A governmentality perspective also shows how space and time are both problematised and put to work in projects of government with intended causal effects on subjectivities. In addition, government understood as an 'assemblage' is inherently unstable and prone to conflict.

On this basis, the following research questions were formulated:

(1) How is shrinkage governed in a city?

How do the rationalities, practices and technologies of governing shrinkage relate to space? How do the rationalities, practices and technologies of governing shrinkage relate to time? How do certain forms of subjects and subjectivity figure in governing a shrinking city?

(2) How do conflicts, contestations and counter-conduct emerge?

How is counter-conduct constituted? What role do spatial, temporal rationalities and subjectivity play here?

(3) How is shrinkage governed in Hoyerswerda and how is the government of shrinkage contested in this city?

The third question is answered in the three empirical chapters (Chapter 6-8), which deal with shrinkage as an issue to be managed (Chapter 6); as an issue to be overcome by initiating growth (Chapter 7) and with conflicts, contestations and counter-conducts that emerged in this context (Chapter 8). The first two questions can only be fully answered in the Conclusions (Chapter 9), in which the findings are considered in relation to the examination of the emergence of shrinkage in the debates about the future of East Germany and the wider literature.

The notion of a 'shrinking city' is relatively young, yet prolific in German urban discourses (see Chapter 1). And since this study is concerned with how shrinkage is governed in the city of Hoyerswerda, the empirical focus is based on a relatively limited timeframe: from the emergence of shrinkage as a problem in the late 1990s until the present – a period of about ten years. However, excursions to earlier periods of the construction and boom of Hoyerswerda's *Neustadt* in the 1950s to 1980s are made and also to the first years after German Unity, when the city began to lose jobs and people, but when shrinkage was not yet an issue that was widely problematised.

The way in which Foucault works historically needs to be examined in order to discuss whether and how similar effects can be achieved in a study that deals with a relatively recent problem such as shrinking cities. Furthermore, certain methodological approaches, such as problematisation, that characterise Foucault's work - but that, it can be argued, do not necessarily need to be applied historically - are explored.

4.2.2 History of the present

A discussion of the reasons, and the ways in which, Foucault used historical approaches provides an understanding of the role history plays in his analyses. Foucault's approach of a 'history of the present' is fundamentally different from other forms of historical analysis. It is based on different starting points from, for instance, the history of ideas or

social history. In doing a history of the present, the idea is not to *explain* how the present has emerged from the past, or ‘that the past actively exists in the present, that it continues secretly to animate the present’ (Foucault 1977: 146) as is common in much historical research, but to use the past to ‘diagnose’, and thus intervene in, the present. In this sense, Foucault uses history as a tool to show how things that are taken-for-granted today came about in particular, often accidental, ways, and that these things could for this reason also be different. This is particularly clear in his genealogical approach:

[T]o follow the complex course of descent is to maintain passing events in their proper dispersion; it is to identify the accidents, the minute deviations – or conversely, the complete reversals – the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us; it is to discover that truth or being do not lie at the root of what we know and what we are, but the exteriority of accidents (Foucault 1977: 146).

A history of the present is used to challenge and analyse past and existing orders (O’Farrell 2005: 61) and represents a problem-based, not period-based, approach to history. Past and present are seen to be in no specific relation, especially not a linear or functional one. In contrast, by doing a history of the present both peculiarities of past and present can be revealed. Rose (1999: 20) summarises the effect of taking this approach:

It is a matter of introducing a kind of awkwardness into the fabric of one’s experience, of interrupting the fluency of the narratives that encode that experience and making them stutter. And the use of history here is to that untimely end – it is a matter of forming a connection or relation between a contemporary question and certain historical events, forming connections that vibrate or resonate, and hence introduce a difference, not only in the present, but also in the historical moments it connects up with and deploys.

Both, past and present may appear as strange and contingently assembled, which also means they may both be changed.

The notion ‘history of the present’ comprises two different historical methodologies, archaeology and genealogy (sometimes also termed ‘history of thought’), which are briefly examined in turn. Archaeology (Foucault 1974) is commonly described as focusing on discourses or the conditions of possibility for discourses, whereas genealogy (Foucault 1977) focuses on a close relationship between knowledge and

power (O'Farrell 2005; Smart 1985). Similarities and continuities between the different approaches are often emphasised (Smart 1985: 47; Elden 2001: 160; O'Farrell 2005: 69). Foucault's own definition in *Dits et écrits* (1994; in: Elden 2001: 104) also highlights similarities between both approaches in how they relate to truth:

Archaeology looks at truth as a “system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of *énoncés*” [statements], whilst genealogy sees truth as “linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extends it.”

Whereas archaeology is concerned with the formation of discourses, genealogy also deals with the ways in which these are linked to power.

Archaeology should be understood as a technique of distanciation from familiar ways of forming statements about and within particular regimes of practices, and genealogy as a technique of denaturalization of these regimes of practices that leads to the construction of intelligible trajectories of the events, knowledges, processes, relations and forces that compose them (Dean 1998: 189).

It is most obvious in Foucault's (2001: 74) description of the ‘history of thought’ (a later way of terming genealogy) that the different approaches have problem-based starting points:

The history of thought is the analysis of the way an unproblematic field of experience, ... becomes a problem, raises debate, incites new reactions, and induces a crisis in the previously silent behaviour, habits, practices, institutions. The history of thought ... is the history of the way people begin to take care of something, ... – for example, about madness, about crime, about sex, about themselves, or about truth.

Foucault's approach to governmentality is based on a continuing usage of, and reference to, elements from both archaeology and genealogy (see particularly: Foucault 2008: 32 ff.).

From the foregoing discussion, it can be argued that the way in which the problem of ‘shrinking cities’ came about, around which a whole field of practices, debates and techniques evolved, may also be seen as a moment when people started to take care of something (e.g. the problem of vacant apartments; or the lack of growth). It may be seen as an instance that indicates a particular way of thinking about cities and also about

people in relation to cities. History, or more accurately genealogy, can be seen as a tool to destabilise what is rarely questioned. However, history does not work in isolation. What the examination of Foucault's history of the present shows is that history is always used in relation to other strategies. Two issues that play a part in most of his analyses, universals and events, are examined next.

4.2.3 Universals and events

Traditional history can be seen to rest on a particular relationship between 'universals' and 'events', in which universals serve to integrate disparate events into a coherent flow. Foucault rejects this function of universals on the basis of a particular theoretical and methodological decision:

Let's suppose that universals do not exist... How can you write history if you do not accept a priori the existence of things like the state, society, the sovereign, and subjects? It was the same question in the case of madness... If we suppose that [madness] does not exist, then what can history make of these different events and practices, which are apparently organized around something that is supposed to be madness? [This] is exactly the opposite of historicism: not... questioning universals by using history as a critical method, but starting from the decision that universals do not exist, asking what kind of history we can do (Foucault 2008: 3).

This can be seen as a call for suspending the 'glue' that keeps events, practices, truths and finally also history together. Part of this, as Kendall and Wickham (1999) suggest, is to look for contingencies instead of causes, in which an event does not occur as the inevitable single result of some previous events, but as a possible result among other potential outcomes and among other unrecognised conditions of possibility. This precludes thinking about history in terms of 'progress' and relates to a critical approach to time and the future: 'To use history in the Foucaultian sense is to use it to help us see that the present is just as strange as the past, not to help us see that a sensible or desirable present has emerged... or might emerge' (Kendall and Wickham 1999: 4)¹⁶.

¹⁶ O' Farrell (2005: 74-76) proposes a similar strategy of focusing on 'discontinuity and the event', which is based on Foucault's rejection of assumptions that continuity rests on. These include: (1) 'magical formulas' that explain change in traditional history such as tradition, cause, effect or influence; (2) the existence of an essential human nature; (3) the stability of objects and categories, that is rejecting the idea that certain processes are just waiting to be discovered; (4) the existence of a goal in history (e.g. the inevitable coming of a classless society); (5) the idea that there is constant progress; (6) the rejection of chance.

If things or certain developments are seen to derive from chance it is clear that they could also look different. However, to endorse chance does not mean that the way in which things came about does not matter. Instead, Foucault puts an emphasis on tracing ‘emergence’:

‘To show that things “weren’t as necessary as all that”... a breach of self-evidence... on which our knowledge, acquiescences, and practices rest... [involves] rediscovering the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of forces, strategies, and so on, that at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal, and necessary’ (Foucault 2002b: 226-7).

This approach to ‘causal multiplication’ means ‘analyzing an event according to the multiple processes that constitute it’ (Foucault 2002b: 227). The process of ‘eventalization’ and causal multiplication destabilise what seemed inevitable, ‘natural’ or ‘normal’ before. Events have a beginning and an end; they are singular. To focus on events means to look at things in their singularity.

Smart (1985: 139) also contends that in Foucault’s work there is ‘no place for an absolute form of rationality in terms of which existing historical forms might be criticized’ e.g. the general rise of ‘reason’. Instead, he maintains that Foucault engages in a ‘critical relativization of rationalities... analyzing the forms of rationality and historical conditions in and through which the human subject has been constituted and has constituted itself as the object of possible forms of knowledge’ (Smart 1985: 141).

The argument in support of the methods adopted in this thesis - dispensing with universals and instead focusing on events in their singularity – suggests that this approach does not necessarily have to be based on a historical analysis. The same applies to the notion of problematisation, which was briefly introduced in the Introduction to this thesis and which is discussed in more detail in the next section.

4.2.4 Problematisations

Problematisation is a notion that appears in Foucault’s late work in relation to (the history of) ‘thought’ and ‘regimes of practices’ (O’Farrell 2005: 69-70). In order to understand the different aspects of the concept of ‘problematisation’, Foucault’s reasoning in *Fearless Speech* (2001) is traced in detail because problematisation seem to be a particularly useful tool for studying governmental assemblages. The identification

of problematisations can, for instance, be understood as a ‘key starting point of an analytics of government... the moments and the situations in which government becomes a problem’ (Dean 1999: 27).

In defining what characterises a problematisation Foucault starts by emphasising the difference between social history such as studying past people’s behaviour and his interest in analysing the process of ‘problematisation’, which was guided by issues such as: ‘how and why certain things (behaviour, phenomena, processes) became a *problem*. ... while other similar forms were completely neglected at a given historical moment’ (Foucault 2001: 171, original emphasis).

Problematisations, in this sense, are productive: they create ‘problems’, they constitute certain phenomena as problematic. Hacking’s (2002: 106) analysis of ‘making up people’, in which he analyses the ways in which certain mental illnesses emerged statistically, for instance, is based on the premise that ‘a kind of person came into being at the same time as the kind itself was being invented’. Following this reasoning, multiple personality, for instance, was ‘made up’ around 1875. Before that only a few cases can be found in the statistics and after that a whole series.

Similarly, ‘shrinking cities’ did not exist before the turn of the 21st century. Cities lost population and economic decline took place, but these phenomena were not understood as bringing about ‘shrinking cities’. Until in 1999 a government funded commission found that one million apartments were vacant in East Germany and suggested that the federal state and *Länder* should intervene to help cities, and also housing companies, which were faced with bankruptcy (see also Section 1.2.1).

It is crucial that new categories and problematisations are not merely considered to be inventions, but are closely connected to the phenomena to which they refer and on which they have effects.

[I]t was precisely some real existent in the world which was the target of social regulation at a given moment... How and why were different things in the world gathered together, characterized, analyzed, and treated as, for example, “mental illness”? What are the elements which are relevant for a given “problematization”? (Foucault 2001: 171).

How and why were different things in the world gathered together, characterized, analysed and worked upon as shrinking cities?

Problematizations occur in relation to other processes, techniques, practices such as statistics - they are neither general, nor arbitrary. In this sense, problematizations can best be understood as ‘assemblages’; they can only exist in relation to other procedures, such as certain forms of knowledge, practices and techniques. Furthermore, a problematization can be described as an “‘answer” to a concrete situation which is real’ (Foucault 2001: 172), which still does not imply that it was the only or inevitable response:

[T]he fact that an answer is neither a representation nor an effect of a situation does not mean that it answers nothing, that it is a pure dream, or an “anti-creation.” A problematization is always a kind of creation; but a creation in the sense that, given a certain situation, you cannot infer that this kind of problematization will follow. Given a certain problematization, you can only understand why this kind of answer appears as a reply to some concrete and specific aspect of the world (Foucault 2001: 172-173).

There is no inevitability, and problematizations can change. The identification of a problem also already contains or presupposes an answer or solution, which is also not necessarily *the* answer or *the* solution. If a particular answer (problematization) is not considered as the inevitable or only logical solution, the context in which it consequently appeared as ‘natural’ or ‘normal’ can also be questioned. In this process, other answers (problematizations) become possible.

A focus on problematizations suggests examining how and why problems emerged. In relation to shrinking cities, one may acknowledge the reality of the phenomena that led to the problematization of shrinkage: cities lost population and jobs. Yet, it also implies different issues were problematized and given as solutions in relation to these phenomena: how to deal with shrinkage, how to deal with a lack of growth and how to deal with transformations that were considered as parts of this process. This also questions how cities became a focus and how urban policy developed into the main area of intervention with these issues. In certain contexts, however, population loss and economic decline might also be seen as ‘normal’ processes in a city, region or country, which do not require any intervention. If the problem of shrinkage in Germany had been assembled differently, the answer could also look different.

The foregoing discussion shows that in carefully examining the way in which Foucault uses history as a tool for his analyses one can argue that the intended effects of

destabilising what is taken for granted can also be achieved in a largely contemporary study. Yet, it is clear that in order to show how something like shrinking cities ‘came about’ and in order to show how this ‘coming about’ is contingent, one needs to examine some historical material – history cannot be dispensed with completely. For this reason, the rejection of universals and the idea that events are singular and not the logical effect of historical causes were examined in more detail. The notion of problematisation provides a focus in terms of the ‘moments’ to examine in the analysis of regimes of governing the future of a shrinking city: how problematisations were assembled and how they work in relation to other processes. Further considerations concern questions of how to identify problematisations and how to go about gathering adequate and relevant materials to analyse them – in short, they concern practical methods.

4.3 Methods

This section deals with the way in which problematisations can help in defining the focus of this study. It introduces how the city of Hoyerswerda was chosen as an ‘exemplar’ to study the emergence of shrinkage and discusses how problematisations can be worked with in a practical manner using elements of discourse analysis. Finally it suggests a range of source materials, which can be used to study problematisations.

4.3.1 The choice of Hoyerswerda as an ‘exemplar’

Hoyerswerda was chosen as an exemplar for this study not only because it is commonly represented as one of the most extreme cases of a shrinking city in the East German context (Glock and Häußermann 2004; O'Brien 2004), but also because urban regeneration practices in Hoyerswerda have been subject to discussion in the urban policy and academic literature on shrinking cities for some time (Kil 2001; Hain 2003). The interest in choosing an extreme exemplar was based on the observation that these cities were increasingly considered to have no future in the wider discourse on the future of (East) Germany (BifBE 2006). An additional reason to choose Hoyerswerda was that its shrinkage was presented as almost natural because it was one of the GDR’s Socialist Cities, which underwent rapid growth until the Wall came down. In sum, there were good reasons, but no necessity to take Hoyerswerda as an exemplar for this study.

Focusing on the way in which a particular problematisation emerged in a city and how it unfolded also entails considering the view beyond the city, which contributes to

revealing different problematisations and contingent spatial categorisations. The city was not considered in terms of being a container, but rather a more or less fragile conglomeration, which extends beyond and is also made up by, processes from outside the urban perimeter, for instance, national urban policies like *Stadtumbau*.

It is not expected that the way in which the future is governed in Hoyerswerda is generalisable; rather, the way in which research questions and theoretical framework are developed from the wider debates about shrinking cities in (East) Germany can be used in other studies. Exemplars may be seen as exemplifications or illustrations of a theoretical and analytical approach, for instance, in Foucault's historical studies. Hoyerswerda is used as a largely contemporary illustration of the emergence of shrinkage as a problematisation. Some of the findings may also suggest looking for similarities or differences in other cities. The way in which the future of a different shrinking city is governed may, however, be completely different, for instance, in terms of the way in which the government of shrinkage relates to the city's *Plattenbau* [prefabricated standardised GDR housing] areas. As analyses of Leinefelde, a small town in Thuringia, demonstrate (Richter 2006; Kil 2008), these areas can also remain important parts of the town and are not necessarily deemed 'artificial' or the sole location of problems as they are in Hoyerswerda (see Section 6.2).

In sum, the choice of Hoyerswerda as an exemplar for this study was based on considerations of how to limit the field of problematisations under consideration. The choice of a city is however also guided by a strong interest in the different battles that are being fought in cities to define what is thought of as 'their individual potential' (see Section 1.2). The issue of where problematisations can be found and how they can be analysed is examined in the next section, which focuses on the role of discourse analysis.

4.3.2 Discourse analysis

The problematisations that this study examines are based on particular focal points that were developed in the theoretical discussion in Chapter 3: spatial and temporal rationalities of governing shrinkage and how both relate to subjectivity. In addition, the issue of conflict between different spatial and temporal rationalities was considered as important to show the instabilities and implications of different forms of government, which may serve to formulate critique. The analysis of discourse can be seen as pivotal

to understanding governmental rationalities, even more so to understanding government. This is because discourse, in this context, is not understood as independent from practice or from the 'real', but rather as shaping and also being shaped by these non-discursive factors including subjects (i.e. the subject is not outside of it). Discourse, understood in this reciprocal way is a complex process, which the analysis needs to attend to. Being explicit about the kind of discourse that this thesis examines is based on a range of critiques in the literature on qualitative methodologies which claim that studies employing a notion of discourse are often not explicit about the kind of discourse they refer to (Lees 2004; Mills 1997).

Foucault did not conceive of discourse as a linguistic concept, but as a range of statements that were formed by the same system: '[D]iscursive formations emerge from a coherent pattern of statements that can be identified across a range of sources' (Waitt 2005: 176). Waitt (2005: 164) describes Foucault's approach to discourse as follows: 'he conceptualizes discourse within a theoretically informed framework that investigates the rules about the production of knowledge through language (meanings) and its influence over what we do (practice)'.

This definition can potentially lead to different approaches to discourse, which is also reflected in Tonkiss's (2004: 376; see also Potter and Wetherell 1987) remark that highlights the difficulty of providing a standard approach to discourse analysis:

This is partly because of the variety of frameworks adopted by different researchers, partly because the process tends to be "data-driven". However, while there are no strict rules of method for analysing discourse, it is possible to isolate certain core themes and useful techniques which may be adapted to different research contexts.

Waitt (2005: 180) suggests the following seven 'strategies to scrutinize the structure of discourse' drawing on G. Rose's (2001) approach to analysing visual material:

(1) Suspend pre-existing categories: examine your text with fresh eyes... (2) Familiarisation: absorb yourself in your texts. (3) Coding: identify key themes to reveal how the producer is embedded within particular discursive structures. (4) Persuasion: investigate within your texts for effects of "truth". (5) Incoherence: take notice of inconsistencies within your texts. (6) Active presence of the invisible: look for mechanisms that silence. (7) Focus on details (see also: Waitt 2005: 179-185).

These strategies are employed in this research as some of the following sections will show in more detail. Part of the difficulty of doing a discourse analysis, however, derives from choosing suitable material, and deciding which documents are considered particularly suited to the research in question.

4.3.3 Interviews, documents and other materials

A Foucaultian discourse analysis of problematisations is considered to require a wide range of materials because discursive formations of problematisations are constituted across a range of materials (Waitt 2005: 176). However, no matter how wide the range of materials, there need to be certain limits on where to stop gathering materials, not only for pragmatic reasons, but also in order to maintain a focus on the research questions. This section deals with how a strategy for the gathering of material was developed.

O'Farrell (2005: 77) suggests focusing on prescriptive or programmatic texts that describe what should happen or how people should behave. This seemed a useful starting point and urban policy documents, mission statements, official brochures and marketing material were identified with this in mind. In addition, based on the conceptual considerations of governmentality as a research perspective, a particular focus on the techniques involved in governing shrinkage, for instance maps, statistics and diagrams was also adopted. It was expected that the dominant rationalities of governing shrinkage could be identified in these documents.

However, a limitation of the material to these prescriptive or programmatic sources was considered to be too narrow because alternative approaches to governing shrinkage, conflicts and contestations, which represent the intended focus on the instabilities of government, were unlikely to be found in these documents. This is also reflected in Stenson's (1998: 348) observation that dominant governmental rationalities and practices, 'compete with a range of other social groupings whose agendas, networks and working practices may barely surface within the researcher-friendly world of formal texts'. In order to access alternative approaches to, and contestations of, government, it was decided to use semi-structured interviews with a range of actors that are involved in working on shrinkage in and beyond Hoyerswerda.

Interviews may be seen as a way to access alternative practices, as other studies that employ a research perspective that is at least partially informed by governmentality show: in Dikeç's (2007) study of revolts in French *banlieues* and Gibson's (2001) study of the former energy producing region Latrobe Valley in Australia, interviews are used to investigate particular aspects of government which are not covered by documents. Dikeç's study shows that the way in which *banlieues* are constituted in the French public debate and urban policy as 'menacing exteriorities' also means that activists' work is excluded from making a legitimate claim to government. Interviews with local activists help Dikeç support his argument that the revolts in French *banlieues* cannot be solely understood as acts of terror or violence, but can be seen as expressing wider demands for social justice. In this way, interviews provide access to views that are systematically eclipsed from the French urban policy discourse.

Gibson shows how particular regional subjectivities were constructed in the wider policy discourses about the threatened future of an energy-producing region in Australia. Interviews served to examine how residents of the valley were constituted, and constituted themselves, as subjected to 'the economy'. The interviews and group processes opened up potentials for different subjectivities by producing possible alternative discourses and subject positions.

Interviews, thus, seemed like an appropriate means of seeing ways of governing the city not present in the dominant ways of governing shrinkage.

However, there is a controversy about the use of interviews in Foucaultian research (Dreyfuss and Rabinow 1982; Smart 1985; Bastalich 2009), mainly associated with other methods of gathering material, such as archival work. The main issue of critique of using interviews in a Foucaultian study concern assumptions in terms of the research subjects on which choices of doing interviews are often based:

[S]ocial science has tended to be uncritical in its approach to human beings, studying their "self-interpretations or their objective properties as if these gave the investigator access to what was really going on in the world" (Dreyfuss and Rabinow 1982: 181). Where critical reflection and analysis has developed it has taken the form of a pursuit either of the deeper or hidden meaning lying behind or beneath individuals' self-interpretations, or alternatively of the fundamental background practices and structures on which objectification and social theory are themselves predicated. Either way it constitutes a pursuit of the origin which

according to Foucault's conception of genealogy is fated to remain unrealized and unrealizable (Smart 1985: 137).

Part of the problem with research interviews thus stems from understanding participants and other subjects as the bearers of a particular knowledge, which can be revealed through the research interview. The role of the research interview tends to be conceptualised as providing a distinct empirical material and insight in comparison to empirical material gained from other sources, as Bastalich (2009: abstract) contends: 'the research interview is not indicative of a deepening insight into the workings of culture, but is a part of a broader social technology for its reproduction.' The research interview, thus, cannot be considered as a means to access any hidden meaning.

In responding to these criticisms, the use of interviews in this study can be justified on the basis of methodological considerations in relation to uncovering alternative discourses, which would have otherwise been hidden. Interviews were thus not used to gain insight to the 'lived experience' of people in a shrinking city. Rather, participants were seen as partakers in, modifiers of and transmitters of, discourse.

In addition, it was assumed that interviews provided a point of entry to gather a wide range of material. Mostly, the participants offered a range of materials to the researcher. Both the interviews and the materials provided indications of further sources, which were then obtained. The research process was considered as a 'continuing building process' as opposed to a bounded period of 'data collection' (Waitt 2005: 177). Interviews also provided a way of avoiding the assumptions that the initial research questions are the only guide in the process of gathering documents. In meeting a wide range of participants, the range of potential access points to different documents was expanded.

This section has provided reasons for the choice of Hoyerswerda as an exemplar in which to study how shrinkage is governed. The role of discourse was considered in relation to other practices in order to support the identification of materials that this study draws upon such as semi-structured interviews, and various documents ranging from policy documents to marketing brochures.

The considerations so far concerned reflections prior to doing the empirical work. The rest of the chapter deals with reflections on the fieldwork and on the process of analysing and writing.

4.4 The research process

This section describes how the empirical material was gathered, it discusses the ways in which the empirical material was ordered, analysed and written up, which entails considerations in terms of the writing process, which is based on an argument for a critical engagement with translation. Finally, the issue of positionality is reflected upon.

4.4.1 Doing interviews and gathering documents

The empirical material on which this study is based consists of semi-structured interviews with different participants in and beyond Hoyerswerda who were identified as being involved in governing the future of the city, and different kinds of documents such as urban policy documents, marketing brochures, government mission statements, newspaper articles, flyers and other documentations of events in the city. The processes of interviewing and gathering documents are considered in turn.

Interviewing was an ongoing process from December 2007 to July 2009. Based on online searches of Hoyerswerda's city website and from reading a range of articles about the city, a list of initial potential participants was collated. The main criterion for choosing participants was their involvement in shaping debates and practices about the future of the city. The chosen participants were either professionally involved in making a future for the city such as the Mayor and former Mayor of the city, or as employees of the City Planning Department or the Development Agency; or they were involved because of a position they had, such as members of the City Council, which in a city of Hoyerswerda's size is based on a honorary basis (i.e. elected, but not paid). Moreover, members or heads of certain clubs or associations were chosen or people involved in particular cultural projects that dealt with shrinkage in the city.

In addition to covering those involved in governing shrinkage in Hoyerswerda, respondents were sought in the regional and *Länder* planning administrations and development agencies, in order to understand more about the approaches to shrinkage that came from beyond the city boundaries. This was based on the assumption that the government of the future of Hoyerswerda was not only shaped by local discourses and practices, but that different practices and discourses from regional and *Länder* institutions also impinge on these. This extended the circle of places in which interviews were held to Bautzen and Dresden, which is where regional and *Länder* administrations and development agencies are based.

For the first rounds of interviews, several people and institutions in Hoyerswerda were contacted by email, starting with all political Parties with seats on Hoyerswerda's City Council (*Die Linke*, *CDU*, *Freie Wähler Stadtzukunft*, *SPD*). In addition, the head of the Technology Centre was contacted, the planning department of the region and several others (for a full list of respondents, see Appendix One). Ensuing contacts were made on the basis of 'snowballing'. In order to reduce the risk of entering a largely homogeneous circle of participants (Browne 2005), the basis of the snowballing was relatively diverse and was interspersed with contacting new participants directly. In the interviews, conflicts between different groups and institutions which were working towards futures for the city were mentioned frequently as were problems that were encountered for the city in terms of its future (see Chapter 8). Based on these conflicts and problems, additional participants outside the initial circles were contacted.

Towards the end of the interviewing period, a few participants were chosen who were closely involved in shaping debates about the future of East Germany in order to explore with them what their arguments meant for a city like Hoyerswerda. Participants contacted in this way included the Head of the Institute for Economic Research in Halle, who created the only map of growth poles (BMVBW 2005: 25; Rosenfeld *et al.* 2006b: 25); Rainer Land, a member of the network for East Germany research who published extensively on issues of 'fragmented development' in East Germany (Land 2003, 2006; Land and Willis 2006a, b); and Tobias Koch and Markus Kaiser from the consultancy firm Prognos who had important roles in the publication of the *Future Atlas of Germany* (Prognos AG 2004, 2007) in which Hoyerswerda had one of the lowest ranks. In addition, Wolfgang Kil, an architectural critic was contacted because of his involvement in some of the first urban events in Hoyerswerda and his numerous publications on the city (Kil 2001, 2003), and also because of his contributions to the wider debates on shrinking cities (Kil 2004).

All interviews were semi-structured and open ended, based on a list of themes, including questions about what participants and their institutions or associations do; what role they consider themselves, or their institutions, to play in the government of shrinkage in Hoyerswerda; what they think about the role of other institutions; what they consider as problems in terms of the city's future; how they relate to public debates about the future of East Germany; and what they think a place needs in order to have a future. Some aspects of the themes according to which the interviews were held were

adapted to fit the specific role of the participant. In total, 28 participants were interviewed, four of who were interviewed twice and one three times. Repeated interviews were held when the researcher was not able to address all the themes in the first meeting, or to clarify certain issues that did not occur to me in the first instance.

Contacting participants and making dates for the interviews was surprisingly easy and no potential participant declined to take part, although two interviews did not take place because there was not enough time. At the interview, participants received further information about the research before they agreed to take part (see Appendix Two). Whether participants wished to remain anonymous or granted permission to use their names was clarified on a consent form (see Appendix Three). All interviews were recorded with a digital voice recorder and downloaded to a computer. Notes were also taken at the time.

Most interviews were fully transcribed in the months after the fieldwork by the researcher. However, four were transcribed by a German-speaking former student of Sheffield Hallam University supported by additional funding from the Graduate School of the University and the last four were only partially transcribed because of a lack of time. The only changes made to the language while transcribing were some minor adaptations to High German and the introduction of punctuation. With durations between 65 minutes and three hours and an average length of about 100 minutes, the transcription process was lengthy. The time needed to finish the transcriptions was greatly underestimated. After finishing the transcriptions, all interviews were printed and archived, according to the different groups of participants. In addition to the transcripts, each research visit was also accompanied by field-notes in which the most striking observations of each day were recorded, including further documents or other materials that needed to be obtained or ideas for further interviews.

Participants were very accommodating and offered a range of materials based on their expertise and on what they considered important. For example, when interviewing the Regional Development Agency, I received marketing plan, a range of marketing brochures and a typical presentation of the Development Agency; when interviewing the Mayor of Hoyerswerda, I was given the mission statement of Hoyerswerda (Stadt Hoyerswerda 1999/2000), the then current *InSEK* (Pb. Gröbe 2003) and also several marketing brochures; when interviewing the head of the art society, *Kunstverein*, I was granted access to the Brigitte Reimann archive, which was significant because Reimann

(1933-1973), one of the most famous authors of the GDR lived in the city from 1960 to 1968 and was involved in early critiques of *Neustadt*. The archive did not only comprised a range of old newspaper clippings from Brigitte Reimann's time in the city, but also several brochures and documents about the construction of the city, as well as post-Unity newspaper clippings and brochures. In short, the interviews generated a wide range of useful documents.

An initial reading of the interviews and the documents helped establish the chronological order of events in Hoyerswerda's urban history, and also the dates of publication of urban policy documents. Missing materials were identified and then gathered. This included newspaper articles, for which I selected particular events, for instance, a cultural project, which was mentioned repeatedly in the interviews. Two aims accompanied the selection: firstly, to learn more about some important moments, which were not necessarily covered in other documents; secondly, newspaper articles were seen as another means to gain access and to understand aspects of contemporary public opinion at different times.

In this way, a rich archive of different resources was gathered, on the basis of which an in depth picture of the different events, urban policy strategies and several practices and conflicts was established. This was the starting point of the analysis although the process of ordering, analysing and finally also writing partly went hand in hand with collecting and gathering the material.

4.4.2 Ordering, analysing and writing the empirical material

A critical stance towards all kinds of order that O'Farrell (2005) identifies as one of the main points of Foucault's methods suggests a need for reflexivity in relation to introducing order in one's own research materials, because this has implications for the analysis and for what one finds. In reflecting on the process of ordering that can be seen to include issues of analysing and writing the thesis, this section also responds to emerging criticisms in literature on qualitative research methodologies that processes of 'sifting and ordering' have so far received relatively little attention, but tend to appear as self-evident (Cloke *et al.* 2004: 215-246; Crang 2003). Sifting and ordering, however, can only be seen as one part of the sense-making, which also requires some considerations of the 'nuts and bolts' of doing the analysis so that findings are not

represented as ‘emerging’ miraculously from the material (see e.g. Jackson 2001; Waitt 2005).

Certain issues of ordering are commonly addressed in qualitative research methodologies. They address the nature of the emerging themes from the empirical material (inductively); or the empirical material can be confronted with certain categories, into which it can then be structured (deductively) (Cloke *et al.* 2004: 216). The first is generally associated with an explorative, grounded theory approach and the second with a more positivist starting point. In this research, a mixture of both is evident. Certain ideas of how to order and structure the material were derived from the literature on shrinking cities in East Germany and on governmentality, others developed from the material.

The distinction between approaches to managing shrinkage, initiating growth and alternative approaches, which also structures the three empirical chapters (Chapters 6-8), for instance, was derived from the wider literature on shrinking cities (see also Section 1.2). However, this was not a simple deductive process in which the empirical material was forced into preconceived categories. The distinction between managing shrinkage and generating growth and alternative approaches was also found in the field, which can be taken as an indication that three different problematisations of governing shrinkage have also developed locally. The empirical material was ordered according to these three distinct, but one should emphasise, not always totally separated, fields.

A further way of ordering the material was based on a close analysis of the problematisations that occurred across a range of semi-structured interviews and documents in relation to the future of the city. Sections that dealt with the characteristics of spaces, times and subjectivities were marked in interviews and documents. It became clear that certain issues of space, time and subjectivity were repeatedly problematised by the participants in relation to the future of the city. Certain areas were considered as problem spaces, others were understood to bring about positive characteristics in the population. Specific parts of the population were seen to be too passive in making a future for the city, so that they were almost considered a barrier to this future. Particular times in the city’s history were considered conducive, and others detrimental, for the future. In addition, attention was paid to conflicting approaches and the points at which they diverged. Based on problematisations and apparent conflicts between different problematisations that were found in the empirical material, first drafts of findings were

produced, in which the German material was for the first time translated into English, which raised a few reflections.

4.4.3 Translating critically¹⁷

The fieldwork for this thesis was carried out in German, but since I am a native German speaker, language was not the problem at this point in the research process that it can be for researchers who undertake studies in cultures not their own. However, the moment of translating the analysed material into English provided a rich source for reflections on the methodological implications of translation for this research.

In its conventional sense, translation is not necessarily considered an issue of methodological concern, when it is considered as ‘the replacement of text in a source language by text in a target language *equivalent* in meaning’ (Müller 2007: 207, original emphasis). Yet, ‘full’ equivalence of meaning is difficult to achieve (see also: Catford 1965) especially if the meaning is richer in the target or the source language. In this context, Müller (2007: 208-209) calls for a critical translation practice, which pays attention to the conceptual and contextual specificities:

[C]onventional translation is... deeply de-politicizing: it glosses over the political act of exclusion involved in any kind of translation... uncritical translation naturalizes the translated text as an objectivity which came into being in the course of a seemingly unpolitical act... In order to achieve a translation mindful of its political and hegemonizing effects, researchers must tease out the political element in their translations. The aim of critical translation in this sense would not be to fashion “better” translations through achieving a higher degree of equivalence but rather to destabilize and denaturalize the hegemony of the translated text.

Critical translation provides the opportunity to ‘politicize’ where conventional translation is ‘de-politicizing’. An examination of two examples taken from this research - the notions of ‘shrinking cities’ and ‘*Plattenbau*’ - shows this.

The notion of ‘shrinking cities’ [*schrumpfende Städte*] (see Section 1.1.1) has rarely crossed the language boundary between the Anglophone and German-speaking world (cf. Cochrane 2006a; Pallagst *et al.* 2009). In the UK, for instance, a similar notion does

¹⁷ An earlier version of this section appears in a published paper of mine (Gribat 2009a).

not exist in urban policy, urban geography or other literature. This is not to suggest that because the political, social and cultural context in the UK and Germany are different they therefore ‘produce’ different concepts. There certainly is difference, but even though some of the phenomena, like population loss and economic decline, are shared by cities in different cultural contexts, the ‘shrinking city’ way of seeing the world seems to be specifically German¹⁸. Yet, one of the key issues of dealing with a notion such as ‘shrinking cities’, is to be clear about the extent of generalisability. Part of this is to consider whether they represent a distinct form of cities, or as Cochrane (2006a: 373) suggests, can be ‘incorporated in a broadly neoliberal scenario’ and understood as extreme examples of a category of ‘the weakening mature city coping with ageing’ (Hall and Pfeiffer 2000: 143-153). In introducing the notion as a problematisation, an alternative reading is suggested, based on examining more closely how and why shrinking cities emerged in Germany (see Section 1.2). This does not foreclose the consideration of this notion in relation to other interpretative frames - for instance, neoliberalism (see Section 2.2.2) - but it seeks to deal with the notion in its specificity.

The notion *Plattenbau* can be translated as ‘prefabricated concrete slab building’, yet it specifically refers to the industrialised and standardised building types of the GDR, and subsequently in many cases, to areas constructed solely of this building type. Even though similar kinds of buildings also exist in West Germany, France, Sweden and other parts of Europe, they are never referred to as *Plattenbau* or *Platte*, which is, thus, more than a style of construction. As a notion it carries a whole range of connotations (Hannemann 2005; Richter 2006) in the same way as other notions in different language contexts, for instance, ‘council housing’ in the UK or ‘*banlieue*’ in France (Dikeç 2007). To simply translate *Plattenbau* as ‘industrialised building type of the GDR’ captures but a fragment of the politically charged content of this notion. In providing more contextual information political implications and connotations of this notion are emphasised (see also Section 5.2).

Another example is how regeneration practices of demolishing empty housing in *Stadtumbau* are talked about. Different terms are frequently used in Hoyerswerda’s urban policy discourse, which all suggest different takes on the process of shrinkage.

¹⁸ In recent years, there were several attempts to place ‘shrinking cities’ in a wider international (academic) context (see Pallagst *et al.* 2009). However, the notion has not yet reached a similar extent of spread in any other national urban discourse (see also discussion in Chapter 1, Section 1.2.3).

The notions include the fairly destructive ‘demolition’ [*Abriss*]; the neutral notion of ‘removal’ [*Entfernen*]; the technical term of ‘deconstruction’ or ‘building-back’ [*Rückbau*], which suggest an orderly process; the notion of ‘restructuring’ [*Restrukturierung*], which puts the emphasis on change and finally ‘melting down’ [*Abschmelzen*], which suggests a natural process. Without providing an explanation that all these terms are used interchangeably to describe the process of demolishing houses, confusion may arise. In the text, it was aimed to translate these terms as closely to the original as possible, however, references are sometimes made to what is meant: demolition.

Practical considerations for the writing process can serve to support the reflections of this section. Most importantly, this concerns the visibility of the source language in the target language text. Müller (2007) suggests making the reader ‘trip’ over in the translated text, in using the original foreign language notions in the text and in making the translation process visible where necessary. Throughout the thesis, key notions are therefore kept in German and the German original of the source texts is provided alongside of contextual and conceptual reflections (for an extended discussion of these issues, see: Gribat 2009a).

In this way, translation can be used to make explicit the otherwise implicit political content of text. Translating in this manner is to a certain degree a creative act: it literally creates something new in also questioning the source language meaning. Furthermore, it provides an opportunity to render the interpretation process more visible, which can also lead to new ideas about one’s own language: ‘Hybrid spaces of research between “home” language and the “foreign” language can open new spaces of insight, of meaning which dis-place, de-centre the researcher’s assumption that their own language is clear in its own meaning’ (Smith 1996: 163). Translation in this sense can become a productive process, in which the use of different languages is no longer seen as restrictive and problematic, asserting insurmountable differences between different scholarly traditions, but merely as vehicles, which carry the potential for productive friction and liberation: ‘[A]s a writing strategy [a focus on translation] demands that differences, tensions and conflicts are explored, not as problems, but as spaces of conceptual and indeed political opportunities and negotiations’ (Smith 1996: 165).

4.4.4 Positionality

For participants of the study it was often an issue to find out where I came from (literally): the East or the West, which reflects an issue of public concern in which *Wessis* (West Germans from FRG) and *Ossis* (East Germans from GDR) are still considered to have an antagonistic relationship (Roth 2004; Kollmorgen 2007). For participants, the quest to find out where I came from was related to assumptions as to what I could be expected to know: ‘It is difficult to explain... He [also from the East] understands me, he knows what I mean. As a Westerner you won’t understand’¹⁹ (Interview, Baumeister, architect and curator, 12/12/2007). Baumeister talked about a certain atmosphere in the City Council, which reminded her of the times in which the GDR Unity Party ruled. *Wessis* (West Germans) do not know about these issues from first hand experience, but even without any experience of these times, what matters more in relation to this comment is that it is based on establishing a specific historical continuity between GDR times and the present. This continuity goes against a common historical periodisation, which distinguishes between a socialist, undemocratic City Council rule of the Socialist Unity Party until 1990 and a democratic City Council rule by *CDU*, *Die Linke* or other Parties after 1990. In addition, the question of where I came from was also related to certain assumptions about how *Wessis* relate to and behave towards *Ossis*, derived from post Unity experiences in Hoyerswerda, when planners and architects, but also one of the first post-Unity Mayor came to Hoyerswerda from the West to introduce the new West German administrative system and when most ways of doing things that were established in the GDR were rendered invalid.

Further considerations concern power relations between researcher and researched, in which the researcher is often seen as being in a more powerful position, which requires him or her to take particular steps to ameliorate the implications, not least by reflecting on them. A few examples from this research can be used to support a suggestion that this relationship is far more ambiguous than often acknowledged (see also Rose 1997). Two different experiences, firstly in connection to the local interest that this study generated, and secondly in terms of the expectations of how this study may also help the city to overcome some of its problems, highlight this.

¹⁹ Das kann man jetzt schlecht erklären... Er versteht mich, er weiß was ich meine. Das wird man als Westler nicht verstehen (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/2007).

In some cases, participants made use of the interview meetings for their own purposes: One of the participants brought along the local TV reporter and cameras. Others published a note about the interview on their website alongside a picture of the interview situation. One note stated that after meeting several other parties in Hoyerswerda, Ms. Gribat was surprised to hear that the Association City Future and the Free Electorate see the future of the city positively. This could have been interpreted to mean that I had said that all other parties had pessimistic outlooks, which could have been damaging for these parties and also for myself, as I could have been seen to reveal information about other interviews. Whether or not experiences from interviews such as these were published (and in which media) was beyond my control, mainly because I did not reflect on it beforehand. However, most clearly, these incidents showed that it is naive to presume that the researcher is the only one who wants to make use of a particular situation.

In other situations, I was also addressed directly in the hope that I would provide a different, good story for the city that could encourage the local inhabitants. The assumptions that went along with this are contained in the following illustration:

An outsider has a neutral view on the city, its history its present situation and of course its future chances... [If] one can deliver this and one can say for this reason: the city actually has a future - enough has been done, if you continue like this... Well if you [could do something] in this direction, Ms Gribat, that would be an encouragement for those who read it and that are our people, our own people²⁰ (Interview, Brähmig, former Mayor, 31/01/2008).

There is a hope that research, employing 'a neutral view' finds out that things are not so bad after all and therefore can contribute in making a difference locally. On this occasion and in other situations when I was tapped on my shoulder with the words that I would tell a different story of the city, I explained that my research had a different aim. Yet, these situations led to sustained reflections on the role and necessity of feeding back to the researched.

²⁰ [E]ine Außenstehende Person [hat] einen sachlicheren Blick auf die Stadt, ihre Historie, ihre gegenwärtige Situation und natürlich auch die Zukunftschancen... [Wenn] man das mal mit rüber bringt, und mal aus diesem Grund auch sagen kann: die Stadt hat durchaus ihre Zukunft. Es sind genügend Dinge schon geleistet worden, wenn man das weiterführt... Also wenn sie in der Richtung, Frau Gribat, [etwas machen könnten] dann wäre das, ist das auf jeden Fall ein Mutmacher für den, der es liest und das sind unsere Leute, unsere eigenen Leute (Interview, Brähmig, former Mayor, 31/01/2008).

When invited to talk about my research at an event on the occasion of what would have been Brigitte Reimann's 75th birthday, I used the opportunity to reflect on the difficult role of critique and critics in the city today in using Brigitte Reimann's legacy. Today, Reimann is considered a clear-sighted critic of the construction of Hoyerswerda *Neustadt* who predicted the difficult position of this part of town at a time when it was booming. Yet, when *Neustadt* was constructed, Reimann's critique was controversial. My presentation ended with a question: 'Who is today's Brigitte Reimann?' – and furthermore: how does the city deal with critique and critics (for a longer version of the argument, see Gribat 2009b).

The reflections on the research process dealt with the activities of gathering material for this study, an important aspect of which was a range of semi-structured interviews with those involved in governing shrinkage in and beyond Hoyerswerda. In addition, the ways in which the gathered material was ordered, analysed and written up were considered, based on analysing the different ways in which certain issues were problematised and how conflict emerged. The ensuing writing process entailed further reflections on the role of translation. Finally the section reflected upon issues of positionality, which arose from being a West German, but also an outsider more generally in an East German study context.

4.5 Conclusion

The methodological considerations, approaches and tools discussed in this chapter aim to work against what Law (2006; 2004) calls 'reproducing common sense realism'. In discussing Foucault's historical methodologies, which serve to destabilise taken-for-granted-truths of certain regimes of practices, and in showing how contingent they came about, the main direction of the chapter was set. In this context, Law's (2006; 2004) claim that research methods are often to blame for reproducing this realism needs to be qualified: not all research methods reproduce common sense realism and some (especially Foucault's) aim to examine how versions of common sense realism were assembled. If 'truth' is understood not as a metaphysical question, but as a regime that is as assembled, the emergence and assemblage of other 'truths' becomes possible.

This chapter dealt with an examination of how and to what ends Foucault used historical approaches, i.e. genealogy and archaeology, in order to determine how some of these functions could be accommodated in a largely contemporary study. A historical

approach can be seen as a measure to destabilise the taken-for-grantedness of past and present social practices and to show how contingently certain ways of doing things have been formed. To dispense with universals, the idea of the singularity of events was introduced as countering the tendency to view things as logical continuities or developments. These considerations were summarised in a more detailed examination of the notion ‘problematism’, which represents the main methodological tool of this study. It is used to examine how certain things, for instance, the future of particular cities, shrinkage, or vacant flats were constituted as problems, whereas other issues such as large-scale unemployment was not problematised in the same context.

In terms of methods, the choice of the exemplar of the city Hoyerswerda was justified enabling a focus for the research and the collection of material. To get a sense of the material needed for this study, the role of discourse and discourse analysis was briefly examined. The reflections on the research process provided a detailed account of how interviews were done and materials gathered and how they were ordered, analysed and written up. This entailed reflections on the practice of translation and some thoughts on my role in relation to the study and the researched.

The next chapter introduces the city Hoyerswerda and provides a necessary context for the following three empirical chapters.

5 Hoyerswerda, an exemplar of a shrinking city

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides context and background material for the shrinking city of Hoyerswerda, which was chosen as an exemplar for the empirical analysis of this thesis. Hoyerswerda is located 160 km south east of Berlin and about 60 km east of Dresden (see Figure 5.1). It is part of the *Land* Freestate of Saxony [*Freistaat Sachsen*] and of the County Bautzen [*Kreis Bautzen*].

Figure 5.1: The location of Hoyerswerda



source: Nina Gribat (own drawing)

Hoyerswerda is one of the fastest shrinking cities in Germany (O'Brien 2004; Glock and Häußermann 2004: 922). At the end of 2009, the city had 38,218 inhabitants (Statistisches Landesamt des Freistaates Sachsen), almost 30,000 fewer than 20 years before when the Wall had just come down (31.12.1989: 67,881 inhabitants, Staatliche Zentralverwaltung für Statistik): a loss of more than 40%.

The city was chosen as an exemplar not only because of its strong post-Unity population loss, on the basis of which it often serves as an illustration for cities that are considered to have no future in the German public discourse (BIfBE 2006 - see Chapter 1), but also because of the variety of debates that have unfolded around the city's future throughout its history (Hain 2003; Kil 2001; Reimann 17/08/1963).

The next two sections follow the common historical periodisations of Hoyerswerda and examine firstly the development of Hoyerswerda from a small rural town into the Second Socialist City of the GDR and secondly the developments since German Unity. The ways in which shrinkage emerged as a problem in Hoyerswerda are discussed; as with different debates at a national level (see Chapter 1) three different problematisations can be distinguished in the context of shrinkage in Hoyerswerda. The chapter concludes by outlining the structure of the three subsequent empirical chapters.

5.2 From small rural town to Second Socialist City

From 31 August 1955, the development of Hoyerswerda cannot be seen in isolation from the industrialisation and urbanisation policy of the GDR: it was the day on which the foundation stones were laid for the construction of the coal based Energy Centre of the GDR and for the construction of a new town in Hoyerswerda to house the workers of the nearby Energy Centre. This decision meant that the town, which had so far been relatively quiet, would be transformed: Hoyerswerda was to become the Second Socialist City after Eisenhüttenstadt, a city built for the country's iron works, which was the GDR's First Socialist City.

This section traces the post-war development of Hoyerswerda. It examines how the new Energy Centre of the GDR developed and how Hoyerswerda *Neustadt* was planned and constructed. In addition, this section shows how an early critique emerged in relation to the construction process of the new town.

5.2.1 The new Energy Centre of the GDR

In the mid-19th Century coal was detected in the area of Hoyerswerda and this gradually turned into the main economic source just before the First World War (WWI) (Förster 1992; Heinrich 1998). Until the Second World War (WWII) extraction of coal was undertaken by private businesses, first manually and later with increasingly industrialised means. The related workforce, which in the first years consisted of former

farmers and increasingly also of people from other areas, was either housed in sheds close to the mines or in the neighbouring villages or towns (Förster 1992).

After WWII Germany was divided into the Soviet Occupied Zone (SOZ) and the Zone of the Western Allies: Hoyerswerda was situated in the Eastern-most part of the SOZ. In 1949, the SOZ became the socialist state of the GDR with a centrally planned economy. Hoyerswerda, at that time, was part of the government district of Cottbus. In the early years of the GDR, the decision was made that the coal mining area close to Hoyerswerda should develop into the Energy Centre for the whole country. At the heart of this development was the industrial district 'Schwarze Pumpe', approximately 15 km north-east of Hoyerswerda (see Figure 5.2), where coal-processing plants were to be located and which were to be fed by the surrounding open cast coalmines.

Figure 5.2: Schwarze Pumpe



source: Hempel *et al.* (1992: 7)

The Energy Centre was constructed from 1955 and became a *Kombinat* [people-owned combine²¹] in 1958. Energy production began in 1959 and the *Kombinat* expanded over the years in different organisational structures. Sometimes the mining was, for instance, included in the *Kombinat*, at other times it was a separate enterprise (ESPAG 1993). In 1980 the 40.000 workers of *Gaskombinat Schwarze Pumpe* produced 87% of the city gas that was needed in the GDR, most of the smokeless fuels, 45% of coal briquettes, and 11% of the electricity (ESPAG 1993: 47). In short, the Energy Centre was the most important location of energy production in the GDR, to an extent that if there was an accident or a problem in production it affected the supply of the whole country (ESPAG 1993).

The plans and construction of the *Kombinat* ran in parallel to the construction and expansion of Hoyerswerda's new town [*Neustadt*].

5.2.2 Plans for *Neustadt*

The state owned design office for urban and rural planning in Halle was commissioned in 1954 to find a suitable location for the 'second socialist city' to house the workers of the energy producing industries in Schwarze Pumpe. The office chose Hoyerswerda and the institute for district-hygiene assessed different locations around the existing town. The decision was made to extend Hoyerswerda north-eastwards because there was no coal under the ground in this area, the ground was suitable to build on and there were favourable relations to the old town [*Altstadt*] of Hoyerswerda and to the *Kombinat* (Durth *et al.* 1998a: 488).

Plans were made to 'round up' Hoyerswerda's *Altstadt* with 1,000 apartments and to build 7,000 apartments in a new town - *Neustadt*. At the time Hoyerswerda had 5,500 existing apartments, which meant that the new city would have a maximum of 48,700 inhabitants (Durth *et al.* 1998a: 488). A final decision about the location of the second socialist city in Hoyerswerda was made by the Council of Ministers on 23 June 1955

²¹ Since the 1980s *Kombinate* were the basis of the East German economy (Jeffries and Melzer 1987). There were more than 150 centrally directed *Kombinate* in the GDR and almost 100 directed from the district level. Each *Kombinat* consisted of an average of 20 to 40 enterprises and employed an average of 25,000 people (Bryson and Melzer 1987: 52). '[S]ocialist industrial units were multifunctional units where the physical production of goods was just one activity among others and most often not the central one. Other functions fulfilled by socialist industrial units included the provision of social services to their members (housing, hospital, kindergarten, culture club, vacation homes, etc.) and the exercise of strict political control' (Röller and von Hirschhausen 1996: 3).

(Durth *et al.* 1998a: 488) and three state offices of planning from different districts were commissioned to draw up the initial plans.

In contrast to the first socialist city, Eisenhüttenstadt, in which construction began in a Stalinist socialist-classicist style in 1950, Hoyerswerda's urban design was based on different principles (Durth *et al.* 1998a: 491): extravagance was considered outdated, increasing focus was laid on industrialised means of construction, and less emphasis was put on ideologically inspired features in the city such as the construction of representative state buildings and parading grounds. This was influenced by the changes in the Soviet Union, which were characterised as destalinisation, after Stalin died in 1953. Numerous conflicts between the different architects involved in the planning and design of Hoyerswerda ensued, with the Central Committee of the GDR repeatedly called in to negotiate (Durth *et al.* 1998a: 491-495).

The first new districts of about 1,000 apartments were built adjacent to the existing old town without much planning between 1955 and 1961 (see Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3: Extensions of *Altstadt* 1957

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source: Pb. Gröbe (2008)

The means of construction which were used in these initial areas were largely traditional. Only for the construction of later blocks in this area were prefabricated blocks used instead of normal bricks (see Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4: Construction with large blocks

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source: Biernath (2005: 30)

However, for the main *Neustadt* extension of Hoyerswerda, an area on the opposite side of the river was chosen and an urban design competition was held based on the plans that the initial three offices had produced. The guiding principles of the competition (Kümmel 1998: 243) were: (a) to secure affordable housing and living conditions for the population; (b) to use industrialised and mechanised methods of construction; (c) to achieve the highest level of economic efficiency; and (d) to coordinate the urban design of the new town.

The winner of the urban design competition, the state owned design office for urban and rural planning in Halle, proposed a scheme based on a 'Magistrale' – a major road, running north to south as the backbone of the whole development - and a distinct town centre for the new town around which seven 'housing complexes' [*Wohnkomplexe, WKs*] (Durth *et al.* 1998a: 500-505) were arranged (see Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5: Winning design of *Neustadt*, 1956

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source: Durth *et al.* (1998b: 537)

Each *WK* was a small self-sufficient unit of between 3,500 and 4,000 inhabitants, designed on walking distances. There was no through traffic on the narrow roads in the housing complexes. Through traffic was directed to the wider roads between the different *WKs* and to the '*Magistrale*' (Kümmel 1998). Each housing 'complex' was planned to have its own social and cultural institutions such as pub, shop, post office, school, kindergarten, and hairdresser (Kümmel 1998: 243)

The winning design of Hoyerswerda was received enthusiastically, as a newspaper cutting from 1956 shows (see Figure 5.6). On this basis the construction of Neustadt began in 1957.

Figure 5.6: ‘This city becomes dead right’

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source: Kümmel (1998: 241)

5.2.3 Construction of *Neustadt*

Neustadt was constructed consecutively one *WK* after the next. Progress in construction was dependent on the building techniques, which became increasingly industrialised and faster. Construction in *WK1&2* began in 1957, still using big blocks. In 1955, the first plant for room-height concrete slab production [*Platte*] in the GDR had in fact been built next to the city, but it took until after 1957 to develop the proper techniques of using these large slabs to build blocks of flats (see Figure 5.7). Windows and different kind of installations were all fitted in the factory, so that the finished walls [*Platten*] only had to be stacked and welded together at the construction sites. The radius of the cranes that were needed to assemble the *Platten* increasingly determined the urban design (see Figure 5.8) because it was not efficient to change the tracks of the cranes too often.

Figure 5.7: Prefabricated slab construction

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source: Biernath (2005: 34)

Figure 5.8: Construction of a *Plattenbau* building in Hoyerswerda

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source: Kümmel (1998: 242)

Once the *Plattenbau* technique was developed, GDR architecture was almost entirely based on these industrialised techniques of building. To achieve high levels of efficiency, ‘types’ of houses, schools, restaurants and offices were developed and were then produced and assembled all over the country. Each type had different characteristics, for instance, double-pitched roofs or flat roofs; balconies or not; a bathroom with a window or without.

WK1&2 were finished in 1964 using Type P1, which meant that the blocks had double pitched roofs. Construction speeded up noticeably afterwards: *WK3* was constructed between 1959 and 1961; *WK4* between 1961 and 1963; *WK5* between 1962-1964; *WK6* between 1964 and 1965; and *WK7* between 1966 and 1967, using the same Type P1 (see Figure 5.9).

Figure 5.9: Hoyerswerda's urban form around 1965, including *WK 1-7*

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source: Pb. Gröbe (2008)

Construction focused on housing and directly related facilities to satisfy the high demand. The residential blocks were four, five, seven, eight or eleven storeys high, while service facilities, like schools, kindergartens, pubs and restaurants were mainly located in one to two-storey bungalow-style, but nevertheless standardised, buildings. All flats in the new town were provided with central heating, hot and cold water. The facilities that catered for the everyday needs of the *WK*'s inhabitants were provided close by.

The initial plan for seven housing complexes was fulfilled, yet the plans to build a centre for *Neustadt* were postponed for a long time. The space that was reserved for the construction of the centre remained empty. It was only in 1968 that the first building on this empty space was finished: a department store. The city grew strongly, so by the time the department store was built, Hoyerswerda had almost 60,000 inhabitants (see Table 5.1). The lack of services and cultural institutions was criticised from early on (see Section 5.2.4).

Table 5.1: Population growth in Hoyerswerda in times of *Neustadt*'s construction

year	inhabitants
1957 ²²	12,349
1960	24,549
1965	43,922
1970	59,144
1975	67,120
1980	70,705
1985	69,670

source: *Staatliche Zentralverwaltung für Statistik*

However, demand for housing was sustained because the *Gaskombinat* needed more workers. Plans were made to build more *WKs* for a city of 75,000 inhabitants. Existing *WKs* were also extended (see, for instance, extensions 1e, 3e and 5e in Figure 5.10).

Figure 5.10: Hoyerswerda's urban form in 1990, including *WK1-10* and centre

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source: Pb. Gröbe (2008)

²² Numbers from *Staatliche Zentralverwaltung für Statistik*

Hoyerswerda's *Neustadt* finally consisted of 10 *WKs*, built consecutively, varying slightly in the types of *Platten* that were used. A new Type with a flat roof, called P2, was used in *WK8* (construction: 1966-1972) and *WK9* (1963 – 1975). In *WK10* (1986-1990) a new type, *WBS 70*, also with a flat roof was used. In addition, several high rise apartment blocks were added in the centre of *Neustadt* in the 1970s due to sustained housing needs for workers of the Energy Centre. Often the difference in style is the result of the development of building techniques and economic reasons. As a tendency, the first housing complexes had more landscaping with smaller blocks and later the housing complexes became denser with less landscaping and bigger blocks. Over time, due to economic pressures the quality of buildings was reduced, with the last houses built having the lowest quality.

The centre of *Neustadt* remained largely empty. Except for the construction of the department store in 1968, no other big construction projects took place in here. In 1977 construction of the theatre [*Haus der Bergarbeiter*, today: *Lausitzhalle*] began, but it was not finished until 1984. Due to the lack of public service provision, especially in terms of culture and leisure, several initiatives were started by the inhabitants themselves such as a zoo, an art society [*Kunstverein*], and a cinema (Interview, Mrs. and Mr. Schmidt, *Kunstverein Hoyerswerda*, 11/12/2007).

Hoyerswerda *Neustadt* can be seen as a city of experiments in terms of construction. Newly developed techniques of industrialised construction of housing were tested from the start. As a result of these experiments in construction, Hoyerswerda's built environment is like an inventory of GDR architecture (Biernath 2005). Every housing type ever produced in the GDR can be found in Hoyerswerda. 75 % of the housing in Hoyerswerda is industrially constructed *Plattenbau* (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 30).

However, at the centre of most debates on Hoyerswerda are the extreme changes in its population: from around 8,000 in 1955 to a peak of around 71,000 in 1981. The growth of the city in pre-German-Unity years was staggering. In the first ten years after the laying of the foundation stone for *Neustadt* the population rose from around 8,000 inhabitants to almost 44,000; in the ten years thereafter, it reached more than 67,000. By the time the wall came down the city still had almost 68,000 (see Table 5.1):

Initial population growth was fuelled by an influx of mainly young people from all over the GDR, attracted by the jobs in the industrial district. Hoyerswerda's new town

provided good living conditions with its modern housing stock and childcare facilities. In the 1960s the average age of the population in Hoyerswerda was just 21.

There were several films about the construction of city, for instance, the documentary film ‘A city is born like a child’²³ of Maxie Wander from 1975/76. The analogy of the construction of *Neustadt* with a birth of the city was widespread at the time:

A small town, which had been almost forgotten for centuries, in a completely underdeveloped area, has come to life in 20 years. As an important industrial centre of our republic it has a secure and firm perspective. Hoyerswerda is an old, but very young city. Officially recorded for the first time in 1209 the city only began to really live in 1955 when the government of the GDR decided to build Hoyerswerda as a new town²⁴ (Palinske 1975: 714).

However, there were also a few critiques of the construction, which are examined next.

5.2.4 Reimann’s critique of *Neustadt*

Brigitte Reimann (1933-1973), one of the most famous authors of the GDR, lived in Hoyerswerda between 1960 and 1968 as part of a programme that aimed at bringing artists closer to the workers. During her time in the city, she was an active critic of the standardised and industrialised construction of *Neustadt*, as her diaries and an exchange of letters with Henselmann, one of the most prolific architects of the GDR who was also involved in the construction of Hoyerswerda, show (Reimann and Henselmann 2001; Reimann 2004, 1998a). The most detailed critique, however, is in her unfinished novel *Franziska Linkerhand* (Reimann 1998b), which was originally published in 1974, shortly after Reimann died. The novel is about a young and enthusiastic architect, Franziska Linkerhand, who comes to the city to contribute to literally building a socialist society and who becomes more and more disillusioned by the construction of *Neustadt*.

Reimann also worked on her critique publicly, while living in Hoyerswerda, for instance in the local newspaper, in an article entitled ‘Remarks on a New Town’

²³ Eine Stadt wird geboren wie ein Kind.

²⁴ Eine jahrhundertlang fast vergessene kleine Stadt in einem wirtschaftlich völlig unterentwickelten Gebiet ist seit 20 Jahren zu neuem Leben erwacht. Als wichtiges Industriezentrum unserer Republik hat sie heute eine gesicherte und feste Perspektive. Hoyerswerda ist eine alte und doch sehr junge Stadt. 1209 erstmalig in einer Urkunde erwähnt, begann die Stadt erst 1955 wirklich zu leben. In diesem Jahr wurde von der Regierung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik der Beschluß gefasst, Hoyerswerda als eine neue Stadt aufzubauen (Palinske 1975: 714).

(Reimann 1963, 17/08: 6). Reimann's article responded to a small series in the newspaper in which one of her comments at a meeting of the GDR National Assembly was published: 'Can one kiss in Hoyerswerda?'²⁵ (Schmidt and Fugmann 1963, 11/05: 6). The journalists encouraged people to answer this question, which resulted in a range of mostly rather literal responses: people were happy to kiss in Hoyerswerda or elsewhere. In response to this, Brigitte Reimann clarified that her question aimed at wider issues such as a lack of intimacy and atmosphere in the city:

Every city that grew naturally has its own smell, its own colour, and its architecture exhibits its own magic: the view from the Weidendammer Bridge in Berlin offers a different feeling from the sight of the Dresden Zwinger or the Wenzel Square in Prague, the Karl-Marx Allee or the new opera house in Leipzig. We live in a city of a construction kit: a dead straight main street, dead straight side streets, standardised houses, standardised pubs and eateries (you can never be quite sure, in which one of them you are sitting), standardised department stores²⁶ (Reimann 1963, 17/08: 6).

Her concern was to achieve change, 'Hoyerswerda is still young and one should get involved in time to warn, consult and intervene in order to correct the situation'²⁷ (Reimann 1963, 17/08: 6). The most important task, for her, was to keep in mind that 'people live in those flats, they need more than an indoor bath and central heating'²⁸ (Reimann 1963, 17/08: 6). She concludes her article by expressing her desire for more public conversations about the organisation and construction of the city. The editors added an appeal for people to comment: Councillors, architects and planners were especially encouraged to send their letters.

In the following weeks, many letters were published, some in favour of what Reimann wrote, others critical of it. Proponents of the construction tended to put their emphasis on achievements in the construction of the city, i.e. the number of apartments, schools, roads and pubs, and they also asked for more patience in the development of the city. In

²⁵ Kann man küssen in Hoyerswerda?

²⁶ Jede Stadt, die natürlich gewachsen ist, hat ihren eigenen Duft, ihre eigene Farbe, und ihre Architektur besitzt einen unverwechselbaren Zauber: Der Blick von der Weidendamm Brücke in Berlin vermittelt ein anderes Gefühl als der Anblick des Dresdner Zwingers oder des Wenzelplatzes in Prag, der Karl-Marx-Allee oder des neuen Opernhauses in Leipzig. Wir leben in einer Stadt aus dem Baukasten: eine schnurgerade Magistrale, schnurgerade Nebenstraßen, standardisierte Häuser, standardisierte Lokale (man ist nie ganz sicher, in welchem man denn nun sitzt), standardisierte Kaufhallen... (Reimann 1963, 17/08: 6)

²⁷ Aber Hoyerswerda ist noch jung und man sollte rechtzeitig warnen, beraten und korrigierend eingreifen (Reimann 1963, 17/08: 6).

²⁸ ,in den Wohnungen leben Menschen, die mehr brauchen als bad und Fernheizung' (Reimann 1963, 17/08: 6)

particular, the comfort of living is mentioned. Rudolf Hamburger, one of the architects for instance, stated that the construction of *Neustadt* is also based on achieving different urban practices and qualities. In relation to shopping, he explains: ‘We have to develop different qualities in a city than to look at shops’²⁹ (Hamburger 1963, 30/09). Points of critique that were frequently raised by people who supported Brigitte Reimann, included the lack of things to do in one’s leisure time, the monotony of construction and several other points. In short, there was a lively debate on the positive and negative aspects of *Neustadt*.

In post-Unity debates in Hoyerswerda, Brigitte Reimann’s critique is used as a proof that something was wrong from the start with the way in which *Neustadt* was built. Brigitte Reimann is in this context being hailed as clear-sighted, as someone who has predicted the difficult situation of the city at a time when the city was growing and developing rapidly. Parts of the following extract from *Franziska Linkerhand* (Reimann 1998b), when Reimann lets the heroine speculate about the future of *Neustadt*, was, for instance, used as a description of the current situation of the city in Kil’s (2001) essay:

[F]or the first time [Franziska Linkerhand] thought about the transience of this settlement with a kind of cold *Schadenfreude*. Its life which will be shorter than that of a gold diggers’ town: the children of the roller-skaters will already work in strange towns when the teeth of dredges hit the bowels of this city and the blocks collapse in smoke and dust.

And the waters will rise and boats with white and orange sails will glide over the squares and quarters of this town, Vineta without bells...³⁰ (Reimann 1998b: 500-501).

As the next section shows, post-Unity developments in Hoyerswerda started out with different ideas about the future of the city than the demolition of *Neustadt*.

²⁹ ,Wir müssen neue, andere Qualitäten in einer Stadt entwickeln, als in Lädchen zu gucken’ (Hamburger 1963, 30/09).

³⁰ [Z]um ersten Mal dachte sie mit einer Art kalter Schadenfreude an die Vergänglichkeit dieser Siedlung, ihr Leben, das kurz sein wird, wie das einer Goldgräberstadt: die Kinder der Rollschuhfahrer werden schon in fremden Städten arbeiten, wenn Bagger ihre Zähne in die Eingeweide dieser Stadt schlagen und die Blöcke in Rauch und Staub zusammenstürzen, und die Wasser werden steigen und Boote mit weißen und orangenen Segeln über die Plätze und Viertel der Stadt gleiten, Vineta ohne Glocken... (Reimann 1998b: 500-501).

5.3 Post-German-Unity developments

When the Wall came down in 1989 and when German Unity was enacted in 1990, it was not clear how this would affect the city of Hoyerswerda even though economic decline started to appear very early on in the restructuring of the Energy Centre. There were hopes and assumptions that new investment could come and that the restructured economy could start to grow again, but there were also different insecurities and frustrations, some of which led to xenophobic riots in Hoyerswerda in the summer of 1991 (Pollack 2005).

Less than one year after the German Unity a mob of neo-Nazis attacked foreign workers' homes and an asylum seekers' centre in Hoyerswerda. Sections of the local population supported the rioting neo-Nazis and for six days the situation was out of control. As a result of extensive media coverage, but also because it was one of the first cities in which racist and xenophobic riots took place in East Germany, Hoyerswerda became known as the neo-Nazi city in and beyond Germany. This image was persistent for Hoyerswerda, whereas other cities where similar incidents took place such as Rostock and Mölln have not gained such lasting negative connotations (Pollack 2005).

However, Pollack (2005) shows that Hoyerswerda was more suitable than most other cities for this neo-Nazi stigmatisation of the mainly western media because of its mixture of strong economic decline, the loss of a perspective and also the construction history, which then represented bleakness and something typically East German.

This is the context in which this section examines post-Unity developments in Hoyerswerda: shrinkage was not yet problematised in urban policy. It gives a very brief overview of the economic, social and administrative changes and provides a short introduction to the pre-shrinkage urban policies and construction practices.

5.3.1 Economic, social and administrative transformations

The restructuring of the GDR started even before German Unity was legally executed. In July 1990 the Social, Monetary and Economic Union was implemented (see also Section 1.2): the German Mark [*Deutsche Mark*, *DM*] was introduced as the official currency in the GDR; the centrally planned socialist economy of the GDR was transformed into the social market economy of the FRG; and the social systems of West Germany were introduced in the GDR. All the *Kombinate* and people-owned businesses

[*Volkseigener Betrieb*] were privatised and GDR companies which had produced for the Comecon [*RGW*], an economic organisation of several communist states, similar to the European Economic Community, were suddenly dealing in *DM*, which was not affordable to their former customers.

The restructuring of *Kombinat Schwarze Pumpe* began some months before German Unity when Energy Works Schwarze Pumpe AG [*ESPAG*] was created as a new privatised company out of the former *Kombinat*. The *Kombinat* was not simply replaced by the *ESPAG*, but only certain parts of the wide-ranging areas of work were continued. In the following years, other companies were hived off from *ESPAG*, and others closed (*ESPAG* 1993: 198). In short, mining and related industries in the area of Hoyerswerda were strongly affected by these transformations. Many companies were closed down and tens of thousands of workers and miners were made redundant. Yet, because of the many restructurings and different transitions, it is difficult to tell how many workers were made redundant when (Interview, Opitz, *Traditionsverein Schwarze Pumpe*, 09/07/2009). Mining still takes place in the area and energy is still being produced, but with modern machinery and with a modern power plant it does not provide work for tens of thousands of people, but only a few hundred.

Most of the people who lived in Hoyerswerda worked in the coal extracting and refining *Kombinat* or related businesses. In comparison, relatively few jobs were located within the city limits. However, there was a construction *Kombinat*, which amongst other things planned and built the Energy Centre as well as *Neustadt*. Additionally, a big dairy was located in Hoyerswerda and several other People-owned Businesses had branches in the city (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004). These were closed down. Today, the biggest employer in Hoyerswerda is the hospital with 800 employees, followed by public services (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 21).

In addition to economic transformations, the administrative system of the GDR was abolished, including the districts. The *Länder* system, which had been in place before WWII, was restored. In the GDR, Hoyerswerda and *Schwarze Pumpe* were part of *Bezirk Cottbus*, but after administrative restructuring the inhabitants of Hoyerswerda voted to be part of the *Land* Saxony. *Schwarze Pumpe* was split between Saxony and Brandenburg and the *Länder* border now runs through the industrial district of *Schwarze*

Pumpe.³¹ Within a few months, Hoyerswerda had not only lost its industrial basis and regional spatial identity, but also its administrative and historical connections with Schwarze Pumpe.

Unemployment soared after Unity and continued to remain at a high level (see Table 5.2). The jobs that were lost in mining and energy production were not replaced.

Table 5.2: Unemployment statistics Hoyerswerda

year	unemployed	percentage
1996 ³²	5,954	20.1%
2000	6,562	24.5%
2005	4,290	21.6%
2009 ³³	3,006	17.4%

source: pb gröbe – HY/SV HY (2008e: 44) and website Hoyerswerda unemployment (see Appendix Four)

Many people left the city to find work elsewhere. In the first ten years after Unity Hoyerswerda's population decreased by around 15,000 people, and in the years since 2000 by more than 10,000 (see Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: Post-Unity population statistics Hoyerswerda

year	population
1990	64,888
2000	50,203
2005	42,607
2009	38,218

source: website Hoyerswerda population³⁴ (see Appendix Four)

³¹ Further administrative restructurings included that Hoyerswerda became part of the Region *Oberlausitz Niederschlesien* [Upper Lusatia – Lower Silesia] in which it takes the role of an *Oberzentrum* together with Bautzen and Görlitz. This is the most central place status and it is usually reserved for bigger cities. Yet, in this relatively sparsely populated area, there was no single city which could have fulfilled this role alone and Saxony decided that Bautzen, Görlitz and Hoyerswerda should cooperate on this level to fulfil the *Oberzentrum* role.

³² Numbers for 1996-2005 are taken from *InSEK 2008* (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008e: 44)

³³ Most recent numbers are from Hoyerswerda's city website (see Appendix Four)

³⁴ Numbers from Statistisches Landesamt des Freistaates Sachsen

Population loss is an aggregate measure of so-called ‘natural’ losses (see Figure 5.11) and ‘spatial’ losses (see Figure 5.12). Natural losses represent the measure of births (see blue line) against deaths (see red line). Spatial losses represent total in-migration (blue hatched line) and out-migration (red hatched line).

Figure 5.11: ‘Natural’ population development, deaths and births

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source: Hoyerswerda website, see Appendix 4

Figure 5.12: ‘Spatial’ population development, out-migration and in-migration

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source: Hoyerswerda website, see Appendix 4

Figure 5.12 shows that Hoyerswerda tended to lose fewer people due to out-migration in the last five years. In the same period of time, losses due to ‘natural’ population development (Figure 5.11) increased.

The pattern of how far people moved changed over the years. In 1990 only 16.4% of all the people moving away remained in Saxony whereas 83.6% moved beyond the *Land* boundaries. In 2000 43.7% of all people moving away remained in Saxony and only 56.3% moved beyond the *Land* boundaries (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008e: 23). The numbers thereafter remained more or less the same with 46% remaining in Saxony in

2007 and 54% moving beyond the boundaries of Freestate of Saxony (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008e: 23).

Population loss has a side effect: the average age rose strongly in Hoyerswerda, from 35.2 years in 1990 to 48.3 years in 2007 - 13.1 years in total, which makes Hoyerswerda the city that ages most strongly in Saxony (Statistisches Landesamt des Freistaates Sachsen 2008). These changes were not reflected as strongly in urban policy and construction practices, which only changed moderately.

5.3.2 Changes in urban policy and construction

Before population loss, vacant housing and demolition emerged on the policy agenda at the end of the 1990s, urban policies in Hoyerswerda tended to aim at ‘correcting’ the shortcomings of GDR urban planning and construction. The *Altstadt*, which was neglected in GDR times, was regenerated; and efforts in *Neustadt* were directed towards completing the centre, which had never been developed as planned when the city was constructed. In addition, the older blocks and streets were renovated (Köllner 1998).

A shopping mall opened in the centre of *Neustadt* in the 1990s (see Figure 5.13) and a leisure swimming pool was constructed at the outskirts. For some years, there were even plans to extend the mall.

Figure 5.13: Hoyerswerda, urban form 2004

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source: Biernath (2005: 79)

85.9% of housing in Hoyerswerda was constructed and owned by the state in the GDR. Privatisations after German Unity meant that this housing is now owned by two housing companies: the housing association [*Wohnungsgesellschaft mbH Hoyerswerda*] and the housing cooperative [*Wohnungsgenossenschaft Hoyerswerda eG*] (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 30). 90% of all apartments in Hoyerswerda are for rent and 91% are in blocks with more than three apartments (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 30).

The pre-fabricated standardised construction of *Neustadt* contributed to Hoyerswerda's stigmatisation because after Unity *Plattenbau* areas were considered as a representation of a failed construction policy in the GDR (Hannemann 2005: 14). Since most of Hoyerswerda's housing stock is *Plattenbau*, it is known as the *Plattenbau* city, even though it also has an old and in parts picturesque town centre, with some medieval buildings, a castle and several churches. Some links are even made between the popular

interpretation of the ‘Neo-Nazi city’ and the *Plattenbau* City: they tend to be represented as the main ingredients for the imagined lack of a civil society, backwardness and xenophobia – and as Pollack (2005: 15) claims, Hoyerswerda was suitable for this stigmatisation more than any other city in East Germany, not least because of its monotonous *Plattenbau* scenery³⁵.

At the time, urban policy and construction practices aimed at ‘normalising’ the situation in Hoyerswerda, particularly in *Neustadt*. An international urban design competition ‘From Housing Estate to Urbanity’³⁶ (Stadt Hoyerswerda 1998), for instance, which was held in 1997 aimed at finding ways of restructuring *WK8* so that this area would be ‘more urban’, that is more diverse and more liveable. Most buildings were to be retained, but new elements were to be added. Only a few years later, shrinkage was problematised in a different manner - as something that could not be overcome easily.

In sum, the foregoing discussion briefly highlighted the amount and depth of changes that occurred in Hoyerswerda as part of the transformation after German Unity. Even though almost everything changed in a relatively short period of time, there was a belief that the city could find a new role. The different projects of construction in post-Unity Hoyerswerda, for instance, indicated that there were hopes that economic development would put an end to population loss, and that the shortcomings of the construction of *Neustadt* such as a lack of services and cultural facilities could be resolved in the new system. The urban design competition ‘From Housing Estate to Urbanity’ in 1996 shows this clearly: the idea was to modify and diversify *Plattenbau* areas by introducing new urban forms.

However, soon after, continued population loss and economic decline were seen to require more radical changes and adaptations locally.

³⁵ ‚Hoyerswerda - das ist ein Begriff, der um die Welt ging und zum Synonym für die militante Ausländerfeindlichkeit der Ostdeutschen wurde. Zu einer solchen Stigmatisierung eignete sich Hoyerswerda wie kaum eine andere ostdeutsche Stadt, läßt sich doch an ihr problemlos jener Zusammenhang von sozialistischer Prägung, kleinbürgerlicher Normativität und Perspektivlosigkeit aufzeigen, aus deren Mischung, wie man sich gern vorstellt der ostdeutsche Fremdenhass hervorgeht. Man braucht nur ein Bild von der Trostlosigkeit der im Quadrat gebauten Neubauviertel, von der Dramatik des sozialstrukturellen Umbruchs und des Arbeitsplatzabbaus in der einst vom Braunkohletagebau profitierenden Region und von den geistigen Hinterlassenschaften des Sozialismus zu zeichnen, um jedermann klarmachen zu können, daß dies der Boden ist, auf dem Ausländerfeindlichkeit und rechtsradikale Gewalt gedeihen‘ (Pollack 2005: 15).

³⁶ ‚Von der Wohnsiedlung zur Stadt‘

5.4 Problematisations in post-Unity discourses

As discussed in Chapter 1, shrinkage only emerged in the wider German discourse around 2000, when a government funded expert commission published a report with suggestions to initiate an urban policy programme to help municipalities with urban regeneration and in demolishing their vacant housing stock (see Section 1.2.1). In Hoyerswerda, issues such as which role the city could take and what should happen with the high rates of vacancies were raised earlier. This section examines three moments, which sum up the local practices of dealing with shrinkage at the time: (1) the publication of the Urban Development Concept (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999), which sought to manage shrinkage; (2) the publication of the Mission Statement (Stadt Hoyerswerda 1999/2000), which aimed at defining a new role for the city; and (3) the events which brought contestations of these two publications to the attention of a wider audience and which can be seen as one of the starting points to a range of lively debates.

5.4.1 The first urban policy aimed at managing shrinkage: UDC 2030

By the end of the 1990s, population loss and vacant housing began to be addressed as problems in urban policy in Hoyerswerda for the first time. The elected head of the Urban Planning Department [*Baubürgermeister*] of the City Council of Hoyerswerda, Walter Hamacher, commissioned *Gruppe Hardtberg*, a West German urban planning practice, which had opened an office in the city, to produce an Urban Development Concept [*städtebauliches Leitbild*, UDC in the following], or future vision, for Hoyerswerda. Population loss, economic decline and the question of how to deal with them took a prominent position in this document. The development concept was published in 1999 (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999) and the City Council voted to adopt it. At the time, there were no Federal or *Länder* guidelines as for the second and third urban policy documents, which dealt specifically with issues of population loss and economic decline in Hoyerswerda: *InSEK 2003* (Pb. Gröbe 2003)³⁷ and the second *InSEK 2008* (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008d)³⁸.

³⁷ *InSEK 2003* consists of three parts: the Development Concept Housing (Pb. Gröbe 2003); the Economic Development Concept (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004); and the Concept Infrastructure (Pb. Gröbe and SV Hoyerswerda 2005).

³⁸ *InSEK 2008* consists of numerous parts (see References).

The UDC was the first urban policy document that dealt with demolitions of housing in Hoyerswerda. It was based on the assumption that demolitions of vacant blocks could be accommodated by reducing the density, but not the overall size of the existing city. The idea of demolishing whole areas and thus physically shrinking the city was not evident at this time. Instead, demolitions were intended as a means to improve the urban design (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 87). The main problem associated with people moving away was the limited types of housing available in the city: if people wished to live differently – in a different type of house from a prefabricated GDR block - they had to move away. If the city was able to offer the housing they aspired to, people may choose to stay. Demolitions were, thus, envisaged to free space for individually constructed single-family housing in attractive areas.

The UDC shows demolitions were not seen as the main answer to vacant housing at this time: alternative options included the idea that housing companies should decrease rents so that people could afford to live in bigger apartments. In relation to this, the document observes a tendency for floor-space per person to have increased since German Unity (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 18-20). People in East Germany – and in Hoyerswerda in particular, so the underlying logic went, had to catch up with the West Germans, who occupied more space per person. Calculations in the UDC showed that a continuation of this ‘more floor-space for all inhabitants’ option would eventually even produce a housing shortage. As a response to this projected shortage and also as a measure to counteract the assumed out-migration of people to nearby areas³⁹, the UDC suggests the construction of single-family housing in central locations (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 24).

However, the UDC came to the conclusion that around 5,000 apartments would have to be ‘removed’ in the long-term (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 84), 3000 of which were already vacant in 1998. This was not a popular statement: Gröbe, who was part of the team that developed the UDC and who is head of the office that has produced most planning documents for Hoyerswerda since then, remembers:

³⁹ This assumption is not reflected in the statistics of out-migration. As demonstrated in Section 5.3.1 most people who migrated out of Hoyerswerda in the first years after German Unity moved beyond the boundaries of the Freestate of Saxony and today still only half the people remain within the Freestate.

[E]verybody was [saying] “for God’s sake!” getting rid of apartments – everything’s hunky-dory. They always said “The cities will develop”, but there was this decrease in the number of inhabitants, and many people thought: “Let’s build a factory and this will turn it around. Suddenly the people will come back to us.” But we had relatively clear pictures already, that we wouldn’t change again to this extent, that there’ll be even fewer people in this city and that we therefore won’t be able to avoid extensive housing demolition. And at this point, we were wondering whether we could actually present this paper in this way⁴⁰ (Interview, Gröbe, architect and planner, Hoyerswerda, 01/02/2008)

In 1999, the City began to demolish the first GDR blocks. Each demolition, however, was organised individually, it was not yet an institutionalised response to vacancy. Different sources of funding were sought for each demolition in different organisational constellations, such as financial means from a mining remediation programme (Schulz 2000).

Yet, as described in Chapter 1, by the end of the 1990s population loss and vacant housing appeared on the political agenda of the Federal State when a commission of experts, funded by the Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Development (BMVBW), found that one million apartments were vacant in the new *Länder* and advised the Federal Government to set up a new state funded programme for urban regeneration, *Stadtumbau Ost*, which included the demolition of around 300,000 to 400,000 apartments (Pfeiffer *et al.* 2000).

The *Stadtumbau* programme helps housing companies or other owners of housing to get rid of vacant housing stock, which would otherwise be a burden on their balance sheets. In addition, it finances the regeneration of the remaining urban realm, be it through financing the upgrading of the remaining housing stock or the regeneration of public spaces. 50% of the finance for demolitions come from the Federal State and 50% from the *Länder*, but the municipality is also involved in providing the means for upgrading the urban realm. Although the Federal State and *Länder* finance one third each, the municipality has to contribute the remaining third of the upgrading investment. Yet,

⁴⁰ Wo noch alles “Um Gottes Willen!” Wohnungen weg und Friede, Freude, Eierkuchen. Es hieß ja immer: “Die Städte entwickeln sich”, aber es war ja schon der Einwohnerrückgang zu verzeichnen, wo viele noch gedacht haben: „Jetzt bauen wir eine Fabrik und das alles kehrt sich um, plötzlich kommen die Leute wieder zu uns.“ Da hatten wir schon relativ klare Bilder, dass wir in der Größenordnung uns nicht mehr bewegen werden, dass wir noch weniger Leute werden in der Stadt und dass notgedrungen dadurch auch flächenhaft Häuser wegzunehmen sind. Und da wurde dann schon ein bisschen gemunkelt, können wir das Papier überhaupt so präsentieren? (Interview, Gröbe, engineer and urban planner, 01/02/2008)

because most municipalities are close to bankruptcy, there is not as much investment into measures that aim at the regeneration of the remaining urban realm compared to demolition (BMVBS and BBR 2006b: 31-44).

Hoyerswerda participated in the initial *Stadtumbau Ost* competition, but was not amongst the winners. However, on the basis of the *InSEK* documents produced for the competition, the city partakes in the *Stadtumbau Ost* programme and the two housing companies in Hoyerswerda receive Federal State-*Länder* funding to demolish buildings. The two *InSEKs* that were produced in the framework of the *Stadtumbau* programme differ from the UDC because the demolition of whole areas is now more or less openly discussed: the city will actually shrink: whole areas are designated for demolition (see Figure 5.14).

Figure 5.14: Urban form of the future, around the year 2020



source: Pb. Gröbe (2008)

The UDC also discusses economic issues, but does not go into as much detail about an imagined future role of the city as the Mission Statement, which was published only a few months later.

5.4.2 Initiating growth by finding a new role for the city: the Mission Statement

In 1999/2000 Hoyerswerda published its first and so far only mission statement, which opens with a up-beat, rather curious phrase (see Figure 5.15): ‘Hoyerswerda... wants to know it. The new mission statement of the city’⁴¹ (Stadt Hoyerswerda 1999/2000: 1).

Figure 5.15: ‘Hoyerswerda ...wants to know it’

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source: Stadt Hoyerswerda (1999/2000: 1)

Mayor Skora, who was part of the team that developed the Mission Statement explains:

Back then, we said “Hoyerswerda wants to know it” - starting with Konrad Zuse, [the] development of technologies; and the second point was the stubbornness of a child, stamping its feet: “We finally really want to know, we want to know now that we’re progressing!” Those were the considerations then and that’s where the logo with the arrow comes from⁴² (Interview, Skora, Mayor, 31/01/2008).

The Mission Statement can be seen as a manual for the City’s plans for achieving the desired progress, suggesting certain directions of development. Its basic message is explained on the second page:

⁴¹ Hoyerswerda... will’s wissen. Das neue Leitbild der Stadt (Stadt Hoyerswerda 1999/2000: 1).

⁴² Wir haben das damals definiert: „Hoyerswerda will das wissen“ - ausgehend von Konrad Zuse, [die] Entwicklung der Technologien, und der zweite Punkt war ganz einfach das bockige eines Kindes, stampfend mit den Füßen: Wir wollen jetzt endlich wissen, wir wollen’s jetzt wissen, dass es mit uns vorwärts geht! Das war damals die Überlegung und daraus ist auch dieses Logo mit dem Pfeil auch entstanden [see Figure 7.1] (Interview, Skora, Mayor, 31/01/2008).

If a city wants to be beautiful and attractive, if it wants to be a home to its inhabitants and a good host to its visitors, if it wants people to enjoy being there so that they stay, settle down and invest, then it has to concentrate on its strengths. It has to examine its roots, whether they are powerful enough to carry the trunks. The trunks have to be sufficiently strong for protruding crowns on which rich fruits grow.

The city will never stop loving and caring for these trees⁴³ (Stadt Hoyerswerda 1999/2000: 2).

Hoyerswerda's Mission Statement is based on its city crest, which depicts three oaks, each of which is identified with a different aspect: 'life', 'innovation' and 'fascination'. Roots, trunk and fruits are respectively treated as separate steps in the process. The roots represent the history of the city; the trunk stands for the present condition on which the city hopes to build; and the fruits contain an outline of what the city hopes to achieve, or what it aspires to become (see Figure 5.16 and Table 5.4 for an English translation):

Figure 5.16: 'Three Oaks' Hoyerswerda's mission statement

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source: Stadt Hoyerswerda (1999/2000: 2)

⁴³ Wenn eine Stadt schön und begehrenswert, ihren Bürgern Heimstatt und ihren Besuchern eine gute Gastgeberin sein will, wenn sie möchte, daß die Menschen sich wohlfühlen, daß sie bleiben, sich ansiedeln und investieren, dann hat sie sich auf ihre Stärken zu besinnen. Sie muß ihre Wurzeln prüfen, ob sie kraftvoll genug sind Stämme zu tragen. Die Stämme müssen stark genug sein für ausladende Kronen, auf denen reichhaltig Früchte wachsen. Die Stadt darf nie aufhören, diese Bäume zu lieben und zu pflegen (Stadt Hoyerswerda 1999/2000: 2).

Table 5.4: Translation of ‘Three Oaks’ (see Figure 5.16)

fruit	city to live in, service city, attractive quarters	location for innovative enter- prises such as IT	centre of the fascinating new Lusatia Lakeland
trunk	Lausitz-Center, old town centre, cultural and sport facilities	Soft- and hardware companies, technology centre Lautech, computer museum	Knappen Lake, Silver Lake, restoration of the coal mines, mining museum
roots	Shopping city, Centrum shopping mall, culture, life of sports	Know-How of coal mining, Konrad Zuse, Katharina von Tessen	Lausitz and its ‘black gold’
	oak ‘life’	oak ‘innovation’	oak ‘fascination/allure’

source: Stadt Hoyerswerda (1999/2000: 2)

Each of these oaks is further examined in the Mission Statement. As well as wanting to become an attractive city that has good links with its neighbours (oak: ‘life’), two new areas of development are outlined in this mission statement: ‘innovation’ - promoting Hoyerswerda as a location for innovative businesses; and ‘fascination/allure’ - referring to the city as part of a developing tourist landscape in Lusatia Lakeland.

The oak ‘innovation’ links Hoyerswerda to Konrad Zuse (1910-1995), a computer pioneer, who lived in the city from 1923 to 1928 until, at 18 he finished his secondary school education and moved away. There were hopes that the innovative information technology sector would be attracted to the city and that existing companies could be supported to expand.

Hoyerswerda, the city of the father of the computer [Konrad Zuse], develops increasingly as a location of enterprises of innovative technologies. Special attention is dedicated to the location and expansion of companies that develop

soft- and hardware, information know-how and telematics⁴⁴ (Stadt Hoyerswerda 1999/2000: 3).

The oak ‘fascination/allure’ discusses the city’s relation to the future role of the former open cast coalmines, which are in the process of being flooded since the extraction of brown coal has stopped.

Hoyerswerda as a centre of the new Lusatia Lakeland is characterised by amenities of the landscape with great natural riches and versatile opportunities for leisure and sport. Most of all this applies to the fascinating/alluring synthesis of the interestingly designed post-mining landscape and the quiet [Upper Lusatian] heath and pond landscape⁴⁵ (Stadt Hoyerswerda 1999/2000: 3).

In an interview the current Mayor of Hoyerswerda assesses what has been achieved since the publication of the mission statement (see also: Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 37). He is sure the aim of regenerating Hoyerswerda into an attractive city will be achieved through *Stadtumbau*. Yet, in terms of the idea of innovative businesses, he admits:

This oak is still a bit pathetic. That was then, when we said... “We don’t have any big businesses, but we could become a location for innovations and such things.” You’d probably formulate it a bit differently today, eight years later, but it could generally be the right direction⁴⁶ (Interview, Skora, 31/01/2008).

In terms of the third oak of the ‘fascinating/alluring Lakeland’, he is more optimistic:

This oak is actually there. We have called ourselves “The gate to, or heart of, Lusatia Lakeland”, that’s something that becomes reality. Because of that it’s time for us to say, “How do we call ourselves?” I’d say for me Chemnitz⁴⁷ is the best example, they now [call] themselves “Chemnitz, city of modernity” – clear and brief - whatever it means. They do it more in the art sector ... They define

⁴⁴ Hoyerswerda, die Stadt des Computervaters Zuse, entwickelt sich zunehmend zum Standort für Unternehmen innovativer Technologien. Dabei wird der Ansiedlung und Erweiterung von Firmen der Soft- und Hardwareentwicklung, des Informations-Know-how, der Telematik besondere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet (Stadt Hoyerswerda 1999/2000: 3).

⁴⁵ Hoyerswerda als Zentrum der neuen Lausitzer Seenlandschaft prägen landschaftliche Vorzüge mit großen Naturreichtümern sowie vielfältigen Erholungs- und Sportmöglichkeiten. Vor allem gilt das für die faszinierende Synthese der gestalteten, interessanten Begbaufolgelandschaft mit der ruhigen Heide- und Teichlandschaft (Stadt Hoyerswerda 1999/2000: 3).

⁴⁶ Diese Eiche, die ist noch ein bisschen mickrig. Das war damals, haben wir gesagt... „Wir haben keine großen Betriebe aber wir könnten zum Standort für Innovation für solche Sachen werden.“ Nun würde man den heutzutage nach 8 Jahren wahrscheinlich anders definieren, anders formulieren aber im Wesentlichen könnte die Ausrichtung auch die richtige sein (Interview, Skora, 31/01/2008).

⁴⁷ Chemnitz, a city of more than 240,000, was called Karl-Marx Stadt between 1953 and 1990 and is located in the West of Saxony.

themselves like that. But it took them a long time to say “What is Chemnitz?” Dresden is defined as *Land* capital and art metropolis, Leipzig is the location of media, and, well – what’s Chemnitz?⁴⁸ (Interview, Skora, 31/01/2008).

Hoyerswerda’s mission statement is a four-page leaflet and provides limited detail on how each of the three areas is going to be tackled. It can be seen as the City’s first attempt to define particular directions of development, which need constant re-evaluation as the illustrations from the Mayor showed.

Both the UDC and the Mission Statement work as strategic documents that address the future of the city. These issues did not go uncontested, in particular the extent to which these strategic concepts were discussed with the public; and much of the expertise that was used in producing them was also contested.

5.4.3 Emerging conflicts about the policy practices

Until the early 2000s, there was relatively little debate about Hoyerswerda’s urban policies and regeneration practices in the city, but also in the wider context. After German Unity, urban planning in Hoyerswerda was jointly undertaken by the Planning Department of the City Council and a private architecture and planning practice from West Germany called Gruppe Hardtberg. The close association between the City and the private planning office from West Germany, and the range of ideas and projects they produced, generated some conflict with local architects who were to a large extent left out of the discussions and the planning process (Interview, Baumeister, architect and curator, 08/07/2009). The situation between the West German architects and planners and the City Council on one side and the local architects, planners and critics on the other side seemed to have hit a standoff when Wolfgang Kil, an architecture critic who was interested in the city, suggested Hoyerswerda could be the next destination for the Architectural Field Class of the Saxon Academy of Arts⁴⁹:

⁴⁸ Das ist das, wo ich sage, die Eiche ist auch da. Wir haben jetzt ... uns zum Tor oder zum Herz des Lausitzer Seenlandes [ernannt], das ist ja etwas, das Wirklichkeit wird. Deswegen, jetzt ist es wahrscheinlich daran zu sagen, wie nennen wir uns? Ich sage mal Chemnitz ist mir als bestes Beispiel, die haben sich jetzt neu Chemnitz Stadt der Moderne,... – kurz und bündig – was auch immer das bedeutet. Die machen das mehr auf dem Kunstsektor... Die definieren sich so. Aber sie haben auch lange gebraucht zu sagen, was ist Chemnitz? Dresden ist ja definiert, als die Landeshauptstadt und Kunstmetropole, Leipzig als der Medienstandort und nicht, was ist Chemnitz? (Interview, Skora, 31/01/2008).

⁴⁹ Klasse Baukunst der Sächsischen Akademie der Künste

In this situation, I thought they [the local architects, planners and critics] need a little push here... if they don't find any resonance and encouragement in their own city one has to give it to them from the outside... [In going there with the Architectural Field Class], we actually forced publicity in relation to the city hall⁵⁰ (Interview, Kil, architecture critic, 20/03/2008).

In 2001 and 2002 the Architectural Field Class visited Hoyerswerda to hold a symposium to discuss the topic of shrinking cities. This class comprises well-known architects and urban planners, theorists and historians. It visits one city per year to discuss different 'architectural hot spots'. Hoyerswerda was chosen because 'the issue of shrinking cities, the radical change in housing and urban functions and the [future] perspectives for urban locations [was perceived as] of great timeliness in Germany'⁵¹ (Sächsische Akademie der Künste 2005b: 5). The following questions guided the discussion in Hoyerswerda:

What does this development [of shrinkage] mean for the notion of the city in general and for the future of Hoyerswerda in particular? Which urban planning and architectural measures and approaches can be developed? Which approaches to design and policy instruments can be used by the municipality, *Land*, and Federal State to steer this development? How should the *Stadtumbau* be organised? Which kind of city should be developed?⁵² (Sächsische Akademie der Künste 2005b: 5).

Hoyerswerda was chosen to discuss the effects of shrinkage on cities in general, but also to give advice to Hoyerswerda in particular.

By the time the Architectural Field Class visited the city, the former population of 70,000 inhabitants had already decreased by 20,000. 5,000 apartments in *Neustadt* were vacant, which accounted for 25% of the housing stock (Lambert 2005: 75). The UDC (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999) and the Mission Statement (Stadt Hoyerswerda 1999/2000) had been published.

⁵⁰ In diese Situation rein habe ich gedacht, die brauchen jetzt einfach hier mal ein bisschen Anschub. Wenn sie in der eigenen Stadt keine Resonanz und Ermutigung finden muss man ihnen das von außen geben... Wir haben sozusagen die Öffentlichkeit erzwungen gegenüber dem Rathaus (Interview, Kil, architecture critic, 20/03/2008).

⁵¹ 'Das Thema schrumpfender Städte, der radikale Wandel von Wohn- und Stadtfunktionen und die Perspektive urbaner Standorte in Deutschland von hoher Aktualität [war]' (Sächsische Akademie der Künste 2005b: 5).

⁵² Was bedeutet diese Entwicklung aber für den Begriff der Stadt im Allgemeinen und die Zukunft der Stadt Hoyerswerda im Speziellen? Mit welchen Mitteln und Verfahren kann städtebaulich und architektonisch reagiert werden? Mit welchen Gestaltungsmaßnahmen und politischen Instrumentarien können Kommune, Land und Bund diese Entwicklung steuern? Wie soll der Stadtumbau gestaltet werden? Welche Stadt soll entstehen? (Sächsischen Akademie der Künste 2005: 5).

The visit of the Architectural Field Class stirred conflict with the policy-makers in Hoyerswerda. Some of the key figures, such as the Mayor of Construction [*Baubürgermeister*], Walter Hamacher, did not participate in the symposium and the then Mayor, Horst-Dieter Brähmig only attended on the first day, which was seen as a provocation against the organisers, the Architectural Field Class (Kümmel 2001a: 12/04). In addition, the then plans for the City to redevelop parts of *Neustadt* into a Venice-inspired ‘Canal City’ [*Grachtenstadt*], presented by Helmut Lambert, Head of the private West German architecture and planning practice *Gruppe Hardtberg*⁵³, were dismissed by the Class as unrealistic (Kümmel 2001b: 12/04). The Canal City proposal was based on the following considerations:

There are no Alps in Hoyerswerda, but we have water in the city. The *Altstadt* used to be interspersed with water. It was obvious we should let our fantasy play on a relatively small area and to confer the idea of the water-landscape on Hoyerswerda. If a water-landscape is possible in a holiday home area in a developing country, why shouldn’t it be possible to make Hoyerswerda more attractive with a water-landscape? That’s how the idea of Canal City has developed, which is also based on certain models such as in Holland.

Our aim is that people won’t wrinkle their noses at Hoyerswerda, but say: “Gosh, that’s where I’d like to live!” Then we’d have a new image and a basis for new developments. (Lambert 2005: 78).

Lambert presented population loss as an effect of the limited options of housing in Hoyerswerda, which could be reversed if different, more attractive and diverse forms of housing were developed (see also UDC 1999, Section 6.2.1). Canal City, the introduction of waterfront housing, was proposed as a measure that would make people with high mining pensions or other incomes stay in the city instead of moving to single-family houses in the surrounding villages⁵⁴. In fact, it envisaged replacing some of the existing GDR apartment blocks in the central area with different structures that were tried and tested in other places like Holland. This was also seen as the right means to attract and keep the right people in Hoyerswerda – to maintain a healthy social mix:

⁵³ Lambert’s main practice was based in West Germany, but he opened a branch of his office in Hoyerswerda in 1994. His practice, *Gruppe Hardtberg*, was regularly commissioned by the City at the time. Amongst the plans and documents his office produced for the City was the Urban Development Concept 2030 (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999).

⁵⁴ But, see discussion of actual migration pattern, Section 5.3.1 and assumptions in urban policy in Section 5.4.1.

‘Those who can afford such [exclusive] housing would not have to move to a village – as it is the case today – and would not be lost for the city’⁵⁵ (Lambert 2005: 80).

However, for the Architectural Field Class, the Canal City plans in Hoyerswerda did not address the situation for a different reason: the members of the Field Class claimed that the main question of what the city could be developed into remained obscure. In Axel Schultes’⁵⁶ remark on Lambert’s proposition, this becomes obvious:

I came here with a similarly romantic idea like others... I thought it was about developing this housing estate settlement into a city... But that’s not what it is about. Here, it is obviously about turning a big housing estate settlement into a small housing estate settlement... A Garden City is maybe the best you can develop here. In just fifteen years we’d have it wonderfully green and nobody would be angry... The City does not want to take on this visionary role, supported by whoever... [but] I can’t understand why. It is unbelievable that a small Venice is proposed at a place that is called ‘centre’. Something is rotten in the state of Hoyerswerda⁵⁷ (Sächsische Akademie der Künste 2005a: 93-94).

Approaches that aimed at increasing the urbanity of *Neustadt* such as the urban design competition ‘From Housing Estate to Urbanity’ (Stadt Hoyerswerda 1998) and the UDC (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999), which aimed at transforming *Neustadt* into a European City were questioned. The City was perceived as lacking a vision for its future, which also means that the spatial object or aim of government was contested.

In addition, the lack of public participation in the planning process was raised. The City and its planner(s), so the allegations went (Böhme 2005a), sought to exclude the public from information about the plans to demolish and restructure large parts of the city.

Lambert, however, maintained that this exclusionary practice was necessary not to make the inhabitants insecure (Sächsische Akademie der Künste 2005a: 94).

⁵⁵ Wer sich solch [exklusives] Wohnen leisten kann, müsste nicht – wie heute – aufs Dorf ziehen und ginge damit auch nicht der Stadt verloren (Lambert 2005: 80).

⁵⁶ Schultes is one of the most famous German architects, who amongst other things developed the plans for the government district in Berlin and was in the process of constructing the Federal Chancellery in Berlin at the time.

⁵⁷ Ich kam mit einer ähnlich romantischen Vorstellung wie andere hergekommen... Ich dachte es ginge darum, aus einer Siedlung eine Stadt zu machen... Doch darum geht es längst nicht. Hier geht es doch nur darum, aus einer Großsiedlung eine Kleinsiedlung zu machen... Eine Gartenstadt ist vielleicht noch das Beste, was sich hier überhaupt entwickeln lässt. Dann hätten wir in fünfzehn Jahren ein wunderbares Grün, und keiner ist mehr böse... Aber dass die Stadt an dieser Stelle das Vordenken nicht übernehmen will, von welchem Gedankengeber auch immer beflügelt... kann ich nicht begreifen. Es kann nicht sein, dass da ein Klein-Venedig entwickelt wird an einer Stelle, wo Stadtmitte draufsteht. Da ist etwas faul im Staate Hoyerswerda (Sächsische Akademie der Künste 2005a: 93-94).

In this context, it is ironic that the second visit of the Architectural Field Class to Hoyerswerda in the following year (2002) also excluded the public: neither the press, the old architects, nor the public were allowed to attend on the orders of Hoyerswerda's City Hall. Yet the second meeting took place because the Saxon Academy of Arts felt that due to the conflicts that arose in the first meeting, it had not managed to offer the advice it wanted to give (Interview, Baumeister, 20/09/2009).

The advice of the Architectural Field Class can be summarised as follows: (1) to organise *Stadtumbau* from the peripheries to the centre; (2) to 'culturalise' *Stadtumbau* and demolition, which means to consider it not merely as a process that prevents housing companies from going bankrupt, but rather extends to all different spheres of life in the city; (3) to accept interim solutions for particular phases of time; (4) to aim for a two-centred city with a cultural centre; (5) to upgrade the centre of *Neustadt*; and (6) to remember the importance of Hoyerswerda *Neustadt* as one of the legacies of the GDR architectural and construction history as the first industrially constructed city in the GDR (Sächsische Akademie der Künste 2005b: 5). From a current perspective, some of these points are taken-for-granted knowledge about how best to organise *Stadtumbau*, such as the idea of shrinking from the periphery to the centre, which is also represented in the two *InSEKs* (Pb. Gröbe 2003; pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008f, d). At the time, however, the approach to really shrink the city by demolishing whole areas of housing at the outskirts was opposed by the idea that the necessary demolitions could also be carried out by decreasing the density of *Neustadt* such as envisaged in the Urban Development Concept 2030 (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999).

The significance of the Architectural Field Class's visit does not only lie in the suggestions it gave, nor in the wider discussion it generated. Rather, it was the first event that openly challenged urban policy processes in Hoyerswerda at the time. Even though it was a rather invisible event to the public (but see: Kümmel 2001b), the main point was that it supported different actors in the city who were opposed to the urban policy practices.

This was also supported by a second, more public, event, the urban research project "Hoywoy Unfolding - Explorations in a Shrinking City: On Urban History and the Living Environment of Hoyerswerda", which took place right after the second visit of the Architectural Field Class. Hoywoy Unfolding was organised by Simone Hain, an architectural historian who was a Professor at Hamburg University of Arts at the time.

Like Kil, Hain had also published about the city (Hain 2000, 2003). A group of Hain's students carried out research in Hoyerswerda and again, their main focus was on Hoyerswerda *Neustadt*, its history and the current situation. The project was first exhibited in Hamburg in 2002 and a year later, in 2003, it came to Hoyerswerda. In collaboration with the socio-cultural centre Cultural Factory [*Kulturfabrik, KuFa*] several events, discussion forums and film nights were organised (Interview, Proksch, head of *KuFa*, 12/12/2007). The discussion forums were well attended, and for the first time brought the issues of shrinkage and how to deal with it to a wider public audience.

Both events, the visits of the Architectural Field Class and 'HoyWoy Unfolding', brought the discrepancy between different views on the city into the open especially in terms of the assessment of the role of *Neustadt* for the future of the city. Critical discussions of urban policies as well as related practices emerged for the first time in public. Different approaches to time, space and subjectivity developed in relation to other approaches to making a future for the city. Both events supported local critics in their views, which was perceived as liberating (Interview, Baumeister, 02/09/09). After the visit and the exhibition, different events were organised locally, different citizens' initiatives formed and a lively, yet highly contested, debate about *Stadtumbau* practices and other approaches to shrinkage and the future of the city developed.

In sum, this section has demonstrated that there was a range of practices that aimed at working on shrinkage locally before it became an issue in the wider discourse. The practices and assumptions which were developed at that time in Hoyerswerda can be considered as first attempts of governing shrinkage, by managing it or by overcoming it in initiating growth or in finding a new role for the city. Hand in hand with these attempts at governing shrinkage, contestations and conflict emerged, as was shown in examining the context of the Visit of the Architectural Field Class.

It is necessary to examine more closely the assumptions, techniques and practices that developed from these starting points, which is what the three ensuing empirical chapters do.

5.5 Conclusion

The construction of Hoyerswerda *Neustadt* contributed to developing what had been a rural small town into the Second Socialist City of the GDR. *Neustadt* was constructed in order to house the workers of the nearby Energy Centre of the GDR, which expanded

rapidly. Despite a general discourse of success - the city grew, it attracted many young people - there were lines of critique and contestation of the ideas that underpinned the standardised and industrialised construction of *Neustadt* from early on, including Brigitte Reimann's critique.

However, when the Wall came down and German Unity was enacted, it was not clear what would happen to Hoyerswerda or the Energy Centre. Restructuring and transformations created an entirely different economic, social and political context, yet, similar to the wider debates about the future of East Germany, there were hopes that economic growth would take off in Hoyerswerda too, and that population loss and economic decline were only temporary phenomena. Urban policy of the first post-Unity years aimed at correcting what were considered the mistakes of the GDR, for instance, the strict monotony of the *Plattenbau* areas. Yet, when population loss and economic decline persisted, a range of moments occurred which can be seen as the starting points for local practices of dealing with shrinkage before it became a wider issue in the German shrinking cities discourse.

First, an Urban Development Concept was published which aimed at demolishing around 5,000 apartments, but which also contained a range of ideas of how to keep people in the city and how to regenerate it, particularly *Neustadt*, in order to achieve a closer fit to the European City ideal. Secondly, a Mission Statement was published which sought to redefine a role for the city; this was no longer to serve a nearby industrial area, but to rediscover its own economic roots. Furthermore, conflict and contestations emerged, an examination of which showed the ways in which managing shrinkage and initiating growth were contested.

In examining how shrinkage appeared as a multifaceted problem in Hoyerswerda in the late 1990s and in showing how certain issues were problematised in this context, such as managing shrinkage, initiating growth and how particular forms of conflict emerged, this chapter provides a rich context to the ensuing empirical analysis. These deal in much more detail with the problematisations and the range of solutions that were worked upon in Hoyerswerda over the years. The next three chapters focus on the empirical analysis and are structured according to the main problematisations that emerged in the post-Unity discourses in Hoyerswerda. Chapter 6 deals with spatial and temporal rationalities of managing shrinkage; Chapter 7 examines the spatial and temporal rationalities of initiating growth; and Chapter 8 focuses on the conflicts,

contestations and counter-conduct, which emerged in relation to the policies and practices of dealing with shrinkage in Hoyerswerda.

6 Managing shrinkage

6.1 Introduction

The urban policy *Stadtumbau Ost* is of great importance to managing shrinkage, because it provides the financial means and a policy framework for the cities to support local approaches to shrinkage. However, as discussed in the last chapter, shrinkage was problematised in Hoyerswerda even before this *Bund-Länder* policy was instigated. In this chapter, the focus is on the spatialities and temporalities of managing shrinkage and on revealing the rationalities that guide them and also the conflicts that emerged in this context. The practices and techniques that emerged in the context of the problematisation of shrinkage are considered as well as the different phenomena associated with shrinkage and how these changed over time. Of particular interest are the different rationalities of governing shrinkage, which render the different regimes of practices of governing ‘internally consistent’ (Rose *et al.* 2006: 98, see also Section 2.2.2). As discussed in Chapter 3, spatial and temporal rationalities are considered as productive forces, catalysers that intend to produce individuals and population that conduct themselves properly, effects which do not always come about (Huxley 2007).

This chapter focuses on how in Hoyerswerda ‘shrinkage’ was problematised as an issue to be managed and is structured in three parts: first the spatial problematisations of managing shrinkage, which are contained in urban policy and *Stadtumbau* practices, are analysed. Then the temporalities of managing shrinkage are examined, and the way in which the risk of population loss is assessed, and how it is minimised through certain approaches to managing shrinkage. The third part combines the conclusions about the temporalities and spatialities of shrinkage and focuses on the ways in which both intend to have effects on subjects. It shows that different parts of the city are thought to have brought about different subjects: loyal subjects in *Altstadt* and disloyal subjects in *Neustadt*.

6.2 Spatial management of shrinkage

The first section deals with shrinkage as a spatial process and analyses the different approaches and techniques that were used to manage shrinkage spatially across different areas in Hoyerswerda’s urban policies over time. It shows that the management of

shrinkage is not only based on a reactive logic, responding to population loss by demolishing all buildings that became vacant, but that it is intended as a productive process aiming to improve the city by producing a new, different and better city. The second section analyses demolition criteria for individual blocks, which characterise the consideration with which urban policy began to deal with shrinkage. As discussed before, demolition was not always considered as having to extend to whole areas, but was also seen as an issue that could be accommodated by reducing densities in demolishing individual buildings. The third section shows how the ideals of the European city emerged as an object of governing shrinkage. Demolishing particular parts that were not considered worthy of preservation and retaining other, preservation worthy areas can thus be seen as a healing or rescuing process. The fourth and final section examines the degree to which these spatial considerations play a role for the housing companies, which are the main institutions involved in managing the practical side of the *Stadtumbau* process in Hoyerswerda.

6.2.1 Determining demolition areas: an area's popularity

We know where people leave from: they only leave *Neustadt*. *Altstadt* remains the [same]... even if people leave *Altstadt*, there would be others to take their places, because, very simply: that's an urban structure and you just want to live there⁵⁸ (Interview Gröbe, 04/12/2007).

The *InSEK 2003* document starts by outlining where population loss takes place and in what form. In doing so, it clearly locates the problem: '*Neustadt* is the problem area in terms of loss of inhabitants of the city'⁵⁹ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 8). This observation is supported by statistics, which show that while the *Altstadt* has kept the same number of inhabitants since 1990, *Neustadt* lost almost 20,000 inhabitants in the ten year period - the equivalent of 35.1% of its population⁶⁰ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 9). The observation of Gröbe at the start of the section seems accurate. However, as the following discussion shows, it is crucial to consider whether this distribution of population loss as reflected in

⁵⁸ Wir wissen wo die Leute weggehen, die gehen nur in der Neustadt weg. Also die Altstadt bleibt immer [gleich]... selbst wenn aus der Altstadt Leute weggehen, würden sofort welche wieder herkommen, weil ganz einfach, das ist eine urbane Struktur und da will man einfach leben (Interview Gröbe, 04/12/2007).

⁵⁹ Die Neustadt ist das Problemgebiet hinsichtlich des Einwohnerrückgangs der Stadt (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 8).

⁶⁰ Unless otherwise stated, the statistics that are used in this report are from 2000 and 2002. Projections are made with the numbers from 2000.

the statistics is the result of the urban policy practices. The characteristics of different areas in Hoyerswerda, as described in *InSEK 2003* and *2008* are examined in detail.

WKs 1-4 are the oldest housing complexes in *Neustadt* and are seen as ‘popular’ amongst the inhabitants, ‘[b]ecause of the low building density, the good share of landscaping and the short distance to the centre of *Neustadt*’⁶¹ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 14). In terms of the ‘popularity’ of the slightly newer *WKs 5-7*, *InSEK 2003* states: ‘Although these areas were constructed at a considerably higher density, certain parts still belong to the generally popular areas because of their close proximity to the centre of *Neustadt* and their good landscaping’⁶² (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 14). The fringes of these areas where densities have partly been increased with the construction of high-rise buildings have a higher fluctuation of population. This is where ‘urban restructuring’ is planned, which in itself is expected to result in an accelerated reduction of population: 1,700 apartments were no longer considered to be needed in this area and the plan was to ‘restructure’ (i.e. demolish) the edges of *WK7* and *WK5e*. In contrast to *Altstadt* and *WK1-4*, in-migration from other parts of the city is not expected in *WK5-7*.

WK8 and *WK9* are considered part ‘of the less popular areas of the city’⁶³ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 15) because they ‘are exceedingly dense... far from the centre and less landscaped’⁶⁴ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 15). As a result, ‘[b]oth areas need to be restructured, based on an extensive deconstruction of apartments in parts of these areas’⁶⁵ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 15). *WK10*, the newest housing complex, is not explicitly discussed on the basis of its popularity. However, the attributes of high densities and long blocks, consisting of predominantly six storey buildings without an elevator (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 27) are criteria which would clearly result in its categorisation as ‘unpopular’.

The discussion about the centre of *Neustadt* starts with a statement that there was no housing planned for *Neustadt* city centre in the initial urban design of Hoyerswerda, but only ‘central’ buildings. However, between 1976 and 1978, as a response to housing

⁶¹ ‘Wegen der geringen Verdichtung der Bebauung, der guten Durchgrünung und der nahen Lage zum Zentrum *Neustadt*’ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 14).

⁶² ‘Obwohl diese Gebiete mit bereits deutlich höherer Bebauungsdichte errichtet worden sind, gehören Teilbereiche durch ihre zum Teil geringe Entfernung zum Neustadtzentrum und auf Grund ihrer guten Durchgrünung immer noch zu den insgesamt beliebten Wohngebieten.’ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 14).

⁶³ ‘zu den weniger beliebten Wohngebieten der Stadt’ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 15)

⁶⁴ ‘sind übermäßig verdichtet ..., zentrumsfern und weniger durchgrünt’ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 15)

⁶⁵ ‘Beide Wohngebiete bedürfen der Neustrukturierung, die den flächenhaften Rückbau an Wohnungen in Teilbereichen zur Grundlage hat’ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 15).

shortage, several 11-storey high-rise buildings were constructed in this area. ‘The area is characterised by pure high-rise buildings and very little landscaping. Despite direct proximity to the centre, this area belongs to the less popular areas’ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 16). As with *WK5-7*, the extent of high-rise buildings is seen as a major problem in the centre of *Neustadt*.

In the subsequent urban policy document, *InSEK 2008*, the effects of the preceding considerations can be examined because, when it was published, 5,485 apartments had already been demolished. Although it is based on a similar strategy as *InSEK 2003*, ‘popularity’ no longer played a role as a criterion for preserving or demolishing areas. However, analysis provides further clues in terms of the assumptions that underlie the different ‘Survey Areas’ according to which this new document is structured.

In Survey Area 1 (*WK1, 2 and 3, centre Neustadt, Gondelteich*) the main spatial emphasis is on the centre of *Neustadt*:

This area is of decisive importance for the city of Hoyerswerda in terms of its internal effects as well as in terms of the external perception. The currently not - especially - positive expectations as a result of the massive deconstructions of high-rise housing have to be actively counteracted. This area must be maintained in its variety of functions for the whole city and the surrounding areas. For this reason, it will be strengthened and if necessary be enriched with additional timely functions⁶⁶ (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008a: 11).

This remark acknowledges that deconstruction can also have negative effects. Had it not taken place to this extent, the future would look brighter for this area.

Survey Area 2 (*WK4, 5, 5e, 6 and 7*) is described very briefly: the built-up areas of the fringes were ‘melted-down’ and the remaining parts of the former *WKs* are considered to relate ‘harmoniously’ to the existing structures (i.e. the rest of the city). In the discussion of Survey Area 3 (*WK8, 9 and 10*) the main point is the large extent of deconstruction in these areas, which serves to keep more central *WKs* fully occupied:

⁶⁶ Dieses Arial [sic!] ist für die Stadt Hoyerswerda sowohl in der Innenwirkung wie auch in der Außenwahrnehmung von entscheidender Bedeutung. Den momentan nicht besonders positiven Erwartungen infolge des massiven Rückbaus von Wohnhochhäusern muss aktiv entgegen gesteuert werden. Dieser Bereich muss dazu in seiner Vielfalt an vorhandenen Funktionen für die Gesamtstadt und das Stadtumland erhalten werden. Er ist dazu vorrangig zu stärken und gegebenenfalls mit weiteren Funktionen zeitgemäß zu bereichern (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008a: 11).

These *WKs* represent the main areas of the process of shrinkage from the peripheries to the centre. In far-reaching and extensive analyses and discussions all parties concerned with *Stadtumbau* agreed to dissolve these *WKs* in order to maintain the inner *Neustadt*⁶⁷ (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008a: 12).

Survey Area 4 is described in least detail and generally positively: ‘In the central *Altstadt*-area the building development exhibits a structure of a small town with European imprint... The existing settlement-structure possesses a healthy mix of uses of the area’s housing, work and leisure’⁶⁸ (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008a: 13). Similar assessments apply to Survey Areas 5 and 6, which contain mostly suburban and village like parts of Hoyerswerda. Formulations such as ‘traditional rural structure’⁶⁹ (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008a: 14) and ‘settlement structures typical for the region’⁷⁰ (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008a: 14) express that these areas are not seen as problems. They are ‘stable areas, which are first and foremost formed by individual housing’⁷¹ (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008a: 14).

In sum, the examination of spatial categorisations in Hoyerswerda’s urban policy documents has demonstrated that the main criterion of ‘popularity’ in *InSEK 2003* is not based on the actual popularity of an area (which could be measured in terms of out-migration), but on the perceived quality of housing, the density, the share of landscaping and the proximity to the centre. Underlying this is an ideal of the European City, which is portrayed as the most sustainable urban structure:

The ideal of the traditional bourgeois city of European imprint should be achieved as closely as possible. [In] *Neustadt* the degree of necessary changes is considerably different from [those in] *Altstadt*... With the development of urban diversity the big disadvantage of the monotony of *Plattenbau* areas will be compensated. Measures of upgrading will enhance the availability of common facilities and services. Multi-storey housing will be supplemented with single-family house areas at the urban periphery... Only by mixing urban functions and

⁶⁷ Diese Wohnkomplexe stellen die Hauptareale des Schrumpfungsprozess von Außen nach Innen dar. In tief greifenden und umfassenden Analysen und Diskussionen sind die am Stadtumbau beteiligten Partner hier zu dem Schluss gekommen, diese Wohnkomplexe weitestgehend auszulösen, um die Innere Neustadt erhalten zu können (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008a: 12).

⁶⁸ Im zentralen Altstadtbereich weist die Bebauung die Struktur einer Kleinstadt mit europäischer Prägung auf... Das vorhandene Siedlungsgefüge weist insgesamt eine gesunde Nutzungsmischung der Bereiche Wohnen, Arbeiten und Freizeit auf (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008a: 13).

⁶⁹ ‘traditionelle dörfliche Bebauung’ (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008a: 14)

⁷⁰ ‘regionaltypischen Siedlungsstrukturen’ (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008a: 14)

⁷¹ ‘stabile Bezirke, deren Nutzung in erster Linie durch das individuelle Wohnen geprägt ist’ (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008a: 14).

by offering a variety of housing in interesting, distinctly designed buildings, can the critical mass of urbanity be achieved and living in a city of modern construction can become interesting⁷² (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 45-46).

This is also reflected in the ways in which the different Survey Areas are described in *InSEK 2008*: a healthy mix of uses are related to old city structures, whereas *Neustadt* is only discussed in terms of the planned demolitions. Whereas urban policy in Hoyerswerda for a long time strived to make *Neustadt* a little more like *Altstadt* it seems as if the problem in terms of the urban form is now considered to solve itself at some point, when the urban structures of *Neustadt* that are seen as least desirable are demolished. The following section considers the criteria for demolitions from the first urban policy document that dealt with shrinkage in Hoyerswerda, ‘The Urban Development Concept’ (UDC) [*Städtebauliches Leitbild*] (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999).

6.2.2 Demolition criteria for blocks

The UDC (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 99, 92 ff.) contains the most detailed discussion of criteria for demolition of individual blocks (see Figure 6.1). The criteria are intended to guide considerations of which blocks to demolish, which buildings to retain and what to do with the empty spaces that remain after demolitions. Criteria for intervention (see the box at the top of Figure 6.1) are juxtaposed with criteria for future developments (see the bottom two boxes of Figure 6.1). It is emphasised that restructuring should mainly take place if the emptied spaces improve the existing areas, if they can be used for the construction of new single family houses or of mixed use areas, or if the emptied spaces can be turned into open spaces that are cheap to maintain such as forest (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 98). Deconstruction should, however, not be carried out, if it results in an empty space or even a gap in the existing urban fabric, or if the improvement of the remaining structure is limited, or the deconstruction costs are high (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 99).

⁷² Dem Ideal der traditionellen bürgerlichen Stadt europäischer Prägung soll so nah wie möglich gekommen werden. [In] der Neustadt sind dabei die Größenordnungen der notwendigen Veränderungen deutlich andere als [in] der Altstadt ... Mit der Herausbildung von städtischer Vielfalt soll der große Nachteil der Monotonie der Plattenbaugebiete kompensiert werden. Aufwertungsmaßnahmen sollen das Angebot an Wohnfolgeeinrichtungen verbessern, der Geschosswohnungsbau soll mit Einfamilienhausgebieten am Stadtrand ergänzt werden... Nur durch die Mischung der Funktionen der Stadträume sowie durch Wohnungsvielfalt in interessanten, differenziert ausgebildeten Gebäuden kann die kritische Masse für Urbanität erreicht werden und das Wohnen in einer Stadt des “Modernen Bauens” interessant werden (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 45-46).

Figure 6.1: Criteria for restructuring (i.e. demolition)⁷³

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source: Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe (1999: 99)

Furthermore, the UDC goes into more detail concerning the areas and objects to be retained. In terms of the areas, it states: ‘The older areas of housing are popular, they

⁷³ Scan of the original German version see Appendix Five.

exhibit urban qualities, they should be kept in their structure'⁷⁴ (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 100). Buildings that are to be retained need to fulfil the following principles: they need to represent Hoyerswerda positively or be important for the orientation in the city. A list of several high-rise buildings is provided (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 100).

InSEK 2003 also contains a set of criteria for demolitions; these are however not as detailed. It was suggested to concentrate deconstruction on unpopular building types and types of construction; on high-rises and five to six storey blocks; and to use deconstruction to decrease densities especially in areas where the distance between blocks was low (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 40). In addition, it was suggested to use the emptied ground for improving existing areas, for instance by creating new open spaces and to provide space for single-family houses (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 40). *InSEK 2008* does not contain any criteria for demolishing individual blocks.

The next section extracts spatial rationalities from the *Stadtumbau* process, which can be seen to render the diverse sets of practices, technologies and approaches internally consistent.

6.2.3 *Stadtumbau* and demolitions as a process of healing and rescuing

Population loss and the need to change the city can be seen as a chance for a radically new urban form. The UDC, for instance, contains a call for a mental '*tabula rasa*' in terms of *Neustadt*'s urban form as a basis for reflections on the future of the city:

Based on the severity of the problems (mostly population loss) and of the unique chance to arrive at a completely new urban quality, the adequate approach firstly requires thought to bravely ignore the current substance and usage of construction on the other side of the *Elster* canal and to free one's head for visions... The enclosed collages should prompt new visual ideas and underline the great flexibility and the potential to achieve a qualitative leap in this city⁷⁵ (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 106-107).

⁷⁴ 'Die älteren Wohngebiete sind beliebt, sie weisen städtebauliche Qualitäten auf, sie sollen in ihrer Struktur erhalten werden' (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 100).

⁷⁵ Eine der Schwere des Problems (i.w. Einwohnerverluste) und der sich hier bietenden einmaligen Chance, nämlich zu einer ganz neuen Stadtqualität zu gelangen, angemessener Herangehensweise erfordert *zunächst* den Gedanken, die heutige Bausubstanz und Nutzung beiderseits des Elsterkanals mutig zu ignorieren und den Kopf frei zu machen für Visionen... Die beigelegten Fotokollagen sollen neue visuelle Vorstellungen anregen, den großen Spielraum und

The UDC (1999: 110-111) provides certain ‘examples of urban situations of a particular quality’ in order to provide some guidance in terms of how radical the changes might be. These include photographs of the old town in Utrecht, Netherlands, which highlight the following qualities: canals, quiet zone, landscaping and old city structures; the new city centre of Karst in the Rhine area, which is intended to illustrate: landscape, water and urban diversity. In addition, there is a photograph of a castle in a park in the Netherlands, illustrated with the words: ‘relationship landscape – building’. A photograph of Amsterdam shows canals and old city structures and the range of examples finishes with two photographs from Dresden: one is of the Zwinger (a Baroque mansion) accompanied by the words: ‘differentiated building’, ‘designed landscape’: ‘inside – outside’; the other one is a picture of Moritzburg (a Baroque castle), which emphasises the points ‘solitary building’, ‘designed landscaping’. These examples suggest that urban policy in Hoyerswerda should aim to regenerate *Neustadt* in this direction, even though the functionalist modern urban structure exhibits barely any similarities.

There are two main lines of spatial distinction in the city: first, the divide between *Altstadt* and *Neustadt*; and second, within *Neustadt* between areas that are regarded worth preserving and those seen as ready for demolition, alternatively called ‘build-back’, ‘deconstruction’, ‘restructuring’ or ‘melt-down’ (for a discussion of these terms, see also Section 4.4.3). Furthermore, different characteristics of the population are increasingly linked to the different areas.

In limiting the problem to *Neustadt* and to specific areas within it, shrinkage becomes manageable: the problems of *Neustadt* are detached from and made irrelevant to *Altstadt*. In his election campaign, the new mayor, Skora, allegedly used the analogy of an apple when talking about *Stadtumbau* in the city: to keep the core of an apple you have to cut off the mouldy bits on the outside (see Interview, Henning, CDU, 04/12/2007). Translated into the context of *Stadtumbau* this means, in order to keep the core of the city (its centre), the city has to get rid of its mouldy bits at the peripheries. Furthermore, in demolishing its peripheries, the city rescues the centre – the ‘mouldiness’ of the peripheries is kept from spreading to the core.

die Möglichkeit, einen qualitativen Sprung in der Stadt zu erreichen verdeutlichen (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 106-107).

A similar logic of rescue can also be found in the urban policy documents: 'For the whole city, *Stadtumbau* provides the chance to change the adverse relationship of *Alt-* to *Neustadt* (with the symptoms of a head too heavy for the body⁷⁶) and to arrive at a sustainable structure for the whole city'⁷⁷ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 42). *Neustadt* is cast as an illness – an overgrown hydrocephalic head. *Stadtumbau* may therefore also be seen as a process of healing or balancing.

Underlying this are assumptions about the perceived desirability of urban structures. The naturally grown 'European City' – *Altstadt* - based on a compact urban form, short distances, mixture of uses and types of buildings, is idealised in relation to the planned GDR residential city – *Neustadt* (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 3, 45, 58). In this context, *Stadtumbau* is seen to contribute to rectifying the otherwise unbalanced relationship between *Altstadt* and *Neustadt* (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 42; Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 81).

This means to juxtapose and adjoin... the dominating rationality [of the planned city] with increasing emotionality [of the European city] in the future. The prevailing order is to be softened and controlled by limited elements of disorder⁷⁸ (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 83).

A recurrent theme in Hoyerswerda - the distinction between 'natural' and 'artificial', which applies to both the built structures and to the population structure, is also related to this. *Neustadt* as a physical structure (and its population, see Section 6.4) are seen as 'artificial' whereas the *Altstadt* (and its population) are seen as 'natural' (Interviews Schlegel, 13/03/2008; Henning, 11/12/2007; Baumeister 12/12/2007). People from outside of Hoyerswerda also share this view: '[Hoyerswerda] has developed artificially... it has developed enormously through brown-coal mining in GDR times...

⁷⁶ The German word *Wasserkopfsymptomatik*, which is used here, translates directly to 'syndrome of hydrocephaly'. It refers to an illness, but is often used to describe top-heavy organisations. In relation to the urban structure of Hoyerswerda this expression stands for something *Neustadt* as a part of town that got a bit out of hand, at least in terms of size.

⁷⁷ Für die Gesamtstadt stellt der Stadtumbau die Chance dar, das ungünstige Verhältnis von Alt- und Neustadt (Wasserkopfsymptomatik) zu ändern und zu einer nachhaltigen Struktur der Gesamtstadt zu gelangen (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 42).

⁷⁸ Dies bedeutet... der dominierenden Rationalität [der Planstadt] in Zukunft verstärkt Emotionalität [der europäischen Stadt] gegenüberzustellen und zuzugesellen. Die beherrschende Ordnung muß durch begrenzte Elemente von Unordnung gemildert und kontrolliert werden (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 83).

that's also visible. And now it shrinks to, perhaps, a healthy size...' ⁷⁹ (Interview, Schmidt, *Regierungspräsidium*, 13/03/2008). This implies that urban growth as a side effect of brown coal mining in the GDR or even nineteenth century industrialisation more generally, led to 'unhealthy' urban growth. Shrinkage in these contexts directs urban development to a more 'healthy' size.

In addition, shrinkage can also appear as a process that allows cities to reconnect to regional tradition:

In this region, there was never a city that had 70 or 80,000 inhabitants. Our city used to have 7,000. The cities were not any bigger. We were one of the bigger ones. And now the cities have all 40, 50 and even more than 70,000 [inhabitants] and that's just too big. It doesn't have to be like that, you can also have your specific qualities when you're small ⁸⁰ (Interview Skora, 31/01/2008).

Managing shrinkage, thus, means that the city becomes more 'normal' and reconnects to the traditional sizes of cities in the region. Furthermore, in this context, industrialisation can also be seen as a cause for what then appears as 'abnormal' growth of cities. Current processes of shrinkage are seen to lead to a normalisation:

We assume that our normal cities will again obtain their situation in terms of inhabitants from before the industrialisation... There are always municipalities, that [will take a different path] on the basis of different developments... but in principle it will be like that in the rural areas ⁸¹ (Interview, Weber, *Regierungspräsidium*, 13/03/2008).

The spatial rationalities show that *Stadtumbau* appears as a process to initiate change in the city, but also as a necessary process to rescue and heal the city. This process is governed by ideas and practices of managing shrinkage so the city, and its population structure, become different: better and healthier. Interestingly, as the last illustrations have demonstrated, there are also references to more traditional, more normal sizes that

⁷⁹ '[Hoyerswerda] ist ja auch künstlich entstanden. Das wissen sie ja inzwischen, dass die durch den Braunkohlenabbau ja so enorm sich entwickelt hat zu DDR Zeiten... das ist ja auch sichtbar. Und jetzt schrumpft sie auf ein vielleicht gesundes Maß wieder zurück...' (Interview, Schmidt, *Regierungspräsidium*, 13/03/2008).

⁸⁰ 'in der Region war nie eine Stadt, die 70, 80000 Einwohner hatte, unsere Stadt hat früher 7000 Einwohner gehabt. Größer waren die Städte nicht. Da gehörten wir auch mit zu den etwas größeren schon. Und jetzt sind die Städte alle 40, 50 und sogar über 70000 [Einwohner] und das ist einfach zu groß. Muss ja auch nicht sein, man kann auch seine Qualitäten im Kleinen haben (Interview Skora, 31/01/2008).

⁸¹ 'Wir gehen davon aus, dass die normalen Städte ihren Zustand vor der Industrialisierung bevölkerungsmäßig wieder erhalten werden... da gibt es natürlich immer Kommunen, die auf Grundlage anderer Entwicklungen [sich anders entwickeln] aber vom Grundsatz her im ländlichen Raum wird es so sein (Interview, Weber, *Regierungspräsidium*, 13/03/2008).

are to be achieved through shrinkage. Managing shrinkage, in this context appears as a process that returns the city to what is considered its right size and to a healthier population structure. However, the spatial object of *Stadtumbau*, the European City and the spatial rationalities of healing, rescuing and normalising do not imply that these automatically come about. This becomes clear in examining the points at which *Stadtumbau* and demolition practices diverge from the spatial rationalities of managing shrinkage.

6.2.4 Different spatialities of the demolition practice

Spatial considerations are not only contained in urban policy, but also in the practices of demolition. As this section shows, the considerations of housing companies concerning demolitions are simpler than the lengthy treatment in the policy documents. An important criterion is: the degree to which a house has been modernised. If houses have been modernised it means that housing companies have invested money, and generally, this money has not been paid back to the banks. Which properties are on the books of banks represents not only a new layer of spatial categorisation, but also a rich source of conflicts in the *Stadtumbau* process. The following quotation from an interview with the Head of the private urban planning office (which was commissioned to author the *InSEKs* for the city) highlights this:

[The housing companies] are a bit bound by the banks with everything they do. In Hoyerswerda in the areas of *WK1*, *WK2* we have a grade of modernisation... in *WK2* we have 100%, in other areas we have 60 - 70%, which means money has been spent there as well. There the banks also have their fingers on the houses and sometimes houses at the fringes have been modernised too. We actually say in the next 20 years, we would wish that these fringes move inwards. And here they refuse and say “No, this will not be depicted in the plan that the city will eventually [demolish houses at this place] ... because what are the banks going to say?”⁸² (Interview, Gröbe, 01/02/2008).

⁸² Die Wohnungsunternehmen sind durch die Banken ein bisschen gebunden, bei allem was sie machen. Ich meine in Hoyerswerda bei dem Teil WK1, WK2, da haben wir einen Sanierungsgrad, im WK2 haben wir 100 %, woanders haben wir 60, 70 %, das heißt, da ist auch Geld ausgegeben worden, da haben die Banken ihre Finger mit auf den Häusern, und mitunter sind auch Häuser am Rand saniert worden, wo wir eigentlich sagen, in den nächsten zwanzig Jahren würden wir wünschen, dass eben diese Ränder dann nach innen gehen. Und da weigern die sich und sagen, “nein, das wird im Plan nicht dargestellt, dass die Stadt sozusagen mal am Ende [an dieser Stelle Häuser abreißen wird]”... weil was soll dann die Bank sagen (Interview, Gröbe, 01/02/2008).

The share of modernised housing varies in different areas of the city: most generally investment into modernisation is more likely in the older parts of the city.

Depicting the desired urban form of the future is controversial because of the debts. Figure 6.2, for instance, is taken from the latest version of the urban land use plan [*Flächennutzungsplan*]. In contrast to *InSEKs*, the urban land use plan is a formal planning instrument. It represents the higher tier of the two-tier urban land use plans that each municipality is required to produce by the building law.

Figure 6.2: Urban Land Use Plan 2006 [*Flächennutzungsplan*, *FNP*]

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source: (Stadt Hoyerswerda 2006)

The different coloured areas of the *FNP* denote the following uses: red represents areas for housing, brown stands for mixed use, orange represents special uses such as trade or solar panels, pink is for communal uses, yellow for agriculture and purple for railways. Most importantly, however, the green areas on the *FNP* represent green spaces (not buildings) and shows that the extent of planned demolition is even greater than depicted in the *InSEK* (compare Figure 6.3).

The discussion of the spatial management of shrinkage has demonstrated how different criteria were developed for the demolition or preservation of certain areas or buildings.

Different assumptions about the extent of shrinkage can be seen to underpin these criteria. There is a big difference between the first urban policy document that dealt with the necessity to demolish individual buildings, guided by criteria to determine which buildings to choose, and later documents in which criteria were developed for the demolition of whole areas. Whether or not the buildings or areas to demolish were actually empty was not part of these criteria. The spatial aim or object of *Stadtumbau* was identified as the European City. The *Altstadt* of Hoyerswerda is associated with this urban form, in contrast to *Neustadt*, which is seen as exhibiting opposite qualities. On the basis of this ideal, managing shrinkage is seen as a process of healing and rescuing. However, as the last section showed, for the housing company other factors such as the grade of modernisation of a house, an implicit measure of whether there are still debts to be paid to banks, were identified as playing an important role in the decision making process in the context of shrinkage. Because of the close involvement of banks in the financing of modernisations, depictions of planned demolitions, which may include modernised blocks, are controversial. The last issue indirectly touches on a temporal issue – past actions of renovation having an impact on the current demolition practices this is discussed further in the next section.

6.3 Temporal management of shrinkage

Processes of population loss and economic decline are connected to certain risks in the future. If both continue, they pose an impending threat to the maintenance of different infrastructures and services and eventually also to the existence of the city. Managing shrinkage has one main aim, which is to eventually overcome it: ‘The highest aim for the development of the city can only be to develop a strategy for securing [its] survival...’ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 42).

The temporal practices and techniques of shrinkage involve different aspects: firstly forecasting population processes including the distinction between issues of ‘natural’ and migration losses and from this projecting how many demolitions are required; secondly, assessing the extent of demographic change, which is seen as a self-perpetuating population loss and therefore as a threat to the city’s existence. Finally, temporal considerations in terms of the demolition practices bring into view considerations of the importance of debts on houses and the management of relocations.

6.3.1 Projections of population loss

Predictions of processes such as population or economic development can be seen as an important technique of the government of shrinkage. Predictions are in this context not seen as neutral statistical evidence; rather, emphasis is put on how calculations of future probabilities contain assumptions about the kind of processes that the forecasts deal with. How durations of social processes such as population loss or economic decline are envisaged, for instance, as finite or infinite, long-term or short-term, has strong implications for the way in which they are forecasted. It also makes a difference how past and current tendencies are related to future developments because prognoses are based upon particular understandings of how social processes in the past, present and future relate to each other (see Section 3.4.3). In addition, the way in which different processes are seen to link to each other has effects on forecasts. This section shows that it makes a difference whether population loss and economic decline are seen in relation to the expectation of a rapid catch-up process of the GDR to the FRG which is informed by post-socialist transition, or in relation to processes such as demographic change. This section examines the way in which an area's stability is constituted. It is argued that stability can be seen as a technique of risk assessment, following the understanding of 'risk [as] a calculation of uncertainty in the future' (Reith 2004: 386, as outlined in Section 3.4.3).

Population loss and vacant housing appeared as inevitable effects of post-Unity restructuring, but also as something that could be eventually overcome. When population loss and vacant housing were first problematised in Hoyerswerda both phenomena were treated as short-term. This is reflected in calculations about how long it would take the city to adapt to the new situation:

Soon after the year 2000, relations are to be expected which would be similar to those in the Old Federal Republic if a stabilisation of the jobs on offer works out... The major part of the current unemployment in Hoyerswerda is based on structural requirements of adaptation, i.e. the lowering of the high labour force participation rate to the level of the FRG⁸³ (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 51).

⁸³ [B]ald nach dem Jahre 2000 [wären] Verhältnisse zu erwarten, die denen der Alten Bundesländer entsprächen, wenn eine Stabilisierung des Arbeitsplatzangebotes gelingt... [D]er überwiegende Teil der heutigen Arbeitslosigkeit

The basis of this presumption was that the level of labour force participation, which was considerably higher in the GDR (based on the legal right to work and high female employment) would sink to the German standard.

However, in Hoyerswerda, economic decline and population loss turned out to be more persistent and the city continues to lose population twenty years after German Unity. Whether or when shrinkage will come to a halt is difficult to predict. This becomes clear when past projections are compared with what actually happened. The purpose of doing this is not to show that calculations contained mistakes or that assumptions about development tendencies were wrong, i.e. too positive. Rather, it is to examine the rationalities that underpin different ways of forecasting.

A comparison of projections regarding population changes in the different urban policy documents of Hoyerswerda shows that the expected numbers have been regularly adjusted to fewer inhabitants as the actual population loss has continued to exceed the calculations (see Table 6.1). The UDC was published when the city had 54,157⁸⁴ inhabitants (Stat. Landesamt Freistaat Sachsen). Calculations by the City of Hoyerswerda predicted 46,000 inhabitants in 2010 and calculations by the statisticians of the *Land* Saxony predicted between 43,000 and 46,000 inhabitants (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 8-9). *InSEK 2003*, which was published when the city had 46,381⁸⁵ inhabitants, contains projections of 35,000 inhabitants in 2015 (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 10); and *InSEK 2008* is based on calculations that Hoyerswerda will have 30,000 inhabitants in 2020 and may eventually stabilise between 26,000 and 28,000 beyond 2030 (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008b: 7). At the end of 2009, the actual number of inhabitants was 38,218 (Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen 2010), which is between 5,000 and 8,000 inhabitants fewer than predicted in 1999 (see Table 6.1).

in Hoyerswerda [ist] auf strukturelle Anpassungserfordernisse, d.h. Senkung der hohen DDR- Erwerbsquote auf BRD- Niveau zurückzuführen (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 51).

⁸⁴ Number of inhabitants on 31/12/1998 (Statistisches Landesamt Freistaat Sachsen)

⁸⁵ Number of inhabitants on 31/12/2002 (Statistisches Landesamt Freistaat Sachsen)

Table 6.1: Projected population loss in urban policy documents

	population at publication of urban policy	2010	2015	2020	2030 and beyond
UDC 1999	54,157 (31.12.1998)	46,000			
InSEK 2003	46,381 (31.12.2002)		35,000		
InSEK 2008	40,294 (31.12.2007)			30,000	26,000 – 28,000

source: numbers from Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe (1999), Pb. Gröbe (2003) and Pb.

Gröbe – HY/SV HY (2008b)

To calculate how the predicted population development relates to the number of apartments that will remain vacant in the long-term, a range of different issues are taken into consideration, such as future housing needs, which include deliberations on the development of household-sizes, and of floor-space per head and the forms of tenancy. If there is a tendency for people increasingly to live alone or in small households and if people live in increasing areas of floor-space, fewer apartments become vacant even if the population decreases. This can lead to considerably different estimations as the extreme case of UDC showed (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 16-20). When the 1999 UDC was published 3,000 apartments were empty (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 16). This was expected to rise by between 6,000 and 7,000 apartments by 2016, which would account for one third of the initial housing in *Neustadt* (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 18). At this time, the suggestion was to demolish 5,000 apartments (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 84). *InSEK 2003* states that by December 2002 1,485 apartments had been demolished. Vacant apartments had risen to 4,500, which represents an increase of 1,500 since the 1999 UDC was written. An additional 5,000 to 6,000 apartments were expected to become vacant by 2010. The long-term vacancies were expected to range between 8,000 and 9,000 apartments. *InSEK 2003* proposed to demolish 8,500 apartments in the next ten years, which means a total demolition of 10,000 (including apartments that had already been demolished) (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 38). This means, in the four-year period between the publication of the UDC and the *InSEK 2003*, the envisaged number of apartments to be demolished had doubled (see Table 6.2):

Table 6.2: Projected number of vacant apartments and suggested demolition

	Vacant apartments at publication of urban policy	Expected vacancies (year)	Number of suggested demolitions	Demolitions that were carried out until then (year)	Total of demolitions (past and future)
UDC 1999	3,000	6,700	5,000	-	5,000
InSEK 2003	4,500	+ 5-6,000	8,500	1,485 (2002)	10,000
InSEK 2008			5,700	5,481 (2007)	11,000

source: Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe (1999), Pb. Gröbe (2003) and Pb. Gröbe – HY/SV HY (2008b)

The trend for increased numbers of expected demolitions continues in the latest urban policy document *InSEK 2008*. It states that a total of 5,481 apartments were demolished by 2007 and another 5,700 apartments were expected to be demolished by 2020 (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008f: 4). In addition, vacancies of 2,000 apartments were forecasted (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008f: 3). Between UDC 2030 and *InSEK 2003* the total of apartments to be demolished rose again as did the number of apartments that were expected to be vacant. The crucial difference is that UDC assumed the extent of population loss did not require the large-scale demolition of whole areas of the city because it predicted an increasing use of floor-space per person and the economic situation was also considered to be more positive.

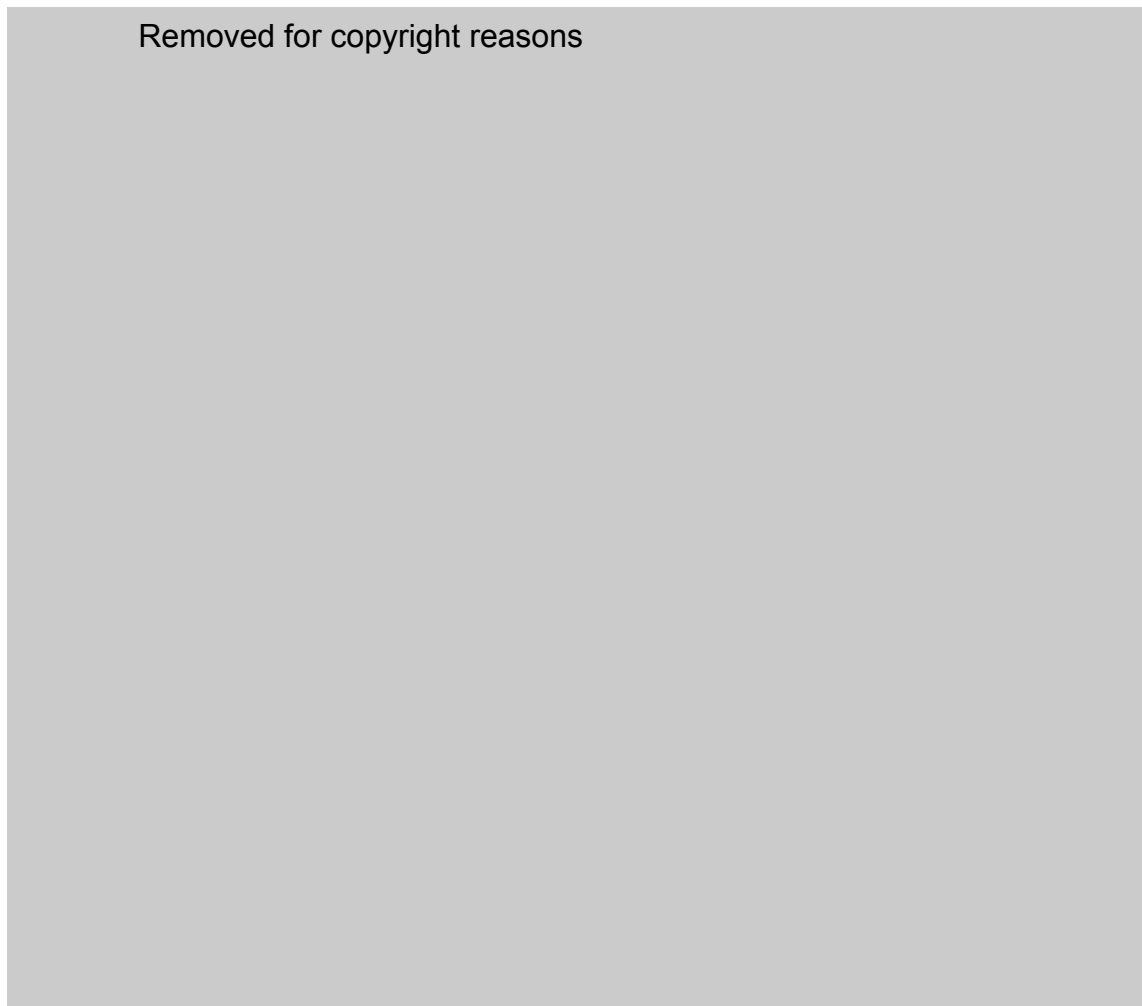
However, despite the discrepancies between the predictions and the actual development of population and vacancies, the practices of predicting remain important temporal techniques of governing shrinkage. In examining how different areas of the city are distinguished according to their future prospects, more detailed insights are provided in terms of the imagined distribution of population loss in the city.

6.3.2 Determining different areas' 'stability'

An examination of different areas' 'stability', which is an additional measure to assumptions about different areas' 'popularity' (see Section 6.2.1) in the urban policy

documents, provides new insights into how the city is imagined to develop and which thoughts accompany these expectations. At first sight, it appears as if population loss was the main measure for identifying problem areas. The main criterion of spatial categorisation, ‘stability’, seems to characterise the tendency of an area to lose population. Figure 6.3 maps ‘stability’ on Hoyerswerda.

Figure 6.3: Overview population development



source: Pb. Gröbe (2003: 18)

‘Stable areas’ with a loss of inhabitants of less than 15% are depicted in yellow. The blue ‘areas with inhabitant loss’ are projected to lose between 15% and 30% of their inhabitants. ‘Areas with a high loss of inhabitants’ of more than 30% are highlighted in red and the blue and red striped area depicts ‘areas with tendencies of high population loss’ (*WK10*). Figure 6.3 does not state whether this reflects the current situation or

whether it is a projection of past trends into the future. This is a crucial point, as the following discussion of the individual areas in *InSEK 2003* shows.

The *Altstadt* is projected to lose population through so-called ‘natural processes’ i.e. the number of births expected in this area is lower than the projected number of deaths. However, this does not mean that this area is seen as unstable: ‘On the basis of the popularity of the Altstadt, a migration-gain is imaginable, which is projected with a plus of 600 inhabitants, so that the population of the *Altstadt* is estimated stable at about 9,000 inhabitants’⁸⁶ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 13). In *WKs 1-4* few people are expected to move away because of the area’s popularity (see 6.2.1). Yet, a high rate of ‘natural’ loss of population of more than 17% is anticipated in this area because the inhabitants are relatively old. *InSEK 2003* concludes that 800-950 apartments are no longer needed in *WK1-4* and that ‘by targeted deconstruction of individual objects [blocks] and preservation of the city structure worth preserving’⁸⁷ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 14), the needed reduction of buildings is possible.

WKs 5-7 are expected to lose more population through out-migration than ‘natural’ population processes, because the average age of the population in this area is younger and younger people are less likely to die, but more likely to move away. In *WK8 and 9* the largest loss of inhabitants is projected: by 2010, 7,500 inhabitants are expected to have left these areas, which is not projected to be offset by in-migration. This is despite a relatively young average age in these areas meaning the natural loss of population will be low. As a result of the out-migration of the population, 3,200 apartments will no longer be needed.

WK10 represents an interesting case in terms of the layering of criteria and how it is interpreted in *InSEK 2003*:

The population in this housing area is so young that natural development would lead to an increase of inhabitants of 400 persons by the year 2010. This is not only an unusual case in the city, but also very atypical for Saxony or Germany as a whole. The average age of 30.7 years is around 15 years below the average age of

⁸⁶ ‘Auf Grund der Beliebtheit der Altstadt ist aber auch ein Wanderungsgewinn denkbar, der in der Prognose mit rund 600 Einwohnern angenommen wurde, so dass die Bevölkerung in der Altstadt bei etwa 9.000 Einwohnern als stabil einzuschätzen ist’ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 13).

⁸⁷ ‘durch gezielten Rückbau von Einzelobjekten unter Erhaltung der erhaltenswerten Siedlungsstruktur’ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 14).

the whole city. This low average age is not only explicable on the basis of the late completion of this housing area and the connected move-in of younger groups of inhabitants. It is suspected that to a large extent inhabitants have settled here who were looking for affordable housing. Even if the part-modernisation and the quality of the WBS-70-type of building result in good and cheap housing, we cannot conclude that these people will continue to commit themselves to this housing area in the long term and that according reproduction of population would be the effect⁸⁸ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 15).

If the classification criteria represented the current tendencies of an area to lose population, *WK10* would have to be classified as 'stable': its population is even expected to increase. However, the population is not expected to remain and for this reason, *WK10* is designated as an area for restructuring, meaning large-scale demolition. The reasoning behind this conclusion reveals an interesting new aspect:

Because it is obvious that with a stable continuation of letting in the inner city areas a full occupation of *WK10* cannot be anticipated and a loss [of inhabitants] through migration is assumed as a result of controlled relocation to central areas. The relocation of 2,000 inhabitants to 2015 will result in the halving of the number of inhabitants. The number of households would decrease from 1,400 today to 900. Accordingly, 800 apartments will no longer be needed in this part of the city⁸⁹ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 15).

WK10 would be stable if its population was not forced to participate in 'controlled relocations' to central areas in order to secure the stable continuation of rental occupation and thus the future stability of these areas. In the *Neustadt* centre, similar to the other newer *WKs*, natural population development does not result in high population loss, however, many people moved away. 1,300 apartments will no longer be needed in

⁸⁸ Die Bevölkerung in diesem Wohngebiet ist so jung, dass sie bei der natürlichen Entwicklung bis zum Jahre 2010 zu einem Anstieg der Einwohner um rund 400 Personen führen würde. Dies ist nicht nur in der Stadt ein ungewöhnlicher Fall, sondern auch ganz untypisch für Sachsen oder Gesamtdeutschland. Das Durchschnittsalter von 30,7 Jahren liegt rund 15 Jahre unter dem Durchschnittsalter von Gesamt-Hoyerswerda. Dieses niedrige Durchschnittsalter ist nicht allein aus der späten Fertigstellung des Wohngebiets und dem damit verbundenen Einzug von jüngeren Bevölkerungsgruppen erklärbar. Es wird vermutet, dass sich hier in großem Umfang Einwohner angesiedelt haben, die den angebotenen preisgünstigen Wohnraum suchten. Auch wenn die bisherige Teilmodernisierung und die Qualität der WBS-70-Bauweise guten und preisgünstigen Wohnraum ergeben, kann nicht allein aus dieser Tatsache geschlossen werden, dass sich diese Leute deshalb nachhaltig an das Wohngebiet binden und eine entsprechende Bevölkerungsreproduktion die Folge wäre (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 15).

⁸⁹ Da aber offensichtlich ist, dass bei einer stabilen Nachvermietung der inneren Stadtbereiche eine volle Belegung des *WK10* auf lange Sicht nicht zu erwarten ist, wird ein Wanderungsverlust in Folge von gesteuertem Umzug in zentrale Bereiche angenommen. Fortzüge von rund 2.000 Einwohnern hätten bis zum Jahre 2015 in etwa eine Halbierung der Einwohnerzahl zur Folge. Die Zahl der Haushalte würde sich dann von derzeit 1.400 auf knapp 900 Haushalte reduzieren. Dementsprechend werden auch etwa 800 Wohnungen in diesem Stadtteil nicht mehr benötigt (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 15).

this area, meaning more than half of the high-rise buildings will be demolished. Table 6.1 provides an overview of the different numbers and conclusions that arise from the discussion of the different *WKs* in *InSEK 2003*:

Table 6.3: Areas according to their stability in *InSEK 2003*

	Altstadt	<i>WK1-4</i>	<i>WK5-7</i>	<i>WK8-9</i>	<i>WK10</i>	centre (Neustadt)
inhabitants (2000)	9,135	-	-	-	-	-
inhabitants (2015)	8,329	7,200	-	-	-	-
natural population development	-	- 17% (2015)	- 1,200	-	+ 400 (2010)	-
projected in- migration	+ 600	yes	no	no	no	yes
projected out- migration	no	- 1,100	-	- 7,500	yes	no
forced migration	no	no	- 2,500	yes	- 2,000	no
average age (2000)	-	47.8	45.1	42.5	30.7	42
vacant apartments	-	800-950	1,700	3,200	800	1,300
conclusion	stable with 9,000 inhabi- tants	relatively stable	relatively stable in the centre, unstable at the edges	‘unstable areas’	relatively stable, but few chances of develop- ment unstable as a result’	‘unstable’

source: compiled from Pb. Gröbe (2003: 13-16)

Table 6.3 points to a range of interesting issues, which are highlighted in grey: the *Altstadt* is the only area where in-migration is projected. *WK1-4* loses population through natural population development and out-migration, but it is still categorised as ‘relatively stable’. *WK10* is the only area that has a projected natural population gain because of its exceptionally young inhabitants, which means it could be classified as stable. Instead, it is classified as having ‘few chances of development’ and ‘unstable as

a result'. On the basis on this assessment, 2,000 inhabitants will be forced to relocate in order to maintain the central parts of the city. An area's stability is the result of a population steering process. Figure 6.3 does not show the actual population development, but is an illustration of the desired developments: it depicts what is expected to happen because of the chosen *Stadtumbau* strategy. Moreover, the way in which stability is mapped on Hoyerswerda reflects the perceived quality of areas, which is reflected in assumptions about different areas' 'popularity' as discussed in Section 6.2.1. An important, but underlying part of the consideration is the perceived 'commitment' of each area's population: the population of *WK10* is not expected to 'commit' to the area in the long term.

InSEK 2008, which is structured according to survey areas, follows the same assessments of stability. However, it includes a more detailed set of data (see Table 6.4), which provides an overview of the development of the inhabitant numbers for the different Survey Areas. This shows that even areas that are described as 'stable' (such as Survey Areas 1 and 2) have lost, and are projected to continue losing, large shares of their inhabitants despite the forced in-migration of inhabitants from Survey Area 3. Furthermore, Survey Area 3 will be practically given up as an area of settlement, whereas Survey Areas 4 and 5 are expected to remain stable. Survey Area 6 – Hoyerswerda's suburbia - is the only area with a predicted increase of population. Hoyerswerda *Neustadt* is expected to house less than half the number of inhabitants it did in 1994.

Table 6.4: Population statistics Hoyerswerda⁹⁰

	Hoyerswerda total	Survey Area 1 <i>WK1-3, Neustadt Centre</i>	Survey Area 2 <i>WK4-7</i>	Survey Area 3 <i>WK8-10</i>	Survey Area 4 <i>Altstadt</i>	Survey Area 5 <i>Altstadt, villages</i>	Survey Area 6 suburbs
1994	62,286 (91.0%)	14,139 (100%)	15,788 (100%)	17,833 (100%)	6,574 (100%)	3,810 (100%)	3,869 (100%)
1997	56,218 (82.2%)	11,724 (82.9%)	13,448 (85.4%)	14,578 (81.7%)	5,792 (88.1%)	3,826 (100.4%)	4,836 (125%)
2000	50,203 (73.4%)	9,746 (68.9%)	12,362 (78.3%)	11,830 (66.3%)	6,101 (92.8%)	3,719 (99.2%)	5,611 (145%)
2003	45,011 (65.8%)	8,329 (58.9%)	11,181 (70.8%)	9,289 (52.1%)	5,922 (90.1%)	3,874 (101.7%)	5,658 (146.2%)
2007	40,294 (58.9%)	7,504 (53.1%)	10,564 (66.9%)	6,053 (33.9%)	6,048 (92.0%)	3,922 (102.9%)	5,542 (143.2%)
2010	37,600 (55.0%)	6,700 (47.4%)	9,700 (61.4%)	4,700 (26.4%)	5,900 (89.7%)	4,000 (105%)	5,500 (142%)
2015	33,800 (49.4%)	5,500 (38.9%)	8,400 (53.2%)	3,400 (19.1%)	5,600 (85.2%)	3,900 (102%)	5,300 (137%)
2020	30,600 (44.7%)	4,500 (31.8%)	7,100 (45.0%)	2,800 (15.7%)	5,200 (79.1%)	3,700 (97.0%)	5,000 (129%)

source: compiled from Pb. Gröbe - HY/SV HY (2008)

The expected population loss appears as the result of the chosen *Stadtumbau* strategy. After all, UDC stated that population loss between 1993 and 1997 was equally distributed between *Alt-* and *Neustadt* – 17% in each part of the city (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 92). Because the decision was made to give up *WK10*, it is projected to lose most of its population. In Table 6.4 the impact of *Stadtumbau* practices is visible most clearly because the numbers provided until 2007 are the actual numbers of population loss. It shows that only one third of the initial population is left in *WK10*.

In the next section, problematisations related to the demographic situation are examined.

⁹⁰ For the total numbers of the whole city, 1990 is set as 100% - a comparison between the total and the Survey Areas needs to keep this in mind. The inhabitant number of 1994 is set 100% for all Survey Areas. In the column Hoy total, the percentages refer to the share of inhabitants in relation to 1990. In all other columns percentages are set at 100% in 1994.

6.3.3 Problematisations related to the demographic situation

Concerns for the demographic situation in Hoyerswerda were mentioned in almost every interview and are part of almost every urban policy document of the city. In most cases, these concerns were related to the ways in which the demographic situation was seen to affect the city's future prospects. Certain demographic issues can be seen as a risk for the city's future. A self-perpetuating population loss, for instance threatens the existence of the whole city:

Shrinkage continues, we have a horizon until 2020, which is when we expect that the city will have around 30,000 inhabitants. We're just below 40,000 now [in 2008]. So we expect to lose another 10,000 inhabitants. That's why I say – that's purely calculated – if the development continues in the same manner [think of the] pyramid of age. If... until 2020, there is somehow an economic stabilisation in the region, this process would be slowed down. But [viewed] from pure demographics: the children that are not born cannot have any children. And those who are of an age that they don't get any more children, they die at some stage and then they're no longer there. And if no children come, or people from other areas...⁹¹ (Interview, Skora, 31/01/2008).

Even though the Mayor leaves the final conclusions to the listener, it is clear that he draws a bleak picture of the future of the city if the region does not become economically stable.

Younger people tend to move away more readily than older people (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008b: 4). However, if young people (mainly women in their reproductive years) move away, fewer babies are likely to be born in the city. If this continues and if the birth rates remain below the reproduction rate, the city is ageing because the average age and the share of older people rises. The process of ageing is problematised frequently in the urban policy documents, and is reflected in repeated references to the high average age in different areas of the city (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008b; Pb. Gröbe 2003).

⁹¹ Das Schrumpfen geht weiter, wir haben ja einen Betrachtungszeitraum bis zum Jahre 2020, und da gehen wir (davon) aus, dass die Stadt um die 30000 Einwohner haben wird. Wir sind ja jetzt etwas unter 40. Also wir gehen davon aus 10000 Einwohner noch verlieren werden. Deswegen sage ich ja - das ist jetzt rein gerechnet - wenn die Entwicklung so weitergeht, [denken Sie an die] Alterspyramide. Wenn es... bis 2020, vielleicht eine gewisse wirtschaftliche Stabilisierung in der Region passieren würde, dann würde dieser Prozeß auch etwas gebremst. Aber rein von der Demografie [betrachtet]: die Kinder, die nicht geboren werden können wieder keine Kinder haben. Und wer in dem Alter ist, dass er keine Kinder mehr kriegt, der stirbt dann irgendwann, und ist dann auch nicht mehr da. Und wenn nicht Kinder dazu kommen, oder Zuwanderer... (Interview, Skora, 31/01/2008).

In the first years of *Stadtumbau*, population loss was problematised because too many people were moving away: 'It will be decisive whether and to what extent the city succeeds in slowing down the strong out-migration [of inhabitants] or to even bring it to a stand-still'⁹² (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 9, 13). In recent years, the problem of natural population loss has gained importance – a process that is seen likely to continue into the future:

The share of population loss consisted of about one third from the balance between births and deaths and about two thirds from the balance between in-migration and out-migration. This relationship is changing and will shift towards a higher share of population loss from the balance between births to deaths⁹³ (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008b: 4).

In terms of the calculations involved, migration losses and natural losses are regarded differently. Migration losses have undesirable side effects because younger and more educated people tend to move away more readily than older, less well educated people (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 7, 74). If fewer people remain with good educational attainment, the city is less attractive for investors and endogenous development is considered less likely to take place.

The problem is actually that population loss has led to an unbalanced demographic situation and that our human capital, which we considered as an advantage [of the city] previously, is meanwhile in age groups that are no longer active [professionally]... and the human capital which developed thereafter is not of the same quality that we were used to⁹⁴ (Interview, Urban Planner, 12/03/2008).

In addition, not only the economic prospects are seen to suffer with increasing demographic change, the social situation is considered under threat as well:

Meanwhile the structure of our population is changing... as some politicians express it elegantly: the proportion of citizens alien to education demands a totally different approach to when we had a population structure that was mixed well in

⁹² Entscheidend wird sein, ob und inwieweit es der Stadt gelingt, die starke Abwanderung zu verringern oder sogar zum Stillstand zu bringen (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 9, 13).

⁹³ Der Anteil am Bevölkerungsrückgang bestand zu ca. 1/3 aus der Differenz Geburten- Sterbefälle und ca. 2/3 aus der Differenz Zuzüge - Fortzüge. Das Verhältnis ändert sich und wird sich in den kommenden Jahren in Richtung eines größeren Anteils des Bevölkerungsrückgangs aus Geburten zu Sterbefällen verschieben (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008b: 4).

⁹⁴ Das Problem ist eigentlich, dass der Bevölkerungsrückgang dazu geführt hat, dass wir zurzeit eine demografische Schieflage haben und dass unser Humankapital, das wir bisher als ein Vorteil empfunden haben nun mittlerweile in die Altersgruppe gekommen ist, die [beruflich] nicht mehr aktiv [ist]... und das Humankapital, was nachgewachsen ist, natürlich nicht die Qualität hat, die wir mal gewöhnt waren (Interview, Urban Planner, 12/03/2008).

terms of the social. On the basis of the suburbanisation... human capital moved to the surrounding areas, which we can't draw on to push social tensions in a positive direction. That's why I think that we have to have an eye on this problem so we don't develop a social drawback⁹⁵ (Interview, Urban Planner, 12/03/2008).

Population loss seen in this way poses a strain on the remaining population and can be seen as a future risk for the city.

Wider issues of strategic temporal management of shrinkage are also based on practical temporal considerations in relation to the demolition process, which are to a certain extent much easier to steer than population forecasting. However, the practical temporal considerations show some of the constraints to the strategy of shrinking from the peripheries to the centre.

6.3.4 Temporal considerations of demolition and preservation practices

Within Hoyerswerda, the management of shrinkage is based on the relocation of population from demolition areas at the fringes of the city to preservation areas closer to the centre. Certain temporal considerations are connected to these relocations and certain constraints play a role, for instance, the issue of whether houses have been modernised and carry debt, and the rate at which vacancies occur in the preservation areas.

An interesting issue emerges when the distribution of modernised housing is compared to the assessment of areas in terms of 'stability'. In 'stable' areas, the share of modernised to un-modernised housing is 80% to 20%; in the new town buildings of the *Altstadt* this share is 60% to 40%; and in 'unstable' areas (such as *WK10*) there is little modernisation (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 30). Assessments in terms of stability and practices of modernisation seem to go hand in hand. In addition, past investments represent a stake in the future as modernised blocks are rarely subject to demolitions.

⁹⁵ [M]ittlerweile haben wir doch Veränderungen in der Bevölkerungsstruktur... wie manche Politiker das jetzt vornehm ausdrücken: die Menge der bildungsfernen Bürger bedarf einer ganz anderen Aufmerksamkeit, als wo wir noch eine gut sozial durchmischte Bevölkerungsstruktur in der Neustadt hatten. Durch die Suburbanisierung ... ist uns da auch, Humankapital ins Umfeld gelaufen, das wir jetzt natürlich nicht mehr einsetzen können um diese sozialen Spannungen ja auszuleben, in eine positive Richtung. Deshalb denke ich muss man dieses Problem jetzt sehr aufmerksam weiter verfolgen, damit wir da nicht einen sozialen Missstand landen (Interview, Urban Planner, 12/03/2008).

In addition, the rate of demolition is also influenced by the speed of the relocation procedure, which is managed by the housing companies. The main criterion for a relocation to take place from the fringes is a vacancy in the centre:

A little bit of artistry is needed to keep the core area filled, 100% utilised,... That's similar to a glass of water that has a little hole at the bottom, all the time it leaks a little. But the difficult thing for me is that I cannot plan who is going to terminate their tenancy agreement tomorrow; or who is going to die tomorrow; which apartment is going to be free tomorrow. I don't know that, neither in terms of the size nor the location, nor the price. We cannot plan exactly: I'll get so many two bedroom apartments so many one bedroom apartments. That's quite vague, but in terms of the scale I know it. At the moment there are between 40 and 50 apartments per month and that's a logistical task to fill these with people from the building back areas⁹⁶ (Interview Fietzek, head of *Lebensräume*, 09/07/2009).

The timing of demolitions at the fringes of the city is thus largely determined by the emergence of vacancies in the centre. If vacancies occur in the centre, people from the fringes are asked to relocate there. As the head of the housing company confirms:

The whole 'building back' [demolition] is a very dynamic process. We have defined our core area that needs to be administered, and this is the crucial part: if vacancies occur here that cannot be filled by external demand [e.g. people moving to Hoyerswerda], I take inhabitants from the areas of building back and put them there. For me, that's the indicator whether building back is necessary or not⁹⁷ (Interview Fietzek, 09/07/2009).

Yet, before apartments in the fringes are actively emptied through forced relocations by the housing company, they have to become economically unviable, which means a certain extent of vacancies has to occur in a block that is going to be demolished. Until

⁹⁶ Das ist so ein bisschen unsere Kunst es immer so zu versuchen, den Kernbestand voll zu halten, 100%ige Auslastung,... Das ist wie ein Glas Wasser, da ist unten ein kleines Loch drin, es fließt immer ein kleines bisschen raus. [Aber] das für mich schwierige ist, ich kann heute noch nicht planen, wer wird denn morgen eine Wohnung kündigen? Oder wer stirbt denn morgen? Welche Wohnung wird denn morgen frei? Das weiß ich nicht, weder von der Größe, noch von der Lage, noch vom Preis. Also wir können nicht genau planen, also ich bekomme nächstes Jahr so viele Dreiraum-Wohnungen zurück, so viele Zweiraum-Wohnungen... Das ist alles noch sehr vage, aber von der Größenordnung weiß ich es. Gegenwärtig sind es pro Monat so zwischen vierzig und fünfzig Wohnungen, die zurückkommen. Und jetzt ist das logistisch eine Aufgabe die zu füllen mit den von den Rückbaugebieten (Interview, Fietzek, 09/07/2010).

⁹⁷ Der ganze Rückbau ist ja inzwischen ein sehr dynamischer Prozess. Wir haben definiert, was ist unser zu bewirtschaftender Kernbestand, und der ist eigentlich für mich ein bisschen das bestimmende, wenn hier Leerstand entsteht, den ich nicht mehr durch externe Nachfrage decken kann, nehme ich dafür Bewohner aus den Rückbaugebieten und setze die dort hinein. Also das ist für mich der Indikator, ist Rückbau notwendig, oder nicht (Interview Fietzek, 09/07/2009).

between 30% and 40% of flats are empty in a block, it is still economically viable and there is no direct reason for the housing company to demolish it:

We have a block [in WK9] for which demolition has been postponed in two consecutive years... there are only four [apartments] vacant... why should we demolish that? Even if it's in the *InSEK* ten times. I don't demolish something because it's noted down in the *InSEK*: rather, I demolish if a block can no longer be run economically. So we said, "Let's postpone it for a year." It was still as full so we postponed it again. Now we consider whether we're going to demolish it in 2011. Still nothing has changed in its utilisation. I can continue to postpone it, maybe we demolish in 2015. We consider the real situation. I won't demolish a block that's 80% or 90% occupied⁹⁸ (Interview Fietzek, 09/07/2009).

The relocation process can be approached from both directions – the emergence of new vacancies in the centre or when a block of flats in a demolition area is no longer economically viable because a certain threshold of vacancies has been reached. This strategy excludes some blocks on the fringes that have been modernised. This adds a crucial temporal dimension because modernisations were financed by loans, which often have not been repaid fully. These debts thus put limitations on the *Stadtumbau* process: *where* to demolish, but also *when* this is possible, i.e. when the debts have been cleared. Past actions, i.e. modernisations, have an impact in the future of apartment blocks.

The housing companies seek to influence the demolition procedure by steering relocations and making sure that every block stays economically viable and the core area remains filled. Spatial considerations such as the locations of demolition blocks, which represented the main considerations in the urban policy documents (see Section 6.2.1 and 6.2.2), play a smaller role:

[O]ur decision, whether or not a block is economically viable is based on different considerations than those of the urban planner. The urban planner sees whether there is a line of sight or whether it looks nice – according to qualitative aspects...

⁹⁸ Wir haben ein Haus [in WK9], das haben wir schon zwei Jahre in Folge mit dem Rückbau verschoben..., da sind nur vier [Wohnungen] leer... warum sollen wir das abreißen? Auch wenn es 10 mal im *InSEK* drin steht. Ich reiße ja nicht etwas ab, weil es im *InSEK* drin steht, sondern ich reiße ab, wenn ein Haus nicht mehr wirtschaftlich zu betreiben ist. Also haben wir gesagt: „Verschieben (wir es) um ein Jahr“. Es war dann immer noch so voll, da haben wir es wieder verschoben. Jetzt überlegen wir, ob wir es im Jahr 2011 abreißen. Es hat sich aber an der Auslastung nichts geändert. Ich kann das immer weiter verschieben, vielleicht reißen wir es erst 2015 ab. Wir orientieren uns also tatsächlich an den realen Gegebenheiten. Ich werde nicht ein Haus abreißen, was zu 90% oder 80% noch belegt ist (Interview Fietzek, 09/07/2009).

is it a compact city, or is it a perforated city, or whatever? ... We have to see: which flats in which locations do our customers ask for? ... There are always discrepancies between what we want and what we can afford and what the urban planner wants. You have to try and negotiate this and sometimes it works out, sometimes the issue of working towards a beautiful city... has to come second, because... we have to survive economically so that we can act at all and create anew again⁹⁹ (Interview, Fietzek, 09/07/2009).

In sum, the discussion of the temporal management of shrinkage showed that there are different practices of calculating population loss, which can be seen as a form of calculating risk. This is particularly clear in the assessment of individual areas' stability, which is a measure of the area's tendency to lose population: areas that are expected to lose population are considered unstable, those that are not are considered stable. A closer examination of this measure demonstrated that rather than representing actual tendencies for population loss, these measures stand for the planned pattern of population loss. Managing the risk of population loss in the city temporally is a way to make sure that the more central areas of the city can be maintained in the long term, while other areas are abandoned. In this way, spatial and temporal rationalities and practices intersect.

In recent years, the impending risk of demographic change, which turns a process of adaptation into a self-perpetuating maelstrom of decline, looms over concerns with population loss. These are least evident in the day-to-day temporary management of demolitions, which is organised in a manner that provides maximum flexibility and security to the housing company. However, in terms of considerations that deal with the characteristics of the remaining population, demographic change is frequently problematised. This is because the remaining population is not only ageing, but also has less educational attainment. Spatial and temporal considerations of managing shrinkage are thus closely related to concerns for the subjects and the population, for instance, in terms of the effects that a temporal management of shrinkage has on them. Links are,

⁹⁹ Unsere Entscheidung ob ein Haus zu bewirtschaften ist, oder nicht, wird oft unter anderen Aspekten gesehen, als das der Stadtplaner macht. Der Stadtplaner der guckt ob da eine entsprechende Sichtachse da ist, oder ob das schön aussieht - also eher nach qualitativen Aspekten,... ist das eine kompakte Stadt, oder ist das eine perforierte Stadt, oder was auch immer... Wir müssen schauen: welche Wohnungen an welchen Standorten werden denn durch unsere Kunden nachgefragt? ... so gibt es immer wieder Diskrepanzen zwischen dem, was wir wollen und glauben auch bezahlen zu können, und was der Stadtplaner will. Das muss man versuchen unter einen Hut zu bekommen, manchmal geht das, manchmal müssen wir aber auch, ... das Thema Schönheit der Stadt, zunächst mal etwas hinten anstellen, weil ... wir müssen wirtschaftlich überleben, damit wir hier überhaupt noch agieren können, und wieder neu gestalten können (Interview, Fietzek, 09/07/2009).

for instance, made in urban policy discourses between the population loss in different areas and the imagined characteristics of their inhabitants in the long term and between the *Stadtumbau* process and ideas about an ideal population.

6.4 Managing shrinkage as a concern for subjects and population

Certain areas in the city of Hoyerswerda and particular times in its history are associated with specific characteristics in the population. In examining how a new, better city is being worked towards through the spatial and temporal management of shrinkage (see Sections 6.2 and 6.3), it became clear that certain areas of the city and certain parts of its history are considered more valuable for the future than others. This section shows how these ways of dividing space and time in specific ways in governing shrinkage relate to certain desired subjectivities that are considered conducive for the city's future and others that are seen as less desirable and impeding the city's future. Managing shrinkage spatially and temporally can also be seen as a way of managing subjectivities. As Huxley (2007: 195) states: 'In projects of political subjectification or governmental self-formation, appropriate bodily comportments and forms of subjectivity are to be fostered through the positive, catalytic qualities of spaces, places and environments.'

This section shows how certain historical times are also seen to have such positive and catalytic qualities with which appropriate bodily comportments and forms of subjectivity can be promoted. The idea is to examine *Stadtumbau* as a means to achieve improvement, also in terms of people's subjectivities. Sometimes certain effects are even connected to particular buildings:

The apartment block 'City Wall' ... [a long eleven-storey *Plattenbau* building in the centre of *Neustadt*] emanates a negative urban design atmosphere because the monotony of the façade is paired with the intensity of its built mass, which put a strain on general human sensations¹⁰⁰ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 107).

Positive effects are related to the demolition of such buildings. The same applies to ideas about built urban structures. A division, for instance, is drawn between parts of the city, history and population that are associated with the GDR, and others that are related to earlier times. In contrast to the negative associations with the GDR, older periods of

¹⁰⁰ Das Gebäude „Stadtmauer“... [ein langer, 11-geschossiger Plattenbau im Zentrum der Neustadt] hat eine negative städtebauliche Ausstrahlung, da die Monotonie der Fassade gepaart mit der Mächtigkeit seiner Baumasse, sehr belastend auf das allgemeine menschliche Empfinden ausstrahlt (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 107).

built form are seen to promote the right qualities for the future – also in terms of the population that is associated with them.

6.4.1 Assumptions about the population's commitment

In Hoyerswerda, the main difference in terms of subjectivity is drawn between *Altstadt* and *Neustadt*. In the former, subjects are considered more 'loyal' and 'committed' to the city than in the latter (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 15). In *Neustadt*, distinctions are made between the different *WKs*: the older the *WK* (and the older its population – both in years of residence and in age) the more loyal (and less likely to move away) it is seen (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008b: 4). This division is exacerbated by certain historical associations, in which particular historical times and certain characteristics of the population are not seen as fit for the future as others. Managing shrinkage by demolishing certain parts of the city and disassociating the future of the city from the GDR past is also based on the creation of new subjectivities.

InSEK 2008 (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008a) refers to 'lifestyle groups' and 'mentalities' more than other urban policy documents in Hoyerswerda. Lifestyle groups and mentalities are related to different areas of the city such as *Altstadt* and *Neustadt* or even individual survey areas and *WKs*. Different areas in the city are imagined to have fostered different characteristics in their inhabitants. One of the points made in *InSEK 2008* is that these differences cannot be overcome easily:

The bi-polarity of the city is accepted to continue to exist in the future... We are aware that the different parts [of the city] with their different inhabitant and user mentalities cannot be united in an upcoming city-structure immediately. By jointly "building" a joint "functioning" cannot be automatically realised because of the differences in the built environment and in the mentalities. That is why both centres of the respective parts of town [Old Town and *Neustadt*] should develop their different potentials for the urbanity of the town in parallel to each other¹⁰¹ (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008a: 10).

¹⁰¹ Die Bipolarität der Stadt wird auch zukünftig als weiter vorhanden akzeptiert... wir [sind] uns darüber im Klaren, dass man diese in ihrer Bewohner- und Nutzermentalität unterschiedlichen Bereiche in einer künftigen Stadtstruktur kurzfristig nicht real vereinen kann. Durch ein bloßes Zusammen"bauen" wird ein Zusammen"funktionieren" auf Grund der baulichen und mentalen Unterschiede nicht automatisch realisierbar. Daher sollen die beiden Zentren dieser Stadtteile ihre unterschiedlichen Potenziale für die Urbanität der Stadt parallel zueinander weiterentwickeln und miteinander ausprobieren. (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008a: 10)

While stating that there are different and incompatible ‘user mentalities’, this illustration does not go into more detail in terms of the characterisation of these mentalities. This may hint at the taken-for-grantedness of the differences between *Altstadt* and *Neustadt* and their respective inhabitants in Hoyerswerda. A closer examination of Hoyerswerda’s earlier urban policy documents and the semi-structured interviews sheds more light on the question of how subjectivities and different conducts are related to the division between *Altstadt* and *Neustadt*.

In Hoyerswerda’s UDC (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999) the division between *Neustadt* and *Altstadt* subjectivities is based on the structural differences between a planned city and a ‘naturally grown’ European city. For the planned and standardised *Neustadt*, the following picture is drawn: ‘The population with its very low share of property owners and self-employed persons is highly mobile and has relatively little attachment to the city’¹⁰² (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 76). Property ownership is considered to create a bond to the city, because property owners invest in cities (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 75). Tenants, so the reasoning continues, are rarely allowed to change and adapt their apartments. This entails limitations on how private interests and the creativity of tenants can be utilised for the further development of the city, for instance, in adapting flats to current uses and individual needs. A side-effect of this is that the housing available is not as diversified as it would be if it was privately owned (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 76).

One of the aims is thus to increase the extent of private ownership of land, housing and businesses because: ‘with building and land ownership, inhabitants [are] bound to their areas much more strongly’ (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 89). Furthermore, increasing owner-occupation is seen to bring about urban self-healing powers for *Neustadt*: ‘In order to increase the stability of *Neustadt* and to bring about “self-healing-powers” ,approaches should be chosen that make the transferral of a part of the population to owner-occupation attractive’¹⁰³ (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 90).

¹⁰² ‘Die Bevölkerung mit ihrem ganz geringen Anteil von Grundstückseigentümern und Selbständigen ist in hohem Maße mobil und relativ wenig mit der Stadt verbunden’ (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 76).

¹⁰³ Um die Stabilität des Stadtteils [Neustadt] zu erhöhen und ‘Selbstheilungskräften’ den Weg zu ebnen, sollten Ansätze gesucht werden, die die Überführung eines Teils der Bevölkerung in Bewohnereigentum attraktiv werden [lassen?] (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 90).

In addition to the ownership structure, references are made to the length of time spent in the city. According to the 1999 UDC this has an influence on the relation of the population to the city:

In the new *WKs* the population is particularly young and has not lived there for a long time yet. The resulting low psychological attachment to the city may be of advantage for the individual who is looking for potential employment [elsewhere, but] for the city it is of considerable disadvantage that the population is involved in the city to a lesser extent and moves away easier than is the case in grown cities¹⁰⁴ (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 76).

According to this logic, the longer people have resided in a place the more they get involved and the higher their psychological attachment to the city gets and this seems to form the basis of reasoning for several respondents. With its big share of New Town development, Hoyerswerda does not evoke associations of a sense of home or sense of belonging. Rather, it is seen as a 'normal' development that the city is losing population:

The problem [of population loss] is normal [in this context]... Hoyerswerda, on the basis of this whole economic structure, coal refinement and all that's connected to it... pulled people from the whole Republic at the time - lured with apartments, with good money, with good services... Or look at Leuna or Schwedt. These are all such model-cities, ... to which people were wooed with good apartments. Many people moved there, the economy broke down, people moved away. And these were the people who predominantly moved to the old *Bundesländer* [after German Unity]... they didn't go back to where they were from, to their home [*Heimat*], their former home, before they moved to Hoyerswerda. They have, in principle, looked for something new because they did no longer have a sense of belonging there... Those who are still [in Hoyerswerda] are the people who grew up there, who found a home there, where the whole family history is still there, starting from the grand-mother with a little house in the village. This aspect [of shrinkage] was foreseeable¹⁰⁵ (Interview, Schneider, *SMWA*, 18/03/2009).

¹⁰⁴ In den neuen Wohnkomplexen kommt hinzu, dass die Bevölkerung besonders jung ist und noch nicht lange dort wohnt. Die daraus resultierende geringe psychische Bindung an den Wohnort mag für den Einzelnen bei der Suche nach neuen Arbeitsmöglichkeiten auch Vorteile haben, für die Stadt insgesamt hat sie den erheblichen Nachteil, dass sich die Bevölkerung weniger in der Stadt engagiert und leichter fortzieht, als dies in gewachsenen Städten der Fall ist (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 76).

¹⁰⁵ Das Problem [von Bevölkerungsverlusten in diesem Zusammenhang] ist ganz normal, weil ich Hoyerswerda im Prinzip aufgrund dieser ganzen Wirtschaftsstruktur, Kohleveredelung und was alles damit zusammenhängt, ich habe ja dort praktisch die Leute hingezogen aus dem ganzen Republikbereich damals, gelockt mit Wohnungen, mit gutem

What has elsewhere been called the ‘artificiality’ of cities such as Hoyerswerda (see Section 6.2.3) is illustrated here: in contrast to places that have not developed as rapidly based on in-migration of workers from the whole country, and which have therefore grown ‘naturally’, Hoyerswerda is cast as an obvious case of decline. From the present perspective, the planned economy of the GDR has failed and the way in which cities grew based on particular decisions and developments in this economy is considered unsustainable and unnatural. In addition, the development in this planned economy has led to a perceived lack of commitment to the city. People who have moved from elsewhere to *Neustadt* are perceived to lack loyalty to Hoyerswerda even though they may have been there for 40 years. The issue of historical continuity in terms of economic structures (which is discussed again in relation to urban and regional economic traditions in Section 7.3.3) is pivotal for this assessment: GDR history is seen as an aberration from an otherwise undisturbed and naturally progressing urban and economic history.

Spatial attributions of certain individual characteristics can also be found at the level of individual building types. High-rise buildings, for instance, exhibit a certain concentration of unwanted subjectivities:

[A] highrise building is always a social trouble-spot. There you can find what is typical for the *Neustadt* of Hoyerswerda... You can see what’s going on there in these flats: the TV is on all day long, there are beer bottles - that’s how it is. And the worst thing is, these are the [people] who have kids. Yes, and these kids are subjected to this lifestyle. Money is actually there all the time, you don’t have to do anything for it and it comes from somewhere and you hang out the whole day. That’s the bad thing for this generation¹⁰⁶ (Interview, Gröbe, 04/12/2007).

Geld und mit guter Versorgung. Das waren ja die Schwerpunkte, oder schauen sie sich Leuna oder Schwedt an, im Prinzip, das sind alles solche Modellstädte, wo man die Leute, ja Halle Neustadt, alles solche Städte, wo ich die Leute hingelockt habe, mit guten Wohnungen. Viele sind da hin gezogen, die Wirtschaft ist weg gebrochen, die Leute sind weg gegangen. Und das sind eigentlich auch die Leute gewesen, die im Prinzip vorrangig in die alten Bundesländer gegangen sind, weil sie in ihrer, wo sie her kommen, aus ihrer Heimat, ehemaligen Heimat, bevor sie nach Hoyerswerda gegangen sind dort auch nicht wieder hingehen. Die haben sich im Prinzip was Neues gesucht, weil die dort auch keine Heimatverbundenheit mehr hatten, Bitterfeld, das waren doch alles solche Dinge. Wer dort jetzt noch ist, das sind eigentlich die Leute, die dort im Prinzip entweder groß geworden sind, heimisch geworden sind, wo praktisch der gesamte Familienstamm im Prinzip noch da ist, von der Großmutter mit einem kleinen Häuschen im Dorf... Diese Entwicklung war abzusehen (Interview, Schneider, 18/03/2009).

¹⁰⁶ Ein Hochhaus ist sowieso immer so ein sozialer Brennpunkt. Dort haben sie sowieso schon genau das was dann typisch ist für die Neustadt von Hoyerswerda... Da sehen sie einfach was in den Wohnungen dort abgeht. Also da läuft den ganzen Tag der Fernseher, da stehen nur die Bierflaschen, das ist so. Aber das schlimme ist, das sind meist auch dann die, die noch Kinder haben. Ja, und diesen Kindern wird dann sozusagen ein Lebensstil vorgelebt. Da ist eigentlich immer irgendwie Geld da, du musst dafür nichts machen und es kommt irgendwo her und du hängst den ganzen Tag rum. Das ist eben so dieses schlimme für diese Generation (Interview, Gröbe, 04/12/2007).

In Hoyerswerda, areas and building types that are most associated with the GDR are seen to have brought about a culture of dependency. Areas such as the *Altstadt* – which also existed before the GDR – are seen to have brought about subjectivities that are needed for the future of the city. The structure of ownership plays a role in this: ‘Where you have property ownership, people stay’¹⁰⁷ (Interview, Hirche, CDU, 04/12/2007). But it is also about the city form – the way in which the respective part of the city looks, what it resembles. *Neustadt* is deemed ‘artificial’ in the same way as the planned economy is deemed ‘artificial’ and both are seen to be epitomised in the socialist high-rise building, which was the peak of the industrialised housing production of the GDR and is now associated with all that was negative about the socialist system. *Neustadt* and *Altstadt* are considered to be associated with different subjectivities and *Stadtumbau* is seen to serve as a way to rectify the relationship between the two.

6.4.2 Demographic change and a concern for an ideal population

The pyramid of ages has turned around and does not represent the ideal relationship between the younger and older groups of population. This structure will not change in the next generations.¹⁰⁸ (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008b: 4)

Shrinkage had undesirable effects in terms of the population, which are seen as difficult to turn around. But still, *Stadtumbau* is seen as a means to change: the main idea of the *Stadtumbau* process in Hoyerswerda is to arrive at a more attractive city (see Section 6.3.2), which is seen to contribute to an improvement in the population. ‘Through *Stadtumbau* preconditions are created to stop population loss from continuing and to achieve that more people move to the city’¹⁰⁹ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 152).

Underlying these considerations of population changes is a concern with the composition of an ideal population; a population that has the ideal relationship between young and old (rich and poor, educated and not educated). The ‘mix’ and diversity of areas also plays a role in this discussion about perceived ‘artificiality’. This relates to different functions and building types as well as age groups. Diversity is considered

¹⁰⁷ ‘Dort wo Eigentum vorhanden ist, da bleiben die Leute auch’ (Interview, Hirche, 04/12/2007).

¹⁰⁸ Die Alterspyramide der Bevölkerung hat sich umgekehrt und entspricht nicht dem idealen Verhältnis zwischen den jüngeren und älteren Bevölkerungsgruppen. Ihre Struktur wird sich auch über die nächsten Generationen nicht mehr verändern (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008b: 4).

¹⁰⁹ Mit dem Stadtumbau werden gleichzeitig Voraussetzungen geschaffen, um den weiteren Bevölkerungsschwund aufzuhalten und um wieder mehr Zuzüge in die Stadt zu erhalten (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 152).

positive. A functional mix, for instance, between working, living and services, as in *Altstadt* is seen as desirable. *Neustadt* is seen as mono-functional and therefore not desirable. In addition, a particular population mix is envisaged, for instance in terms of age groups, occupations and incomes (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999). Based on forced population movements, *Stadtumbau* is also a way of ‘mixing up’ areas, for instance, the age structure in the more central parts of the city. Peripheral areas of the city are to shrink disproportionately: for instance, Survey Area 3 which in 2020 is expected to house only one sixth of the population it had in 1994 (see Table 6.2).

However, in order for this mixing up to work, people have to subject themselves to the *Stadtumbau* process and not be too active in governing themselves by relocating to other places. In short, the desired subject in the demolition areas is not supposed to be autonomous.

6.4.3 Subjection to *Stadtumbau* practice

Tenants have to ‘play along’ to make *Stadtumbau* work in Hoyerswerda, if they are renting an apartment in an area that is due for ‘restructuring’ – or more drastically formulated demolition. If tenants act too independently or too liberally, it causes problems: for instance, if they move before the housing company offers them an alternative apartment in a different location or if they refuse to move when they are told to move. In these cases, the smooth operation of the relocation and demolition on which *Stadtumbau* is based is disrupted. For managing shrinkage, this subjectivity is particularly important, especially because the potential of counter-conduct (i.e. moving away too early) is recognised by the housing company, which emphasises the need to attend to the sensitivities of people in demolition areas:

We have to pay more attention to those who live in these areas of build-back, first of all as a measure to create trust... In the areas [of build-back] the perception is hypersensitive in relation to everything that we [the housing company] no longer do, which is immediately seen as a sign that “We [the tenants] are written off already.” What you achieve with this is that people flee from these areas, and I actually do not want that,... because I don’t have any apartments for them at the moment... They would flee to somewhere else, so we have to do as much as possible so that they have the feeling “We’re living well here: my house, my flat, is still OK and I don’t have to leave. And if the time to move has come, I know

my landlord will offer me or put me into a new flat”¹¹⁰ (Interview, Fietzek, 09/07/2009).

If people decide to relocate because *they* want to, there is a potential for a double loss. Firstly, if there are no suitable apartments in more central areas, tenants who decide to move may leave the city altogether so the city loses another inhabitant. Secondly, if an additional flat falls empty, the housing company loses money. For this reason, housing companies offer incentives to tenants to move at the ‘right’ time – when they are supposed to relocate. These incentives make ‘forced’ relocations much more attractive than independent ones:

People know that the whole *WK10* is going to be built back and for this reason we have the situation today that they sit down and wait: “Let’s see, when it’s my turn,... they’ll offer me something, and then they take me...” They know exactly that they’re taken by the hand and guided to their new flat. That means we renovate the new flat, we pay for the removal, so they know they have advantages: if you’re forced to relocate, if you wait. If people move independently they have to pay everything by themselves. That adds a little bit of pressure to not relocating independently because you know you’ll lose [money] doing it¹¹¹ (Interview, Fietzek, 09/07/2009).

The government of *Stadtumbau* depends on docile, illiberal subjects in demolition areas. Subjects affected by demolition have to remain passively in their flat and wait until a new flat is offered to them and their removal is organised for them. They are the flexible mass that has to adapt to the new city form. Playing along, in this way, contributes to achieving the desired city form, and with it the envisaged future for the city.

Furthermore, tenants in demolition areas are supposed to trust experts to do the ‘right’ thing for them, and also for the city. Interventions, or an active participation in the

¹¹⁰ Wir müssen viel mehr Augenmerk zunächst mal auch als vertrauensbildende Maßnahme denen gegenüber geben, die in solchen Rückbaugebieten leben... dort ist man von der Wahrnehmung hypersensibel gegenüber allem, alles, was dort unterlassen wird wird sofort als Zeichen gewertet, „wir sind hier schon abgeschrieben“. Was damit erreicht wird, wäre die Leute flüchten aus diesen Gebieten, und das will ich gar nicht, das kann ich gar nicht wollen, weil ich gegenwärtig für die gar keine Wohnungen habe... Sie würde dann woanders hin flüchten, also müssen wir möglichst viel tun, dass sie immer noch das Gefühl haben, „wir wohnen hier gut: mein Haus, meine Wohnung ist alles noch in Ordnung, und ich muss hier gar nicht weg. Und wenn es dann soweit ist, weiß ich, ich kriege von meinen Vermietern eine neue Wohnung zugewiesen oder angeboten“ (Interview, Fietzek, 09/07/2009).

¹¹¹ Das ist bekannt, dass das WK10 flächenhaft zurückgebaut wird, und deswegen hat man heute eine Situation, dass man sich hinsetzt und wartet, „mal sehen, wenn ich dran bin,... die werden mir schon etwas anbieten, und dann nehmen die mich...“ die wissen genau, dann werden die an die Hand genommen, und werden in die neue Wohnung geführt. Das heißt wir richten die neue Wohnung her, wir bezahlen den Umzug, also man weiß, man hat dann Vorteile. Wenn man zwangsumgesiedelt wird, wenn man wartet. Wenn ich heute selber umziehe muss ich alles alleine bezahlen. Und das übt so ein bisschen Druck aus, jetzt noch nicht selbständig zu gehen, weil man weiß, man [Geld] verliert dabei (Interview, Fietzek, 09/07/2009).

regeneration process, by tenants is not welcomed. Rather, it is seen as an obstruction to progress by the housing companies and the City (see also section 8.2.1). This does not stand in opposition to the active citizen in economic terms (see Section 7.4.1), but indicates that the idea of an active self-government is limited. Subjects are not considered fully liberal as long as they rent, particularly if the flat is located in *Neustadt*.

This discussion has shown that a range of assumptions in terms of the characteristics of the population and of individuals underlies the different *Stadtumbau* strategies and practices. The perceived commitment of an area's population can, for instance, be considered as an important factor that is underlying the assumed future prospects of an area. People are not imagined to commit to the younger areas of the city, because they have not lived there for a long period of time. Furthermore, commitment is also imagined to go hand-in-hand with homeownership, which means people have invested in the city.

6.5 Conclusion

The spatial object or aim of shrinkage in Hoyerswerda is based on the ideal of the European City. This has implications for Hoyerswerda's urban policies of where to demolish whole areas or individual buildings and where to retain the urban structures or individual buildings. Generally, *Altstadt* is seen as having no problems, while *Neustadt* is considered as the sole location of the city's problems. Further criteria for the categorisation are based on the perceived quality of housing, the share of landscaping, the distance to the centre and other issues. These can also be related back to this ideal: the older the *WKs* (the earlier they were constructed) the less they resemble industrialised and standardised housing. The newer the *WKs*, the more they resemble these. The pattern of demolitions does not reflect the spatial pattern of population loss, but rather follow a problematisation that is guided by the European City ideal. Managing shrinkage by demolishing vacant housing stock can be seen as a double process of improving the remaining city and of making sure that treasured areas and institutions can actually stay viable. The case of *WK10* illustrates this most clearly: even though *WK10* has the youngest population, which means a population gain is to be expected, it is labelled as a demolition area. Inhabitants of *WK10* and of all other areas that are designated as demolition areas are forced to move to the core area of the city, but only when invited to do so by one of the housing companies.

In terms of temporal management, there is a compelling logic that demolitions serve to 'adapt' the city to a smaller size. Demolitions are not expected to become a long-term solution. Indirectly, demolitions may also be seen to provide a means to put halt to shrinkage as they are clearly set up as means to improve the remaining city. Bernt's (2009) notion of 'renaissance by demolition' captures this idea neatly.

The subjects of shrinkage are categorised according to the different areas with which they are associated. The subjects of *Altstadt* are seen as liberal subjects with full capacities for self-government, whereas subjects in demolition areas are considered not fully capable of making the right decisions in terms of how to react to the impending demolitions. In this sense, subjects in demolition areas are considered as not having the capacities for autonomous self-government. Decisions can thus be made for them in keeping with what is determined to be their best interest (see Dean 2007, Section 2.3.2).

The kind of lethargy considered to be located in Hoyerswerda *Neustadt* resonates with the general discourse on *Plattenbau* areas where, according to the logic of the East's catching-up with the West, more varied forms of housing would have to be developed. In this discourse, only those who were not able to leave remained in *Plattenbau* areas (for a critical discussion see: Hannemann 2005; Richter 2006). Here, an implicit connection to a GDR mentality, equal to a mentality of subjection [*Untertanen Mentalität*], can be made. This can be associated with discourses on socialist mentalities, in which entrepreneurialism and ambition were discouraged, which is part of the wider discourse on East Germany and the construction of East Germans (Ahbe 2004). However, in Hoyerswerda, similar assumptions are made about the different parts of the city.

The next chapter deals with the diverse practices, rationalities and techniques of initiating growth, in which some of the issues discussed in this chapter are examined from a different perspective. In these discourses, to create an attractive city is also seen to have positive effects on the economy. The centre of *Neustadt*, for instance, is described as taking a key role in creating a positive image for the city of Hoyerswerda.

7 Initiating growth

7.1 Introduction

In Hoyerswerda's urban policy, the connection between the development of a city and the development of its economy is drawn very clearly: 'The development of a city is mainly shaped by its economic basis. The strength of the existing economy determines whether a city develops positively or negatively'¹¹² (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 11). To solve the problem of population changes, economic development is regarded as even more important: 'For the increase or decrease of the impending population development, the future economic development of the city of Hoyerswerda and its surrounding areas is decisive'¹¹³ (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008b: 5). If the urban economy is strong, the city develops positively (it grows); if it is weak, it develops negatively (it shrinks). Based on the theoretical discussions in Chapters 2 and 3, this raises two questions: What is constituted as the urban economy? What counts as a positive or negative development?

This chapter highlights different aspects of *Stadtumbau*, but also examines other strategies, for instance, approaches of economic and tourist development agencies aiming at re-defining the role of the city in the wider context. Employing the framework of space, time and subjectivity, this chapter shows that in the context of finding potentials for economic development a range of spaces, historical alliances and characteristics in individuals and the population are (re)interpreted as conducive or detrimental to economic development.

Different institutions such as development agencies have been formed (and reformed) in the context of initiating growth in Hoyerswerda and the surrounding region. In 2003, the City of Hoyerswerda founded the independent, private sector Development Agency 'Scheibe' [*Entwicklungsgesellschaft Scheibe, EGS*], in collaboration with the neighbouring municipalities of Lohsa and Spreetal (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV

¹¹² Die Entwicklung einer Stadt wird in erster Linie durch ihre wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen beeinflusst. Die Stärke der vorhandenen Wirtschaft bestimmt, ob sich eine Stadt positiv oder negativ entwickelt (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 11).

¹¹³ 'Entscheidend für den Anstieg oder das Absinken der weiteren Bevölkerungsentwicklung ist die zukünftige wirtschaftliche Entwicklung der Stadt Hoyerswerda und ihres Umlandes!' (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008b: 5).

Hoyerswerda 2004: 34-36). The aim of *EGS* was to attract investment to Hoyerswerda. When a new Mayor, Skora, was elected in 2007, he founded a new urban development agency *Stadtentwicklungsgesellschaft Hoyerswerda mbH [SEH]*, which was no longer based on collaboration with other municipalities, but still financed by the City. It also included the work on tourism. At the same time, the Municipal Department of Economy and Tourism in Hoyerswerda was abolished and its public service employees transferred into the new private institution. On the regional level, the *Marketing Gesellschaft Oberlausitz mbH [MGO]* was established in 2002, in which Hoyerswerda is one of the participating municipalities; and at the level of Saxony, the *Wirtschaftsförderung Sachsen [WFS]* was set up in 1991.

A characteristic of the specifically ‘integrated’ urban policies such as mission statements and *InSEKs* is that they include sections on the economy (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 25-58; Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 25-58; pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008e: 25-58). An examination of these and interviews with the different economic, tourist, marketing and development agencies build the empirical basis of this chapter.

Three different areas of intervention were defined in Hoyerswerda’s mission statement (Stadt Hoyerswerda 1999/2000) as essential to define a new role for the city (see Section 5.4.2): producing an attractive city; finding potentials for innovative businesses; and a redefined relation of the city to the new Lakeland. These continue to play a role in later documents, which is why these areas are woven through this chapter and analysed in terms of: the different spatial strategies and practices (Section 7.2); the different temporal strategies and practices (Section 7.3); and the way in which subjectivities are addressed in these (Section 7.4). These sections show that to some degree, the Mission Statement can be read as an early declaration of intended development, which was subsequently continuously changed and transformed. Instead of providing a comprehensive overview of the twists and turns of all development ideas and practices, the aim of this chapter is to show how the different approaches contribute to a process of re-defining what counts as ‘economic’ and therefore beneficial to development. In this process, certain spaces and certain times are re-interpreted in the policy. In examining these, particular subjectivities related to initiating growth can be discerned.

7.2 Spatial strategies of initiating growth

Space plays a crucial role in creating a future profile for the city that relates the city to particular economic developments and investments. Space also plays an important role in other practices of working towards a new economic future in the different city, regional and *Land* development agencies. In redefining and remaking the urban and regional economy, urban and regional spaces are reconstituted. Certain spaces are considered economically beneficial, others are considered economically detrimental. Associations are made to particular spaces to anchor certain issues in the urban or regional fabric. Certain spaces represent starting points for imaginations and activities. Space can, in this way, provide a rich source for re-imagining potential forms of uses, as in the case, for example, of a new landscape in the making, which could turn into a tourist destination. In examining the different ways in which space figures in relation to imagined developments, this section shows how practices of initiating growth are based on particular spatial rationalities.

As indicated in the Mission Statement spatialities of initiating growth are not based simply on designating new industrial districts or (special) economic zones, in which any form of investment and economic development can happen. Rather, it is about defining a particular profile for the city around defined focal points. Starting with the oaks of ‘life’, ‘innovation’ and ‘fascination/allure’ from the Mission Statement (Stadt Hoyerswerda 1999/2000) three points of analysis guide the discussion in this section: firstly, the idea that an attractive city brings economic benefits; secondly, how potentials for particular innovative businesses are related to specific spaces in the city; and thirdly, the process of reinventing a landscape

7.2.1 Producing an attractive city to generate development

Even before explicitly ‘integrated’ urban policies such as *Stadtumbau* were introduced in Hoyerswerda, urban regeneration was considered an important contributing factor to bringing about economic development. The following remark, which was made on the occasion of the urban design competition ‘From Housing Estate to Urbanity’¹¹⁴ in 1998 illustrates this: ‘Since 1993, the city of Hoyerswerda was able to carry out significant improvements in *Neustadt*... these measures represent an important contribution to

¹¹⁴ Von der Wohnsiedlung zur Stadt

promoting economic development'¹¹⁵ (Brähmig and Hamacher 1998: 3). However, references to expected economic benefits from improving *Neustadt* are not as strong in Hoyerswerda's urban policy documents. But where they occur, the idea that working towards an attractive city contributes to economic development is pivotal. This is expressed most clearly in terms of the centre of *Neustadt*: '[The] development of a livable attractive centre of *Neustadt*... [is] an important factor for the image and the economy [of the city]'¹¹⁶ (Stadt Hoyerswerda *et al.* 2006: 39; see also: Pb. Gröbe 2003: 146; pb gröbe 2008: 6).

As the following analysis shows, in the UDC the idea of working towards a 'historically grown' European city is assumed to be economically beneficial. However, the corollary of this is that other urban forms and structures can be seen as barriers to economic development, as illustrated by a discussion of *Neustadt* in the early urban policy documents in Hoyerswerda:

[T]he development of places of work is... constrained by the non-existent real estate market, the rigidity of the urban structures in *Neustadt* and the lack of diverse locations, sizes, ages and prices of real estate¹¹⁷ (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 42).

The 'historically grown city' serves as a benchmark against which the planned city and its standardised and industrialised buildings are often compared. One of the concerns is that *Plattenbau* buildings do not allow for conversions and alterations as easily as Wilhemian style buildings [*Gründerzeitbauten*].

In [historically] grown cities, older buildings have often served different uses... Dependent on the location, size and other features [these buildings] proved to be more or less suitable for [conversions] over decades, often even over centuries¹¹⁸ (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 77).

¹¹⁵ Seit 1993 hat die Stadt Hoyerswerda... deutliche Verbesserungen in der Neustadt durchführen können... diese Maßnahmen stellen einen nicht unbeträchtlichen Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsförderung dar (Brähmig and Hamacher 1998: 3).

¹¹⁶ '[Die] Entwicklung eines lebenswerten attraktiven Neustadtzentrums... [ist] ein wichtiger Image- und Wirtschaftsfaktor' (Stadt Hoyerswerda *et al.* 2006: 39).

¹¹⁷ '[D]ie Entwicklung von Arbeitsplätzen [wird] auch durch den nicht vorhandenen Immobilienmarkt, die Starrheit der städtebaulichen Strukturen der Neustadt und die geringe Vielfalt von Standorten, Größen, Alter und Preisen von Immobilien behindert (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 42).

¹¹⁸ In gewachsenen Städten haben ältere Gebäude oft sehr unterschiedlichen Nutzungen... gedient. Je nach Lage, Größe und anderen Merkmalen haben sie sich hierfür über Jahrzehnte, oft sogar Jahrhunderte als mehr oder weniger geeignet erwiesen (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 77).

Two examples of typical conversions of old buildings are mentioned in the UDC: a prestigious villa on the fringes of a city centre, and an agricultural farmstead in proximity to a big city. The prestigious villa started off as an ‘upper middle class single family house over a few storeys with a servant in the attic’¹¹⁹; it was turned into flats for several families; then flats with a medical practice; a registry for an advocate or solicitor; and finally became an office building. The agricultural farmstead started as a building in which the farmers combined working and living. The abandoned workspaces were then used as storage and eventually turned into a workshop, shop, restaurant, or flats (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 77). The differences between these illustrations and *Plattenbau* in Hoyerswerda *Neustadt* could not be more extreme.

In detail, the individual points of criticism of *Plattenbau* buildings in Hoyerswerda’s UDC are that their construction is rigid and that most of the flats are small with small rooms, which put limitations to varied uses. Moreover, the ground floor is not on the street level which means there is no direct access from the street as favoured by many businesses. There is also contempt for *Plattenbau* in terms of aesthetics: ‘An appearance that is of little prestige attracts neither tenants nor businesses’¹²⁰ (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 78).

Using the example of the former briquette factory in Knappenrode, a neighbouring village of Hoyerswerda, the UDC summarises:

With the same history, location and equipment in terms of machines, the conservation of this huge building and the creation of a mining museum would not have been possible if it had been a *Plattenbau* instead of a beautifully designed brick building...¹²¹ (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 78).

The conclusion is drawn that the quality of the building and its design has produced a double benefit in economic terms because the building continues to be in use and it has attracted new jobs (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 78). This reasoning implies that if the structures of *Neustadt* were different and consisted of different, older, more beautiful and varied buildings, Hoyerswerda would have fewer problems with economic

¹¹⁹ Großbürgerliches Einfamilienhaus mit Wohnung über mehrere Geschosse, Dienstbotenzimmer unter dem Dach

¹²⁰ Ein wenig repräsentatives Erscheinungsbild zieht weder Bewohner noch Betriebe an (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 78).

¹²¹ Bei gleicher Geschichte, Standort und Maschinenausstattung wäre die Erhaltung des riesigen Gebäudes und die Gründung eines Bergbaumuseums am Ort nicht möglich gewesen, wenn es sich anstatt um eine gestaltete, schöne Ziegelarchitektur..., um einen Plattenbau gehandelt hätte (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 78).

development. It follows that certain parts of the city such as the *Altstadt* can be seen to improve the economic development of the city whereas others, such as the *Neustadt*, act as a barrier to economic development. In this way, the considerations about the built forms lead to classification of areas in terms of their economic potential.

The shortcomings in terms of the built forms listed in the UDC, for instance, provide the following conclusions, in which the link to characterising and classifying the different areas of the city is particularly clear:

In summary, circumstances dominate [in *Neustadt*] that appear static, that impede necessary changes and procedures of urban adaptations considerably and that allow for little urban vitality¹²² (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 80).

The point is not to show how each of these points can be disproved¹²³, but to examine how the ‘European city’ was positioned as a spatial aim or object of government, which was expected to bring about economic change.

The ideal of a traditional bourgeois city of European imprint has to be achieved as closely as possible. In *Neustadt*, the extent of necessary transformations are considerably different from *Altstadt*¹²⁴ (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 45).

A different example of the way in which ideas about an ideal situation drives the evaluation of the situation in Hoyerswerda is a review of the distribution of businesses in the different areas of Hoyerswerda. Certain locations of businesses are seen to either contribute to or discourage economic development. When the UDC was published in 1999, most businesses were found to be located in Altstadt (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 48). Furthermore, the share of services located in the industrial areas was considered too big:

This locational distribution is disadvantageous for urban development. The service providers mentioned belong to the centre of the city because it is there that

¹²² Insgesamt dominieren Verhältnisse, die statisch wirken, die notwendige Veränderungen und städtebauliche Anpassungsprozesse erheblich erschweren und eine nur geringe städtische Vitalität zulassen (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 80).

¹²³ Housing construction in the Berlin districts of Wilmersdorf in the 19th century and Marzahn in the 20th century, for instance, can be compared in scope –one hundred thousand apartments in ten years time - and the large extent of standardisation (Interview Kil, architecture critic, 20/03/2008). Yet, the architectural styles are different and so are the related associations: Wilhemian style [*Gründerzeit*] during the German Reich; and *Plattenbau* during the GDR.

¹²⁴ Dem Ideal der traditionellen bürgerlichen Stadt europäischer Prägung soll so nah wie möglich gekommen werden. Auf dem Gebiet der Neustadt sind dabei die Größenordnungen der notwendigen Veränderungen deutlich andere als auf dem Gebiet der Altstadt (Pb. Gröbe 2003: 45).

they can realise advantages of agglomeration for themselves and for complementary businesses. They can also contribute to increasing the urban centrality [more people commuting into the city than out of the city], which results in the creation of new jobs¹²⁵ (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 48).

Because the location of businesses in the city is not ideal, this logic maintains, the city cannot enjoy any of the locational advantages these businesses would otherwise produce.

In the subsequent urban policy documents, the link between a particular ideal city form or the distribution of businesses and expected economic benefits is no longer drawn as clearly. In contrast, the value of the particular structures of certain parts of *Neustadt* is recognised: ‘Maintenance [of *WKI*] as a symbol of the city’s history of construction and culture. Planned city with references to the ideals of *Bauhaus*’¹²⁶ (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008g: 4; see also: pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008d: 4; pb gröbe 2008: 4). In *InSEK 2008* there are even references to a possible application for *WKI* to receive UNESCO world heritage status (pb gröbe 2008: 6). In the city, these ideas were not universally endorsed¹²⁷ (Kolodziej 2008, 2009). However, the application for world heritage status could also bring some of the desired effects in terms of development. Yet it can be argued that this time it would be not initiated by the ‘self healing powers’ of diversity and density associated with the historically grown European city, but by a recognised international status that might play a role in tourism.

The foregoing discussion shows that the logic of attractive-cities-generate-economic-benefits is not focused on achieving these effects in a particular economic field. Yet there is a diffuse hope that attractive cities have ‘self-healing’ powers, which can be activated when the city faces a difficult time. Diversity, density and mix of uses, styles and forms of ownership are seen to constitute these self-healing powers. Section 7.4 shows how these are closely related to particular assumptions about the characteristics of the population. It is clear that *Neustadt*, a largely mono-functional part of

¹²⁵ Diese Standortverteilung ist für die Stadtentwicklung nachteilig. Die o.a. Dienstleistungsbetriebe gehören in das Stadtzentrum, da sie dort Agglomerationsvorteile für sich und komplementäre Betriebe wahrnehmen und dazu beitragen können, die städtische Zentralität zu erhöhen, womit wiederum die Schaffung neuer Arbeitsplätze verbunden wäre (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 48).

¹²⁶ ‘Erhalt [des *WKI*] als baugeschichtliches und kulturelles Zeugnis. Planstadt mit Anknüpfungspunkten an Bauhaus-Ideale’ (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008g: 4).

¹²⁷ Housing companies were concerned that this status brings further conservational obligations; old architects of the planned city were delighted because it recognises the particular historical period; the head of *SPD* was anxious that the city may be subject to ridicule (Kolodziej 2008, 2009).

Hoyerswerda, is seen as exhibiting opposite qualities. The most recent approach of reinterpreting certain older parts of *Neustadt* as Bauhaus heritage, however, shows that associations with certain urban qualities can change. There are other approaches that deal with businesses and industries more directly.

7.2.2 Finding potentials for new businesses and industries

Since brown coal extraction and energy production no longer provide an economic basis for the inhabitants of Hoyerswerda, there have been many attempts to define or find new bases for business and industry in the city and the surrounding region. Starting points were firstly to create an association of the city with Konrad Zuse in order to foster innovative IT businesses; and secondly to use the history and experiences in mining and energy production to support new investments in the sector of renewable energy production. However, there were also approaches to establish the city as a location for biotechnology. This section shows that there are different spatial strategies for generating development locally or attracting growth from elsewhere, for instance, by attracting companies to open new branches or production sites in Hoyerswerda. In addition, spatial strategies can be distinguished by whether the city strives to become an independent location for businesses or considers itself as part of a wider network of locations. Yet the issues around which development is supposed to happen change frequently, as do the spaces in which this is supposed to take place.

An association with an innovative, inventive and creative person, such as computer pioneer Konrad Zuse, was initially expected to bring about economic benefits for the city in terms of the development of so-called ‘Zuse technologies’ (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 37). It does not seem to matter that the time Zuse spent in the Hoyerswerda was relatively short and before he became famous¹²⁸: by linking different, preferably prominent, places in the city with him, the city’s relation to this famous scientist is established. In 1990, a street was dedicated to Konrad Zuse; in 1993 his name was used for a secondary school; and in 1995 a computer museum was founded. Other non-spatial activities included the award of honorary citizenship to Zuse in 1995

¹²⁸ After completing his school education in Hoyerswerda, Zuse went to Berlin to study mechanical engineering. Having graduated, and not enjoying his brief work in an aircraft factory, he built and finished his first mechanical computer Z1 in his parents’ flat in Berlin in 1938. Z2 and Z3 followed - still in Berlin - in 1940 and 1941. The Z4 was finished in 1950 and sold to the ETH Zürich in Switzerland. In addition, Zuse developed the first programming language, called *Plankalkül*. Nevertheless, it can be argued that Zuse did not lose touch with Hoyerswerda: after all, he visited the city in 1979, 1992, 1993 and 1995.

and the creation of the Honorary Badge of Konrad Zuse, which has been awarded to ‘distinguished personalities’ since 2001 (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 37). The city’s association with Zuse thus not only involves the inscription of his name on the Hoyerswerda’s urban fabric, but also uses his name to market the city’s innovative spirit in the wider world. Both strategies are examined in more detail.

In 2004, the city identified two companies and a range of engineers’ offices in the area of innovative businesses. Consultations with these companies were planned in regards to expansions of their businesses, in organising symposiums and conferences in Hoyerswerda and in establishing particular image campaigns in order to place the name Zuse in relation to their business output. This was envisaged through particular logos such as ‘We produce in the Konrad Zuse City Hoyerswerda’ or slogans like ‘Your partner is located in the Konrad Zuse City Hoyerswerda’ (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 37).

Two areas of action were identified in the *InSEK 2004* (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004) in relation to these planned consultations in order to further consolidate the relationship between Hoyerswerda and Zuse:

1. The notion/the image-factor “Zuse” has to become a more tangible experience (even more touchable than so far)! The “computer museum” plays a crucial role in this. The exact location of it in the city has to be determined.
2. The activities of associations in the city have to be linked to the Konrad-Zuse idea to support the process of identification in the city...¹²⁹ (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 37).

The tangibility of Zuse in Hoyerswerda is closely connected to the location of the computer museum. In addition, the Zuse connection is expected to bring about two things: creating a positive image of the city in the wider world; and initiating the identification of the population in Hoyerswerda with him - through Zuse, innovative subjects are to be formed (see also Section 7.4.3). Hoyerswerda’s association with Zuse is not only supposed to lift the image of the city, but also to provide change in its

¹²⁹ 1. Der Begriff/der Image-Faktor “Zuse” muss erlebbarer (noch anfassbarer als bisher) gemacht werden! Eine entscheidende Rolle spielt dabei das “Computer-Museum”. Über dessen genaue Ansiedlung im Stadtraum ist zu entscheiden.

2. Die Tätigkeit von Vereinen der Stadt muss stärker mit dem Konrad-Zuse-Gedanken verknüpft werden, um den eigenen Identifikationsprozess in der Stadt zu fördern... (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 37).

population. However, in order for this to work, certain areas of intervention are identified, which refer to certain spaces in the city:

We call ourselves Konrad Zuse City and we show off too little with this asset... We have a computer museum, we have a building that Konrad Zuse lived in, and... a building where Konrad Zuse did his *Abitur* [German equivalent to A-levels]. We should try to connect these in a way that has an impact in the wider world. That's a very important story. We can't just call ourselves Konrad Zuse City and have no concept of it. There has to be made more of this name, with effects to the wider world¹³⁰ (Interview, Büchner, *Die Linke*, 04/12/2007).

The computer museum is still located on the outskirts of the city, but renovation of one of the high-rises in the centre of *Neustadt* has just finished: the façade was transformed into a display inspired by the first mechanical computers Zuse built and next to the building, an open air wireless local area network (WLAN) area was constructed, which provides free internet access (Schulz 2009).

Most activities in Hoyerswerda connected to Zuse are in the area of marketing or creating an image of the city. Even though 'Zuse technologies' refer to particular innovative companies, none of the urban policy initiatives connected to Zuse is directly related to businesses. It seems more important that the city gets thought of as having a historical and spatial connection to Zuse than the actual development of innovative businesses and technologies. In the more recent urban policy documents a diffuse, but unquestioned trust that an association with Zuse brings benefits for the city remains, even though connections to business and industries are no longer mentioned. In 2008, Zuse was only mentioned in the *InSEK*'s section on culture and sport in relation to the planned relocation of the computer museum to the centre of *Altstadt* (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008c: 5).

Other, more direct attempts at improving the city's business and industrial sector by attracting a big company to locate in Hoyerswerda include efforts in the area of renewable energy production and biotechnology, both understood to be 'innovative'

¹³⁰ [W]ir nennen uns Konrad-Zuse-Stadt... so und dann mit diesem Pfund wuchern wir zuwenig... Wir haben ein Computermuseum, wir haben ein Gebäude in dem Konrad Zuse gelebt hat und... ein Gebäude wo Konrad Zuse sein Abitur abgelegt hat. [Die] müssten wir jetzt miteinander... verbinden und zwar so dass auch nach außen wirkt. Das ist eine ganz wichtige Geschichte. Wir können uns nicht bloß Konrad Zuse Stadt nennen und keine Konzeption dazu haben. Also da muss mit diesem Namen mehr gemacht werden mit der Wirkung nach außen (Interview, Büchner, *Die Linke*, 04/12/2007).

(SEH no date-a: 4). However, these attempts relate differently to spaces in and around the city: while the idea of rendering Zuse more visible and tangible in the city can be related to ideas of producing innovative subjects, intentions of attracting investment from a solar (or biotechnology) company are loosely based on the traditions of energy production, the availability of certain spaces and resources, and maybe even following certain stories of success in the wider field of economic development.

Strategies changed over time, but two main sectors of involvement to attract investment can be distinguished (a) from a solar panel producer and (b) from a biotechnology company. In 2005, a US American producer of solar panels announced plans to build a factory in Hoyerswerda, which would employ several hundreds of people. The former Mayor announced the investment in the election campaign for his successor, but the company decided to invest elsewhere. Recently a solar-related factory was opened in Schwarze Pumpe, which is seen to increase the chance of finally getting some investment in the solar sector in Hoyerswerda (SEH no date-b). In terms of the biotechnology company, the water of a lake in proximity to Hoyerswerda and the distant heat infrastructure close by were seen as starting points to grow mushrooms and algae for different biotechnological purposes, but also to supply traders, pharmaceutical companies and gastronomy (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 69). In the new *InSEK 2008* this envisaged usage is no longer connected to the lake, but a business district, which is now designated as 'Bio-location' (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008e: 14). A production site for mushrooms opened in 2004 (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008e: 18).

It seems as if the attempts by the City and the Development Agency at attracting investment or inducing local growth are subject to certain fashions: in recent years, several East German cities were successful in redefining their economic base around renewable energy production (Nölting 2009); biotechnology was a big hit in terms of the initiatives of the Freestate of Saxony, for instance 'biosaxony' (WFS and Freistaat Sachsen SMWA 2005); and the most recent idea, initiated by SEH, to develop Hoyerswerda into a 'green city' (pb gröbe - HY/SV HY 2008e: 12), which is self-sufficient in energy terms appears as an apt strategy in times when climate change is a particularly hot topic (Lasch 2009; Land and Thie 2009). It remains to be seen, how these recent ideas are being translated into spatial governmental strategies in Hoyerswerda.

The next section deals with the ways in which the city relates to the new Lakeland, which is being created on the basis of the derelict mines. Certain rationalities are more closely related to the new spaces in the making.

7.2.3 Reinventing a landscape

A few years ago, Hoyerswerda started to call itself the ‘heart’ of Lusatia Lakeland to mark its special relationship to the new lake landscape in the making (Interview, Skora, 31/01/2008). The derelict open cast brown coal mines in the area around Hoyerswerda slowly turn into lakes because of rising ground water levels, which were lowered in order to extract brown coal by using a system of pumps (see Figure 7.1). The Lakeland is thus a by-product of brown coal mining. However, before Lusatia Lakeland emerged as a relatively settled project as part of a regional development concept [*Regionales Entwicklungskonzept, REK*] (Steden 2003), there were different ideas of what to do with the lakes and the surrounding landscape. One of these approaches, a holiday park called ‘*Karl May Land*’, is briefly examined, to then analyse in more detail Lusatia Lakeland of which Hoyerswerda wants to be the ‘heart’.

The project ‘*Karl May Land*’ was inspired by the writings of Karl May (1842-1912), one of the most successful German authors of wild-west adventure books, who was born in the area. Many of his books were adapted to film in the 1960s, of which the wild-west ‘Winnetou’ [in England: ‘Winnetou the Warrior’; in the USA: ‘Apache Gold’] series with Lex Barker and Pierre Brice starring in the main roles is the most popular. In the mid 1990s, there was an attempt to create ‘*Karl May Land*’ in the derelict open cast mining area. The landscape, which had been dug up for decades in order to extract brown coal, was to be turned into a Wild West scenery inspired by Winnetou books and films. Sixteen thousand hectares of derelict open cast mines were to become a Wild West tourist nature reserve with buffalos and bears, red deer and birds of prey (Schmid 1996). Karl May Country was to be a car-free holiday park, in which visitors could choose between different forms of transport to navigate the park: carts pulled by horses, a steam-engine train or on foot. Different kinds of accommodation were planned, ranging from the experience of sleeping in an American Indian village, to a five star “Governor’s Castle” (Schmid 1996).

The plans for the project were made by the European Tourism Coordination Center from Belgium and for some time, it looked like the Wild West theme park would

become reality. The project was estimated to require around several hundred Million DM, of which 70 million was projected for the external infrastructure and 200 million was listed for the internal infrastructure (Jordan 1996). Karl May Country promised hundreds of jobs catering for around 110,000 visitors per year. However, after a few years it became clear that the project would never be realised as suitable investors could not be found. *Karl May Land* would have provided a large number of jobs. For the project Lusatia Lakeland, there are no comparable immediate employment gains envisaged, but incremental development.

The envisaged transformation from industrial wasteland to recreational landscape in Lusatia Lakeland will be a long-term process. It takes years until maximum water levels are reached and even longer until the new lakes are usable. Work is needed to secure the new shores and improve the quality of water, which is too acidic to swim in after brown coal extraction. However, eventually, Lusatia Lakeland will be the ‘largest artificial lake landscape in Europe’ (SEH no date-a: 14) and there are big hopes for it to attract many tourists.

In adopting the title ‘Heart of Lusatia Lakeland’, Hoyerswerda seeks to define its relationship to this landscape in the making. The city is located centrally amongst the different lakes, but without direct access to the water (see Figure 7.1). Unlike the city of Senftenberg and several small villages, Hoyerswerda does not have its own waterfront. However, Hoyerswerda is the biggest city in the Lakeland area, which for the Mayor, is one of the reasons why the city will take an important role in it:

In my election campaign I’ve called [Hoyerswerda] the “Heart” of Lusatia Lakeland, because I’ve actually searched for this metaphor. It is the biggest city in Lusatia Lakeland on the Saxony side anyway¹³¹, but also as a whole. It is central and I’ve always said: ... “*If the heart does not beat then you can forget about the rest.*” Therefore everybody has to be interested, also the smaller municipalities around us [and] the county, that the city of Hoyerswerda functions. We have to work together¹³² (Interview, Skora, 31/01/2008).

¹³¹ The city of Senftenberg is the biggest city on the Brandenburg side of Lusatia Lakeland.

¹³² Ich habe das damals im Wahlkampf das „Herz“ des Lausitzer Seenlandes betitelt, weil ich eigentlich auch die Metapher gesucht habe. Das ist die größte Stadt im Lausitzer Seenland, auf sächsischer Seite sowieso, auch insgesamt. Sie liegt zentral, und da habe ich immer gesagt...: „*Wenn das Herz nicht schlägt, dann kannst du auch den Rest vergessen.*“ Also deswegen müssen alle interessiert sein, auch die kleineren Gemeinden um uns herum, der neue

Figure 7.1: map Lusatia Lakeland [*Lausitzer Seenland*]

Removed for copyright reasons

source: SMI Landesentwicklung (website¹³³)

The Mayor emphasises the functional role Hoyerswerda takes in the Lakeland and the need for collaboration that arises from it: the municipalities in Lusatia Lakeland should collaborate to make this tourist landscape work because Hoyerswerda can offer certain

große Landkreis, dass die Stadt Hoyerswerda funktioniert. Also müssen wir zusammenarbeiten (Interview, Skora, 31/01/2009).

¹³³ Full details for website, see Appendix Four.

services that other cities do not have, but which could be important for attracting tourists.

The extent to which the city can fulfil the role of the 'heart' has to be determined. The discussion of whether Hoyerswerda should be seen as the 'gate' (as the city was called before) or the 'heart' of Lusatia Lakeland (as it is now called) illustrates this:

To be the heart demands more effort than being the gate. The heart is sort of the pump of all the juices of life ... In the end this effort means that the potentials this city has - zoo, castle, hospital, family pool, its service provision and its shopping structure - these have to be kept stable and attractive so that it is, and remains, a supplementary building block for this sparsely populated area that wants to become a tourist area¹³⁴ (Interview, Urban Planner, 12/03/2009).

By claiming the role of the 'heart' of Lusatia Lakeland the stakes are higher for the city. The process of shrinkage puts pressure on the city because facilities such as the zoo or the swimming pool can only be maintained when there are enough people. However, in claiming the role of the heart, so the hopes of the planner and the Mayor are expressed, other municipalities may also develop an interest in supporting Hoyerswerda's services - or even the city as a whole.

Hoyerswerda's services are reinterpreted in this logic, as they are now seen to take an important role for the city's future: they constitute the city's offer to the tourists in Lusatia Lakeland and thus become an economic factor. At times when the city grew because of mining and energy production, these services merely served to increase the social and cultural wellbeing of the local population. Initially created as part of the local social reproduction, these services were not seen to contribute to the economy in the same way as they are today.

The foregoing discussion of the spatial approaches to initiating growth (Section 7.2) shows how certain spaces and spatial distributions are seen to support growth while others are seen as detrimental. Urban forms like the 'historically grown' European city (*Altstadt*) are considered economically beneficial per se, while others, such as the

¹³⁴ Herz zu sein erfordert natürlich größere Anstrengung als Tor zu sein. Denn das Herz ist sozusagen die Pumpe allen Lebenssaftes. ... Die Anstrengung heißt im Endeffekt, die Potenziale, die die Stadt aufweisen kann mit Zoo, mit Schloss, Klinikum, Familienbad, mit ihrer Dienstleistungsstruktur, mit ihrer Einkaufsstruktur, die muss so stabil und so attraktiv gehalten werden, dass sie einen Ergänzungsbaustein für diesen dünn besiedelten Raum, der da Tourismusregion werden will, ist und bleibt (Interview, Urban Planner, 12/03/2009).

(GDR) ‘planned’ city (*Neustadt*) are considered detrimental. In the early urban policy documents in Hoyerswerda this is expressed very strongly, but in later documents this division cannot be found as explicitly. In contrast, the examination of later documents has demonstrated that certain parts of *Neustadt* are in the process of being redefined as part of the *Bauhaus* heritage.

The association of Hoyerswerda with Konrad Zuse was mapped on the city, not only highlighting buildings where Zuse had actually spent time, but also extending to new spaces (e.g. the high-rise building in *Neustadt*). But no matter if and where Zuse had left any traces, the association of the city with him has a double function: to contribute in linking the city with innovativeness and inventiveness in the wider world and to incite the city’s population to contribute to this undertaking.

The old coal-mines, which once provided tens of thousands jobs for people in Hoyerswerda, are in the process of being redefined as a tourist landscape to which Hoyerswerda wants to establish a relation as the heart. In the process of claiming the role of the heart of the Lakeland, the services the city has are reinterpreted as potential parts of the tourist landscape. They are no longer just there to support the wellbeing of the local population, but serve to provide the city with a competitive advantage in relation to other cities in the area. After all, Hoyerswerda is the only city in the area with a zoo, a large cultural venue, a shopping mall and a leisure pool.

These spatial strategies of initiating growth and of redefining the role of the city are based on processes of trading off certain spaces with their associated characteristics against others - a process that is also closely related to evoking certain historical continuities while averting others. The next section analyses the temporal considerations, which underpin the different processes of initiating growth.

7.3 Temporal strategies of initiating growth

In almost 20 years since German Unity Hoyerswerda has not experienced the desired economic development. The jobs that were lost in *Schwarze Pumpe* and related industries have not been replaced. Many patterns of explanation exist that provide reasons for the failure to create jobs and of putting a halt to decline, some of which blame the city’s specific role in GDR history for its difficulties today. This logical progression from past and present to the future can, however, also be used in the opposite manner to evoke certain historical continuities, for instance, in the idea the

mission statement builds on particular ‘roots’, derived from the city’s history (Stadt Hoyerswerda 1999/2000). This raises the question of how relations are made between past events, traditions, the present situation of the city and the imagined future. Which parts of the city’s history are seen as beneficial to the future and which are seen as detrimental? How is the future that is being worked towards constituted and how does it relate to the present and the past? These issues are related to time, more specifically to the ways in which the passing of time is imagined to relate to development, but also to an imagined duration of change and the calculability of future developments.

7.3.1 The city’s role in the GDR planned economy as an obstacle to its future

Until German Unity Hoyerswerda’s growth was closely related to the industrialisation strategy of the GDR and the city is therefore associated with the planned economy of the GDR (see Section 5.2.1). After German Unity, what had led to the boom of the city was quickly re-interpreted as the main reason for its demise: the planned economy, the standardised way in which *Neustadt* was constructed (see Section 7.2.1), and the ‘artificial’ population structure (see Section 7.4.2).

Hoyerswerda does not have a business tradition - there are few entrepreneurs and only a few small and medium sized businesses. As a mono-industrial town with no history of small and medium enterprises, it is considered not to provide any suitable starting points for private business:

Traditionally there were no germs for private industry here. In certain parts, [in the GDR] we had private industries, which were nationalised in 1972. All those were small enterprises. They have for instance characterised the Oberlausitz. There, you still had a wide mix of smaller enterprises: mechanical engineering, textile industries, vehicle construction. And Hoyerswerda did not have any of this. That’s why it’s so difficult to attract industry to locate in Hoyerswerda¹³⁵ (Interview, Modes, *SEH*, 31/01/2008).

A related logic can be found in the parts of *InSEK 2004* that examine labour statistics (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 15-20). In a comparison between where

¹³⁵ Traditionell hat es hier keine Keime gegeben für die private Industrie. Wir haben ja in Teilen private Industrie gehabt [in der DDR], die letztendlich 1972 verstaatlicht wurde. Das sind alles kleine Unternehmen gewesen. Die haben zum Beispiel die Oberlausitz geprägt. Da haben sie noch einen ziemlich breiten Mix von kleineren Unternehmen gehabt, Maschinenbau, Textilindustrie, Fahrzeugbau. Und das hat es alles in Hoyerswerda nicht gegeben, deshalb ist es so schwer in Hoyerswerda Industrie anzusiedeln (Interview, Modes, *SEH*, 31/01/2008).

people live and where they work, a so-called ‘inherited historical burden which was created during GDR times’¹³⁶ is mentioned (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 20): ‘Considerably more people who work in producing businesses live in the city of Hoyerswerda than jobs are provided in this area in the city. For this reason, these employees have to commute to work.’¹³⁷ For a city, this illustration assumes it is generally better to have jobs within the urban perimeter so that people do not have to commute – or if they commute, then into the city (from elsewhere) and not out of the city, i.e. to Dresden, Bautzen or other regional centers. Moreover, it is considered best if these jobs are in the same sector as the population’s expertise. In Hoyerswerda, the *InSEK 2004* concludes the discrepancy between where people live and work, and in which sector, is higher than in all other cities in the area. This means: ‘a not inconsiderable part of jobs on offer in Hoyerswerda does not fit the professional profile of the working population in the city’¹³⁸ (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 20).

Problematizations of a lack of economic development in Hoyerswerda are often directly or indirectly related to the city’s GDR past. On one hand, there is the idea that this stems from an absence of historical roots for business and entrepreneurial spirit related to the unwillingness in the population to take entrepreneurial risks (see also Section 7.4); on the other hand, there is the idea that the spatial distribution of jobs in relation to inhabitants is disadvantageous, which is again based on the GDR past. GDR history is not considered a suitable starting point on the path to a new economic future for the city: rather, it is seen as a barrier to progress. However, there are other aspects in the city’s history, which are seen as more suitable to build upon.

7.3.2 Building on historical continuities, traditions and ‘roots’

An examination of the historical continuities, traditions and roots invoked in Hoyerswerda’s urban policy shows which parts of the city’s history are seen to provide suitable starting points for its future. The Mission Statement of the city (Stadt

¹³⁶ ‚[einer] zu Zeiten der DDR entstandenen historischen Erblast’ (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 20).

¹³⁷ ‚In der Stadt Hoyerswerda wohnen bedeutend mehr im produzierenden Gewerbe Beschäftigte als Arbeitsplätze in diesem Bereich in der Stadt vorhanden sind. Damit sind diese Beschäftigten zum Arbeitspendeln gezwungen’ (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 20).

¹³⁸ ‚ein nicht unerheblicher Teil der in Hoyerswerda angebotenen Arbeitsplätzen nicht dem Tätigkeitsprofil der in der Stadt wohnenden sozialversicherungspflichtig Beschäftigten entspricht’ (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 20).

Hoyerswerda 1999/2000), for instance, refers to the city's crest with three oaks and an implied linear development from the city's roots to its present trunks and the fruits of the future (see also Section 7.1.1). In this, the relation to Konrad Zuse, which was chosen as the main association for the city, relates to a time that predates the GDR. This is a time, as this section shows, in which things were considered to work well. Yet, if the logic of historical-continuities-are-valuable is followed, it becomes clear that some new fields of economic development in Hoyerswerda, for instance tourism, also bring a lack of tradition to the fore:

In comparison to other East German regions and cities, Hoyerswerda cannot refer to any considerable tourist tradition and popularity. In the South, the city is connected to an intact landscape that does not have a high profile in tourism yet. Viewed historically, the importance of tourism for the city tends to be small¹³⁹ (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 46).

The regional Marketing Association Oberlausitz-Niederschlesien [*MGO*] also operates with certain historical continuities: one of its strategies is to constitute a regional space on the basis of historical continuities. In 2002, the *MGO* was founded as a professional institution for the promotion of the economic and holiday region Upper-Lusatia [*Oberlausitz*]. The counties Bautzen and Görlitz and the county free cities of Hoyerswerda and Görlitz came together to initiate this association. In addition, three regional banks [*Sparkassen*] and the Tourism Association *Oberlausitz-Niederschlesien* act as associates. In this way, the *MGO* unites the previously separated fields of tourism and economy. The Head of the *MGO* emphasised that 'the region has found itself independent from an initiative of the Free State of Saxony'¹⁴⁰ (Interview, Gröbe, head of *MGO*, 01.02.2008) – it is a 'bottom-up' initiative. In comparison to administrative structures, which have been repeatedly adjusted to the decreasing number of inhabitants, these regional structures are considered to be more lasting:

We don't have a politically dependent county structure, but a regional structure. The region is the region durably [no matter whether administrative boundaries are

¹³⁹ Gegenüber anderen ostdeutschen Regionen und Städten kann Hoyerswerda noch auf keine größere touristische Tradition und keine touristische Bekanntheit verweisen. Landschaftlich ist die Stadt im südlichen Teil in eine intakte Landschaft eingebunden, die aber noch keinen hohen Bekanntheitsgrad im Tourismus besitzt. Auch historisch gesehen, ist die Bedeutung der Stadt für den Touristen eher gering (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 46).

¹⁴⁰ 'Die Region hat sich selbst gefunden unabhängig vom staatlichen Vormund' (Interview, Gröbe, *MGO*, 01/02/2008).

yet to change again]. That's very important because in the end, the region is characterised by shared roots...¹⁴¹ (Interview, Große, 01/02/2008).

In this context, 'shared roots' imply a certain naturalness and stability in contrast to the artificiality of administrative structures, which can be changed if need be. Referring to the idea of shared roots, the Head of the *MGO* goes into more detail:

You build upon experiences of history... Regional development only works where you get back to your roots. That's like a tree that has roots. When you're not aware of your roots, the leaves won't grow. And the German basic principle of colouring leaves when they turn brown is not going to work in the long term¹⁴² (Interview, Große, 01/02/2008).

To be aware of one's roots is portrayed like a self-fulfilling prophecy in economic terms because awareness of one's roots brings growth. In this context, state intervention ('the German basic principle') only serves to distort and cover up decline (in 'colouring leaves when they turn brown') and is considered doomed to fail in the long term. Policies that aim at balancing economic decline or that aim at initiating local growth are criticised. In contrast, the region's role in getting back to its roots is seen as pivotal.

Of course, it is interesting to consider which roots are deemed important to build upon. Despite being represented as a self-evident process of 'going back to one's roots', there are different 'roots' in any city or region to choose from. It is not like the case of the tree where you just follow the trunk and you will see the roots – there is not a necessary (i.e. 'natural') connection. The roots that are selected to represent current growth into the future can tell something about the rationalities that are at work in governing future development. In the *Oberlausitz* [Upper Lusatia] region, the reference to its historical roots not only serves as a basis of justifying the spatiality of the region, it also makes references to the roots of success to which this region wants to go back to:

[The] *Oberlausitz* Six-City-Alliance that has lived as a town league since the 14th Century is very close to the current regional development. From this alliance of resistance, a trading and development alliance emerged - by the way, with the first

¹⁴¹ Wir haben also keine politisch abhängige Kreisentwicklung, Struktur, sondern eine Regionalstruktur, die Region ist dauerhaft die Region [egal ob sich die Kreisgrenzen noch einmal verschieben]. Das ist ganz ganz wichtig, weil im Endeffekt die Region eher gekennzeichnet ist durch gemeinsame Wurzeln (Interview, Große, 01/02/2008).

¹⁴² [M]an hat Erfahrungen aus der Historie aufgegriffen ... Regionalentwicklung funktioniert nur dort, wo man sich seiner Stärken besinnt. Das ist wie ein Baum der Wurzeln hat. Wenn man sich seiner Wurzeln nicht bewusst ist, werden auch die Blätter nicht wachsen. Und das deutsche Grundprinzip Blätter anzumalen, wenn sie braun werden, wird nicht funktionieren auf die Dauer (Interview, Große, 01/02/2008).

democratic constitution. And in the same way as we were leading in Germany at the time we are [now in the process] of developing accordingly... today¹⁴³ (Interview, Große, 01/02/2008).

The Six Towns League evokes the image of a region with a history. It goes back in time long enough not to connect to the GDR. However, the region is not a self-evident container. This becomes clear when Große recognises that it is a product of his agency's efforts:

We have completely distanced ourselves from the purely Municipal Economic Development Agency and Tourism Association to a properly producing agency. We are a true private limited company [*GmbH*] with a product: *we produce Upper Lusatia*¹⁴⁴ (Interview, Große, 01/02/2009, emphasis added).

As part of the process of producing the region, *MGO* works on defining the region's 'profile of competencies' (*MGO* 2007), which works on defining a framework for the representation of the region to the wider world, but also for the local actors: '[It is] an instrument of deliberately taking responsibility and self-directing Oberlausitz'¹⁴⁵ (*MGO* 2007: 2). An examination of these competencies shows that these no longer refer to interesting historical continuities, but to the ways in which certain 'networks' and 'key sectors' have formed in the region, including machine construction, plant engineering, metalworking; textile industry; plastics technology; food production; energy technology and renewable energies; glass industry; and tourism and leisure economy (*MGO* 2007: 3). In this context, a new interpretation of tradition emerges, which was brought forward by Freese from the Economic Development Agency of Saxony [*Wirtschaftsförderung Sachsen, WFS*]:

Tradition, not in the sense of: "We've done this for 100 years" but tradition in the sense that the economy has been maintained until Change [until the Wall came down]. There were companies, there were research institutes that worked in

¹⁴³ [Der] Oberlausitzer Sechsstädtebund, der natürlich als ein Städtebund bereits im 14. Jahrhundert gelebt hat, was heutiger Regionalentwicklung sehr nahe kommt. Also aus einem Trutzbund ist auch ein Handelsbund und ein Entwicklungsbund entstanden - im Übrigen mit der ersten demokratischen Verfassung in Deutschland. Und so wie wir damals tonangebend waren, sind wir das auch heute wieder... zu entwickeln (Interview, Große, 01/02/2009).

¹⁴⁴ Wir sind also auch vollkommen weg gegangen von der rein kommunalen Wirtschaftsförderung [mit] Tourismusverband, zu einer richtig produzierenden [Gesellschaft]. Wir sind eine GmbH mit Produktion: wir produzieren Oberlausitz (Interview, Große, 01/02/2009).

¹⁴⁵ „[Es ist] ein Instrument der bewussten Selbstverantwortung und Selbststeuerung des Oberlausitz' (*MGO* 2007: 2).

specific areas and that's why we were interesting for other companies, which came to this region¹⁴⁶ (Interview, Freese, *WFS*, 26/03/2008).

This perspective puts the GDR industries at the starting point of the post-Unity development. In this context, connections such as Hoyerswerda's Konrad Zuse as well as the Six Towns' League in Upper Lusatia seem rather far-fetched because they refer to traditions that lie far in the past. However, in terms of marketing these connections seem to make sense.

The foregoing discussion on the different temporal aspects of initiating growth shows that approaches of economic development are understood to work when cities and regions go back to their individual roots. This logic of building on the city's or the region's individual strengths is reflected in both marketing and economic development initiatives. However, the identification of urban and regional strengths is far from being as natural as the discursive references to roots, trees and leaves suggest: there are choices to be made of what is considered as suitable starting points for the future development and how far these should date back or not (Chapter 8 on conflicts and counter conducts shows this in more detail).

In Hoyerswerda's urban policy documents, the GDR past is portrayed as detrimental for the city's economic future because taking an important position in the planned economy has created a lack of entrepreneurial activities and entrepreneurial spirit in the city's population. The next section shows how certain subjectivities such as entrepreneurialism are seen to make a difference for the city.

7.4 Subjectivities of initiating growth

Urban and regional spaces and particular historical times can be associated with bringing about entrepreneurial subjects that not only take their own future in their hands, but also the future of their city and region. The link between an individual's future and the future of a place is made by putting a specific value on belonging and a sense of home. However, there is not only the kind of urban or regional subjectivity which arises 'naturally' in people who live in the region and which in turn 'makes a

¹⁴⁶ Also Tradition nicht in dem Sinne, wir haben vor hundert Jahren das mal gemacht, sondern Tradition in dem Sinne: Es hat sich bis zur Wende, bis nach der Wende erhalten. Es gab Unternehmen, es gab Forschungseinrichtungen, die in diesem Bereich tätig waren, und dadurch waren wir interessant auch für andere Unternehmen, die hier dann in die Region gekommen sind (Interview, Freese, *WFS*, 26/03/2008).

difference' for the region (or the city) – either positively or negatively. Urban and regional subjectivities are also seen as targets of intervention to bring the region forward (and are constituted as an area to be governed). There are numerous projects that attempt to work on urban and regional subjectivities directly such as youth projects or marketing campaigns, but effects on subjects are also expected to come through the work on spaces and the evocation of particular times (e.g. historical continuities) (see Sections 7.2 and 7.3).

Mission statements, for instance, are accompanied by expectations and hopes in relation to their effect on the subjectivities of individuals:

A mission statement has to embody visions and a slogan, such as the one from Baden Württemberg [a *Land* in West Germany: “We can do anything but high German”¹⁴⁷]. This slogan has to be lived. People have to – everybody has to carry it in them; also this friendliness... If they are asked where they come from, they have to start immediately to talk about it and to sparkle with where they come from¹⁴⁸ (Interview, Nasdala, *Stadtzukunft*, 11/12/2007).

In order to succeed in redeveloping a city or a region, people have to become ‘ambassadors’. It seems, an actively participating population is needed in order to make changes or transformations happen in the city. Yet, in some cases the subjectivity of individuals or a population has to be reinvented in the process of reinventing a city. In this sense a mission statement is more than marketing material: it has a double function of defining a shared vision and communicating it to the wider world, but also of getting people ‘on board’ locally.

This section deals with three aspects in relation to subjectivities. Firstly, it deals with the idea that particular subjectivities are conducive to initiating growth. Secondly, it shows that certain subjectivities are considered an obstruction to development; and finally it examines the ways in which subjectivities are worked upon to make them more favourable for the future of the city and the region.

¹⁴⁷ Many people in Baden Württemberg speak with a strong accent, yet, because it is an economically successful *Land* it is marketed with the idea that people in it can do anything – even if they do not speak high German.

¹⁴⁸ Ein Leitbild muss Visionen verkörpern und einen Spruch, wie zum Beispiel dieser eine hier in Baden Württemberg [„Wir können alles. Außer Hochdeutsch.“]. Der [Spruch] muss irgendwo gelebt werden. Die Leute müssen, jeder muss das selber in sich tragen diese Freundlichkeit auch... wenn er angesprochen wird woher er kommt, der muss sofort anfangen zu erzählen und davon sprühen wo er lebt (Interview, Nasdala, *Stadtzukunft* 11/12/2007).

7.4.1 The importance of particular subjectivities to achieve development

People with the ‘right’ mentalities are often considered ‘essential’ to push a city or a region forward:

Well, [in order to have a future, you need] people that believe in it, that’s maybe the central [issue]. If people believe in the future of a place then the place has a future because then people stay there and stand up for it. And then it is the task of those who act there to make sure that people have a good reason to believe in the future. You have to see it on this abstract level... If you go beyond this level of abstraction it’s the classical things: you need infrastructure; you need jobs; you need a population that is adequately educated, qualified, motivated¹⁴⁹ (Interview, Scheerer, *SMWA*, 18/03/2009).

The belief of the local population carries more weight than practical and material things such as infrastructure and jobs, skills and qualifications. Everybody, so the logic goes, has to believe and partake in order to push the region (or the city) forward. If people help a bit then the region (or the city) will succeed, even if all the other criteria such as infrastructure, jobs and a population that is adequately educated are not present.

Subjectivities that are considered desirable can also be used in marketing material: On the pages of the brochure ‘Born in Saxony’ (WFS and Freistaat Sachsen 2005) the kind of people who come from or who are attracted to Saxony are mentioned:

Saxons are said to be “bright”. Nobel prize Laureate Prof. Günter Blobel grew up in Freiberg, and Prof. Kurt Masur, star conductor of the “Orchestre National de France”, started his international career in Leipzig. Perhaps it is the particular blend of Protestant work ethic and Baroque love of life, which allows bright ideas and cultural performances to thrive here. It’s an atmosphere that attracts all kinds of bright people. Guided by Prof. Kai Simons from Finland, 400 scientists from 33 different countries are currently working at the Max-Planck Institute of Molecular Cell Biology and Genetics in Dresden (WFS and Freistaat Sachsen 2005: 7, English in original).

¹⁴⁹ Also Menschen, die daran glauben, das ist vielleicht das zentrale. Wenn die Menschen an die Zukunft eines Ortes glauben, dann hat der Ort eine Zukunft, weil die Menschen dann da bleiben und sich dann dort vor Ort dafür einsetzen. Und dann ist es Aufgabe derjenigen, die da handeln halt dafür zu sorgen, dass die Menschen einen guten Grund haben an die Zukunft zu glauben. Das muss man... schon so ganz auf dieser Abstraktionsebene sehen, wenn man dann runter geht in der Abstraktionsebene, sind es die klassischen Dinge. Sie brauchen Infrastruktur, sie brauchen Arbeitsplätze, sie brauchen eine Bevölkerung, die halt auch entsprechend gut ausgebildet, qualifiziert, motiviert ist (Interview, Scheerer, 18/03/2009).

This illustration suggests that particular qualities of the *Land* Saxony foster and attract intelligent subjects.

A different form of mentality is imagined in relation to the regional landscape. Here, the idea that landscapes produce people with certain characteristics is contained in the imagination.

The mentality of people is crucial to initiate anything and to [attract] interest... In the Erzgebirge they're in their clubs, they help each other because it is a community. It is a valley and they're together. In the flat area around Leipzig, everybody keeps to themselves, that's different mentalities... And when you come to the Lausitz, the sense of home [*Heimatgefühl*] the Sorbian tradition and these things that are still practiced [that] is a different tradition and a different cohesion and this has its effects on the economy and the whole infrastructure. There, one helps the other and it also develops differently. It's the same case in the Erzgebirge...¹⁵⁰ (Interview, Schneider, *SMWA*, 18/03/2009).

Some subjectivities are seen as economically favourable, while others are seen less so. Areas with stronger traditions, or where traditions are still practiced, have economic advantages over areas where this is not the case. It does not seem to count that parts of the *Erzgebirge* and *Lausitz* [Lusatia] that are mentioned belong to the least developed areas in Saxony, which is why the *Land* Saxony has set up a programme called Model Regions of Demographic Change that focuses on both regions (*SMI* 2005a).

In *Oberlausitz*, the starting point is the successful people of the *Lausitz* region, which is not dissimilar to the claim that Saxons are bright:

The best thing our region has to offer is its people. Those who were born here and work here their whole lives, those who as born Upper-Lusatians act successfully in the whole world, and not least those who found their field of interest and their

¹⁵⁰ Die Mentalität der Menschen ist ganz entscheidend, um irgendetwas in die Wege zu leiten, und für Interesse... [Im] Erzgebirge die sind in ihren Vereinen drin, die helfen sich untereinander, weil das eine Gemeinschaft ist. Das ist ein Tal und da sind die im Prinzip zusammen. Im Leipziger Flachland, da ist jeder für sich, das sind andere Mentalitäten. Und mal abgesehen von den Ballungsräumen, wo das nicht so ist, aber in der Fläche ist das anders. Und wenn sie in die Lausitz kommen, ihr Heimatgefühl das sorbische Brauchtum noch und so was, was noch gepflegt wird, ist eine andere Tradition und ein anderer Zusammenhalt und das wirkt sich auch im Prinzip auf die Wirtschaft und die ganze Infrastruktur aus. Da hilft einer dem anderen und da entwickelt sich auch das anders. Das ist im Erzgebirge genauso, und da kann man eigentlich die Regionen, denke ich mal, gar nicht so vergleichen (Interview, Schneider, 18/03/2009).

focus in work here as successful academics, entrepreneurs, artists and entertainers¹⁵¹ (Oberlausitz-Botschafter, website¹⁵²).

Favourable urban and regional subjectivities are imagined to serve two functions: to contribute to people's connection to the city or the region and to make them advertise the city or the region ('people have to carry this friendliness...'). Yet, as much as there are subjectivities that are seen as favourable to the future for a city or a region, there are others that are seen as detrimental.

7.4.2 Subjectivities as barriers to development

In Hoyerswerda, negative associations with the local population are often emphasised: 'The typical mindset of a classical tourist area, to serve the guest, to be there for him [*sic*] is not developed adequately and does not possess any historical roots from the past'¹⁵³ (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 46). Here, the Lakeland is not only a new landscape in the making, it also requires subjectivities to change. Historical continuities are also seen as beneficial, but are considered as non-existent in the city.

Concerns for the area of Hoyerswerda, for instance include: 'Well, in the former mining region it is more difficult to win people over for the development of the region'¹⁵⁴ (Interview, Gröbe, 01/02/2008). In this reference to the people of the area who have to be 'won over' to develop it successfully, a new aspect is added to the picture: it is the people of the mining region themselves who are reluctant to get involved in the push for development. This can be portrayed as a lack of people with the right entrepreneurial mentality. These inhabitants are seen to lack motivation and loyalty and the persistence of 'GDR mentality' is seen as particularly problematic. This observation is also contained in the Urban Development Concept:

¹⁵¹ Das Beste aber, was unsere Region zu bieten hat, sind ihre Menschen. Diejenigen, die hier geboren wurden und ein Leben lang wirken, jene, welche als geborene Oberlausitzer erfolgreich in der ganzen Welt agieren und nicht zuletzt die, welche als erfolgreiche Wissenschaftler, Unternehmer, Künstler und Entertainer und in vielen anderen Bereichen gerade hier ihr Wirkungsfeld und ihren Tätigkeitsschwerpunkt gefunden haben (Oberlausitz-Botschafter, website).

¹⁵² Full details for website, see Appendix Four.

¹⁵³ Die für ein klassisches Tourismusgebiet übliche Mentalität, dem Gast zu dienen, für ihn [*sic*!] jederzeit da zu sein, ist noch nicht ausreichend entwickelt und besitzt zudem keine historischen Wurzeln aus der Vergangenheit (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 46).

¹⁵⁴ 'also in der ehemaligen Bergbauregion ist es heute auch schwieriger Leute für die eigene Entwicklung zu gewinnen' (Interview, Gröbe, 01/02/2008).

A considerable barrier [to the creation of more small and medium sized enterprises] is probably going to be the low number of citizens who have experiences with self-employment or with the management of small businesses because many citizens have been employed by large businesses. In addition, the relatively good financial security, based on the high compensations in mining and mining pensions respectively, does not have the effect of motivating large parts of the population to take the related risk¹⁵⁵ (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 42).

So on the one hand, it is a matter of lack of experience of self-employment, and on the other hand it is a lack of motivation due to financial security. The latter is a widespread idea; it is mainly applied to people on social benefits:

[T]he main problem ... is that people ... don't [have] an aim any longer. For instance, I work on several projects here with [Gröbe] which are financed by the so-called One Euro Job Measure¹⁵⁶. People are in these Measures and they don't want to leave them. I had an offer for our company that I send eleven people to Norway. They [would] have earned real money [...they would have been] in Norway for three weeks [and] then one week in Hoyerswerda ... Of the 200 people I have asked not one said: "I'll leave my One Euro Job and go to Norway." They tell themselves, they live a better life here. It's hard when you say that, but that's how it is¹⁵⁷ (Interview, Hirche, CDU, 04/12/2007).

This perceived lack of ambition in people on social benefits is certainly a widespread phenomenon, with its main argument that if people receive social benefits they do not have any incentives to do anything because they already have everything they need. This perceived lack of motivation also extends to employees of the city council with whom the problem is rather similar to those on social benefits: they do not show enough initiative, are not entrepreneurial enough, and are not interested in what is happening in the city.

¹⁵⁵ Eine wesentliche Hemmschwelle wird vermutlich in der geringen Zahl von Bürgern mit Erfahrung in der Selbständigkeit bzw. in der Führung kleiner Betriebe liegen, da viele Bürger in Grossbetrieben beschäftigt waren. Zudem wirkt sich die relativ gute finanzielle Absicherung, bedingt durch die im Bergbau hohen Abfindungen bzw. Bergbaurente; für einen Grossteil der Bevölkerung wenig motivierend aus, ein diesbezügliches Risiko aufzunehmen (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 42).

¹⁵⁶ Properly called *Arbeitsgelegenheit mit Mehraufwandsentschädigung*, One Euro Jobs were created to reintegrate the long-term unemployed into the regular labour market. People on unemployment benefits have to take up One Euro Jobs that are offered to them. Their unemployment benefits are increased by one euro per hour of work.

¹⁵⁷ Aber das Hauptproblem ist... dass die Leute... kein Ziel mehr [haben]. Ich mache zum Beispiel mit [Gröbe] hier verschiedene Projekte über die so genannte 1 Euro Job Maßnahme. Die Leute sind in diesen Maßnahmen, die wollen da gar nicht mehr raus. Ich hatte jetzt von unserer Firma ein Angebot gehabt, dass ich 11 Mann nach Norwegen schicken kann. Die haben richtig Geld verdient... [die wären] drei Wochen in Norwegen gewesen, [und] eine Woche wieder in Hoyerswerda... Von den 200 Leuten, die ich gefragt habe nicht einen gefunden der gesagt hat: "Ich gehe aus dem 1Euro Job raus und gehe nach Norwegen." Die sagen sich, die leben doch hier viel besser. Das ist schlimm wenn man das sagt, aber das ist so (Interview, Hirche, CDU, 04/12/2007).

No matter whether the Head of the City Council Department of Economic Development can prove that he has attracted ten companies or none to settle here, he gets his salary. And that's the problem, that in principle, *unless you identify yourself with the city and you have the motivation to push something forward here...*¹⁵⁸ (Interview, Henning, CDU, 04/12/2007).

A new issue is brought into the argument: it is no longer just the people who are unmotivated or too secure in their jobs - here their identification with the city is mentioned. From the way Henning goes on to talk about people's lack of identification, it becomes clear that this is also closely related to the city's GDR history:

It is not a grown city, everybody came from wherever and in principle it doesn't matter whether it'll work out or not. Look at Mr. Hirche or others who are involved in politics; who are interested in what's going to happen with the city, but otherwise [people don't care]...¹⁵⁹ (Interview, Henning, 04/12/2007).

Implicit in this is the idea that people who came to the city when the Energy Centre was founded and the *Neustadt* was built do not identify with the city as strongly as others who have lived there much longer (see also Section 6.5).

Hence, nothing happens in Hoyerswerda because people do not identify with the city and they do not identify with it because they come from elsewhere. Only when people identify with their city and when they have the right entrepreneurial spirit will they push it forward. The next section shows that different local initiatives work in this spirit.

7.4.3 Working on favourable subjectivities

There are a variety of projects that target young people such as the programme 'Youth has Visions' [*Jugend hat Visionen*], which was initiated by the Association City Future [*Verein Stadtzukunft*]; or the Zuse Academy by the Technology Centre.

The motivation for Youth has Visions is to keep youths in the region, because as 'human capital' they are seen as an important economic factor, which – if they leave –

¹⁵⁸ Egal ob der Amtsleiter für Wirtschaftsförderung 10 Firmen nachweisen kann, oder Null eben, die sich hier ansiedeln. Er bekommt sein Gehalt. Und das ist eben das Problem, dass sie im Prinzip außer wenn sie sich mit der Stadt identifizieren so richtig und die Motivation haben hier irgendwas voran zu bringen. (Interview, Henning, CDU, 04/12/2007).

¹⁵⁹ Es ist eben keine gewachsene Stadt, da sind alle von sonst woher gekommen, wo es im Prinzip egal ist, wird es oder wird es nichts. Wo sie den Herr Hirche haben, oder die sich politisch engagieren, die das interessiert, also, was wird aus der Stadt, aber ansonsten [kümmert es die Leute nicht]... (Interview, Henning, 04/12/2007).

threatens to accelerate job losses: ‘The young person as an “economic factor” has to be kept in the region for as long as possible. Perspectives for a return to the region have to become visible’ (Jugend hat Visionen, website¹⁶⁰). The approach to doing this is to get youths to see their own role in making a future for the region:

... you have to get the pupils into it [inspire them]. They have to realise that it’s worth being concerned/involved for once. Some of them are quite superficial at the start and don’t think about things and don’t know what they actually want at some point. But when you catch them with the idea of ‘home’ [*Heimatgedanke*], then they’re somehow inspired and start to think about things, about their own region and what can be in the future. Then, they actually start to deal with themselves and what they want to do¹⁶¹ (Interview, Zeidler, *Freie Wähler*, 11/12/2007).

In addition, the association of Zuse with the city of Hoyerswerda is to encourage inhabitants to identify with Konrad Zuse (see Section 7.2.2). An example of this is the ‘Zuse Seminar’, an initiative for pupils organised by the Head of the Technology Centre in Hoyerswerda. The pupils have two presentations by scientists and work on some tasks for half a year. Afterwards, as a treat, they travel to the Museum of Technology in Berlin or Munich. Yet, programs like this are of course not only about the youths:

You have to enthuse people, even those who have responsibility in politics, [in order for them] to see: young people are still here; and they don’t only whinge. That’s because the whinging still prevails here in this region. Yes, and this mentality must disappear especially if you consider the future prospects the region has. Well, the Lusatia Lakeland just begins to develop and tourist facilities are getting fleshed out. Obviously, the politics alone cannot do it - there are a lot of private investors involved. However it’s an interaction, and the people who live in this region have to participate. [They] have to abandon their pessimistic faces/looks [and] have to be friendly and radiate the prospects for this region. This [is what] you have to achieve in the first place: that you sweep people along,

¹⁶⁰ Full details for website, see Appendix Four.

¹⁶¹ ... man muss die Schüler begeistern dafür. Die müssen erkennen, dass es sich lohnt sich mal Gedanken zu machen. Manche sind ja doch am Anfang sehr oberflächlich und machen sich so nicht die Gedanken und wissen vielleicht auch so noch gar nicht genau was sie eigentlich mal wollen. Aber wenn man sie beim Heimatgedanken packt, dann sind sie irgendwo angeregt und fangen mal an sich Gedanken zu machen über ihre eigene Region und auch was zukünftig mal sein kann (Interview, *Freie Wähler*, 11/12/2007).

enthuse them and what have you; and that's what we're doing at the moment¹⁶² (Interview, Nasdala, *Stadtzukunft*, 11/12/2007: emphasis added).

The idea is to activate citizens not only to forge their own future but also the future of the city and the region:

To stir up this lethargy, that's the decisive thing because here, everybody accepts their fate. And yes, now the brown coal is not [here] any more and the jobs are gone ... and then they thought that BMW or Porsche or whoever would build a factory here and [they said] "When do they come?" or something similar and "Now they don't come, then nothing is going to happen". So this lethargy - to give into one's fate in this way that's really the very big problem...¹⁶³ (Interview, Nasdala, 11/12/2007).

This implies that people should stop waiting for investment and start to help themselves. (It is, however, not desirable if they help themselves by leaving the city.) Most pertinently, though, there is a quest for an active citizen, which is not only active in terms of the economy, but also politically:

[I]t is also a question of political culture ... which is certainly connected to the history ... that there is a culture of subjection, in a political sense and where you have to sweep people along; to tell them "that's of your concern, get involved, participate, don't wait that the state regulates something ..." from a culture of subjection to a civic culture, you have to push for that in parallel. That's also developed very weakly still¹⁶⁴ (Interview, Nasdala, 11/12/2007).

¹⁶² Mittlerweile [ist] es doch so, dass man auch die Leute begeistern muss, auch die, die Verantwortung haben in der Politik, damit sie sehen, dass die Jugendlichen doch da sind, dass sie nicht nur rumjammern hier. Denn das Jammern herrscht immer noch vor hier in der Region. Ja, und diese Mentalität, die muss eigentlich abgelegt werden, gerade wenn man sieht, welche Perspektiven diese Region hat, also das Lausitzer Seenland fängt ja an sich jetzt zu entwickeln, und touristische Angebote werden immer mehr ausgearbeitet. Natürlich kann das nicht die Politik alleine machen, da sind viele private Investoren daran, aber das ist ein Zusammenspiel und die Menschen, die hier in der Region leben, müssen natürlich auch das mitmachen und müssen auch ihre pessimistische Miene ablegen und müssen freundlich sein, müssen eine Perspektive auch selber ausstrahlen für diese Region und das muss man erst mal erreichen dadurch, dass man Leute auch erst mal mitreißt, begeistert und so weiter und dabei sind wir jetzt gerade (Interview, Zeidler, *Freie Wähler*, 11/12/2007).

¹⁶³ Diese Erstarrung, diese Lethargie auch zu lösen, das ist eigentlich das Entscheidende, weil hier sind ja wirklich alle dem Schicksal ergeben und ja, jetzt ist die Braunkohle auch nicht mehr und die Arbeitsplätze sind weg, von hier kommt auch keiner, da haben sie ja alle gedacht dass BMW hier oder Porsche oder sonst wer hier ein Werk aufbaut und alle nun wann kommen die denn so ungefähr und nun kommen sie nicht, dann kommt gar nichts mehr. Also diese Lethargie und so und sich so dem Schicksal so zu ergeben, das ist eigentlich das ganz große Problem (Interview, Nasdala, *Stadtzukunft*, 11/12/2007).

¹⁶⁴ [E]s ist ja auch eine Frage der politischen Kultur und hier ist halt auch, das hat sicherlich auch noch mit der Historie oder der Historie geschuldet, dass hier teilweise eben auch noch so eine Untertanenkultur vorhanden ist, politisch jetzt gesehen, und man die Leute wirklich erst mal noch mitreißen muss dann zu sagen, aber es ist doch euer Anliegen, engagiert euch, bringt auch ein, wartet nicht drauf, dass der Staat jetzt hier irgendetwas regelt, sondern bringt euch ein, engagiert euch und hin also von dieser Untertanenkultur zur bürgerschaftlichen Kultur, das muss erst

In this context, subjection can be understood as an implicit reference to the GDR, when many things were regulated by the state and private initiative was not fostered, particularly not in the formal economy. Subjection, in this sense, is similar to the reference to ‘accepting one’s fate’ in the previous illustration: in this logic, the facts that economic competition did not exist in the GDR and everyone had the right to work are used as explanations why people do not have the right entrepreneurial spirit. In urban policy documents, this view is also expressed:

Changes [in terms of more people founding their own businesses] are only to be expected if the attitude towards self-employment transforms. In addition to changing individual attitudes, this requires specific frameworks such as a positive outlook of society towards self-employment and economic success (profit)¹⁶⁵ (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 42).

A different strategy of working on regional mentalities/mindsets is contained in the example of the ‘ambassador strategy’ of *MGO*, which was initiated in 2002 to promote the region. Regional celebrities in sport, culture and economy and ‘tourist originals’ are used as ‘image-carriers’ of the region (*MGO* 2008: 3). There is a double aim connected to this strategy, to promote the region internally as much as promoting it externally. There is some resemblance to the relationship of Hoyerswerda with Konrad Zuse, who can also be seen as an ambassador for Hoyerswerda in order to improve the image of the city, but also to carry along the local population.

This section has shown that individuals’ and the population’s subjectivity are often targets of projects of governing. In most cases the ideal of active, entrepreneurial and loyal subjects is presented as a contrast to the current population, which is problematised as lethargic and passive. The idea is also to foster spaces, projects and all sorts of things that produce desirable mentalities. A ‘bootstraps’ logic underpins these ideas: people should start to pull themselves and the city or the region up by the bootstraps.

mal noch parallel mit angeschoben werden. Das ist natürlich auch noch sehr schwach ausgeprägt (Interview, Nasdala, 11/12/2007).

¹⁶⁵ Veränderungen sind nur bei einem Wandel in der Einstellung zur Selbstständigkeit zu erwarten. Dieser erfordert allerdings neben einer individuell veränderten Haltung auch bestimmte Rahmenbedingungen, wie positive Einstellung der Gesellschaft zur Selbstständigkeit, zum wirtschaftlichen Erfolg (Profit) (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 42).

The foregoing discussion on the subjectivities of initiating growth shows that people are expected to speak positively about their city and their region, especially when the wider world is involved and when they talk to strangers about their region. The idea that people can make a difference by thinking and talking positively about their city and their region is, however, accompanied by a strong desire for people not only to talk, but to actively govern themselves in making use of their capacities for autonomy. People are expected not to wait until they are taken care of, but rather to start work on themselves to develop the right capacities for the new orientation of the city's future.

Urban or regional pride is frequently mentioned as a desirable feature that supports attempts to initiate growth. The exclusionary aspects of such pride, however, are never mentioned, which is surprising in an area that has often suffered from an association with Neo-Nazis.

7.5 Conclusion

The examination of different approaches of initiating growth show that there are few spatial and temporal aspects in the city and region which are not considered to be of importance to achieve growth: the creation of an attractive 'European City' is considered to bring about economic benefits, as are different services in the city, which are in the process of being reinterpreted as competitive advantages of Hoyerswerda in terms of the city's aspiration to become the heart of the *Lausitz Lakeland*. There are also different notions of local traditions or historical continuities which are evoked. It can be argued that frequent references to urban and regional 'competencies' and 'potentials' contribute to addressing cities and regions as individuals who have these particular attributes. Competencies and potentials, so the argument of development agencies and urban policies goes, need to be identified and worked upon so that cities and regions can become economically successful, which in turn is based on marking their difference to other cities and regions.

The subjects needed to produce growth are conceived as autonomous subjects that take their own future and the future of the city and the region in their hands. These subjects are loyal to the city and the region and readily adapt to new situations, such as the new tourist landscape. These subjects are considered rare in Hoyerswerda as the local population is cast as passive and dependent, which also means it is not seen as ready to take on the exceptional task the city faces.

Historical associations with the GDR are generally considered negative. The GDR, particularly in terms of the planned economy and socialism, is portrayed as ‘artificial’, whereas capitalism and everything that is associated with it is portrayed as ‘natural’. Even though initiating growth is considered pivotal, it is not constituted as a field of direct intervention. There is, for instance, no comparable programme to *Stadtumbau* that supports municipalities in creating jobs in the same manner as the demolition of housing stock is subsidised. The measures that exist are indirect and serve to improve the job-readiness of certain parts of the population, and there are also subsidies for companies to relocate to certain areas.

The next chapter deals with conflicts and contestations that emerged in relation to the dominant governmental rationalities of managing shrinkage and initiating growth. It aims to answer the second research question of how conflicts, contestations and counter-conducts emerge. Furthermore, this question includes a concern for how counter-conduct is constituted and for the role that spatial and temporal rationalities play here. As in Chapter 6 and 7, the role of rationalities is closely linked to assumptions about subjectivities.

8 Conflicts, contestations, counter-conduct

8.1 Introduction

Practices of governing shrinkage in Hoyerswerda have for a long time been met and shaped by conflict and contestations. However, conflict and contestations did not only emerge in the period after German Unity: certain aspects of the building programme were also contested and criticised during the boom years of the construction of Hoyerswerda *Neustadt* as the Second Socialist Model City in the GDR (see Brigitte Reimann's critique, Section 5.2.4). This chapter, however, focuses on a range of conflicts that emerged in Hoyerswerda as responses to the practices of managing shrinkage and initiating growth (see Ch.6&7) after German Unity. The Visits of the Class of Architecture (see Section 5.4.3) marked merely the first public emergence of this policy criticism, which has developed further in the years since.

This chapter shows that in the context of critiques and conflicts different ways of governing shrinkage are being suggested. However, it is important to analyse how these different approaches emerged as critiques, and how these critiques were not incorporated in governmental practices, but rather considered as 'counter-conducts' or counter productive to governmental aims. An analysis of the extent to which critiques relied on different practices, techniques and rationalities of managing shrinkage or initiating growth contributes to this undertaking of gauging conflict, contestations and counter-conduct. This also involves examining how shrinkage and growth are problematised in critiques of government. A focus on space, time and subjectivity allows a detailed analysis of the different strategies. In employing these analytical axes, common oppositions in Hoyerswerda are challenged such as those between the City Council and the 'old' architects of the city, or the City Council and *KuFa*, and instead attention is drawn to the extent of divergence and similarity between their strategies.

Conflict and contestation are often dealt with implicitly in the literature on governmentality, even though regimes of government are generally conceptualised as 'unstable' (see Section 3.5). The idea of looking more closely at such conflicts and contestations is to explicitly address such instabilities, both in terms of governmental rationalities (counter-rationalities, alternative and other truths), but also in terms of conduct (counter-conduct, non-compliance). The focus remains on the ways in which

space, time and subjectivity are negotiated in these rationalities of governing, yet particular attention is paid to the ways in which counter-conduct emerges in relation to current governmental rationalities and how futures may also be governed according to different rationalities. Rather than understanding ‘instabilities’ as occurring in opposition to governing, they are conceptualised as part of it. Larner (2000: 17) illustrates this: ‘political “resistance” is figured by and within, rather than being external to, the regimes of power it contests.’ This also resonates with the assertion that ‘contestations, resistances and social antagonisms shape rule through systematic provision of alternatives’ (O'Malley *et al.* 1997: 510). However, as noted above, these are not always accepted as being within the ‘true’ governmental discourse.

In short, the idea of this chapter is to trace the emergence of counter-conducts and conflicting rationalities in Hoyerswerda. An important part of the analysis is to examine the techniques and practices that these alternative attempts at governing rely on, and it is interesting to explore to what extent these are different from the practices and techniques of managing shrinkage and initiating growth. Calls for more expertise or better planning are, for instance, not necessarily based on different governmental rationalities – they may acknowledge a similar need to manage shrinkage.

The discussion of the emergence of conflicts about the first shrinkage policies, which came to the fore when the Architectural Field Class visited Hoyerswerda (see Section 5.4.3), provided a starting point for the discussion in this chapter. In the following three sections, different aspects that emerged in relation to this debate are examined in more detail: contestations and conflicts of managing shrinkage that are largely concerned with *Stadtumbau* practices; conflicts around the role and identity of the city more generally, which can be closely linked to approaches of initiating growth; and alternative cultural practices of dealing with shrinkage. The analysis is guided by the question of how contestations begin to appear as counter-conduct, even though they are rarely based on suggesting radically different approaches to shrinkage or growth.

8.2 Contestations and conflicts of managing shrinkage

In the context of the first visit of the Architectural Field Class to Hoyerswerda in 2001, the way in which planning was conducted in the city was discussed openly for the first time. This involved discussions about the plans, about the processes by which these plans were made, and about the practices of managing shrinkage. There had been little

debate in previous years, which the critics claimed was part of a deliberate City strategy (Biernath and Richter 2005): Very few people were involved in the planning process, there was no public participation. Furthermore, the quality of the plans was contested, as was the expertise of those involved in the planning process.

This section shows how conflicts and contestations were based on different ideas about the role of particular spaces in the city and temporalities involved in the process of managing shrinkage. Furthermore, the examination of the conflict around participation shows that different ideas about subjectivities are at the basis of the opposing approaches. The discussion is structured according to the main issues of conflict: participation, the location of demolitions and the relationship between *Altstadt* and *Neustadt*.

8.2.1 Participation: *Stadtumbau* a collective concern and effort

There are two ways in which participation is discussed in Hoyerswerda: firstly, as a matter of consulting with those directly affected about the *Stadtumbau* process; and secondly, as a matter of including enough expertise in the *Stadtumbau* process on a more general level, when plans are made. The critics maintain that the *Stadtumbau* process is not transparent enough and that both City and housing companies are not only secretive and exclusionary in relation to the public, but also in terms of making use of more diverse and better expert knowledge:

In recent years, Hoyerswerda's urban policy was dictated by the all-powerful Mayor of Construction [*Baubürgermeister*]. In relation to this neither the creativity and participation of his own employees was welcomed nor of any civil agencies. Tellingly, urban planning was attached to the Department of Economic Development and has been directly subordinate to the Mayor since 2000. For years, all urban planning tasks, including visionary mission statements were automatically assigned to a singular private office of planning... In Hoyerswerda there is no City Architect, the city's administration has neither employed its own architects nor planners¹⁶⁶ (Biernath and Richter 2005: 101).

¹⁶⁶ Die Stadtbaupolitik wurde in Hoyerswerda in den letzten Jahren durch die Allmacht des Baubürgermeisters bestimmt. Hierbei waren weder die Kreativität und Mitbestimmung der eigenen Angestellten erwünscht, noch die gesellschaftlicher Kräfte. Bezeichnenderweise wurde Stadtplanung dem Amt für Wirtschaftsförderung zugeordnet und untersteht seit 2000 direkt dem Oberbürgermeister. Jahrelang wurden alle städtebaulichen Planungen einschließlich Leitbild-Visionen automatisch an ein einziges Büro vergeben... In Hoyerswerda gibt es keinen

A closer examination of the main points of critique shows that different assumptions concerning the subjectivity of tenants in *Neustadt* can be considered as one of the reasons for critiquing the practices of public participation in the context of demolitions.

In its short-lived existence (2004-2007), the association *Subversionen* addressed the lack of public participation and critiqued the ways in which *Stadtumbau* and demolition were carried out. The association with the full name of ‘*Subversionen, Stadtumbau and citizen’s participation*’ was founded in February 2004 right after *HoyWoy Unfolding* (Interview, Proksch, 12/12/07). Many of the associations’ members had worked on the construction of the *Neustadt* in GDR times, so there were very close personal relationships as well as a particular subject-specific expertise in terms of planning and construction (Interview, Mildner, *Subversionen*, 12/03/08). The occasion that led to the initiation of *Subversionen* was the planned demolition of a uniquely constructed and listed school in *WKI*, which was designated for demolition because it was no longer in use due to a lack of pupils. The first aim of *Subversionen* was to prevent the demolition of the school, and the second aim was to advocate more public participation in the wider *Stadtumbau* process. *Subversionen* had an office in a vacant shop in *Neustadt* where they provided an up-to-date model of the city, which made the planned demolitions visible and where they offered information concerning *Stadtumbau* to the interested public.

One of the main issues *Subversionen* worked on was the way in which inhabitants directly affected by *Stadtumbau* were involved in the demolition process (Interview, Mildner, 12/03/2008). The strategy of the housing companies is to inform affected tenants about demolitions as late as possible, based on the fear that long-term information alienates tenants (Interview, Fietzek, 09/07/2009, see Section 6.3.3). *Subversionen* were in opposition to this strategy:

We said: “That’s wrong!” We have to explain to the tenants what it’s about in good time and they’ll understand. It is bad enough if you have to leave your familiar surroundings, but if you know that there is an alternative that there is an

Stadtarchitekten, die Stadtverwaltung hat weder eigene Architekten noch Stadtplaner angestellt (Biernath and Richter 2005: 101).

almost final solution... [The City and the housing companies] didn't want to approach it that way¹⁶⁷ (Interview, Mildner, 12/03/08).

Affected tenants, so the logic implied, would be understanding in terms of the need to move if they were presented with a long-term perspective. Here, the inhabitants of *Neustadt* were conceived differently than the ideas on which the *Stadtumbau* practices in Hoyerswerda were based. While *Subversionen* assume that tenants are basically capable of making the 'right' decisions if they are presented with long-term plans; they are considered not capable of making these decisions in the *Stadtumbau* practices (see Section 6.4.2). For *Subversionen* the tenants can be considered fully capable of governing themselves; for the City Council and the housing companies they are not capable of governing themselves (further evidence for this conclusion can be found in Sections 8.2.2 and 8.2.3)

Subversionen ceased to exist in December 2007. This was partly because few people were actively supporting the initiative, but also because neither the administration nor the inhabitants showed as much interest in participation as initially desired by *Subversionen*.

We realised that we didn't find any resonance with the City administration... we've always tried to get a conversation going with them – they haven't tried it once... Of course we always went there and told them off a little about what's happening in Hoyerswerda. That was maybe not so smart tactically, we should have taken them by the hand and should have put praise and criticism at the right places. We didn't succeed in this. We were frustrated, it couldn't be true that they didn't want to understand [what was going wrong] ... But also the inhabitants did not participate much in what we did. That's a pity. There were always a few people who came to our office to get some information. They wanted to know: "How long am I going to be in my house? Can you tell me when it's going to be demolished?"¹⁶⁸ (Interview, Mildner, 12/03/08).

¹⁶⁷ Wir haben gesagt, das ist falsch, das ist der falsche Weg. Wir müssen Beizeiten erklären worum es geht, den Bewohnern, und dann haben sie auch Verständnis. Dann, sage ich mal, so schlimm wie es ist, wenn man aus seiner vertrauten Umgebung raus muss, aber wenn man weiß, es gibt keine Alternative, aber wir haben eine fast endgültige Lösung (Interview, Mildner, *Subversionen*, 12/03/08).

¹⁶⁸ Als wir gemerkt haben, wir haben kein Echo gefunden bei der Stadtverwaltung... wir haben immer wieder versucht mit denen ins Gespräch zu kommen, die haben es nicht ein einziges Mal versucht. Freilich sind wir dann auch immer hin gegangen und haben ein bisschen geschimpft, was so in Hoyerswerda passiert. Das war vielleicht taktisch ein bisschen unklug, man hätte sie mehr an die Hand nehmen müssen und hätte Lob und Tadel an die richtige Stelle setzen sollen. Das ist vielleicht uns nicht so gelungen. Wir waren aber auch frustriert, das konnte auch nicht sein, dass man das einfach nicht begreifen wollte. ... Aber auch die Bevölkerung [hat] nicht so teilgenommen, an dem was wir so gemacht haben. Das war schade, es sind zwar immer mal ein paar Leute gekommen, in den Treffpunkt

In interviews, the lack of public participation was also used as an argument that the local population simply cannot be made to participate: if a dedicated participation association fails to mobilise the public this must mean that it is hardly possible at all. Furthermore, a seemingly low interest in participation can also be used to show that expectations of achieving participation are futile, when the high rate of unemployment suggests that people have other priorities:

In a city like Hoyerswerda with such a high [rate of] unemployment, you don't need to ask [the unemployed]: "Do you think it's beautiful if we retain this house in this location...?" There is only one concern: "Bring us jobs, I'm actually not interested in all the rest." It's clear, ... if there are so many people who have social problems, then they consider something else [as more important]¹⁶⁹ (Interview, Gröbe, 11/12/07).

Participation, as portrayed in this illustration, is a luxury: people with social problems are not considered interested in getting involved in the *Stadtumbau* process.

Another way in which participation was problematised concerns the relationship between people who do get involved and the way their work and their criticism is received by the City and the Planners. Proksch, for instance, shares *Subversionen*'s concern of how the City Council and the Planning Department respond to attempts of participation:

We have created forums for discussion with urban planners, with the housing companies, with all kinds of people. The problem is that what we do is generally recognised and it is OK, but that... the administration and the City Council continue to see it as interferences. Public participation, which is always wished for - [they] actually do not want it because they realise, "Oh God, what big ideas are we confronted with, what do they want again? Why don't they let us do our work? Constantly you're being criticised here." Because we approach this issue openly saying that: "It's not OK that you fuck up the city with all this demolition; that the City does not demolish according to a plan and does not [follow the principle of shrinking] from the periphery to the centre; that there was no urban planning until three or four years ago, but unsystematic rupturing of this city"... Things that

und haben sich informiert, die wollten natürlich wissen: „Wie lange bin ich noch in meinem Haus? Können sie mir mal sagen, wann das abgerissen wird?“ (Interview, Mildner, 12/03/08).

¹⁶⁹ In so einer Stadt wie Hoyerswerda mit so einer hohen Arbeitslosigkeit, sie brauchen [die Arbeitslosen] nicht fragen: „Findest du das schön, wenn wir das Haus an der Stelle erhalten...?“ Es gibt nur immer eine Sache: „Bringt uns Arbeitsplätze und Industrie her, alles andere interessiert mich eigentlich nicht.“ Ist ja auch ganz klar, wenn ich so viel Leute habe, die soziale Probleme haben, dann sehen die da was anderes [als wichtig an] (Interview, Gröbe, 11/12/07).

every outsider sees who comes to the city... but if you talk about it openly [they react with]: “Are you mad? How do you deal with us? We do our work here and you’re putting us [down, you’re] fouling your own nest”¹⁷⁰ (Interview, Proksch, 12/12/07).

The responses to attempts of participation, this suggests, have so far been negative. The idea that critics are ‘fouling their own nest’ can be understood in relation to the assumption that if people speak positively of their city, the city will have a future (see Section 7.4.1). Conflict and criticism can be seen as barriers to development (see Section 7.4.2) because people, then, do not necessarily act as ambassadors for their city.

A lack of participation was widely problematised in Hoyerswerda not only by critics of *Stadtumbau*, but also by the City and the planners. It is argued that different ways of problematising participation need to be distinguished in order to show how certain forms of participation are constituted as contestations, whereas others appear as the proper conduct. There is a difference whether participation is understood as the rate in which the public responds to offers of participation or whether it is seen as the degree to which active attempts to participate by groups are acknowledged by the City. While invited participation is welcomed and a lack of participation can appear as counter-conduct, or as a proof that the population is lethargic, claims to participate by associations and groups are rejected as soon as they are critical.

In this context, the City Council, the administration, the planners and the housing associations appear in opposition to several public agencies and associations such as *Subversionen* and *KuFa* that make claims to participate, but are critical of *Stadtumbau* practices. However, when examining the different suggestions in more detail it becomes clear that their claims often go in the same direction, for instance, that shrinkage needs proper management. It is necessary to analyse the points of divergence in more detail to

¹⁷⁰ Wir haben immer wieder dadurch dann auch Foren geschaffen und Diskussionsrunden mit Städteplanern, mit der Wohnungsgesellschaft, mit allen möglichen Leuten. Das Problem ist, dass es allgemein anerkannt ist was wir da tun und das es in Ordnung ist, dass aber ... die Verwaltung und der Stadtrat ... das wieder als Einmischen sehen und sich reinhängen und eigentlich diese Bürgerbeteiligung, die immer gewünscht wird gar nicht wollen, weil sei einfach merken: “Oh Gott, was kommen denn da schon wieder für große Vorschläge, was wollen denn die schon wieder? Warum lassen die uns nicht unsere Arbeit machen? Ständig wird man hier kritisiert.” Weil wir natürlich wirklich dort offen an die Geschichte rangehen und sagen: „[Es] kann nicht sein, dass man diese Stadt so kaputt saniert, dass man die Stadt nicht planmäßig abreißt und diese Schrumpfung nicht von außen nach innen macht, und das es eigentlich unserer Meinung nach bis vor 3,4 Jahren überhaupt keine Stadtplanung gab, in Ansätzen, sondern wahlloses Zerreißen dieser Stadt“... Sachen, die jeder Außenstehende, der herkommt sieht, aber wenn man das ausspricht, sagen die sofort: “Seid ihr verrückt, wie geht ihr denn hier mit uns um? Also, wir machen hier unsere Arbeit, und ihr macht uns nur [runter, ihr] Nestbeschmutzer“ (Interview, Proksch, 12/12/07).

understand how the opposition is constituted – how the work of *Subversionen* and *KuFa* can be seen as counter-conduct to the government of shrinkage. Controversies around the location of demolitions and the limitation of problems to *Neustadt* are used to explore these issues.

8.2.2 Critique of current *Stadtumbau* practices

In the *Stadtumbau* process, the locations of demolitions are considered crucial because of the vacant spaces that they create, which can rarely be filled with new construction projects. The main choices for the development of demolition sites range from remaining as wasteland, being developed into a park or into forest. If *Stadtumbau* is considered as attempting a ‘renaissance through demolition’ (Bernt 2009) what remains after demolitions is important because it makes a difference if too much is demolished in the wrong, or too little in the right, locations. In Chapter 6, the conflict between demolishing according to the different criteria that the urban policy documents and the housing companies adopted were examined. This section analyses how several critics consider the actual demolition practice that emerged from this conflict as one of the problems the city faces in terms of its future.

In examining how the critics distinguish between wrong and right locations for demolition this section shows how the spatial rationality underpinning the critics’ views is only a little different from the current governmental rationality of *Stadtumbau*. It is, for instance, important to note that no initiative is in opposition to demolitions or relocations of the affected population in general. Demolitions are accepted as a ‘necessary’ response to vacant housing and the strategy to demolish from the periphery to the centre is also generally acknowledged. Yet, while the critics accept the main strategies of managing shrinkage, they reject the divergences from these strategies - of which, as this section shows, there have been many since demolition started in Hoyerswerda.

The first building that was demolished in Hoyerswerda was located in the centre of *Neustadt*. It was an eleven-storey residential high-rise building like many others in the surrounding area which were demolished soon after. These demolitions have been problematised in terms of the symbolic message they conveyed: demolitions started right in the centre of *Neustadt*, visible for everybody, every day. But they have also been problematised in terms of how they influence the long-term development of this

part of the city. Both aspects are reflected in an interview with Uwe Mildner, one of the architects of Hoyerswerda, who worked on constructing *Neustadt* in the GDR and who was a founding member of *Subversionen*:

They have destroyed the heart of the city. Is it still worth maintaining the city [around it]? It's clear, [the idea is] we "build-back" [from the peripheries] and return [the remaining sites] to nature, that's fine. But people who are to be moved, who would potentially stay, there are no alternatives on offer for them. There is nothing left in the core area of the city, that's the problem. Above all, there is nothing attractive left of which one could say: "Yes, that's where I want to go. That's exactly what I was thinking about." They all see that [the centre] is [a] desert..., that there is nothing left. You have to accept that nothing is going to happen in the central area in terms of construction. Nothing can happen, because there's no money for that. There are no investors who say: "That's worth it"¹⁷¹ (Interview, Mildner, 12/03/2008).

Mildner's claim that the central parts of the city are more attractive because of their centrality and therefore should have been spared from demolition bears some similarities with the reasons that are provided for the demolitions. The first demolitions in the centre were underpinned by the idea that these are the most attractive spaces in *Neustadt* – especially for investors. When the first demolition was finished a sign was erected which said: 'Space for your ideas' (Interview, Mildner, 12/03/2008). Yet, to date (2010), nobody has invested there, leaving large areas of urban wasteland in the centre of *Neustadt*.

After it became clear that no investors were going to invest in the Centre, the City decided to deal with it in its vacant state. In 2007, the City commissioned the Department of Landscape Architecture of the Technical University of Dresden to draw up a landscaping plan for Hoyerswerda with a focus on the centre of *Neustadt*. The planners from Dresden came up with the notion of the 'Green Centre' [*Grüne Mitte*], which became the basis for the City Development Concept [*SEKo*] for the Centre of *Neustadt* of 2008 (pb gröbe 2008). It is currently under construction and basically

¹⁷¹ [M]an hat das Herz der Stadt kaputt gemacht. Lohnt es sich jetzt noch diese Stadt zu erhalten? Es ist klar, wir bauen [von außen] zurück und geben [die Abrissgrundstücke] der Natur zurück, das ist einwandfrei, aber die Leute, die da noch umgesiedelt werden müssen, die eventuell bleiben würden, denen kann man jetzt nichts Alternatives mehr bieten. Man hat im Kernbereich nichts mehr, das ist das Problem. Vor allen Dingen hat man nichts Attraktives wo sich einer sagt: "Ja da möchte ich gerne hin. Das ist genau das, was ich mir vorstelle." Die sehen alle dort, dass [das Zentrum eine] Wüste ist, dass dort nichts mehr ist. Man muss sich auch damit abfinden, dass also hochbauliches in der Kernstadt nichts passiert in den nächsten Jahren. Nichts passieren kann, weil es kein Geld gibt dafür. Es gibt keine Investoren, die sich sagen: „Menschenskind, das lohnt sich hier“ (Interview, Mildner, 12/03/2008).

creates parkland instead of wasteland. The hoped for investment has not entirely disappeared, though: several areas are still marked as sites for possible future development in the landscaping plans (Interview, Gröbe, 01/02/08). To some extent, this examination suggests that the way in which demolition was carried out in the centre of *Neustadt* can be seen as a problem for the future of the city and not necessarily as a solution.

The critics also provided reasons for how the *Stadtumbau* process that was initially seen to contribute to the future of the city could go so wrong. Firstly, a wider vision that guides that demolition practices was considered to be missing, which means that simple guidelines, i.e. to demolish from the peripheries to the centre, were not even followed through and secondly, the City Council was perceived not to take responsibility for the *Stadtumbau* process.

[P]lanning in the city is dominated by a one-sided and counter-productive approach and a prevailing lack of subject-specific expertise. Negligence and wrong decisions are increasingly noticeable... Yet, the urban planning problems of the city have to be solved by the City itself. The coordinating requirements of the City as a mastermind are missing as much as a masterplan¹⁷² (Biernath and Richter 2005: 101).

Moreover, there were suggestions of how to solve these problems – even though it might be too late already:

We now need an urban planning practice that develops a city vision for us in which one can feel comfortable based on the number of inhabitants that we'll eventually have; of which one can say, as an inhabitant of the city, "yes, that's my city, I want to live here, I feel good here." They [the City] haven't done that until this day, they don't see the necessity of putting such a practice on the rails. For now it is like nobody would like to do it any more, because what do you want to do with this city? There is actually no perspective¹⁷³ (Interview, Mildner, 12/03/08).

¹⁷² [B]ei der Bauplanung für die Stadt [herrschen] einseitige, kontraproduktive Planungsdominanz und fehlende Fachkompetenz vor. Unterlassungen und Fehlentscheidungen werden immer deutlicher spürbar... Die städtebaulichen Probleme der Stadt müssen aber durch die Stadt selber gelöst werden. Die koordinierende Vorgabe der Stadt als Vordenker fehlt ebenso wie ein Masterplan (Biernath and Richter 2005: 101).

¹⁷³ Wir brauchen jetzt ein Städtebau Entwicklungsbüro, das uns nach Vorgabe wie viele Einwohner wir in etwa in Perspektive später mal haben werden, ein Stadtbild darstellt, wo man sich wohl fühlen kann; wo man als Bewohner der Stadt sagt: „ja, das ist meine Stadt, hier will ich leben, hier fühle ich mich wohl.“ Das haben sie bis zum heutigen Tage nicht gemacht, sie sehen es nicht für notwendig an, so ein Büro da in die Spur zu schicken. Nun ist es in

From this perspective, the City needs to commission a good urban planner with subject specific expertise who works on a vision or a masterplan for the city. In addition, this vision or masterplan can only become reality if the City fulfils its responsibility of bringing others to comply with it. If things happen against the plan, the City is to blame, as Baumeister claims using the example of demolitions in wrong locations:

Every block that is to be demolished has to be signed off by the City, otherwise the [housing companies] don't get their money. Yes, you can blame Faßl or Fietzek [the heads of the housing companies], but I'd say, that's the City's task. If they don't tend to it, others will take it on... [The housing companies] have different criteria according to which they decide, as a rule these are economic reasons... The only [institution] that can confront them legally is the Planning Department in the City Council... The planning authority remains with the municipality – with the administration and their respective departments. And if they don't have a clear plan, they can't get the different partners who are supposed to put the plan in practice to commit to it – they can't push them then¹⁷⁴ (Interview, Baumeister, 08/07/2009).

In this view, clear plans help to get other partners on board yet the outcome cannot be guaranteed unless the City makes sure that the plans are followed through in practice.

The discussion about the current *Stadtumbau* practices shows that some of the demolitions are seen to have worsened the situation of Hoyerswerda instead of improving it, not least because the City failed to find new uses for the cleared sites. The reason for this was considered to lie in the bad planning practices, based on a perceived lack of expertise and the failure of the City to fulfil its role of making sure that demolition practices are in line with the plans and in guaranteeing that emptied sites can be usefully integrated.

The critique examined in this section does not suggest radically different *Stadtumbau* practices. Rather, it reminds the City of its task of managing shrinkage properly, which

Zwischenzeit auch schon so, dass es keiner mehr gerne machen möchte, denn was will man denn eigentlich aus der Stadt jetzt noch machen? Es ist eigentlich perspektivlos inzwischen (Interview, Mildner, 12/03/08).

¹⁷⁴ [J]eder Block, der fällt [muss] von der Stadt gegengezeichnet werden, weil die [Wohnungsgesellschaften] sonst die Mittel nicht bekommen. Ja, man kann jetzt der Frau Faßl eine Schuld zuschieben, und dem Herrn Fietzek, aber ich sage, die Aufgabe liegt bei der Stadt. Und wenn sie sie nicht vollzieht, dann übernehmen andere sie,... und die haben andere Parameter, nach denen sie entscheiden, ökonomische, in der Regel... die Einzigen, die dagegen halten können, rechtlich gesehen ist das Planungsamt der Stadt... Die Planungshoheit liegt nun mal bei der Kommune, bei der Verwaltung, sprich in den entsprechenden Ämtern. Und wenn ich dort keine saubere Planung hinterlege dann kann ich auch nicht die Partner, die ich dazu brauche in der Umsetzung dazu einschwören und kann sie dann auch nicht in die Richtung drängen (Interview, Baumeister, 08/07/2009).

also involves the demand for commissioning a different private planning practice with more expertise. However, a closer analysis of the critique shows that a few different spatial and temporal rationalities form the basis of it.

8.2.3 Shrinkage - a problem of the whole city

An important part of the conflict around urban policy in Hoyerswerda is how it associates certain problems such as population loss and demographic change with certain spaces, such as *Neustadt*. In this, the problems of population loss and demographic change are confined to *Neustadt* (see Section 6.2.1). An invisible boundary seems to exist which keeps both problems separate from *Altstadt*. The way in which the problem is constructed means that *Altstadt* is not touched by any of *Neustadt*'s problems. This spatial limitation of the process of shrinkage has been one of the main assumptions of urban policy in Hoyerswerda ever since population loss was constituted as a problem. It is closely linked to a temporal assumption that shrinkage stops when the city has reached a healthy size (see Section 6.3.1).

This reasoning has been criticised as short sighted, which is most clearly expressed in an interview with Dorit Baumeister, who is not directly involved in the policy making process, but familiar with local statistics and policy documents:

[The policy-makers] fool themselves if they believe that the problem of shrinkage is only a problem of the *Neustadt*. It's completely wrong. It's a problem of the whole city. The *Altstadt* is as much down in terms of its functions¹⁷⁵ (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/2007).

Seen in this way, population loss and demographic change are not confined to *Neustadt*, but affect the whole city. In this context, the functional integration of *Altstadt* and *Neustadt* is emphasised, based on which a separation of problems according to each part of the city no longer make sense – *Neustadt*'s problems also affect *Altstadt* because of the functional integration of both parts of the city:

The *Altstadt* also lives off *Neustadt*: that's where the [shopping mall] *Lausitzcenter* is; there is the department store; these are all things that equally

¹⁷⁵ [Sie – die Stadtverwaltung] machen sie sich was vor, wenn sie glauben, dass Schrumpfungproblem ist nur ein Problem der Neustadt, komplett verkehrt gedacht. Es ist ein Problem der Gesamtstadt. Die Altstadt liegt genauso nieder mit ihren ganzen Funktionen (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/2009).

benefit the *Altstadt*. If there is nothing left [in the *Neustadt*], no apartments [nothing] then I don't know. At *Karstadt*¹⁷⁶ you can already see it: it is only a like a pound shop ... In the *Lausitzcenter* shops change like one would change a t-shirt. At some point, when the purchasing power decreases even more [shops] will become vacant. ... It's probably expressed a bit dramatically that the city goes under, but it doesn't have much of a prospect from my point of view¹⁷⁷ (Interview, Mildner, 12/03/2008).

Both parts of the city are affected by shrinkage. Population loss, for instance, not only affects *Neustadt*, it has implications for *Altstadt* as well - even if demolitions continue to be limited to *Neustadt*. Spatial relations of interdependency between both parts of the city are rarely drawn in Hoyerswerda's urban policy documents or in the urban policy discourse. Instead, as shown in Section 6.2.1 Hoyerswerda's problems are solely located in *Neustadt*. Section 6.3.1 demonstrated that this is also based on a temporal limitation in the assumptions in urban policy: the idea that shrinkage stops when the city has reached a 'healthy' size. Yet, like the spatial limitation, this assumption does not go without critique:

There should be a model according to which we'll 'land' at a certain size; a size that the region can take. Well, I'd say a city with 20 - 25,000 inhabitants, a middle-sized city, a Middle Centre [according to the Central Place System], which we can only become - we can only achieve these numbers, if we get people to move here. Without people moving here, it won't work, because according to the current demographic statistics of Hoyerswerda, we cannot prevent the *Neustadt* from disappearing. We actually cannot stop it because the demographic numbers are so drastic that we won't stop shrinking at a population of 20,000 or 25,000. You have to become aware of that¹⁷⁸ (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/09).

¹⁷⁶ *Karstadt* is a department store like Debenhams.

¹⁷⁷ Die Altstadt lebt auch von der Neustadt, da ist das Lausitzcenter, da ist das Warenhaus, da ist die Lausitzhalle, das sind alles Dinge, davon profitiert die Altstadt genauso. Wenn wir hier nichts mehr haben, keine Wohnungen mehr, dann weiß ich nicht. Beim Karstadt sieht man es ja schon, dort ist ja jetzt nur noch Notverkauf, Im Lausitzcenter wechseln die Geschäfte wie man das Oberhemd wechselt. Irgendwann, wenn die Kaufkraft immer mehr zurückgeht, wird das auch verwaist sein. ... Das ist sicherlich jetzt ein bisschen dramatisch ausgedrückt, dass die untergeht, die Stadt, aber sie hat für meine Begriffe, wenn sie so weitermacht, keine große Perspektive (Interview, Mildner, 12/03/2008).

¹⁷⁸ ... [Es] sollte ein Modell geben, was uns irgendwo einpegelt auf einer Größe, die die Region trägt, wo wir aber noch eine Funktion übernehmen können, die wirklich eine wichtige Funktion ist. Also sage ich mal eine Stadt, mit 20, 25000 Einwohnern, eine Mittelstadt, ein Mittelzentrum, die wir aber nur dann werden können, also diese Zahlen können wir nur dann halten, wenn wir Zuzug bekommen. Ohne Zuzug funktioniert das nicht. Weil nach den heutigen demografischen Zahlen von Hoyerswerda, ist im Prinzip der Weggang der Neustadt nicht mehr verhinderbar. Wir können das gar nicht mehr stoppen, weil die demografischen Zahlen mittlerweile so heftig sind, dass wir nicht automatisch bei 20000 oder 25000 Menschen stoppen werden. Und das muss man sich bewusst machen (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/09).

This implies that in order to maintain a certain size, the City has to change its strategy and attract new inhabitants otherwise shrinkage cannot be halted – neither spatially, nor temporally. By confining problems to *Neustadt* and also by confining them to a certain timeframe, urban policy in Hoyerswerda – so the criticism goes - started from the wrong assumptions and ignores the extent of the problems; furthermore, this limitation helps to create a false sense of security – not least in terms of relocations of inhabitants from demolition areas.

The preceding discussion shows that most critics of the current *Stadtumbau* process in Hoyerswerda embrace *Neustadt* more readily as an important part of the city and not as the sole location of its problems. There is, for instance, a clear sense that population loss and demographic change are not only located in *Neustadt*, but also in *Altstadt*, which means that the whole city needs to be considered as a space of population loss and demographic change. Equally in terms of time, the processes of change are seen as much more difficult to predict – instead, shrinkage is conceived as a potentially open and ongoing process unless the City succeeds in attracting new inhabitants (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/2007). What if vacancies in *Altstadt* and in the core area can no longer be ‘filled’ with forced relocations from the demolition areas? This has a side effect: if there are potentially no temporal and spatial boundaries to shrinkage, the process of governing shrinkage becomes much less manageable and more insecure. As a result, the question of how to deal with the present may become a more pertinent question in comparison to making plans for a brighter future (see Section 8.4). Before exploring practices that provide some evidence for this temporal twist, different attempts to initiate growth are examined in the next section.

8.3 No growth, be a pioneer - once more!

The City’s need for a vision is pertinent in almost all of the criticism of *Stadtumbau* in Hoyerswerda. There are, however, different ideas of what constitutes a vision. In some accounts, a vision is used in the sense of a masterplan – an idea about the built form like the vision that *Subversionen* called for. In other critical approaches, the idea of a new vision for the city refers to the need to outline a new role for the city. This is reflected in a newspaper article on the occasion of ‘HoyWoy Unfolding’, the project of Prof. Hain, head of the Department of Architectural History of the Academy of Arts in Hamburg, which was exhibited and debated in Hoyerswerda in 2003 (see Section 5.4.3):

To solve the problems, it is not enough to do what all the others do: to build leisure pools and shopping malls, to establish age appropriate apartments for the elderly. In this city, something has to be done that nobody has yet thought of. That's as easy as it is!¹⁷⁹ (Hain, cited in: Würz 2003, 20/01).

In short, the task of redefining a new role for Hoyerswerda is considered to require more than the usual planning practices: however, what it requires remains obscure since nobody has thought of it yet.

Two points guide the discussion. First, there is the idea that the city has a unique and special history, which is often ignored, but can potentially lead to different starting-points in relation to the spatial and temporal governmental rationalities. Second, there is the idea that the city needs a new vision for redefining its role, which may be based on different, revived spatial relations to its surrounding area and does not necessarily include a need to attract business to the city.

8.3.1 A unique and special history

This section shows that contrary to the ways in which *Neustadt* is portrayed in Hoyerswerda's urban policy (see Section 6.2), its construction can also be seen as a moment in which the whole city of Hoyerswerda was lifted from insignificance. In this context, the construction of *Neustadt* is considered as an event that made the city special – not only in terms of the urban form, but also in terms of the experiences of the local population which was closely connected to the construction. This shows that the conception and construction of *Neustadt* cannot be reduced to the urban ideal of building a Socialist City and all the negative associations this raises today. In contrast, it is suggested that reducing Hoyerswerda's specificity to this urban ideal misses that uniqueness and is as much enmeshed in the everyday life of the city and in the life history of the inhabitants who helped to construct the city after working their shifts in the nearby Energy Centre.

When *Neustadt* was built, young people came from all over the country, the city grew rapidly and soon *Neustadt* was much bigger than *Altstadt*. Reflecting on the advantages

¹⁷⁹ Um die Problematik zu bewältigen, reiche es nicht, zu tun, was alle tun: Spaßbäder und Einkaufsmeilen bauen, altersgerechtes Wohnen etablieren. „Es muss in dieser Stadt etwas getan werden, worauf noch keiner gekommen ist. So einfach ist das!“ (Hain, cited in: Würz 20/01/2003).

that a city like Hoyerswerda provided in not having any established elites, one of those who has experienced the city for a long time explains:

Hoyerswerda had an egalitarian society, everyone could participate, everyone was equal ... and that's why a certain attitude developed. We thought: "We're young, the world is open and we can create society" (Interview, Schlegel, 13/03/08).

Most inhabitants of the early years were indeed involved in creating and constructing the city after the shift in the mines or industries, which is also why a range of critics claim that it is important to take this part of history, of the population and of the city more seriously, and to acknowledge *Neustadt* as an accomplishment as well:

You have to understand the people. They see that 'their' city [the *Neustadt*] – they came here when they were young, started their families, experienced the boom, lived their lives and now that they're old, their children are gone and their city is being demolished. That means their life's work disappears. They ask themselves: "Oh my god, what have you done?" They don't even have the roots any longer and don't stay either. And that's hard and of course one reacts and retreats and doesn't face it; you don't want to know about it ¹⁸⁰ (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/2007).

Even though this comment does not refer to the GDR period explicitly, it argues for the acknowledgement of people's experiences and GDR life history, which, as the preceding chapters show, does not figure in the current approaches of managing shrinkage and initiating growth.

There are initiatives that aim at documenting the unique role of the city in the GDR, especially in terms of its history of construction. *Neustadt* can be considered as an inventory of standardised and industrialised GDR housing types: every type built in the GDR is present here: *Neustadt* is a built heritage site of GDR construction. The publication *Architektour*, a combination of architecture and tour guide provides a good overview to this (Biernath 2005).

¹⁸⁰ Man muss ja mal die Menschen verstehen. Die Menschen sehen, dass ihre Stadt, also sie sind als junge Menschen her gekommen, haben hier Familie gegründet, haben hier sozusagen den Aufbau erlebt, haben ihr Leben gelebt, und jetzt wo sie alt sind, sind ihre Kinder weg, ihre Enkelkinder weg, und ihre Stadt wird abgerissen. Das heißt ihr Lebenswerk verschwindet. Wo ist denn da noch der... Man fragt sich, na ja, mein Gott, was hast du denn gemacht? Und sie haben nicht mal mehr die Wurzeln bleiben auch nicht. Und das ist heftig, und natürlich reagiert man erst mal, man zieht sich zurück, es ist eine große Lethargie da, und stellt sich dem nicht, man verdrängt, man will das gar nicht wissen (Baumeister, architect and curator, 12/12/2009: 8).

In addition, much of the cultural life of the post-war era was connected to *Neustadt*, which can also be seen to provide some important starting points of today's development. There were, for instance, the author Brigitte Reimann (1933-1973), and singer songwriter Gerhard Gundermann (1955-1998) with his band *Brigade Feuerstein*, which amongst others contributed significantly to the cultural life in Hoyerswerda during the GDR. The Zoo was built with the help of the people of Hoyerswerda from the 1950s onwards. From 1975 there were eight biannual sculptor's symposia, the results of which are still distributed across the city. The art society was founded in the 1960s on the basis of the private initiative of several people who just came to Hoyerswerda. It continues to organise exhibitions, other events and lectures by authors and thinkers. The *Lausitzhalle* was constructed because of protests in *Neustadt* (see also Section 5.2). In short, much of the cultural life that the city has today is based on the private initiatives of people who came to the city in the GDR.

The common periodisation of Hoyerswerda's history and the assessment of the different parts of the city in urban policy is turned on its head. The idea of the small but great rural town, which was overwhelmed by the standardised and industrialised (i.e. bad) urban planning of the GDR, and which can now be freed from this historical weight, is replaced by the idea of the small and insignificant rural town, which was lifted to significance by an extraordinary boom in the GDR. In addition, emphasis is drawn to a range of interesting cultural institutions and associations, which originated in the GDR and in *Neustadt*, not least because of there was a lack of cultural and social institutions in this part of the city. In this context, the cultural heritage of this boom is now threatened since the current rationalities of managing shrinkage by demolishing the *Neustadt* do not attend to it. And of course, it is not only about the demolition of housing, but also of ignoring the historical legacies of the GDR and of its people. The claim that those who live in *Neustadt* and who moved to Hoyerswerda are not as loyal as those 'who always lived there', which underpins the *Stadtumbau* strategies, for instance, is countered by the pensioners' theatre group, who proudly call themselves 'those who came here' [*Die Hergezogenen*].

This different view of *Neustadt* as a significant part of the city also places experiences during the years of the construction at the basis of a new vision for the future.

8.3.2 *Neustadt* as a basis for a new vision of the city

Taking *Neustadt* as a starting point for a new vision for the city is represented in Dorit Baumeister's idea that the city could be a pioneer again as it was when *Neustadt* was constructed as the Second Socialist City:

We would have the chance ... to be a pioneer again, especially because we're so well known - because we play a role in the public [discourse]. And no matter how negative our standing is, I'm always able to re-claim this publicity positively. I need a reputation to start with and that's what we have. That's our chance¹⁸¹ (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/2007).

This implies a positive approach to the city's GDR history, which is absent from the current urban policy discourse. In alternative visions, the city's GDR history is considered as one of the city's positive attributes as opposed to constituting one of the city's main problems. In this way, historical continuities are redefined: while urban policy and mission statements seek to evoke continuities derived from the city's pre-GDR history, the starting points for being a pioneer again are closely related to the times of growth, when *Neustadt* was constructed as the Second Socialist City.

[It] would be the duty of the municipality to really develop a plan of action... In which they say: "OK people, we have a big problem, we become smaller, but we take a look at the role [that we can play in this area]. We have lost our initial role, the industry that used to be the basis of our existence doesn't need us any longer; it broke away and we have to accept it. Is there potentially another role that we can take in this region? Which role can we take? Where are our strengths? Where are our weaknesses?" You have to examine this carefully, you have to constantly compare yourself to the region, to other cities, which all look for their roles in the future. And then there'll be losers and maybe a few winners. That's quite a competition, a hard competition. I'm sure only those will win who (a) deal with reality, who are aware of it and and who make radical decisions and (b) have a plan of action that provides a new role for the remaining part [of the city] in which we build on... high, extraordinary quality. I consider that as our only chance¹⁸² (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/07).

¹⁸¹ Wir hätten die Chance ... uns wirklich als Pilot aufzustellen, gerade weil wir so öffentlich bekannt sind, gerade weil wir in der Öffentlichkeit eine Rolle spielen. Egal wie negativ wir dastehen, ich bin immer in der Lage ein öffentliches Ding auch positiv zu besetzen, aber ich muss ja erst mal einen Ruf haben, der da ist und den haben wir. Das ist unsere Chance (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/2007).

¹⁸² [Es] wäre die Pflicht der Gemeinde wirklich ein Handlungskonzept zu entwickeln, ... wo man sagt: „OK, Leute, wir haben ein richtiges Problem, wir werden kleiner, aber wir gucken uns an, welche Rolle [wir in dieser Gegend

This role, as Baumeister shows (see also 8.4.1) is not necessarily based on initiating growth locally: why, she asks, should the city act as an independent economic unit even though Hoyerswerda's tradition was to provide housing for the workers of *Schwarze Pumpe*:

If I have neither an idea, nor a function, nor any content that provides [the city] with a [place] in the region - what could we do? Why should people move here? – Then the city has already lost. That's what's from my viewpoint 95% most likely, because it is this concept that isn't developed. What the City does, I don't know, but I'd be interested in what they say they do, they don't provide any clues. [What] one knows [from the] documents [such as *InSEK*], it's hard, it's just mediocre and it neither provides any general approach, nor any clues of them taking the situation seriously. From their viewpoint, the only possible avenue of development [is to get rid of *Neustadt*]. That's sad!¹⁸³ (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/07).

In this context, for Baumeister (Interview, 12/12/07), the Council appears more like an administrator of change and less like an initiator: 'you administrate and I demand: create!'¹⁸⁴

The foregoing discussion shows that the city's GDR past could be put centre stage in the considerations of what makes the city special. In contrast to the spatial and temporal rationalities of urban policy, as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, in this view the GDR past and *Neustadt* are not seen as barriers to development, but as a basis for it - including implicit assumptions about GDR subjectivities, which are in this case understood as

spielen können]. Die eigentliche Rolle haben wir verloren, also wir sind nicht mehr die Stadt, das Werk braucht uns nicht mehr. Die haben wir verloren, das war unsere einzige Existenzgrundlage, die ist weg gebrochen, das müssen wir akzeptieren. Gibt es eventuell eine andere Rolle, die wir hier in der Region übernehmen können? Welche Rolle können wir übernehmen, wo haben wir eventuell unsere Stärken, wo haben wir unsere Schwächen?“ Das muss man sich auch genau angucken, man muss sich ständig vergleichen mit der Region, mit den anderen Städten, die alle nach ihren Rollen in Zukunft suchen. Und dann wird es halt die Verlierer und dann wird es eventuell wenige Gewinner geben. Und das ist ein ziemlicher Wettkampf, ein harter Wettbewerb. Und es werden, davon bin ich überzeugt nur die gewinnen, die (a) die Realität annehmen und sich dessen sehr bewusst sind, die auch in der Richtung radikal die Entscheidungen treffen und die B ein Handlungskonzept haben, was für den verbleibenden Teil, wo wir eine neue Rolle zuweisen können und... wo wir auf hohe Qualität setzen. richtig hohe, außergewöhnliche Qualität setzen. Darin sehe ich die einzige Chance (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/07).

¹⁸³ Wenn ich keine Idee habe, nicht eine Funktion habe, nicht einen Inhalt habe, die [der Stadt] einen [Platz] in der Region zugesteht - wo gibt es hier eventuell Bedarf? warum sollten Leute überhaupt hier her ziehen? - dann hat die Stadt eigentlich schon längst verloren. Das ist jetzt auch, was so für meine Begriffe, aus heutiger Sicht zu 95% wahrscheinlich ist. Weil eben genau das nicht entsteht: dieses Konzept. Was die Stadt macht, ich weiß es nicht, aber es würde mich interessieren, was sie sagen, was sie machen, die geben ja auch nichts so richtig preis. Was man weiß [von den] Papieren [wie dem *InSEK*], das ist heftig, das zeugt nur noch von Mittelmaß, von überhaupt nicht irgendwo grundsätzlichem Herangehen, und ernst nehmen der Situation. Und wirklich diesen wahrscheinlich aus ihrer Sicht nur möglichen Endziel, [des Abrisses der Neustadt]. Das ist traurig! (Baumeister, 12/12/2007).

¹⁸⁴ „Ihr verwaltet und ich verlange: gestaltet!“ (Baumeister, 12/12/2009).

characterised by a spirit of doing-it-yourself and of experimentation. The idea that every city should work on its own potentials is not criticised, but there is a difference in terms of what is seen as the city's potential. Instead of concentrating on initiating local growth, Baumeister calls for the city to focus on its historical traditions of offering housing to surrounding industrial areas – a strategy that, she is convinced, has a future. The next section, which deals with different cultural projects highlights this in more detail.

8.4 Alternative practices of dealing with shrinkage

Since *Hoywoy Unfolding*, a range of cultural projects were initiated in Hoyerswerda, which address shrinkage not primarily as a problem to be managed or overcome, but as a problem that affects the cultural life in the city in a variety of ways. These projects bring to light different aspects of shrinkage, for instance, that it is necessary to explore ways of dealing with shrinkage in the everyday and not only attempt to solve it. Two approaches can be distinguished: firstly, local cultural projects that emerged as a regular, but only short-term intervention into the wider and more permanent contexts of managing shrinkage and initiating growth; and secondly, the long-standing, but not always successful, attempts to create more permanent spaces for deliberation about these issues in the city. In analysing how these approaches constitute space, time and subjectivity, the way in which counter-conduct emerges in Hoyerswerda can be traced.

8.4.1 Project-based initiatives of working on shrinkage

Superumbau [Super Regeneration] was the first urban art project that Dorit Baumeister organised in 2003, based on the notion *Stadtumbau*, but in replacing 'Stadt' with 'Super' the massive extent to which *Stadtumbau* was considered to be necessary in Hoyerswerda was emphasised (see also: Sächsische Akademie der Künste 2005b). The German Federal Cultural Foundation funded *Superumbau* as part of its first round of thematically framed 'shrinking cities' projects¹⁸⁵ (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/07).

Superumbau had two aims: firstly, to encourage a dialogue about shrinkage in a wider context, using Hoyerswerda as an example; and secondly, to change the image of

¹⁸⁵ Several other artistic and cultural projects that dealt with shrinkage were also funded in the same stream as *Superumbau*. Amongst these was the most famous Shrinking Cities project by Phillip Oswalt, which was exhibited in many cities around the world and resulted in numerous publications (Oswalt, P. 2004; Oswalt 2005).

Hoyerswerda in the wider world (Baumeister 2005). This also involved emphasising that the whole city with all its functions is affected by shrinkage, not only the housing companies, as predominantly portrayed in the media at the time. Changing and broadening Hoyerswerda's image brought other themes to the foreground to counteract the stigmatisation of Hoyerswerda (see Section 5.3): as a neo-Nazi city; as a 'red city' based on the election Mayor Brähmig in 1994 who was member of the successor party of the Socialist Unity Party, *PDS*; and as fastest shrinking city in Germany (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/07). Furthermore, *Superumbau* also served to substantiate the claim that the city should act as a pioneer again:

I wanted to make clear that this city has the damn obligation to act as a pioneer [a model] again with this new issue of shrinkage after the history it has written [of being the Second Socialist City of the GDR]¹⁸⁶ (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/2007).

This point was not only addressed to the wider world, but also to the local policy makers. It can be understood as a demand for more visionary work.

Superumbau ran for six weeks from the 15th August to the 27th September 2003 and was based in two vacant *Plattenbau* buildings in *WK8*, which were scheduled for demolition (one of which was demolished in the course of the six-week project, see Figure 8.1).

¹⁸⁶ Ich wollte auch klarstellen, dass eigentlich diese Stadt die verdammte Pflicht hätte nach dieser Geschichte, die sie geschrieben hat, sich noch einmal jetzt mit dieser neuen Thematik Schrumpfung als Pilot zu verhalten. (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/2007).

Figure 8.1: *Superumbau*

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source: Schrumpfende-Stadt (website¹⁸⁷)

More than 30 artists from all over Germany were invited to work on projects that related to urban changes in the city and to exhibit or perform their work in and around the vacant building or in front of the building that was being demolished in the process of the project. Figure 8.2, for instance, depicts a project which accompanied the demolition in advertising for the meadow that was being created. Over a period of six weeks, *Superumbau* was open to the public, who were also invited to participate in several projects. Inhabitants were, for instance, asked to participate in public readings of Brigitte Reimann's diaries and to play in the theatre piece *Kap der Unruhe* [Cape of Unquietness] (festival information Superumbau, not published).

¹⁸⁷ Full details for website, see Appendix Four.

Figure 8.2: ‘A meadow is being created here’

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source: Dorit Baumeister (both photos)

Superumbau had very good and positive media coverage nationally and internationally, which was in contrast to the views from the City:

Internally, the view was different... Those at the inside believed: “Now Mrs Baumeister pokes her finger into the wound [of being a declining city] and even says it loudly”¹⁸⁸ (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/07).

Baumeister’s approach of working on the city’s shrinkage with such publicity as in *Superumbau* was seen as a problem by those who only wanted to have ‘good news’ for the city (Interview, Kil, 20/03/2008).

Superumbau stirred discussion amongst local people, some of whom rejected, and some of whom were enthusiastic about, the art projects. This is reflected in a range of letters to the editor of the local newspaper just a couple of weeks after the project started¹⁸⁹.

This ensuing debate is one of the reasons why Baumeister draws a positive conclusion because: ‘it really initiated a discussion here in this city, no matter whether people were

¹⁸⁸ Innen war die Sichtweise eine andere... Nach Innen hat man das Gefühl gehabt,... jetzt sticht die Baumeister den Finger in die Wunde und sagt das auch noch laut. (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/07).

¹⁸⁹ Some of the letters were against (e.g. Skoddow 2003, 26/08: 13; Pallad 2003; Familie Höle 2003; Nitzsche 2003, all 30&31/08: 18) and others were in favour (Proksch 2003; Tischler and Müller 2003; Röhl 2003; Kruscha 2003; Gertler 2003, all 30&31/08: 18) of the project.

against it, but with this project they were forced to deal with this situation'¹⁹⁰ (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/07).

Several policy-makers did not appreciate *Superumbau*, despite the good press it created for the city. Part of the protest was addressed to the Federal Parliament in Berlin, which was asked by the local MP, Henry Nitzsche, to clarify if the Federal Cultural Foundation had spent its money correctly in supporting *Superumbau* (Interview, Proksch, 12/12/2007). There were also critics who contended that all the artists came from 'outside', were 'parachuted' in and left soon after without much involvement by the local people. Wolfgang Kil, the architecture and urban critic, who attended many of the *Superumbau* events (and also encouraged Dorit Baumeister to put together the application for the Cultural Foundation) draws mixed conclusions:

It was a period of total uncertainty. The demolitions had just started and suddenly these artists came and did a big show. The whole supporting programme ... that worked with the people directly, such as the City Forums ... there was a good atmosphere. It was OK there, you didn't have the feeling that people who were sitting there were alienated. They knew very well what was happening there. Also that it was taken up in the local newspaper every day... And then it turned out, the artists have left and the show is over¹⁹¹ (Interview, Kil, 20/03/08).

Whether the participation of many artists from the outside has overwhelmed local sensitivities cannot be clarified. However, Kil maintains that this mixed outcome also contributed to a process of learning amongst the organisers. The project introduced to Hoyerswerda a different way of dealing with shrinkage, including different artistic, cultural, collaborative and participatory techniques. Since then, art and cultural projects have been recurring events in the city, most of them organised by Dorit Baumeister or the *Kulturfabrik (KuFa)*, with which she is closely associated. These projects worked together with the local population more directly and were not as widely publicised. Yet they all addressed the future of the city critically. What follows briefly refers to the

¹⁹⁰ dass wirklich hier in der Stadt erstmalig diskutiert wurde, egal ob die Leute dagegen waren, aber sie wurden gezwungen über das Projekt sich überhaupt erst mal mit dieser Geschichte auseinander zu setzen.

¹⁹¹ Es war eine Phase der totalen Verunsicherung. Da ging das gerade erst los mit den Abrissen und da kommen jetzt plötzlich die Künstler und machen da eine Riesennummer. Alles, was an Begleitprogramm lief,... dass sie mit den Leuten selber zusammen gemacht haben, also die Stadtforen... da war eine tolle Stimmung, da war das ok. Da hatte man auch nicht das Gefühl, dass die Leute, die hier sitzen verunsichert sind, die wissen sehr wohl, was hier passiert. Oder dass es jeden Tag in der Zeitung so thematisiert war... Und dann kam raus, die Künstler sind dann also alle weg gewesen, und damit war die Sache vorbei (Interview, Kil, 20/03/2008).

individual projects and the themes they worked with (all information provided by Baumeister and Proksch).

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of *Neustadt*, in 2005, Dorit Baumeister organised the project ‘I was born here’ [*Hier bin ich geboren*] (see Figure 8.3) in cooperation with the *KuFa*. This project worked with local youths based on their experiences of growing up in the city. Giving a voice to those who are assumed to ‘leave the city anyway’, the project challenged the general perception that young people do not have an attachment to the city. It also countered the common perception of lethargy and ageing in giving voice to young people and their story of the city. Initiated in relation to the 50th anniversary of laying the foundation stone for Hoyerswerda *Neustadt*, this project consciously provided a different perspective from the historical one – commemorating the ‘good old days’ by focusing on a contemporary phenomenon.

Figure 8.3: ‘I was born here’ Removed for copyright reasons

source: Rico Hofmann

In 2007, the project The Third City (*Die Dritte Stadt*), organised by *KuFa*, followed. It was named according to the perceived phases of the city: first city – rural town; Second Socialist City of the GDR and posing the question what The Third City was or could be. Different groups of the local population were asked to participate in six different ‘building blocks’ ranging from theatre pieces for children and pensioners to a photo project (Kulturfabrik Hoyerswerda e.V. 2007) and the future workshop [*Zukunftswerkstatt*]. In this part of The Third City, 15-18 year old pupils worked on creating a vision for the future of the city based on the premise that the city will not receive any economic investment and therefore not have independent economic growth (Interview, Baumeister, 12/12/2007; Proksch 12/12/2007). Instead, this project suggested that the city should concentrate on finding a different role, such as providing

attractive living conditions for the industrial locations like *Schwarze Pumpe* (for which the city was initially built) and *Schwarzheide* (another near-by industrial district). In these industrial districts, the project assumed, economic development had already started to take off again, but both locations face big problems in attracting staff, partly because they do not provide an attractive environment for people to live in. Historically, Hoyerswerda *Neustadt* was built to provide housing for *Schwarze Pumpe*, so why should it not return to this role of providing housing for the bigger industrial locations in the surrounding areas? A future for the city was imagined beyond the taken-for-granted strategies of initiating local growth. Instead, a strategy was proposed in which the city cooperates with the surrounding areas rather than competing with them.

In 2009 *KuFa* initiated a project called Enchanted Places [*Verwunschene Orte*] and it again combined several smaller projects such as theatre, performance and art for all generations. Part of this event was a project called 'Painting the *Platte*' [*Malplatte*], which was based around a vacant *Plattenbau* building. Conceived of as a youth project, young people were allowed to paint this vacant building. When more and more people of all ages turned up to get allocated a room or a part of the building as a painting space, the project was spontaneously extended to include all generations (Interview, Baumeister, 09/07/2009; Proksch 09/07/2009).

A similarity between the projects is that they employ cultural and artistic techniques to address urban issues. Yet the aims that such projects pursue are by no means limited to the cultural sphere: they often touch on the future of the city and can be seen as responses to the way in which the future is governed in local urban policy practice. They pose similar questions to those of the city's urban policy: What role does the city take? How does it relate to its history? How does the population relate to the city?

Yet the projects are based on different perceptions of the city's problems and their solutions from those emphasised in urban policy discourse, which is dominated by the problem of empty housing stock and the solution of demolishing it. In these socio-cultural projects, current *Stadtumbau* practices themselves are considered to be part of the problem of Hoyerswerda – even though demolitions are not opposed in general. But rather than understanding the process of governing shrinkage as a technical and calculable process, these projects emphasise the unpredictability and uncertainty of shrinkage. This entails a focus on the subjects of shrinkage and on finding new ways of dealing with loss and farewell. However, it also includes an approach of seeing the

possibilities that shrinkage offers such as more space to experiment. In addition, the general perspective these projects take is not necessarily working towards a better future, but also finding ways of dealing with the present.

Emotions such as loss and attachment to the city, which are not addressed by the current policy practices of *Stadtumbau*, are put centre stage. Furthermore, the strong attachment of many people to *Neustadt* is recognised, the lack of which is otherwise often portrayed as one of the problems of the city. Processes of celebrating *Neustadt*, the people who lived there and their memories emerged in this context. These can range from remembering the different times in oral history projects to saying farewell to blocks that are going to be demolished in ‘Painting the *Platte*.’

Part of this is well captured by seeing these projects as ‘cultural palliative care’ or ‘hospice care’ for the city [*kulturelle Sterbebegleitung*] (Interview, Baumeister, 09/07/2009). At the same time, the celebrations also emphasise the need for incorporating this otherwise ‘unloved’ (marginalised or ‘othered’) part of the city into the local debate.

However, these cultural projects do not solely aim to pass criticism on the practices of managing shrinkage or initiating growth; the aspect of improving one’s quality of life is also part of the impetus to get involved:

To be in contact with people... has developed in a direction... that created a different form of culture. Many things eroded and we’re searching... so what we really continually play with is this new cityscape and [we] don’t just say: “Critique, critique...!” – that always plays a role, this critical reflection... but it also plays a big role to say: “We want to live here, and that’s got to do with culture so we have to create our culture.” And if many things don’t work here any longer, then I create them in a different manner. People don’t meet at the Italian, because it doesn’t exist any longer. Then they play theatre together or deal with something or just have fun, that’s part of it. I do have to have an idea about life. We try to test new ways of living or to occupy ourselves in a different manner and that I find quite exciting¹⁹² (Interview Baumeister, 09/07/2009).

¹⁹² Mit Menschen in den Kontakt treten und was... sich ja auch in eine Richtung entwickelt hat... die eine andere Form von Lebenskultur geschaffen hat. Es sind viele Dinge weg gebrochen und jetzt sind wir eben auf der Suche ... dass wir jetzt wirklich in einer richtigen Konsequenz und einer Kontinuität diesen leeren und immer wieder neuen Stadtraum mit bespielen und zwar nicht um immer nur zu sagen: „Kritik, Kritik...!“ - das spielt immer eine Rolle, also diese kritische Auseinandersetzung... sondern es spielt eine große Rolle zu sagen, wir wollen einfach hier leben

In a city that does not offer as much, getting involved, doing-it-yourself is a good means to this end. This aspect shines a different light on these projects as they can also be seen as pushing the question of how to deal with the present in a context in which most policies address a better future. In providing opportunities for many people of all ages to get involved in debates that are otherwise held behind closed doors or that are limited to urban policy documents, these urban socio-cultural projects problematised different aspects of shrinkage than urban policy discourses; in doing so, the impacts that shrinkage have on people's lives in the city are recognised. As participative and deliberative practices, they can be seen as 'counter conducts' for what is usually imagined to be the domain of experts, who are directly involved in managing shrinkage and initiating growth.

The question of space emerges not only in the processes of redefining the boundaries of the problems, which are seen to extend to the whole city and do not stop at the boundaries of *Neustadt*. Different spaces are also being redefined in the process of being used for deliberation and experimentation. Vacant buildings, for instance, offer the potential for certain activities, be it of celebration or remembering. These projects cannot, of course, provide jobs, but they provide spaces for different practices, rationalities and maybe also experimentation with different subjectivities. Temporally, these practices also do something new: they deal with the present problems in the here and now and do not seek to solve them in the future. The projects are temporary and do not necessarily seek to try out different ways of dealing with all problems. The next section shows that, in addition to these temporary initiatives, there are also attempts to create spaces for more permanent deliberation in the city.

8.4.2 Permanent spaces for ongoing deliberation

In a context in which one of the main problems is perceived to be too much space for the decreasing population, there is nevertheless conflict about some buildings. One would assume that there are more than enough to choose from. However, which institutions are located where and what buildings are dedicated to particular uses remain

und das hat etwas mit Lebenskultur zu tun, wir müssen uns Lebenskultur schaffen.“ Und wenn viele Dinge hier nicht gehen, dann schaffe ich sie mir halt auf andere Art und Weise. Dann treffen sich Leute halt nicht beim Italiener weil es den nicht mehr gibt. Dann spielen sie abends gemeinsam Theater oder setzen sich auseinander mit irgendwas und haben einfach auch zum Teil nur Spaß und darum geht es auch. Ich muss ja irgendwo so einen Lebensentwurf haben. Wir versuchen dort neue Lebensentwürfe auszutesten, oder überhaupt uns hier zu beschäftigen auf eine andere Art und Weise und das finde ich ganz spannend (Interview Baumeister, 09/07/2009).

subjects of conflict in Hoyerswerda. Two spaces, an old building in the market square of Hoyerswerda *Altstadt*, *Braugasse 1*, and the so-called *Orange Box*, are good examples around which to discuss these conflicts.

The *Braugasse 1* building is one of the few nineteenth century listed buildings in the city. It is owned by the City, and was constructed in 1885, as a ballroom and community centre. From 1912 to 1975 a school moved in - the very school where Konrad Zuse finished his secondary school education [*Abitur*] in 1928. Thereafter and until the end of the GDR, the building functioned as a centre for the GDR youth organisation 'Pioneers'. After German Unity, from 1992 the city used the building as a youth centre, after which it was taken over by the *Kulturfabrik* and transformed into a socio-cultural centre from 1996 onwards.

In the summer of 2000, *Kulturfabrik* was moved to temporary accommodation in an old *Plattenbau* building at the edge of the *Altstadt* to allow for the planned reconstruction of *Braugasse 1*, which was deemed structurally unsound. The plans for refurbishment were completed and an investment of € 4.7 million was agreed by the City Council. € 3.4 million of subsidies were to be paid by the State of Saxony and Hoyerswerda had to contribute the rest (Interview, Proksch, 12/12/2007). However, shortly before construction was due to begin, the City budget suffered a crisis: the funds that had been allocated to renovate *Braugasse 1* were spent elsewhere and the renovation was postponed.

In April of 2006 a citizens' group initiated the society *Braugasse 1* in order to help the City to secure the funds and work towards maintaining the building. So far, the group has not succeeded in securing an adequate amount of money. So, almost ten years after the *KuFa* was evacuated from the *Braugasse 1* building, it is still located in the same temporary accommodation at the edge of the city and the *Braugasse 1* building is still vacant, awaiting refurbishment. In the meantime, different ideas of what should be located in this central *Altstadt* building emerged, the most debated of which is to transform it into the *Konrad Zuse* computer museum because it is the building in which Konrad Zuse studied for his *Abitur* (see also Section 7.2).

Proksch describes the situation from the perspective of *KuFa*:

We think we simply need this central space as a community centre for this city and that's ideal at the marketplace... The City Council sees it differently. They

think we're better off at the edge of the city. We should "kid" around here and meanwhile we're seen as troublemakers, who can't keep quiet because we constantly push for these [City Council] resolutions that they have themselves voted for, actually the renovation of this building and our move back into it. Now, they're not in the position to implement it. There are constantly other construction projects that are pushed forward. It is an adverse situation and now we've initiated this petition for a citizen's referendum to come to a final decision, if it is going to be constructed or not. And of course, that is again seen as an attack. That is a difficult situation we're in at the moment¹⁹³ (Uwe Proksch, Head of *KuFa*, 12/12/2007).

The conflict between City Council and *KuFa* is seen to contribute to the delay of the construction works. The referendum was rejected on formal grounds. The Council meanwhile wanted to assign all costs of running the socio-cultural centre to *KuFa* and retreat from any commitments, which would mean a much less secure future for *KuFa* and was therefore rejected by them. Since then, the City has invited *KuFa* to submit a new concept for the use of the building. This was to be produced in collaboration with the Konrad Zuse Computer Museum and the Natural Scientific Technical Children's and Youth's Centre. This concept was submitted in Spring/Summer 2009 and the Council reacted with a symbolic measure: they put € 1,200 into the next year's budget for the refurbishment of *Braugasse 1*.

KuFa is a rather complex institution consisting of the socio-cultural centre and the association *Kulturfabrik* (Culture Factory, *KuFa*). The centre offers 'socio-cultural' projects for people of all ages including courses like pottery, filmmaking, drums and theatre. The *KuFa* also provides spaces for bands to practice as well as for other groups to meet. There are more than 20,000 participants per year in several hundred youth events. The socio-cultural activities receive basic funding from the City, which pays for the facilities and two full-time posts amounting to about € 180,000 per year (all figures provided by Proksch, 12/12/07). The money to run the projects is acquired by the association *Kulturfabrik*, which is run on a voluntary basis and which deals with most of

¹⁹³ Wir sind der Meinung, wir brauchen einfach diesen zentralen Ort, als Bürgerzentrum für diese Stadt und der ist natürlich ideal am Markt ... Die Verwaltung und der Stadtrat, die sehen das ein bisschen anders. Die denken wir sind hier am Rand der Stadt gut aufgehoben. Wir sollen hier unseren Quatsch machen und werden unterdessen eher so als Störenfriede gesehen, die nicht Ruhe geben, weil wir halt immer wieder auf diese Beschlüsse drängen, die sie ja selber beschlossen haben, nämlich den Umbau dieses Hauses und [unseren] Rückzug dorthin. ... Nun sind sie nicht in der Lage das umzusetzen, es werden ständig andere Bauvorhaben vorgezogen ... Es ist eine ungünstige Situation und nun haben wir auch dieses Bürgerbegehren in die Wege geleitet, um eine endgültige Entscheidung herbeizuführen, ob nun gebaut wird oder nicht und das wird natürlich gleich wieder als Angriff gesehen. Das ist natürlich alles eine schwierige Situation und in der befinden wir uns gerade (Interview, Proksch, 12/12/2007).

the evening programme such as Art House cinema events, theatre and other performances, concerts, parties and a bar; events that draw about 8,000 visitors per year. The revenue from these events goes towards financing the projects, but additional funds are also acquired from different institutions and foundations, yet none of it is long-term.

KuFa's arguments in support of their interest in relocating to *Braugasse 1* include: they would bring more life to the city centre, which is otherwise rather quiet; and this location would attract more participants and visitors because the location provides better accessibility. The relocation to the *Altstadt* can also be seen as a claim to an important, central space of the city, a claim to be recognised and accepted, or appreciated rather than obstructed. The *KuFa* would become a more visible part of the city again.

Different, but related issues can be found in the building *Orange Box*, finally opened to the public in Spring 2009 (see Figure 8.4). It is based on a similarly long-term process from idea to realisation as the *Braugasse 1* building. The *Orange Box* is a permanent space that can be used by different people and institutions to exhibit their work or to use it for events. It is located in the grassland area between *Alt-* and *Neustadt*. The idea of the *Orange Box* emerged in relation to the visit of the Architectural Field Class in Hoyerswerda in 2002. The starting point was to link *Alt-* and *Neustadt* by 'activating' the space in-between – to 'culturalise' the centre (Böhme 2005b), which means to bring cultural uses to this space. The space between the two parts of the city was seen as a potential 'Cultural Arrow' [*Kulturbogen*]. An *Infobox*, as it was called initially, where *Stadtumbau* issues would be exhibited and discussed, was seen as an important part of it. It took many years and more discussions until the box was constructed. When the new Mayor was elected in 2007, he initiated a group to discuss *Stadtumbau* issues, of which the *Orange Box* is the main tangible outcome. Kil comments on the box: '[The] box... provides the chance that the conversations are held which the mayors have denied this city - that's all it does. It's barely a pain-killer! ... The box comes too late'¹⁹⁴ (Interview, Kil, 20/03/2008).

¹⁹⁴ 'In der Box... besteht die Chance, dass die Gespräche geführt werden, die die Bürgermeister dieser Stadt verweigert haben - mehr ist nicht drin. Das ist ein reines Schmerzmittel! Die Box kommt zu spät' (Interview, Kil, 20/03/2008).

Figure 8.4: Orange Box

Removed for copyright reasons

source: Rico Hofmann

While the artistic events and activities can be seen as making temporary use of derelict spaces the two initiatives discussed in this section seek official inclusion in the urban fabric. They aim for recognition of their importance for the future of the city in aiming for permanent spaces in the centre. Certain issues and particular kinds of work would be more visible at prominent spots in Hoyerswerda. These spaces provide room for conflict or at least experiment. While the idea to turn *Braugasse 1* into a Zuse Computer Museum relates to a pre-GDR legacy of the city and seeks to work on the inhabitants' subjectivities in an indirect manner, the location of *KuFa* would bring current practices of deliberation, but also experimentations with new qualities of life to the foreground. To a certain extent, *Orange Box* acknowledges the need for continuous deliberation, but of course, it is debatable how much deliberation will eventually take place in this building: just because there is a designated space does not mean that more permanent or frequent deliberations are going to take place in the city.

In sum, the discussion of alternative practices of dealing with shrinkage shows that there are numerous initiatives and events in Hoyerswerda that work on processes of shrinkage in a different manner from the approaches in *Stadtumbau* policy. Some of the

problems and solutions that these events and initiatives deal with are configured differently from the urban policy discourse. In addition, different techniques and practices are employed: some of them temporary, others permanent. A quest to shape urban policy is obvious, even though these initiatives and events are often portrayed as working against the city by the City

8.5 Conclusion

The examination of criticisms that emerged in relation to the *Stadtumbau* practices shows that the current and past strategies in Hoyerswerda are considered to lack a suitable vision for the future of the city. The City is perceived as rejecting suggestions of external agencies or institutions as soon as these suggestions are critical of, or different from, the City's current *Stadtumbau* strategies. Furthermore, the City is seen to constitute everything that goes against current practices as a threat to the future of Hoyerswerda – no matter whether a radically different approach is actually being proposed or whether the critique just seeks to remind the City of its own strategies, such as the policy of organising demolitions from the periphery to the centre, or of its legal role of coordinating the different interests in *Stadtumbau*.

A closer examination of the conflicts showed that differences between governmental rationalities are not all that marked. The call for more expertise or better planning, for instance, does not rely on entirely different rationalities - it acknowledges the need to manage shrinkage. The same applies to the assumption that problems will be amplified if shrinkage is not managed properly. Both approaches to government are characterised by the belief that planning and local governing can improve Hoyerswerda's situation - that a difference can be made locally. However, two differences were identified. First, in terms of spatial and temporal rationalities, critics laid a different emphasis on the importance of *Neustadt* and the period of its construction in the GDR, which were seen as important sources for the direction of the city's future. Second, it was considered important to work with people and their memories and everyday life experiences as a way of providing care in the process of transformation and as a way to take people on board in a difficult situation.

In relation to the governmental rationality that people should speak positively about the city in order to make a future for it, an analysis of the rejection of any kind of critique provides new insights in terms of the imagined subjectivities. Thus, while liberal

economic subjects are supposed to contribute to the city's economic progress in terms of initiating growth, individuals are not considered liberal in relation to the management of shrinkage. Part of this was derived from the discussion of relocation practices in which inhabitants of demolition areas are supposed to play along (see Section 6.4.2). Yet, the extent to which subjects are considered as not capable of self-government was only revealed in the discussion of conflicts in this section. If participation was sought by community groups, it was constituted as counter-conduct by those involved in organising *Stadtumbau*. Counter-conduct is thus constituted by the dominant governmental rationalities and not by the subjects who act in these ways. It is not based on a decision to resist current strategies, but on having diverging ideas and partaking in shaping and improving current practices. Considering counter-conducts as claims to a different government of shrinkage, then, not only reveals that current practices could be different, but also how they could be changed. Having examined the points at which there is divergence or similarity between governmental rationalities and rationalities inherent in the criticism, it is clear that the directions of change are not likely to be far-reaching. However, even though criticism is provoked by policy practices (i.e. demolitions) and does not press the boundaries of the taken-for-granted (e.g. the need to demolish), the analysis of counter-conduct still opens up the contingencies of *Stadtumbau*.

There are far fewer conflicts around economic development and around which role the city should take, which may be based on the fact that 'the economy' is not constituted as an area of interventions. The idea, however, that individual local growth is the only remedy for the city's problems is questioned. The general approach of redefining the role that the city could take is not questioned.

Alternative practices of dealing with shrinkage emerged in the context of cultural projects, which worked on creating a better present instead of focusing on improving the future.

9 Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

In the context of the emergence of the problem of ‘shrinking cities’ in Germany at the turn of the 20th century different ways of understanding and dealing with population loss and economic decline developed. Shrinkage, commonly understood to consist of phenomena of economic decline and population loss, was considered as either an issue to be accepted and managed, or to be overcome by initiating growth, but there were also certain alternative ways of dealing with shrinkage. By employing Foucault’s (2001) concept of ‘problematisation’ and analysing how certain issues were constituted as problems in a specific context, while others go unnoticed, these approaches were seen to make up the problem of shrinkage differently. Viewing shrinkage as a problematisation dispenses with shrinkage as a necessarily ‘urban’ problem: shrinkage could have been constituted differently, for instance, as a national problem of uneven development, or not a problem at all: it could have never emerged as an object of intervention. This raises the question of what these aforementioned constitutions of shrinkage entail. An analysis of problematisations questions the quasi-natural and sometimes also contradictory assemblages around shrinking cities. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, the different approaches and ways of dealing with shrinkage have rarely been explored in relation to each other and even less so in the particular context of a shrinking city. The potential of doing so, it was argued, lies in rendering explicit the implications of different ways of constituting and working on shrinkage, and also in opening up ways to think about shrinkage differently. The thesis thus aims to examine how shrinkage was governed in a city.

An examination of policy and academic debates about the future of East Germany showed that three interrelated responses to the ways in which the problem of shrinkage emerged can be distinguished: (1) as something to be managed by adapting urban structures to population loss and economic decline, for instance, in the *Stadtumbau* policy; (2) as something to be overcome, for instance, by initiating growth in no longer distributing state-investment with the ‘watering can’, but focusing it on ‘lighthouses’; and (3) as requiring different, yet unknown responses and not just the adaptation of the current urban structures or the initiation of growth.

These approaches resonate with different strands of the wider literature in economic and urban geography, for instance, on uneven development, globalisation, neoliberalisation and post-socialist transition; and urban regeneration and urban governance. An examination of these showed that while there are useful starting points, most approaches are based on explanatory frameworks about the causes and effects of shrinkage, for instance, in viewing shrinkage as a result of the crisis tendencies of capitalism; or as a result of neoliberal restructuring processes. Many of these approaches are related to a political economy view of the primacy of capitalism and the economy. In short, these theories tend to offer explanations that this thesis, in starting by seeing shrinking cities as a particular problematisation, wants to avoid. However, several useful approaches were found, which are inspired by poststructuralism and governmentality studies. While the first does not see capitalism as the main structuring force, the second draws attention to the ways in which seemingly neutral techniques and technologies are involved in making transformations such as globalisation work and how the constitution of certain subjectivities, e.g. globalised, neoliberal or post-social subjects is bound up in these processes.

The research perspective of governmentality, based on the central notion of government understood as a 'hinge' negotiating between power and subjectivity and technologies of power and forms of knowledge (Lemke 2008) provides a fruitful approach to the study of the problem of 'shrinkage'. It does not represent a normative account of how governing ought to work, but seeks to analyse how government as the 'conduct of conducts' and not equated with the state is accomplished through different practices, techniques and technologies, and also how it is thought about, including different aims and effects in working to produce and foster the desires, needs and aspirations of subjects. In particular, the aspiration to produce autonomous subjects capable of governing themselves in advanced liberal forms of government was examined. Rather than accepting autonomous subjects as the norm in advanced liberal forms of government, attention was drawn to the ways in which liberal forms of government rely on coercive forms of rule, in particular in relation to certain groups of subjects who are not seen as capable of autonomous self-government.

In addition, space and time were introduced as useful tools for the analysis. The productive role of space and time was emphasised. As objects or aims of government, space and time can imply certain causal effects on subjects or on the population.

Governmentality studies have attracted criticism for not paying adequate attention to the instabilities and messiness of government in focusing too much on rationalities or ‘the view of the programmer’ (O'Malley *et al.* 1997). To counteract this, analysis needs to explicitly focus on conflicts, contestations and more specifically on the ways in which ‘counter-conduct’ (Foucault 2007: 201-202) is constituted.

Based on these considerations, the following three main research questions were formulated: to analyse how shrinkage is governed in a city and in particular how space, time and subjectivity play a role in this; to examine how conflicts and counter-conduct emerge and how they appear as conflicts and counter-conducts and not as welcomed approaches to participation; to examine these issues in Germany’s fastest shrinking city Hoyerswerda.

The need to be explicit about the way in which the perspective of governmentality was translated into a research approach was highlighted because it is often neglected in governmentality studies. The empirical work was based on a qualitative research methodology. Attention was drawn to ways in which the aims of a genealogical critique can be achieved in a largely contemporary study. A particular approach to discourse analysis was introduced, which is less concerned with linguistic issues, but with the way in which things that are largely taken-for-granted can be questioned. Methods for gathering a range of documents and semi-structured interviews with the central actors that were involved in governing shrinkage in Hoyerswerda were outlined.

This chapter provides a summary of the main findings, following the analytical axes of space, time and subjectivity. It thus intersects with the discussion of the empirical chapters, which was structured according to the inter-related but different governmental approaches of managing shrinkage, initiating growth and conflicts, contestations and counter-conducts. In drawing out the implications of space, time and subjectivity separately and in discussing the issues of counter-conduct more explicitly, this chapter summarises the main issues that arose in answering the research questions. The contributions to knowledge of this study are considered in showing how the findings relate to wider debates in urban geography and on shrinking cities and in considering theoretical and methodological contributions. These reflections lead to a few suggestions for further research.

9.2 Governing shrinkage: space, time and subjectivity

The empirical chapters were structured according to the main approaches to shrinkage in East (and, increasingly, also West) Germany, which constitute it as a problem: to be properly managed and controlled; to be overcome by initiating growth; or to be dealt with alternatively. The different approaches are evident in the national discourses about shrinkage (see Section 1.3) and can also be found in terms of policy programmes and other interventions in Hoyerswerda (see Chapters 6-8). As shown throughout the thesis, these ways of problematising shrinkage bring into view different phenomena such as the need to maintain the viability of urban systems of housing or infrastructure provision (managing shrinkage); or the lack of economic investment, innovation and development (initiating growth). Different institutions, policies, practices, techniques and technologies emerged in the context of each way of problematising shrinkage. Nevertheless, in all approaches to shrinkage, space, time and subjectivity were found to play important roles.

The analysis showed that different ways of governing shrinkage have developed in Hoyerswerda. Two main fields can be distinguished: the government of shrinkage in the context of the urban policy of *Stadtumbau* and the government of shrinkage in the context of economic policy approaches, which are also characterised by the work of different development agencies. Both ways of governing shrinkage are closely interrelated even though they work on shrinkage from different starting points - managing shrinkage and initiating growth. However, managing shrinkage is seen to have positive economic effects and a certain extent of growth is implicit in the assumptions about how long to manage shrinkage.

The structure of the preceding chapters, in which the different problematisations of managing shrinkage, initiating growth and counter-conduct were used as guiding principles to discuss different aspects of space, time and subjectivity, is adapted in this section to draw out the different issues related to space and spatialities, time and temporality and subjectivity.

9.2.1 Space and spatialities: concentrate and consolidate

Managing shrinkage and initiating growth exhibit certain similarities in terms of their underpinning spatial strategies. For both, the creation of a particular type of city represents the main spatial rationality based on the logic that this type, which can be

seen as the spatial object of governing the future, has all sorts of positive effects not only on the population or individuals, but also on the economy. The type of city which was set as a spatial aim or object of governing shrinkage in Hoyerswerda is the 'European City': including most importantly a mixture of different uses, relatively high densities of construction, and buildings of different ages. It is the image of diversity in contrast to the monotonous surroundings of *Neustadt*. The European City is seen to possess certain 'self-healing powers' in terms of the economy (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999: 90); and it is more generally considered a remedy for all evils of the former Second Socialist City. However, the extent to which it was considered possible to adapt *Neustadt* to a more European urban form remains open to question.

The 'wrong' urban form (i.e. *Neustadt*) was considered to exacerbate undesirable processes, for instance, people moving away. In Hoyerswerda's first demolition policies, it was planned to replace some of the undesirable structures of *Neustadt* with more desirable urban forms such as an Amsterdam-inspired Canal City or areas for single-family housing. These approaches to restructuring the existing standardised and industrialised part of the city were seen as measures to counteract population loss and also keep some of the desired population groups, which were considered otherwise most likely to move away to single family houses in the surrounding areas.

The urban structure of *Neustadt*, which is based on a functional separation of uses, prefabricated and industrialised construction methods, appears as an opposite to the spatial object of a European City. This is expressed in the spatial categorisations on which the strategy of demolition in the *Stadtumbau* policy is based: *Neustadt* is considered as the sole location of Hoyerswerda's problems; *Altstadt* is seen as the city's asset. If *Neustadt* can become a bit more like *Altstadt*, the city will improve.

The urban structure of *Neustadt* is seen as 'artificial', while *Altstadt* is 'natural'. Similar analogies based on the artificial and natural binary exist in terms of the population structure and the economy and its development: artificial population loss is associated with the boom years of *Neustadt* as opposed to natural growth of *Altstadt*; growth in the planned economy is seen as 'artificial' in contrast to 'natural' growth of the capitalist economy, based on competition. This can also be found in frequent references to biological and medical analogies, such as the comparison of the problems of the city with a mouldy apple, which could be saved and secured by cutting off the mouldy bits. In this context, demolitions of vacant housing can appear as a process of healing, or

even of rescuing: if the mouldy bits are not removed, there is a danger that the mould could spread to the healthy parts of the city. Associations of managing shrinkage with diets and cleansing or purging can also be found in some strands of the academic literature, for instance, in the suggestions that processes of properly managing shrinkage may lead to a 'lean city' (Lang and Tenz 2003).

In terms of managing shrinkage, the main phenomena problematised are population loss and vacant housing. These are to be managed. Demolitions can be viewed as practices and techniques of transforming the city in which transformation is not achieved by adding new buildings, but by taking excess buildings away.

Initiating growth, in contrast, works on the potentials and strengths of the city, which are also associated with certain spaces. Spatial strategies of initiating growth include those which aim at inscribing the city with a certain image, for instance as Konrad Zuse City or Heart of Lusatia Lakeland. These new images are considered to lead to new identities, too – in terms of expectations that people start identifying the city and themselves with the innovative spirit of Konrad Zuse. In terms of the process of becoming Konrad Zuse City, several of the buildings in which Konrad Zuse, the computer pioneer, had spent some time, are seen as starting points to link the city with his name. However, the strategies to claim the role of the Heart of Lusatia Lakeland are different, as all existing services that may be of use for tourists are reinterpreted as an asset for the city. Amongst others, this includes Hoyerswerda's zoo, swimming pool, mall, museum, concert hall, *Altstadt* and cinema. To maintain these despite population loss is no longer just a means to provide services for the inhabitants, but is considered as a way to claim the city's role as a tourist destination, even though Hoyerswerda does not have direct access to the lakes in the Lakeland. The demolition of buildings in the context of *Stadtumbau* and the built heritage of *Neustadt* are not considered beneficial in the context of these strategies – unless the 'Bauhaus' parts of *Neustadt* were to be acknowledged as UNESCO world heritage site.

The examination of the spatial aspects of managing shrinkage and initiating growth shows that even though the initiatives are different, each of them seeks to achieve certain effects in terms of the population and certain subjectivities, whether these come about or not. This examination also showed that rationalities related to spaces and times are often closely interrelated. The next sections on time and temporality and on subjects and subjectivity go into more detail on this.

9.2.2 Time and temporalities: risk and security

In temporal terms *Stadtumbau* can be seen as a technology of government, which is based on the aim of minimising risk. In supporting the demolition of certain buildings that are no longer economically viable, *Stadtumbau* provides measures that prevent housing companies from going bankrupt. Furthermore, the City is expected to steer this process in order to ensure that it arrives at a sustainable urban form through the demolitions. This is what makes *Stadtumbau* not a purely reactive policy - e.g. subsidising the demolition of housing that became vacant - but a productive policy, which aims at changing urban qualities. People can be relocated and thus housing can be vacated in order to enable housing companies to demolish buildings, and this improves not only their finances, but also the city's urban form.

A closer examination of the categorisation of different areas according to their 'stability', introduced in the urban policy as a measure of the tendency of an area to lose population, shows some of the assumptions that underpin the way in which current or past patterns of population loss are extended into the future. The example of *WK10* (see Chapter 6), in particular, demonstrates that the population's imagined commitment to their area guides decision-making processes rather than the current tendencies of population loss. If it was only about the tendencies of an area to lose population, *WK10* would have to be categorised as 'stable'; but because its population is not expected to commit to the area in the long term, the area is classed as a demolition area. All inhabitants will therefore be relocated to other areas in the city.

The different ways of working on shrinkage have one main aim: to stop it. This is reflected in repeated prognoses of the rate of shrinkage and the future development. In order for the city not to disappear at some point, population loss has to come to an end. In this context, self-perpetuating population loss, an effect of lower birth- than death-rates, accompanied with a tendency of the population to age is considered as a problem.

Initiating growth is based on the examination of the city's 'roots', or expressed differently, starting points for new developments. This is based on the assumption that development works better if it grows from existing roots - something that has developed already. The aim is to initiate growth in the city, be it through direct investment by a company or through fostering endogenous growth. A continuation of the GDR role, which was to house the workers of nearby industries, is no longer considered an option.

Hoyerswerda's problems are closely associated with the city's GDR history such as the construction of *Neustadt* as the Second Socialist Model City. Considerations of how to improve Hoyerswerda's image relate to the pre-GDR rural small town. Hoyerswerda is portrayed as a town with a much older history and longer historical continuities. In evoking such historical (and spatial) continuities to a time before the GDR, it becomes clear that everything that has any relation to the GDR is to be avoided. This is particularly obvious in the expression of an 'inherited historical burden which was created during GDR times'¹⁹⁵ (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 20). This applies to the spaces that are associated with the GDR as well as parts of the population and its characteristics, but also to the economic situation. One could argue that the GDR appears as a universal scapegoat. According to such clear spatial and temporal (historical) categorisations problems can be located and solutions arrived at.

In the urban policy discourse, the GDR appears as an aberration of history, rather than being an equally accepted period of the urban (his)story: not in terms of the built environment that was produced then; not in terms of the economy; and not in terms of the population and the associated GDR subjectivities. In relation to the wider discourses on the constructions of East Germans, on East Germany and everything that is associated with it, this is not surprising: tendencies to marginalise the East have been widely examined (Kollmorgen 2007; Ahbe 2004). However, in Hoyerswerda, it is striking that these tendencies of marginalisation underpin urban and economic policy because most of the cultural institutions of the city are closely related to initiatives of the population and individuals in GDR times and most of the city was built in this time.

9.2.3 Subjects and subjectivities

In relation to spatial and temporal rationalities, the distinction between desirable and undesirable subjectivities can be drawn, which informs *Stadtumbau* practices, but also the practices of initiating growth. The right kind of subjects are, for instance, considered central to bringing the city forward, a view expressed across a range of interviews and in several documents. Entrepreneurial subjects and subjects capable of autonomous self-government are imagined in relation to initiating growth, for instance, people who start their own businesses. In relation to managing shrinkage, a distinction is made between

¹⁹⁵ '[einer] zu Zeiten der DDR entstandenen historischen Erblast' (Pb. Gröbe / CMF and SV Hoyerswerda 2004: 20)

home-owners, who are considered as capable of self-government, and tenants, particularly those in demolition areas, who are required to subject themselves to the relocation process. They are not considered capable of making the right decisions, as illustrated in the assumptions that if people are informed about impending demolitions, they may move somewhere else and not to the flat that the housing company offers them for relocation.

Furthermore, subjects in *Neustadt* are considered passive. On one hand, this is because the built form of *Neustadt* is imagined as rendering people passive. *Plattenbau* is seen as relatively rigid and not allowing for individual adaptations and adjustments to the flats. On the other hand, this is because the accepted scope of change that tenants may undertake is also considered small. In addition, their passivity is also associated with a diminished sense of attachment to the city: because people did not invest in the city, they are assumed to have little commitment to it. It follows that passive subjects are not seen to be able to take their future, or the city's future, in their own hands. This is also because the inhabitants of *Neustadt* are still seen to have come from elsewhere, and if people left their home once, even if it was forty years ago, they are considered capable of doing it again. The residents of *Altstadt* are considered to be active, because many people in *Altstadt* are owner-occupiers. They are seen as investing in the city and, because of this investment, they are seen to have formed some attachment and commitment to it.

A closer examination of how subjects and subjectivities are constituted in the process of governing the future of Hoyerswerda shows that the thesis of a uniform shift towards advanced liberal governmentality, which so often underpins studies that are inspired by a relatively normative framework of neoliberalism is incomplete. While some individuals are constituted as capable of autonomous self-government others are considered to have not yet attained these capacities (see Section 2.4).

In sum, it is widely accepted that the city needs to develop its individual profile based on its potentials in order to succeed in having a future. However, there are a range of conflicts in terms of the way in which this profile is developed and what counts as beneficial or detrimental to the city's future. The different ways in which the spatially different urban forms of *Altstadt* and *Neustadt* and their respective historical associations and subjectivities are seen to play a role in the city's future are the most striking examples. In the context of *Stadtumbau*, *Neustadt* is considered as the sole

location of the city's problems of shrinkage such as population loss, vacant housing and even the reason for its bad economic performance. The same applies to the GDR history, which appears as an aberration of the urban history.

Yet, as the next section shows, in the context of cultural projects and contestations of the *Stadtumbau* process, *Neustadt* is considered as an important part of the city, which has lifted the former small rural town from insignificance. A range of positive attributes is thus connected to this part of the city, which also extends to the population and particular subjectivities.

9.3 Conflicts, contestations and counter-conduct

In examining how the problem of shrinkage was constituted differently and worked upon in Hoyerswerda, a particular focus was on tracing the emergence and constitution of conflict and counter-conduct. To just assume that lines of conflict run along the lines of opposing groups in the city was considered too simplistic because it resembles a common understanding of resistance, in which resistance is merely constituted as the opposite to power. In this, resistance appears as a force that aims to free people from oppression, based on an equation in which resistance is matched with freedom and power with oppression (see also Section 3.5). However, paying attention to the messiness of government allows for an appreciation of the extent of struggle involved, and it also shows which issues are not part of the struggle. This approach to research is particularly useful because it supports a careful tracing of the issues at stake. In addition, to focus on the range of contestations and conflicts and the way in which other quests to governing are constituted as counter-conduct may be politically enabling in being explicit about what is at stake at a given moment in time – including alternative ways in which government can also be constituted.

Most conflicts in Hoyerswerda formed around the spatial practices and rationalities of *Stadtumbau*, which are considered to lack expertise, vision and assertiveness. However, far from suggesting radically different approaches, critics rather seem to remind the City of its responsibilities. The need to demolish and the main strategy to do so starting from the peripheries are supported. What is not supported are repeated divergences from this strategy, which are seen as destroying more of the city than they are improving. The demolitions in the centre of *Neustadt* are criticised.

Upon closer examination, critiques and contestations were found to follow different spatial rationalities, which are most distinct in terms of their relation to *Neustadt*. Here, the construction of *Neustadt* is seen to have lifted the small rural town of Hoyerswerda from insignificance: nobody knew of the small rural town, but everyone knows of the Second Socialist City or the fastest shrinking city of Germany. *Neustadt* is regarded as an important heritage of the GDR. This does not imply that it is seen as a flawless part of the city, but that it is acknowledged that demolition can also be a loss, particularly for those who used to live in a demolition block, but also for the whole city – especially if demolitions are not planned properly.

The attachment of the population to their flats is recognised, which is why the information policies of the housing companies are considered inadequate. In this context, different assumptions regarding the subjects of *Neustadt* come to the fore: people in *Neustadt* are regarded as capable of governing themselves properly, they are considered to understand necessary relocation practices if they are explained in due time and in relation to a convincing future vision for the whole city. If the people of *Neustadt* are properly informed and treated with respect, this argument goes, they are less likely to move ‘prematurely’ when the housing company tells them that their house is going to be demolished. In addition, demolitions are regarded as requiring a process of saying farewell. New practices, such as art and cultural projects emerged in this context, which put more emphasis on remembering the old city form and the participation of the population in the construction process.

The approach to vacancies in this context is different from the *Stadtumbau* practices because they are also regarded as spaces full of potential for different usages, and are far from being considered just a nuisance. It is not so much a defined picture of the future that is in the foreground of these alternative practices: rather, they can be seen as suggestions for dealing with things in the present and this may involve an approach of doing it yourself to maintain a certain quality of life in the present. In this context, rich alternative practices of dealing with the transformations in the city have developed. These are not solely focused on shrinkage as something to be managed or overcome, but as something that has an impact on the everyday lives of all inhabitants in the city.

9.4 Final comments

This thesis offers a particular perspective on the emergence of shrinkage as an urban problem in Germany and in the city of Hoyerswerda in particular. It contributes to bringing the German debate about shrinking cities, into the English language context, in which it has been rarely acknowledged (Glock and Häußermann 2004; Wiechmann 2008; Pallagst *et al.* 2009). Yet, rather than viewing shrinkage as an issue that could and should be discovered in a wider context, a different analytical and critical reading of the particular emergence of shrinkage as an urban problem was suggested. This does not diminish the significance of this study in the wider context, but rather suggests taking the developed approach as an inspiration for an examination of other problematisations that emerged in different contexts. As final comments, a few reflections are offered, including some thoughts about the relevance of this study for the wider literature and considerations of further directions for research that this thesis suggests.

9.4.1 Significance for the wider literature

The notion of shrinking cities seems to have emerged at a time when the initial aim of achieving convergence in development for the whole territory of Germany slowly started to erode. Processes of questioning the German spatial planning aim of balanced conditions of living in all parts of the country - based on a mixture of developmental and redistributive state intervention - are often related to increasing globalisation and neoliberalisation, which are seen to drive the renunciation of social aims such as this. However, starting from the premise that globalisation and neoliberalisation are not universal forces that spread like diseases resulting in increasing spatial disparities, and an increased focus on individual locations, eroding the importance of the national state, against which nothing can be done, the potential significance of a changing role of shrinking cities comes to the fore. It was suggested to consider globalisation and neoliberalisation as processes that are enabled by different practices, techniques and also by particular subjects and subjectivities. A widespread endorsement of shrinking cities by policy makers and academics, who consider the urban as the right arena to tackle issues of shrinkage, for instance, can be seen to implicitly contributing to the competition between cities. However, as this thesis has demonstrated, individuals who do not only take their own future in their hands, but also the future of their city are as much needed to work upon the initiation of growth and thus overcoming shrinkage in a city.

In relation to this perspective, it is thus not enough to draw attention to the changing role of cities and regions in Germany, which may have emerged in the context of the debates around shrinkage and the future of East Germany. Not only the role of cities and regions seems striking, but also the way in which it is driven, accepted and formed by subjects who see themselves as actively involved as future makers for their cities and regions. In Hoyerswerda, there was hardly any objection to the idea that a difference to the future of the city can be made locally by subjects who act. Shrinkage was unanimously considered as needing to be governed properly. The ideas about what 'governing properly' entails were, however, contested, not only in terms of the spaces, which were considered as beneficial or detrimental to the future, but also in terms of the subjectivities.

It can thus be argued that the increasing focus on shrinking cities in Germany does not necessarily have to be seen as an effect of globalisation and neoliberalisation but can equally be seen to contribute to understanding these processes. However, the perspective advocated in this thesis is to pay attention to the different ways in which processes such as these, which may appear as taken-for-granted or abstract, came about and the various practices, rationalities, techniques and technologies which are assembled to constitute them. This view does not focus on these wider processes as inevitable or inescapable, but shows that there are many ways in which they can be contested.

9.4.2 Further research

Three fields of further research can be identified, which are derived from the findings of this thesis: first, an analysis of the different ways in which population loss and economic decline emerged as a field of intervention in different cities before the set-up of the East Germany wide urban policy of *Stadtumbau*; secondly, examinations of the role of time in government; and thirdly, explorations of contestations, conflict and counter-conduct, which may help drawing more attention to the inherent instability and contingency of government. These three fields are examined in this section, which provides a closure to this thesis, at the same time as setting out fields for the next studies.

The starting point of this thesis was an observation of the different emergences of shrinkage in the wider, German national discourses about the future in East Germany,

which can be seen as marking the constitution of shrinkage as a multi-faceted, yet relatively uniform problem in cities. This is particularly clear in terms of the different responses that emerged to shrinkage, for instance, the urban policy *Stadtumbau* and the new economic policy focus of state investment on growth poles. It can be argued that before shrinkage reached this wider discursive stage, it was constituted differently in different places, but relatively little is known about these initial individual strategies of dealing with population loss and economic decline. This thesis provided a glimpse into this process in Hoyerswerda where the first urban policy document, the Urban Development Concept (Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe 1999) that explicitly dealt with shrinkage was produced before the issue was negotiated in the wider national discourse. This point, at which vacancies were no longer regarded to be overcome once growth was successfully installed, is expected to have occurred in different cities at different times and in different ways. An examination of the diverse and messy starting points of problematising shrinkage can contribute to further decentering the relatively institutionalised and taken-for-granted ways of dealing with shrinkage now. This would allow for a better understanding how local practices of dealing with certain problems emerge and how they are related to informing wider rationalities of government.

In terms of further explorations of the role of time in government, the findings in this thesis suggest that this is a productive, yet, widely under-researched issue, at least in terms of seeing temporal issues as problematisations as much as certain spatial issues. In policy oriented analyses this may come to the fore in particular, because policies are often based on certain temporal assumptions, e.g. achieving certain transformations in a set timeframe or planning certain things, which are seen to define the future. Building on certain historical continuities, while avoiding others can be seen to represent just one of the more obvious roles of time in governing. The findings of this thesis also suggest, that temporal issues are often closely related to spatial issues, for instance, in aligning certain spaces with the past and others with the future. Attention to the ways in which both intersect and how these intersections change may create a better understanding of temporal as well as spatial change. Most importantly, however, a focus on the role of time suggests the need to examine how risks are calculated, for instance, in assessing different approaches to development. These can be seen as important techniques of making the future governable, not least in informing the aspirations of self-governing subjects. Yet, these techniques tend to appear more often as neutral evidences than as instruments that are used to constitute certain avenues of development.

Finally, further research into the myriad of ways in which government is contested, in which conflict about governmental rationalities occurs, and the ways in which counter-conduct is constituted could contribute to rendering more explicit the political implications that are otherwise often obscure. This form of research may help in initiating change in providing politically enabling avenues in which critique and alternatives are considered as starting in the here and now and not in a vision of a better future.

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Appendix One: list of semi-structured interviews


Listed in chronological order of the interviews

	respondent(s)	position	place, date
1	Mr. Biegel	head of <i>Lautech GmbH</i> (Technology Centre Hoyerswerda); Professor at Lausitz University in Senftenberg	Senftenberg and Hoyerswerda, 03/12/2007
2	Mr. Weichler	Regional Planning Association of Oberlausitz-Niederschlesien; regional planner	Bautzen, 03/12/2008
3	Mr. Büchner and Mr. Strowick	Chairman of the Party <i>Die Linke</i> ; Council member <i>Die Linke</i>	Hoyerswerda, 04/12/2007
4	Mr. Hirche; Mrs. Albrecht; Mr. Henning; Mr. Gröbe; Mr. Schmidt	Chairman of Christian Democrat Union Party, <i>CDU</i> ; Chairwoman of Social Democrat Party, <i>SPD</i> ; party member of <i>CDU</i> ; architect; member of City Council for the <i>CDU</i>	Hoyerswerda, 04/12/2007
5	Mrs. and Mr. Schmidt	Heads of Art Society Hoyerswerda; Council member of <i>CDU</i> ; Brigitte Reimann walker	Hoyerswerda, 11/12/2007
6	Mr. Nasdala; Mr. Zeidler; Ms. Bieder	Free Voters' Party Hoyerswerda; Association <i>Stadtzukunft</i>	Hoyerswerda 11/12/2007
7	Mr. Brähmig	former Mayor of Hoyerswerda (from 1994 - 2006), <i>Die Linke</i>	Hoyerswerda, 12/12/2007
8	Ms. Baumeister	architect and activist; initiated projects such as <i>Superumbau</i> ; <i>Die dritte Stadt</i>	Hoyerswerda, 12/12/2007
9	Mr. Proksch	head of <i>Kultur Fabrik</i> [Culture Factory] and socio-cultural centre	Hoyerswerda, 12/12/2007
10	Mr. Modes	head of City Development Agency of Hoyerswerda, <i>SEH</i>	Hoyerswerda, 31/01/2008

	Mr. Brähmig (2nd conversation)	former Mayor of Hoyerswerda (from 1994 - 2006), <i>Die Linke</i>	Hoyerswerda, 31/01/2008
11	Mr. Skora	Mayor of Hoyerswerda (since 2006), <i>CDU</i>	Hoyerswerda, 31/01/2008
12	Mr. Große and Mr. Neitzel	head of <i>Marketing Association of Oberlausitz</i> , MGO	Bautzen, 01/02/2008
13	Mr. Gröbe	architect; commissioned by the City to produce <i>InSEKs</i>	Hoyerswerda, 01/02/2008
14	Mr. Mildner	architect; worked in <i>Hochbaukombinat</i> Hoyerswerda; member of <i>Subversionen</i> an association that worked for citizen involvement for the <i>Stadtumbau</i> process	Hoyerswerda, 12/03/2008
15	Mr. Schlegel	member of <i>Subversionen</i> , mining engineer; passionate writer of letters to the editors of the local newspaper <i>SZ</i>	Hoyerswerda, 13/03/2008
16	Urban Planner, Dept. of Urban Planning, Hoyerswerda	Urban Planner [<i>Sachgebietsleiter Stadtplanung</i>] – wished to remain anonymous	Hoyerswerda, 12/03/2008
17	Ms. Weber and Ms. Schmidt	<i>Regierungspräsidium</i> Dresden; evaluation office for planning situated between the lower tier planning institutions and planning of Freestate of Saxony	Dresden, 13/03/2008
18	Mr. Rosenfeld	head of the Institute for Economic Research in Halle; invented and mapped ‘cores of economic development’ for the Federal Government	Halle, 11/03/2008
19	Mr. Koch	Prognos AG; consultancy and ranking agency, project leader of regional strategies	Berlin, 17/03/2008
20	Mr. Schneider and Mr. Scheerer	SMWA, Saxony Ministry of Economy; speaker for regional development strategies; speaker for basic principles of economic policy [<i>Grundsatzfragen der Wirtschaftspolitik</i>]	Dresden, 18/03/2008
21	Mr. Schaarmann	SMI, Saxony Ministry of Internal Affairs; planning department of Freestate of Saxony [<i>Landesplanung</i>]	Dresden, 18/03/2008

22	Mr. Kil	architecture critic who has written extensively about Hoyerswerda and shrinking cities	Berlin, 20/03/2008
23	Mr. Freese	Economic Development Agency of Saxony, <i>WFS</i>	Dresden, 26/03/2008
24	Mr. Land	founding member of the Network for East Germany Research; Thünen Institut	Berlin, 28/03/2008
25	Mr. Kaiser	Prognos AG; consultancy and ranking agency; project leader	Berlin, 01/04/2008
	Ms. Baumeister (2nd conversation)	architect and activist; initiated projects such as <i>Superumbau</i> ; <i>Die dritte Stadt</i>	Hoyerswerda, 08/07/2009
26	Mr. Fietzek	head of <i>Lebensräume</i> , housing company Hoyerswerda	Hoyerswerda, 09/07/2009
27	Ms. Opitz	head of the miners' association <i>Traditionsverein Schwarze Pumpe</i>	Hoyerswerda, 09/07/2009
	Mr. Proksch (2nd conversation)	head of <i>KuFa</i>	Hoyerswerda, 09/07/2009
28	Mr. Heberle	head of Tourist Association	Hoyerswerda, 10/07/2009

Appendix Two: information presented to participants

**Sheffield
Hallam University**
SHARPENS YOUR THINKING

University
THINKING

Nina Gribat *Dipl Ing MA
PhD Research Student*

Urban and Regional Studies
Faculty of Development and Society
Sheffield Hallam University
City Campus Howard Street
Sheffield S1 1WB UK

Telephone +44 (0)114 225 5555
E-mail n.gribat@shu.ac.uk
www.shu.ac.uk

att zum Forschungsprojekt – 30.11.2007

**„Die Rolle von Orten in den Debatten über
die Zukunft von Ostdeutschland“**

jekt von Nina Gribat zur Erlangung des Physical Doctorates (PhD) an
allam University (SHU) in Sheffield, England.

takt des Betreuers an der SHU
Dr. Adam Patterson, Email: a.patterson@shu.ac.uk, Tel: 0044 114 2254927

Einladung zur Teilnahme an diesem Forschungsprojekt
Sie werden eingeladen an diesem Forschungsprojekt teilzunehmen. Es ist wichtig, dass Sie die folgenden Informationen gründlich lesen, bevor Sie sich für eine Teilnahme am Projekt entscheiden. Sollten Sie weitere Fragen haben, die ihre Teilnahme betreffen, so bitten ich Sie diese vor dem Interview mit mir zu klären.

Was ist der Zweck dieses Forschungsprojektes?
Ziel dieses Forschungsprojekts ist es herauszufinden welche Rolle verschiedene Orte in den Debatten um die Zukunft von Ostdeutschland spielen und wie sich diese bei Veränderung der zeitlichen und räumlichen Perspektive entwickelt.

Woraus besteht eine Teilnahme an diesem Forschungsprojekt?
Die Teilnehmer werden gebeten
i) an einem Einzelinterview teilzunehmen und/oder
ii) an einem Gruppeninterview teilzunehmen und/oder
iii) an einer anderen von der Forscherin initiierten Einzel- oder Gruppenaktivität teilzunehmen, wie z.B. einer Tour durch die Stadt.
Die Interviews werden mit einem Aufnahmegerät aufgezeichnet und zum Zweck der Auswertung transkribiert.

Wird meine Teilnahme an diesem Forschungsprojekt vertraulich sein?
Alles, was Sie während des Interviews sagen kann für diese Arbeit, Folgeprojekte und auch für Veröffentlichungen und Präsentationen, die damit im Zusammenhang stehen, verwendet werden, ggf. auch als direktes Zitat. Ihre Identität kann zurückgehalten werden, wenn Sie dies wünschen. Bitte geben Sie ihre Präferenz auf dem Blatt zur Einwilligung der Teilnahme an. Es ist geplant, die Fallstudien immer mit ihren tatsächlichen Ortsnamen wie z.B. den Namen der Stadt und des Kreises zu bezeichnen. Außerdem ist geplant, die befragten Institutionen identifizierbar zu halten, wie z.B. ob es eine Stadtmarketing Gesellschaft ist oder ein Forschungsinstitut, mit dem das Interview stattgefunden hat.
Wie die Vertraulichkeit und die Verwendung ihrer Aussagen im Einzelnen realisiert werden kann, möchte ich gerne mit ihnen nach dem Interview klären.

Wer organisiert und finanziert dieses Forschungsprojekt?
Das Projekt wird in der Urban and Regional Studies Group der Sheffield Hallam University durchgeführt und von der Sheffield Hallam Universität finanziert.

Wer hat die ethischen Implikationen dieses Projektes evaluiert?
Dieses Forschungsprojekt wurde von der URS Group an der SHU im Hinblick auf die ethischen Implikationen evaluiert.

Faculty of Development and Society
Sheffield Hallam University City Campus Howard Street Sheffield S1 1WB UK
Telephone +44 (0)114 225 5555 www.shu.ac.uk
Executive Dean of Faculty Professor Sylvia Johnson

Appendix Three: form of consent



**Sheffield
Hallam University**

SHARPENS YOUR THINKING

Einwilligung zur Teilnahme an einem Interview im Forschungsprojekt

**„Die Rolle von Orten in den Debatten über
die Zukunft von Ostdeutschland“**

**das von Nina Gribat zur Erlangung des Physical Doctorates (PhD) an der
Sheffield Hallam University (SHU) in Sheffield, England durchgeführt wird.**

Ich gebe meine Einwilligung von Nina Gribat im Rahmen ihrer Doktorarbeit an der Sheffield Hallam University in Sheffield interviewt zu werden. Das Interview wird mit einem digitalen Diktiergerät aufgezeichnet und transkribiert werden.

Ich habe das Informationsblatt zum Forschungsprojekt, datiert 30.11.2007, gelesen und hatte die Möglichkeit dazu Fragen zu stellen.

Ich verstehe, dass meine Teilnahme an diesem Forschungsprojekt freiwillig ist und ich sie jederzeit zurückziehen kann, ohne Gründe anzugeben. (Wenn es Probleme geben sollte, so kontaktieren Sie bitte Alan Patterson, den ersten Betreuer, unter 0044 114 2254927, oder a.patterson@shu.ac.uk)

Ich stimme zu, dass Nina Gribat die von mir im Interview getätigten Aussagen für ihre Doktorarbeit verwenden kann. Dies schließt auch eine Verwendung des Materials für Vorträge, Veröffentlichungen und weiterführende Forschungsprojekte ein.

☐

Eine Anonymisierung meiner Aussagen ist nicht nötig¹.

☐

Meine Aussagen sollen anonymisiert werden¹.

Interviewpartner/in

Interviewerin

Datum, Unterschrift

Datum, Unterschrift

¹ Die Teilnehmer am Interview haben folgende weitere Vereinbarungen zur Verwendung der Aussagen und zur Vertraulichkeit getroffen:

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Executive Dean of Faculty **Professor Sylvia Johnson**

Appendix Four: list of websites consulted

Hoyerswerda

unemployment

<http://www.hoyerswerda.de/index.php?language=de&m=2&n=16&o=221&s=235#content>; last accessed: 09/11/2010

population

<http://www.hoyerswerda.de/index.php?language=de&m=2&n=16&o=221&s=233#content>; last accessed: 09/11/2010

Jugend hat Visionen

<http://www.jugend-hat-visionen.de/>; last accessed 09/06/2009

Oberlausitz-Botschafter

<http://www.oberlausitz.com/aktuelles/botschafter/default.asp>; last accessed 11/06/2009

Schader-Stiftung, *Stadtumbau* cartoon

www.schader-stiftung.de/wohn_wandel/772.php; last accessed: 18/11/2008

Schrumpfende Stadt

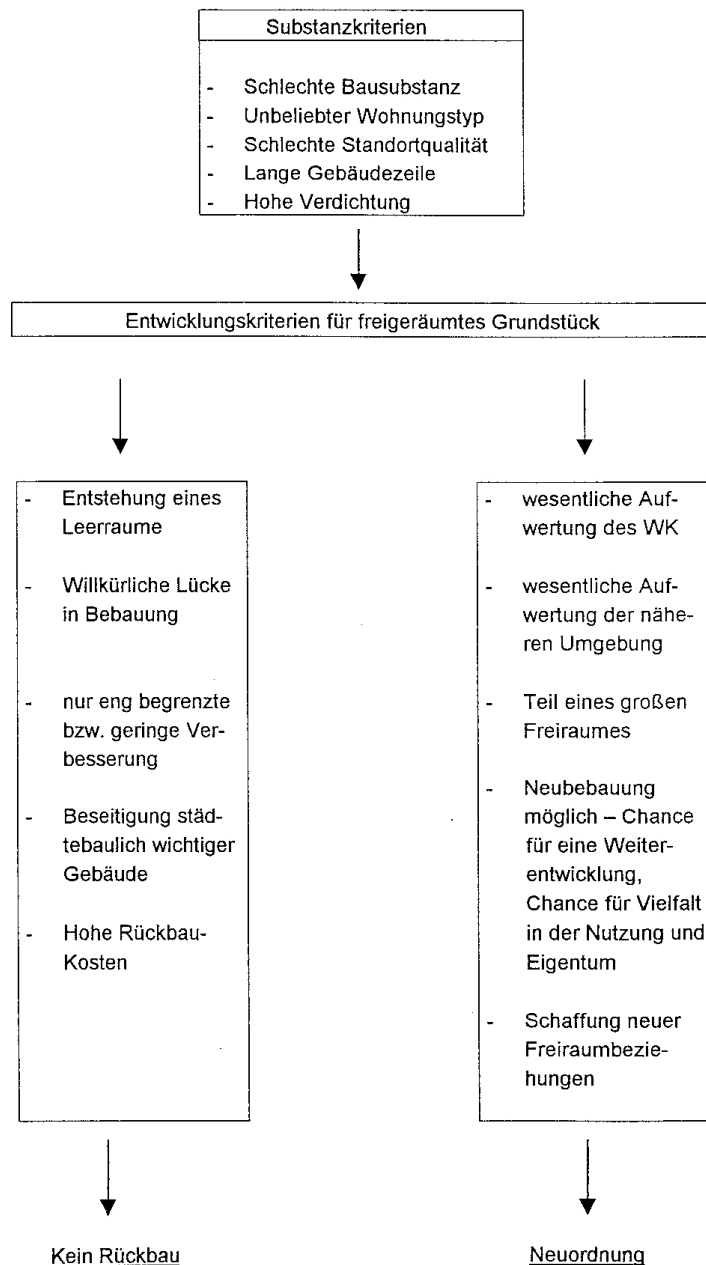
<http://www.schrumpfende-stadt.de/magazin/bilder/0308superumbau.jpg>; last accessed: 10/11/2009

SMI Landesentwicklung

<http://www.landesentwicklung.sachsen.de/2372.htm>; last accessed 09/10/2010

Appendix Five: criteria of deconstruction

Zuordnung der wesentlichen Neuordnungskriterien:



source: Gr. Hardtberg and Pb. Gröbe (1999: 99)