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

You will find our complete list of available titles and other related information at www.hatjecantz.com.
**Table of Contents**

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

---

**DECONSTRUCTING** ........................................................................ 48

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

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

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

**Contraction City** ........................................................................... 178
The Compact City: A Model for Eastern German Cities? | Markus Hesse 180
### Depleted City
- The Shrinking and Perforated City | Marta Doehler-Behzodi
- Chemnitz-Brühl | Matthias Grünzig
- Core & Plasma | L21
- Wall It Up, And Take a Breath | Peter Arth and letzselfreivogel architekten
- The Suburbanization of Inner Cities | Walter Prigge
- Gas Station Urbanism, or What’s Left of the City | Orange Edge
- On-Demand Infrastructure for Shrinking Regions | Florian Böhm
- Tourism in a Luxury of Void | Michael Zinganel
- [Inverse] Seasonal City | Hans-H. Albers, Michael Hiesmair, Maruša Sagadin, and Michael Zinganel
- Cities in an Aging Society | Matthias Grünzig
- Us Old Folk | L21

### Polarized Regional City
- MetroSachs | Friedrich von Borries and Walter Prigge
- The Last Bastion | Bart Lootsma
- Territorial Retreat | Hans-Joachim Bürkner
- Emscher Park International Building Exhibition | Arnold Voß
- Schreutz City Map: 1st Edition | SMAQ
- Bitterfeld: A Translocal Region | Urbanista
- Holocore | AMO
- The City Turned into a Region | Robert Koltenbrunner
- The Upper Calder Valley | John Thompson & Partners et al.
- However Unspectacular: The New Suburbanism | Interboro and CUP
- Strategic Planning | Manfred Kühn

### REEVALUATING

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

### REORGANIZING
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strong City</th>
<th>Commodified City</th>
<th>Emerging City</th>
<th>Exceptional City</th>
<th>Imagining City</th>
<th>Communicating City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In Times of Crisis - Back to the Cities</td>
<td>Communalization of Property?</td>
<td>Hoang’s Bistro</td>
<td>Exterritories</td>
<td>On the Crisis of Urban Public Life</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reality Properties: Fake Estates</td>
<td>Christoph Schäfer</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jörg Dürrschmidt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acquisition of the Property at the Corner of Tubusstraße and Breul</td>
<td>Maria Eichhorn</td>
<td></td>
<td>International Building Exhibition “Urban Redevelopment Saxony-Anhalt 2010”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opening Empty Lots to the Public</td>
<td>Lara Almárcegui</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Urban Identities”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Claiming Land</td>
<td>Stefanie Bremers</td>
<td></td>
<td>The City Must Be Invented</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Loans for Shrinking Regions</td>
<td>Rolf Novy-Huy</td>
<td></td>
<td>Urban Blindness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fictitious Values, Imaginary Markets</td>
<td>Matthias Bernt</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Railway Underpass at Tourcoing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Collateral in Hand, Treuhand, and the Invisible Hand</td>
<td>Andreas Siekmann</td>
<td></td>
<td>International Building Exhibition “Urban Redevelopment Saxony-Anhalt 2010”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Strong City**

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

**Commodified City**

- Communalization of Property? | Holger Lauinger
- Reality Properties: Fake Estates | Gordon Matta-Clark
- Acquisition of the Property at the Corner of Tubusstraße and Breul | Maria Eichhorn
- Opening Empty Lots to the Public | Lara Almárcegui
- Claiming Land | Stefanie Bremers
- Loans for Shrinking Regions | Rolf Novy-Huy
- Fictitious Values, Imaginary Markets | Matthias Bernt
- Collateral in Hand, Treuhand, and the Invisible Hand | Andreas Siekmann

**Emerging City**

- Hoang’s Bistro | Christoph Schäfer
- Urban Transformation as Unintended Side Effect | Robert Fishman
- Shrinkage and Immigration | Franz Josef Kemper and Olaf Schnur
- To Play with Shrinking – and Shrink Playfully? | Friedrich von Borries

**Exceptional City**

- Exterritories | fiedler.tornquist
- Recruitment of Settlers in the History of Prussia | Carsten Benke
- Non-plan | Reyner Banham, Paul Barker, Peter Hall, and Cedric Price
- Enterprise Zones in the United Kingdom | Klaus Zehner
- Special Economic Zones in Poland | Uwe Rada
- Special Tax Zones as a Fatal Strategy | Corell Wax
- Special Social Welfare Zone Forst | Jesko Fezer, Stephan Lanz, and Uwe Rada
- Temporary Autonomous Zone | Hakim Bey
- Dresden’s Colorful Republic of Neustadt | Residents and other stakeholders

**Imagining City**

- On the Crisis of Urban Public Life | Jörg Dürrschmidt
- Le Week-End | D. Gregor Mirwa et al.
- A Monument for the Women’s Center | Isa Rosenberger
- Conflict as Productive Potential | Nino Möntrmann

**Communicating City**

- [murmur] | Gabe Sawhney, James Roussel, and Shawn Micallef
- Immaginare Corviale | Osservatorio Nomade/Stalker
- Tenantspin (Superchannel) | Superflex
- Kariketron2 (Supercity) | Superflex
- Blinkenlights | Chaos Computer Club
- Walk the City, Flex Your Mind | Gregor Harbusch
- Rainwater Retention Tanks on Land Awaiting Development – A City Walk | Boris Sievert
- Communication with the Ones Who Left | Mirjam Struppek

**Marketing City**

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

**Profiled City**

- The Urban Self | Anke Haarmann
- The Secret of L.E. | Anke Haarmann with Irene Bude
- The National Museum of Statistics | Eva Grubbauer, Martin Luce, Joost Meuwissen, and Johannes Weisser
- International Building Exhibition “Urban Redevelopment Saxony-Anhalt 2010” | Ulf Matthiesen

**Survival Handbook**

- with Perspectives on “Human Capital”
- Authors collective, led by Wolfgang Engler
Shrinking Cities is a project initiated by the Kulturstiftung des Bundes (German Federal Cultural Foundation) in cooperation with the Project Office Philipp Oswalt, the Galerie für Zeitgenössische Kunst Leipzig (Museum of Contemporary Art Leipzig), the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation, and archplus magazine.

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

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


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

Exhibition design: Rasmus Koch and Jakob Trägårdh, Copenhagen

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

Collaborating institutions (as of January 2006) for entire project: Bildungswerk Weiterdenken in der Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung e.V., Dresden; Goethe-Institut, London; Kulturamt Leipzig; Sächsische Aufbaubank – Förderbank, Dresden; Internationales Leipziger Festival für Dokumentar- und Animationsfilm; Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau, Leipzig; Knöble Prager Frichling Leipzig, Sauberschaft Leipzig, Passage Kinos Leipzig, Schauplatz Leipzig; Passage Kinos Leipzig, Schaubude Leipzig; The Bauhaus Dessau Foundation; The British Council, Berlin; The Office of the Federal Chancellor of Austria, Department of Culture, in Vienna; the Danish Arts Council – Committee for International Visual Art, Copenhagen; the Austrian Embassy in Berlin – Kulturforum, Berlin; Eternit AG, Berlin; Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk, Magdeburg; Norddeutsche Landesbank, Magdeburg; Stiftung des Mitteldeutschen Rundfunks; and Ströer Deutsche Medien GmbH, Dresden.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Social Ideas

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

Both models of urban development—that based on the classical welfare state and the entrepreneurial model—are, for the most part, ill suited for dealing with shrinking cities. Shrinkage goes hand in hand with radical cuts in financing, especially at the community level, as a result of increasing expenditures and reduced incomes. At the same time, in the context of a drop in demand, an excess of supply, and devaluation of the real-estate market,
private investments fail to materialize. The process is exacerbated by the fact that banks are not prepared to lend money to those who are willing to invest, as shrinking areas are viewed as high risks.

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

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

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

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

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

The Ambivalence of Modernity

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

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

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

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

In such a process of searching for a new cultural orientation, the perspectives of different fields matter: architecture, art, media, sociology, ethnography, economics, and so on. In such a context, scholarly work and other approaches can be joined by artistic production—freed of the compulsion to formulate solutions and contribute directly to improving the situation—to provide essential stimuli and communicate knowledge.
Insoluble Problems
For the planning theorist Lucius Burckhardt, decision-making dilemmas are fundamental to urban development: “Urban planning is a doling out of comforts and sorrows; everything that urban planning plans brings some people advantages and others disadvantages... Problems are insoluble, precisely because they are permeated with the doling out of sorrows. There is no best and definitive solution to problems. There are only possibilities for a society to muddle through reasonably well for a while. But insolubility does not mean that one shouldn’t do anything at all..., on the contrary. Problems have to be ‘dealt with.’”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In addition, urban development is influenced by many different forces that are based on a wide range of structures for decision-making, developmental processes, and power structures. Most of them lie outside the level on which urban planning and local action occur. Indeed, they extend across all conceivable scales: from the neighborhood to the
For this reason, giving shape to urban space cannot be limited to the local but calls for action on a broad range of levels that are only loosely connected. The urban sociologist Klaus Ronneberger speaks of a “policy of jumping scales” in this context: “Because places are not restricted locally, and power relationships are produced and reproduced in a variety of geographical units, the perspective should be constructed in such a way that the individual territorial levels are leap over and thus the boundaries of neighborhood and city are also transgressed. A policy of jumping scales could open up a path to new forms of an urban practice that counteracts the neoliberal territorial strategies.”

**Multiplicity**

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

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

Philipp Oswalt, chief curator of “Shrinking Cities”

Translated from the German by Steven Lindberg

---

**Notes**


2 The program Stadtumbau Ost will run from 2002 to 2009. The costs for the state subsidy for home ownership amounted to €1.14 billion in 2004 alone. Over the eight-year period, the sum would be eight times that. The planned elimination of the subsidy in the fiscal year 2007/08 will gradually reduce the annual costs in the future.


---

**GOVERNMENTALIZING PLANNING**

Nikolaus Kuhnert and Anh-Linh Ngo

---

If there is anything certain at all in the current debate on planning, it is the correlation between the emphasis placed on the diagnosis of a crisis in the discipline of planning and the level of significance attributed to so-called players. The player, as an active social subject conscious of problems, functions in a certain sense as a task force that must always jump in whenever there is a fire on the planning front. What significance does this have for a discipline that traditionally has derived its image of itself from its mandate to help turn the big wheels of society and that was able, to an extent equaled by few disciplines other than politics, to convey the impression that social processes could be controlled formally? What inferences can we draw from the fact that planning no longer is focused on instruments but rather players?

Obviously this development indicates the dissolution or rather extension of a hierarchical conception of (state) power. It also involves models for control that express this trend toward decentralization in society and in the theory of power. We give two discourses as examples here which help to describe these trends toward flat hierarchies and an extension of planning by means of “subplanning” instruments: the evolution from a government approach to a governance approach and Foucault’s concept of “governmentality,” which is well suited as a tool of critical analysis for penetrating these shifts in power conceptually. Ultimately the point is to discuss the player-based approach to the planning debate against the backdrop of a theory of power and to question the subjectification of planning instruments—emphasizing individual interventions and empowerment strategies.

**Governmentality**

With the rise of neoliberalism, the enthusiasm for planning—or, more correctly, for the possibility of controlling social processes—was sobered. Planning and controlling mechanisms survived this process of transformation as mere “phantom pains,” as Rem Koolhaas sarcastically commented in “Whatever Happened to Urbanism?” At the moment, these pains are being felt especially intensely.

Planning is presently experiencing an anticipated renaissance. This renaissance, however, is no longer based on cybernetic models but rather on the debate on the assessment of the state in relation to mechanisms for self-control by society. This debate was kicked off by Michel Foucault in the 1970s, in a famous series of lectures at the Collège de France in which he attempted to reconstruct the history of governmentality. The concept of “governmentality” derives from the French adjective *gouvernemental*. Using this approach, Foucault developed a genealogy of the modern state whose traces he followed from ancient Greece to its contemporary neoliberal forms.

The concept of governmentality offers a way of considering power and subjectivity together. By exploring the “microphysics of power,” Foucault conceptualizes the state or society as the result of many micro- and macro-political practices and relationships of social power. This specific understanding of government covers “not only ... the legitimately constituted forms of political or economic subjection but also modes of action, more or less considered and calculated, which were destined to act upon the possibilities
In dealing with shrinking cities, classic urban design and city planning reach their limits. In the face of this new challenge, new paths are taken: the “hard” tools of construction and deconstruction are joined with the “soft” tools of political, social, cultural, and communicative interventions. This book provides an international overview and critical discussion of concepts and strategies for shrinking cities from the fields of architecture, landscape design, urban development, performance, and art. The book discusses a range of innovative projects and strategies, including urban development, landscape interventions, urbanism, community involvement, and city marketing. It also includes case studies of urban renewal projects in North America, Europe, and Asia. The book is complemented by contributions from architects, urban designers, artists, and researchers.

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

Shrinking Cities
Volume 1: International Research
Edited by Philipp Oswalt for the Kulturstiftung des Bundes
736 pages, 503 illustrations, 389 in color,
ISBN-10 3-7757-1682-3
ISBN-13 978-3-7757-1682-6
(English)

Atlas of Shrinking Cities
Edited by Philipp Oswalt and Tim Rieniets
160 pages, ca. 120 illustrations, ca. 100 in color, hardcover
ISBN-10 3-7757-1714-5
ISBN-13 978-3-7757-1714-4
(English/German)

Luminous Buildings
Night Architecture
Edited by the Kunstmuseum Stuttgart
152 pages, 120 illustrations, 70 in color, hardcover
ISBN-10 3-7757-1757-9
ISBN-13 978-3-7757-1757-1
(English/German)

SOM Journal 4
Edited by Diane Ghirardo
Ca. 192 pages, ca. 250 illustrations, ca. 100 in color, ca. 100 in duotone, softcover
ISBN-10 3-7757-1803-6
(English)

Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern
The Architecture
Edited by the Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern
160 pages, 120 illustrations, 103 in color, hardcover
ISBN-10 3-7757-1550-9
ISBN-13 978-3-7757-1550-8
(English)