

1. Publishable summary



SHRINK SMART – The Governance of Shrinkage within a European Context

Project funded under the 7 FP of the EU, Theme 8 Social Sciences and Humanities
Grant agreement no. 225193, May 2009-April 2012

Summary of research activities: reporting period month 1-18

According to its Description of Work, it is the aim of SHRINK SMART to study the role of policies and governance systems in different types of shrinking urban regions. It is based on comparative case studies from seven urban regions throughout Europe with a focus on disadvantaged urban regions in Eastern and Southern Europe that will provide a basis for analyzing different trajectories of shrinkage, understanding main challenges for urban planning and elaborating alternatives for urban governance. Firstly, the impact of shrinkage for urban and regional development that are caused by population losses will be identified focusing on different fields; the main challenges will be elaborated in a comparative perspective. Secondly, the relation between local institutional structures and modes of decision making on the one hand and the challenges of shrinkage on the other will be analysed. Here, the focus will be on strategies and instruments, on the relation of public and private actors and on institutional frameworks and cross-scale interactions. As a result, different trajectories of shrinkage processes within Europe will be defined and a set of policy recommendations for different constellations of shrinking cities will be developed. Furthermore, with the aim of providing practicable knowledge for decision-makers, SHRINK SMART will engage in extensive dissemination activities and develop a set of tools and policy recommendations.

The following report comprises the period from month 1-18 of the project and summarizes the most important research activities. It follows the project work structure, i.e. the work packages.

Workpackage 1

The first activities of the consortium related to the elaboration of a fine-tuned working model, research design and a set of indicators for the data mining. The following text selection presents the most important parts and conclusions of the WP1 (D1-D3) paper.

This paper outlines the results of workpackage 1 of the SHRINK SMART project (Specification of working model). The objectives of WP1 were to set up a specified working model for the analysis of local modes of governance in shrinking cities and urban regions. Within this workpackage, a common analytical framework and conceptual understanding with respect to the two key terms urban shrinkage and urban governance was established and embedded in the international scientific debate (D1). Based on this conceptual model, the

main challenges for the interplay of urban shrinkage and the responses by governance and planning were identified and streamlined in the form of a specific research model or design for the empirical analysis of the SHRINK SMART project (case studies; D2). This research model is formed by adding a comparable set of fields of analysis and related indicators for the context of urban shrinkage, as well as a comparable set of fields of analysis and related qualitative criteria and measures for the context of urban governance (D3).

The purposes of this paper for the project SHRINK SMART are the following:

- to offer a common understanding or conceptualisation of the key terms urban shrinkage and urban governance of the whole SHRINK SMART project consortium;
- to embed these concepts in international debates;
- to provide an analytical working model, comparable research design and structure of the empirical case studies;
- to offer a cross-national, interdisciplinary approach of how to interpret the challenges of urban shrinkage and its handling by urban governance and planning.

The paper is structured as follows:

- in the first part the conceptual understanding of the key terms urban shrinkage and urban governance is explained;
- in the second part the main challenges of urban shrinkage for responses by governance and urban planning are identified and set up in a working model that forms the basis of the research in SHRINK SMART;
- in a third part, related to the working model, a set of fields of analysis for both the empirical appearance and pathways of urban shrinkage and the response by urban governance is introduced and complimented by a list of indicators (for the context of shrinkage) as well as qualitative criteria and measures (for the context of urban governance).

D1: Analytical work model

Urban shrinkage is understood as an empirical phenomenon resulting from the specific interplay of different macro-processes at the local scale. Such macro-processes may be related to the economic, demographic or settlement system development, as well as to environmental issues or changes in the political or administrative system. Urban shrinkage occurs when the specific interplay of the mentioned macro-processes leads to population decline, which we define as being the main indicator for urban shrinkage (Figure 1). We are looking at urban shrinkage as a qualitative process, i.e. we are mainly interested in its causal relationships and underlying dynamics as well as the impact it has on different fields of urban development. We deliberately distinguish between urban shrinkage as a process and its results, which are reconfigured or reshaped urban structure or patterns.

With this definition we support the development of a good, robust conceptualization of this term that deliberately distinguishes between those contexts in which terms like decline, decay etc. were developed and those which describe urban shrinkage in a qualitative manner, i.e. focusing not on numbers but on local trajectories and their similarities and differences. We focus on analyzing how this process changes the dynamics of urbanization in a location-specific and path-dependent way, bringing forward new configurations and arrangements of urban patterns and developments in terms of urban space and society.

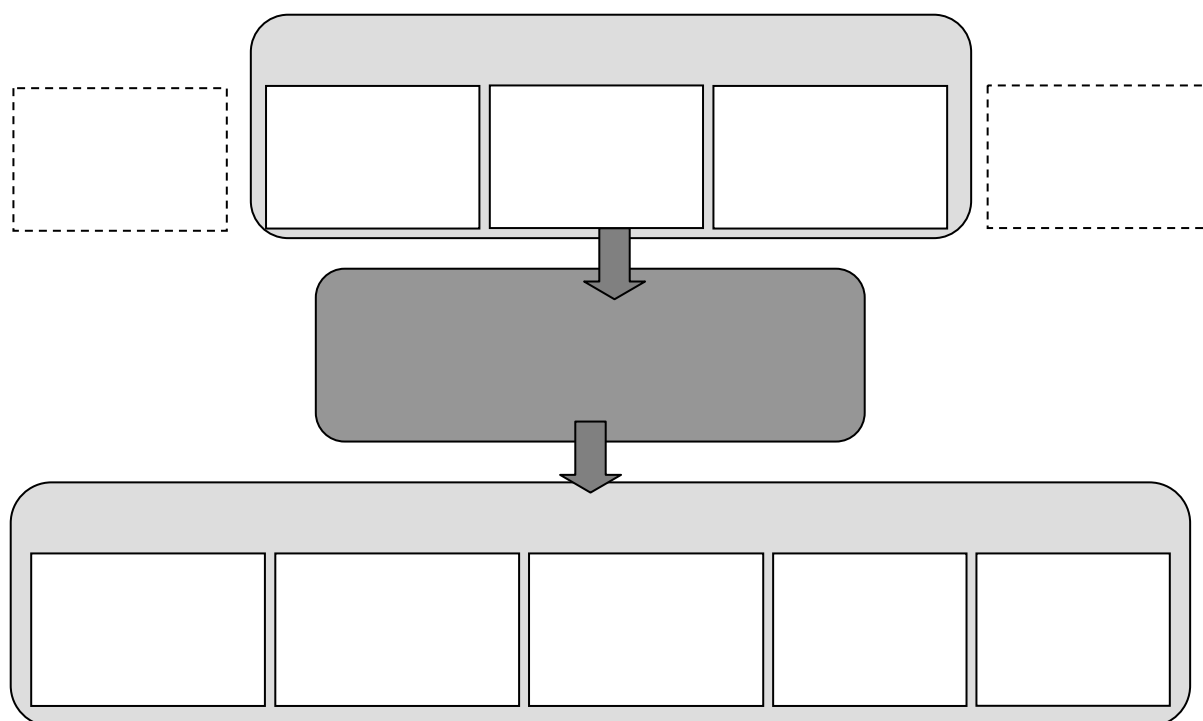
Urban governance is understood as an analytical term that draws attention to the interplay between a broad range of public and private actors in determining the common affairs of cities. The SHRINK SMART project thus applies a broad definition of governance and defines urban governance as follows: "Urban governance is the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action can be taken. It includes formal institutions as well as informal arrangements and the social capital of citizens." (UN-HABITAT, www.unhabitat.org)

In this definition the following points are crucial:

- urban governance is an outcome of public-private-interaction which includes both conflict and cooperation of diverse interests,
- urban governance is directed towards the common affairs of cities,

- urban governance is a process instead of a thing and
- urban governance includes formal as well as informal arrangements.

Figure 1: The conceptual model of urban shrinkage



Source: Rink et al. (2009) (D1)

Urban governance is thus a multi-faceted phenomenon that includes various dimensions and can only be understood in its relation to a particular context. In order to understand the dynamics that drive urban governance processes we suggest using a “bargaining perspective” on urban governance. This sees the particular market position of a city, its local political conditions and the structures of intergovernmental control and support as the determining structural-institutional conditions that set the context under which local governance arrangements are set up. These contexts can lead to different local outcomes that can be defined as ‘local modes of governance’ and include the different forms under which the cooperation of public and private actors is achieved.

How do ‘urban shrinkage’ and ‘urban governance’ impact on each other?

Firstly, as discussed above, shrinkage affects a wide range of fields of urban planning. The consequence is not only high pressure to set the issue on the agendas, but also an increased need for cross-actor and cross-sector interaction. Secondly, although regional and local authorities are most strongly affected by population losses and have the responsibility to take action, tackling these problems is often complicated by a lack of financial capacities. The reason for this is that, roughly speaking, economic decline and population losses lead to a precarious situation for municipal budgets in which local authorities are simultaneously burdened with a low fiscal income and high social expenditures. A ‘fiscal gap’ is therefore inescapable and local councils become highly dependent on transfers from regional, national and European levels of governance. The way in which local problems can be addressed therefore does not only depend on local players, but also includes responsibilities at upper state levels. Thirdly, finding appropriate modes of cooperation between public and private sectors becomes a core issue. In contrast to well-studied forms of public-private-partnerships however,

these collaborations need to be developed under the conditions of a reduced interest of capital, weak local markets and population decrease.

The context under which governance takes place in shrinking cities is thus obviously different from that of growing cities. Interestingly, the question as to how this is reflected in local governance arrangements has not attracted much interest in urban studies. Although deindustrialisation and population decline are undeniable realities for many cities, research on urban governance has often tended to ignore, deny or even demonize the ‘shrinkage’ of cities and has concentrated instead on growth contexts. To an overwhelming degree empirical studies have explicitly or implicitly dealt with prospering regions, ‘going for growth’ strategies, or at least with events (such as the development of sports stadiums and entertainment complexes, publicly subsidized downtown gentrification, and waterfront development) where ‘big money’ is made. Governance in the absence of capital has not yet stimulated much discussion, and the trajectories of governance in coping with decline have not yet become a well studied phenomenon. Population decline and the abandonment of capital result in political and planning agendas that are aimed more at adjustment than growth.

The SHRINK SMART project takes up on this gap in the research and directs the attention towards the interplay of governance and shrinkage. We aim to bring together different trajectories of urban shrinkage with local modes of governance (Table 1). After having identified the paths of urban shrinkage in the single case study cities or urban regions, we analyse the existing modes of local governance and bring them together in a matrice in which we show which paths of urban shrinkage bring about which local modes of governance.

We are interested in studying the relationship between shrinkage and governance in two directions: on the one hand, we ask if certain trajectories of shrinkage privilege certain modes of urban governance. On the other, we study the implications of different governance arrangements on urban strategies that are dealing with the shrinkage of cities.

We thus explain the relations between local manifestations of shrinkage and urban responses to it and discuss the causes and consequences. We develop types under which shrinkage and governance interplay in a specific way, thus leading to specific combinations of capacities and weaknesses in local responses to shrinkage. These types are based, nevertheless, on our case study analysis, which enables us to discuss specific cases and not only to provide theoretical knowledge.

Table 1: Interplay of trajectories of urban shrinkage and local modes/arrangements of urban governance

	<i>Governance A</i>	<i>Governance B</i>	<i>Governance C</i>	<i>Governance D</i>
<i>Shrinkage A</i>	City B		City A	
<i>Shrinkage B</i>		Cities C, E		
<i>Shrinkage C</i>	City G			City F



Source: Rink et al. (2009) (D1)

D2: Research design

Research questions and working hypotheses

1. Overall questions

- a) What different trajectories of urban shrinkage occur in different urban contexts?
Do they differ due to different national and local (institutional, political, economic ...) contexts?
- b) Does urban shrinkage lead to/privilege particular arrangements/modes of urban governance?
- c) What impacts do the arrangements/modes of urban governance have with respect to the abilities for coping with urban shrinkage in different/particular urban contexts?

2. Working hypotheses

Working hypothesis to question a)

Urban shrinkage (trajectories) differs in its empirical appearance due to

- a) driving causes and other factors (demography, economy, suburbanisation etc.),
- b) the forms of urbanization (the locally specific combination of different fields of urban development, such as housing, land use, infrastructure, employment, residential structure etc.) shrinkage impacts on.

Urban shrinkage is not a uniform or similar-type process but a location-specific combination of different macro-trends that impact on locally specific configurations. It is thus a heterogeneous and uneven process that may appear in different forms and lead to different outcomes. Instead of being a one-directional trend, urban shrinkage can take different paths. There are significant path-dependent as well as path-shaping aspects with respect to its manifestation, trajectory and outcomes.

Working hypothesis to question b)

Shrinking cities are characterised by a lack of capacities (financial, institutional etc.) and, at the same time, are burdened by a number of serious problems (in different fields such as housing, infrastructure, employment etc.). This leads to an increasing dependence on external resources that enable local actors to cope with the problems. The resources can either stem from the market (private investment) or from the government (public money). As a consequence, strategic decisions (of urban actors) are especially dependent on these financial resources and related requirements. This leads to dependent, contradictory and instable governance arrangements in which local decisions are highly dependent on shifts in external frameworks (i.e. the cities are highly vulnerable due to changing circumstances such as financial, economic etc.).

Working hypothesis to question c)

The arrangements/modes of urban governance under the condition of urban shrinkage are characterised by an incoherence due to the fact that they follow two contradictory 'poles': the 'entrepreneurial city' and 'logics of bureaucracy'. Thus urban policy is oriented only partly towards the real existing problems. This leads to a rather inconsistent urban policy that can hardly cope with or may even reinforce the problems caused by urban shrinkage. As a result, coherent approaches that enable the cities to deal with the challenges of urban shrinkage strategically are made particularly difficult and are, in reality, hard to achieve.

3. Methods and operationalisation

The comparative approach

We are comparing case studies and come to general conclusions that improve our understanding in a specific way. *Why do we compare?* Comparative approaches lead to a better understanding of similarities and differences as well as causal relationships and influencing dynamics. *What do we compare?* We compare the phenomenon of urban shrinkage and its impacts on local governance arrangements in different ways – cross-locally, cross-nationally and cross-sectorally on the level of the case studies. *How do we compare?* We start by describing local stories of urban shrinkage and governance responses. Then we streamline these stories to

‘cases’ containing their basic stories. In a next step, we group the ‘cases’ to trajectories of urban shrinkage and related modes/arrangements. This also enables us to add other theoretical trajectories and modes/arrangements that we did not identify in our case studies. In this way we come to results that are also applicable outside the case study and project context and can be transferred to other given cases.

Methods

We apply a mixed-method approach using the analysis of primary sources of secondary data, interviews with local experts and stakeholders as the main methods. We deliberately apply the mixed-methods approach to balance the advantages and constraints of both quantitative and qualitative methods as well as to demonstrate that the issues of urban shrinkage and local arrangements/modes of urban governance need to be looked at by different approaches and their respective methods (Figure 2). A mixed-method design including both quantitative and qualitative approaches meets the demands of our analytical model since we need, on the one hand, a deep understanding of processes and their interplay; this we can only grasp by applying qualitative methods. After having identified the specifics of a case, we will, on the other hand, go into detail in particular fields of analyses or data topics (i.e. numbers and other information).

WP 2 and 3 (analysis of urban shrinkage) mainly rely on secondary statistical data, gathering of information from existing documents as well as interviews with local experts and area observation techniques/participant observation. These work packages are based on the identified fields of analysis and related questions from the research design, as well as the set of indicators, which is set up in a preliminary form within this document (WP1, D3). The aim of these workpackages is to describe and explain the phenomenon of urban shrinkage in the case study cities according to a common set of data and information in order to identify trajectories of shrinkage based on ‘local stories’.

WP 5 and 6 (governance analysis) are mainly based on a mix of document review and analysis, and field research. The guiding idea in regard to methods used in these workpackages is that policy problems are multifaceted by nature, so that a multiplicity of sources and perspectives needs to be taken into account. Thereby the research is mainly based on both primary data from interviews and participant observation and secondary data obtained through document analysis.

The literature review is based on four categories of governance-relevant data sources:

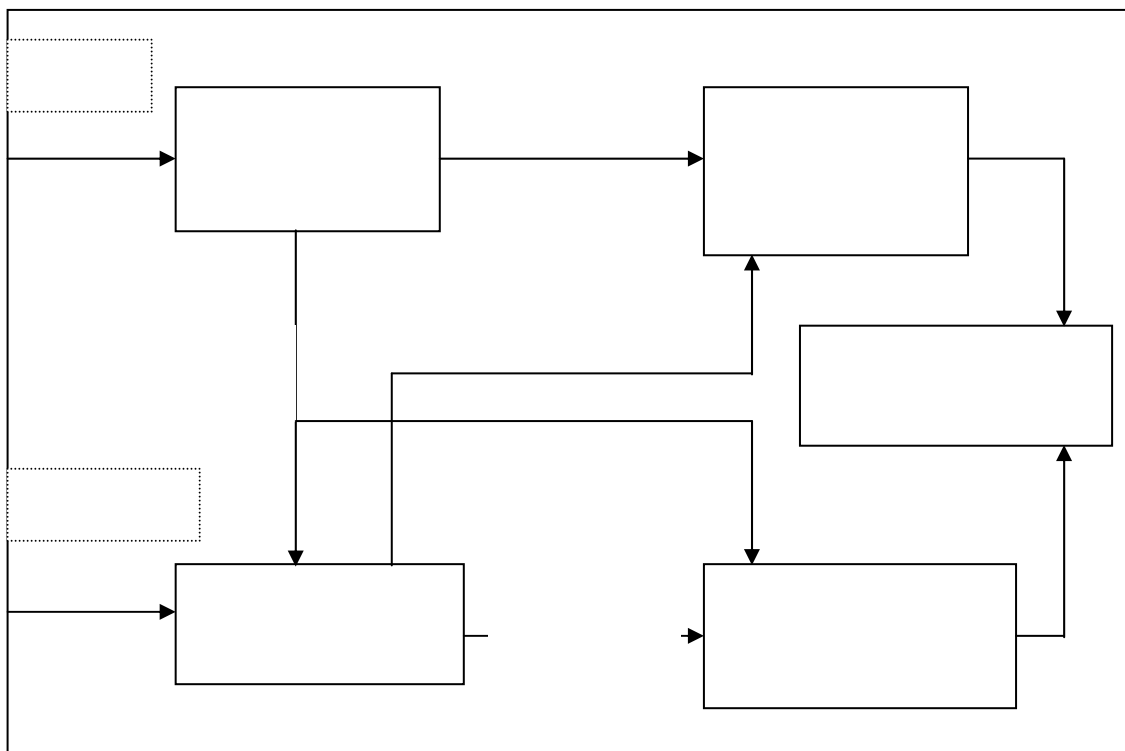
- (1) Journal articles, books, dissertations and diploma theses
- (2) Publications and reports of interest groups, consultants, and think tanks
- (3) Government publications, reports, and other documents
- (4) Popular press and media

Field research relies on interviews of key decision makers, local interest groups, government officials, regulatory agencies, consulting firms, quasi-public agencies, civil society groups, and other experts relevant in the area. The aim is to gain information on historical backgrounds and contexts for the experience of governance in the particular case study. These are often facts that are not to be found in published sources, political attitudes and strategies including information about other potential interviewees and written materials.

Participant observations aim to study the interaction of relevant actors in a ‘natural’ setting.

All these different sources are combined in a heuristic and iterative approach. Figure 5 shows how we apply the methods in an integrative way that allows for a synthesis of the information provided or gathered. During the phase of empirical fieldwork, all methods will be applied in a combined manner. The starting point will be either in the form of an initial document analysis or a first round of expert interviews, depending on the stage of pre-knowledge and existing secondary information sources in the single case study contexts. In each case, the results of the case study analysis will be based on multiple sources and modes of data-gathering.

Figure 2. Mixed-methods approach for our analysis of urban shrinkage and governance

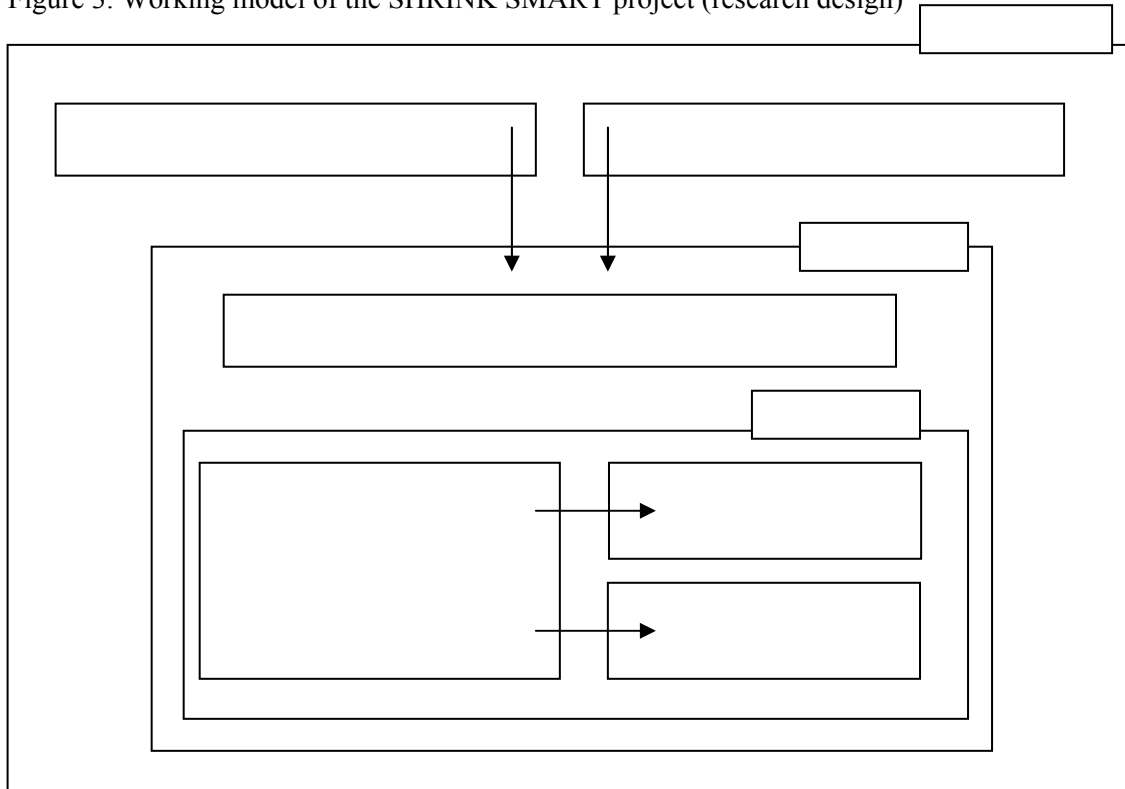


Source: Rink et al. (2009) (D2) after Weimer and Vining (2005), 322, modifications by the authors

Operationalisation

Figure 3 shows how this analytical approach is broken down for the case study analysis and operationalised. The first step is the conceptualisation of the key terms of our research: urban shrinkage and urban governance. We developed the analytical working model, which is described in Table 1 above, based on these concepts. We create a set of fields of analysis to analyse the empirical appearance and trajectories of urban shrinkage and the modes of local governance: with respect to shrinkage, we analyse fields such as inclusion and social cohesion, social services, housing, technical infrastructure, land use etc. With respect to governance, we focus on the analysis of the legal and institutional framework, existing strategies, instruments and tools as well as constellations of involved actors and their communication, cooperation and decision-making. To be able to collect information and data for the fields of analysis, we created a set of indicators for each field of analysis of urban shrinkage and formulated qualitative criteria for the analysis of the governance issues. These help us to streamline the analysis and to make it comparable for all case studies. The research design thus forms the basis for the empirical work but it remains open to additions by specific fields of analysis and related indicators and criteria for individual case studies.

Figure 3. Working model of the SHRINK SMART project (research design)



Source: Rink et al. (2009) (D2)

D3: Comparable set of indicators

The elaborated set of indicators for measuring and assessing urban shrinkage includes 67 indicators for the fields National development trajectory, Socio-demographic structure, Business environment (Labour, product and financial markets) and public intervention, Skills, knowledge and educational base, Physical infrastructure, built environment and ecological aspects (housing, utilities, land use, environmental quality and municipal urban planning) and Social/cultural infrastructures/ networks and amenities. 19 of these indicators are treated as key indicators (Table 2). The set served as a base for the data gathering in WP2 and as a base of knowledge and information for all follow-up research in the project.

For the urban governance, the main attention is paid towards criteria or ‘scales of evaluation’ with respect to a) analysing the structural-institutional context that determines an advantaged or disadvantaged bargaining position of local governments and b) studying local governance arrangements in which key actors form coalitions (Table 2).

Table 2: Listing of indicators for urban shrinkage and criteria or 'scales of evaluation' for governance (screen shots)

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Table 7. Fields of analysis, related processes and challenges as well as indicators for urban shrinkage

<i>Issues</i>	<i>Processes and challenges</i>	<i>Indicators for research</i>
National development trajectory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Macroeconomic trends • GDP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GDP per capita • Development of sector
Socio-demographic structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ageing • downsizing of households • changing household structures • specific in- and out-migration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • total number of households • average household size • in- and out-migration (both flows and migration balance: interregional - urban-rural and rural-urban, suburbanisation, international) • ageing index, youth rate, elderly rate, dependency rate • proportion of one-person-households • age of one-person households • proportion of 3+ households/family households/single parent households • proportion of 'new' households (young singles, cohabiting couples, flat sharers etc.) • selectivity of migration (age groups, gender-related, professional groups) • proportion of age-groups (<18, 18-65, >65 years) • average age

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Table 8 describes how the differences in market conditions, popular control systems and intergovernmental support shape the bargaining conditions of a particular city government.

Table 8. Fields of analysis and related criteria for structural-institutional context of governance

<i>Issues</i>	<i>Criteria or 'scale of evaluation'</i>
Market position	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - competitive/non-competitive - non-diversified/diversified economic structure - company towns/ economics of agglomeration - flexible capital/fixed capital - mobile investment/sunk investment - financial centre/financial 'periphery' - domination of large-scale/medium and small enterprises
Popular control	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - low party competition/competitive parties - instable partisanship/stable partisanship - low ideological cohesion/high ideological cohesion - non-programmatic parties/programmatic parties - person-dominated/administration-dominated/municipal council-dominated/etc. - weak citizen participation/high citizen participation - strong/ weak protest activities - popular control regime as an 'open/closed circle'
Intergovernmental support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - particularistic politics/intra-regional compensation - side payments/spending on infrastructure, subsidies - decentralized/centralized - local borrowing/national borrowing - local control over tax revenues/central control over tax revenues and equalization

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Table 9 summarizes how local governance arrangements can be characterized by a place-specific composition of key-decision makers, modes of cooperation, governing logics, and political objectives.

Table 9. Fields of analysis and related criteria for local governance arrangements

Issues	Criteria or 'scale of evaluation'
Key decision makers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • variety of players/small elite • state officials and administration/market actors/civil society organisations • public resources/ private resources • top-down/bottom-up decision-making
Relations/coalitions/forms of cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • integrated/fragmented • formal/informal • bargaining/issue-oriented • material/symbolic • network/market/hierarchies • common-interest oriented/group-interest oriented
Governing logic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • inclusive/exclusive • cooperation/conflict • network/coalition/command-and-control • top-down/bottom-up
Political objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • material/symbolic • strategic/short term advantage • managerial/entrepreneurial/populist/bureaucratic/non-profit or serving the public good etc. • (short-term) maximizing profit or benefit/stabilizing or balanced/long-term or sustainable

Source: Rink et al. (2009) (D3)

Workpackage 2

The next step was to elaborate local research reports on the causes, trajectories (underlying dynamics) and impacts of urban shrinkage in all case studies. 7 research reports were created (WP2 D4), their summaries are listed below.

D4 Leipzig report – summary

Leipzig looks back on a long-term period of shrinkage that lasted from the 1960s to the end of the 1990s. The political change after 1989 led to a rapid deindustrialization and breakdown in employment and, as a result, a mass out-migration towards western Germany bringing about a dramatic acceleration of population losses. From 1989-1998, Leipzig lost about 100,000 inhabitants, that is, 20 per cent of its total population. The main reasons for the recent population losses were the (job-related) out-migration to western Germany (starting right after 1990), a state-sponsored and thus artificially initiated suburbanization (that had its peak from the early mid-1990s until 1997), and demographic ageing (decrease in birth rates - a continuous process). The main reason for out-migration was the loss of jobs due to deindustrialization (loss of tens of thousands of jobs in the industrial sector in the early 1990s). In 1999, Leipzig enlarged its administrative territory. In this way the city ceased to lose inhabitants due to these reforms; the reform coincided with the stabilization of the city in terms of population size bringing with it positive migration balances and a vibrant in-migration. After 2000, Leipzig saw a turnaround, that is, a re-growth of the population after decades of shrinkage. Since 2000, Leipzig has had positive migration balances with the hinterland and in general. Research speaks about reurbanization tendencies that are prominent in Leipzig as one of only a few big cities in eastern Germany (see below).

Although the population is no longer decreasing, Leipzig is still today faced with the consequences of urban shrinkage, and will also be faced with them in the future. The consequences are first and foremost housing and commercial vacancies, demolition, oversupply of infrastructure, brownfields and the perforation of the urban

grid. Leipzig is characterized by the close neighbourhood of stabilizing and shrinking neighbourhoods in the city. Vacant and/or unused lots, wastelands and new forms of 'urban wilderness' exist in many places all over the city. In other words: urban shrinkage continues to play a role within the city, but not all neighbourhoods or districts are affected by it. Moreover, Leipzig will face a new wave of urban shrinkage within the near future: after 2015, household numbers will start to decrease; additionally, the reservoir of current in-migration (age groups 20-40) will decrease due to ageing. Today, Leipzig is not a shrinking city anymore when one only looks at the total population numbers; but urban shrinkage is an important topic for the city (coping with its consequences, dealing with shrinking neighbourhoods within the city) and this will also be true within the near future (new wave of shrinkage due to ageing and decrease in households).

Since 1990, socio-spatial separation and segregation in the city have advanced and the widespread socio-economic mix of many residential areas has decreased. Like in Halle, segregation has, however, not reached extreme values yet. It is most visible in its socio-economic dimension (income, share of unemployed).

Socially weak households are concentrated in different parts of the city, mainly in some traditional old built-up workers' areas as well as in parts of the prefabricated district Leipzig-Grünau. In the public debate, Leipzig is often mentioned as a 'boom town' or 'lightening house' within the eastern German 'ocean of shrinkage'. The public perception is mainly of the story of stabilization and reurbanization of the city after the losses in the 1990s. Subsequently, it becomes more and more difficult to discuss urban shrinkage although urban planners already know about the processes that will lead to new population losses in a few years.

The phenomenon of urban shrinkage is perceived in Leipzig mainly through the 'lens' of the housing market perspective; its appearance relates to (residential and commercial) housing vacancies (which reached their peak in 2000 with 62,500 vacant flats or 20 per cent of the total stock). Housing vacancies are not a new phenomenon in the city, which already had a vacancy rate of about 10 per cent in 1989 (25,000 vacant flats). However, after the 1990s, vacancies grew due to oversupply and no longer due to the poor technical conditions, which were the reasons for their existence in GDR times. Therefore, the city has a vibrant interest to make people stay in the city as well as to attract new residents to counteract the vacancies (apart from demolitions). In this vein, the city offers, for instance, suburban-like housing in the inner city (town houses) as an alternative to suburbanization. Housing vacancies are a very visible consequence of urban shrinkage, a fact that led to the programme Stadtumbau Ost (urban restructuring) in 2002. Other appearances of shrinkage are the oversupply of infrastructure and the high number of (inner-city) brownfields that have to be prepared for re-use (either commercial, residential, or recreational as parks, playgrounds or urban woodlands). Population losses were ignored by municipal planning and urban policy throughout the 1990s, although there were already voices pointing to the visible decline and rising numbers of vacant flats. Shrinkage as a term and debate became an issue in Leipzig only after the report of a federal commission in 2000 that highlighted the housing supply surplus as an urgent problem in the new German federal states. From that time onwards, Leipzig developed different strategies to cope with shrinkage and to adapt the built structures to the declining demand using federal subsidies to demolish vast numbers of vacant flats. The deconstruction of housing and infrastructure concentrates on prefabricated districts in the western part of the city although vacancy rates are still highest in the old built-up stock. At the same time, Leipzig pursues a strategy of 'active' population policy to persuade people to stay in the city and to attract new residents. Among others, town houses are being built, ownership within the existing stock is financially supported, and interim uses are advanced to both maintain vacant stock and keep vacant lots 'working'.

Concerning the future, Leipzig will be faced with contradicting trends: on the one hand, the city will try to sustain itself as a re-growing city with a positive migration balance and a young in-migration that counteracts the ageing process. Thus, a support of its role as a university city and an investment-friendly urban policy is probable; on the other hand, the city will see a new wave of population loss after 2015, that is, when household numbers will start to decrease regardless of in-migration. The potential in-migration groups will become smaller and smaller due to ageing – it is possible that the city will enforce efforts to attract older age groups as 'reurbanites', i.e. those who suburbanized in the 1990s and cannot get along with their daily wants and needs in suburbia because of a lack of amenities and services there. This scenario could become true in one or two decades, i.e. exactly at a time when the quantitative resource of young in-migrants will significantly decrease; for the city it would bring about the need to adapt the urban space and services ever more to the needs of the elderly.

D4 Halle report – summary

Halle belonged to the industrial hubs of the former GDR (with focus on machine building and the chemical industry). Halle and Halle-Neustadt were (formally) separated in 1967, Halle-Neustadt quickly developed into a town of about 100,000 inhabitants in 1989; in 1990, the two cities were ‘reunified’ and formed a city of about 300,000 inhabitants. Halle (after the merging with Halle-Neustadt) has faced urban shrinkage since 1990, the main reason was (comparable to Leipzig) the out-migration to western Germany as a consequence of deindustrialization and the loss of tens of thousands of jobs in the industrial sector (breakdown of the biggest enterprises in and around Halle where those people lived who came to the city and to Halle-Neustadt during the 1960s to 1980s). The city lost 56,000 inhabitants from 1990 to 1999 (some 20 per cent of the total population from 1990, comparable to Leipzig). In recent years, also in Halle, the migration balance with the suburban hinterland has stabilized and been even slightly positive, which provides evidence of/ shows a decreasing importance of suburbanization; however, one cannot speak about reurbanization tendencies like in the case of Leipzig. Further reasons for urban shrinkage were suburbanization (predominating from 1994-2001), demographic ageing (decrease in birth rates, continuous process) but the main reason for out-migration was the loss of jobs due to deindustrialization (see Leipzig).

In contrary to the situation in Leipzig, Halle did not stabilize after 2000; the city continues to lose population and will do so also in the future (according to prognoses). On the meso-scale level, i.e. the level of urban districts and neighbourhoods, there are also large differences in the city between stable districts and those that continuously lose population and where demolition activities are carried out. The term ‘urban shrinkage’ emerged in Halle with the problem of housing vacancies and the start of the programme Stadtumbau Ost (urban restructuring ‘East’) in about 2000 and the years afterwards; before, the talk was about ‘the adaptation of urban infrastructure and amenities to the population loss’.

In the 1980s, the city already had to deal with housing vacancies due to bad conditions; in 1985 the city started larger-scale demolition and reconstruction activities in the inner city (also as in Leipzig during the 1980s). Like in Leipzig, the housing market perspective also predominates in Halle. Other appearances of shrinkage are the oversupply of infrastructure and the high number of (industrial) brownfields around the inner city or in outer parts of the city (here also railway or military brownfields) that have to be prepared for re-use (either commercial, residential, or recreational as parks, playgrounds or ‘urban forests’).

Since urban shrinkage will predominate as a trajectory also in the future, the discussion in Halle is about the stabilization of the city and its functions at a lower level (with fewer inhabitants) and also how to best manage shrinkage, including the question of giving up some districts especially hit by population losses (the prefab district Halle-Silberhöhe that will lose the majority of its inhabitants by 2025 and should become a ‘forest city’).

Halle was – in contrast to Leipzig – not successful in enlarging its administrative territory; the hinterland always forms bigger municipalities and attracts investment, whereas the city itself is characterized by a lack of large-scale investment and (enduring) high unemployment. In contrast to Leipzig, today Halle is still more characterized by a workers’ population or by a mix of in-migrants who do not have a strong attachment to the location and, therefore, do not get engaged very much in local initiatives and activities – the lack of civic activities could negatively impact on any efforts to stabilize the city as a place to live for different residential and lifestyle groups. Since 1990, socio-spatial separation and segregation in the city have advanced and the widespread socio-economic mix of many residential areas has decreased. Like in Leipzig, segregation has, however, not yet reached extreme values. While some old built-up areas in the northwest of the inner city develop to become better-off areas, those in the south and east, as well as the prefab areas are characterized by a concentration of poorer households. In these areas, high vacancy rates in the housing stock go hand in hand with a concentration of socially weak residents.

The city of Halle uses federal subsidies to demolish vacant housing. The focus of demolition lies on the prefab housing areas Halle –Neustadt and Halle-Silberhöhe. Apart from demolition, the city started a range of activities to stabilize inner-city old built-up areas (e.g. the former workers’ area Halle-Glauchau). In areas where demolition takes place, social infrastructures and amenities are no longer improved but only maintained in an acceptable quantity and quality for the remaining residents. Concerning future prospects, Halle will continue to deal with urban shrinkage and the main issue will probably be the question about how one can organize a sustainable functioning of the city and its inhabitants under the conditions of an enduring population loss and ageing; a positive counter-development could be the in-migration by students and apprentices (although a positive effect depends on how many of them will stay for longer in the city).

D4 Liverpool report – summary

Liverpool has undergone a long period of change over the past four decades. During the 1970s and 1980s the conurbation experienced massive deindustrialisation and economic restructuring which led to a period of rapid population decline. Within the conurbation a combination of housing policies and an outward movement of jobs stimulated a faster rate of population decline in the core city than in the periphery of the conurbation. The population of the core city, Liverpool, fell from 610,000 in 1971 to 435,000 in 2008 (-29%), whilst the population of the conurbation, Merseyside, fell from 1,656,000 to 1,347,000 over the same period (-19%). Subsequently the development of strong policies for urban regeneration coupled with powerful restraints on peripheral growth slowed the rate of population loss. A series of regeneration policies and agencies including the Merseyside Development Corporation, City Challenge, the Single Regeneration Budget Challenge Fund, English Partnerships, EU Objective One funding from 1993-2007, and others including Liverpool Vision, have all put resources into the redevelopment of the existing city. At the same time national policies directing housing investment towards existing urban areas, strong direction of regional growth and local 'green belt' and related policies have collectively brought a high level of restraint and resistance to pressures for peripheral growth. Since the 1990s the emerging trend towards economic growth based upon a post-industrial economy (growth based upon services) has led to a revival of the core city to the point where it is now on the cusp of reurbanisation.

The consequences of population decline have been seen particularly in the housing system where a housing shortage in 1971 (0.99 dwellings per household) became a surplus after 1991 (1.05 dph in 2001). This facilitated the removal of some of the least sought after dwellings from the housing stock. A number of surplus social housing stock were removed through Estate Action and by the Housing Action Trust. More recently a policy of Housing Market Renewal has seen a return to substantial level of clearance in the older private housing stock. Nevertheless the housing system remained quite well balanced over the period, with vacancy rates generally no more than one and a half times the national average and only briefly rising above 6%. Furthermore dwelling prices in the core city have rarely fluctuated significantly from a fairly consistent position at around 70% of the national average.

The period of intense population decline was also associated with a high rate of unemployment which stood above 20% in the core city throughout the 1980s. However, with the improving national economic situation in the 1990s and more in the service sector (especially financial services, public administration, education, health and leisure services), unemployment in the core city fell steadily after 1991. Since the millennium the unemployment rate has been below 10%. In terms of service provision the biggest impact of population decline has been on the provision of schools. Although the position is complicated by parental choice and private sector provision, the City Council has over the decades undertaken a number of rationalisations of school provision resulting in the closure of a considerable number of schools. Overall the study of Liverpool shows the dynamics of urban change and decline but most importantly it shows how with a combination of strong urban regeneration policies complementing a changing in economic structure, a city can move from a period of shrinkage towards reurbanisation.

D4 Genoa report – summary

In Italy demographic decline has not been a particular feature of urban development if one extends the definition to the movement of population from the municipal centre to the outer urban areas of a larger metropolis. Italian research has paid attention, especially in the 1970s and 1980s to demographic decline, but the term which is most often used is not 'shrinkage' but 'depopulation'. The main difference being that depopulation is primarily referred to rural areas rather than to urban centres. In one hundred years of general population censuses conducted between the 1870s and 1971, only 25 out of more than 100 core municipalities of larger administrative regions experienced some kind of shrinkage. Moreover, shrinkage had generally been at a very low rate (less than 0.1% per year) and over a relatively short time. In 13 of these 25 cities, the shrinkage was limited to a few decades in the middle of the 19th and 20th centuries and was a consequence of the massive transatlantic emigration, or caused by some natural disaster.

Until recently, depopulation had never been a continuous phenomenon. After 1971 a decline in population in Italy's core municipalities (metropolitan areas) started to spread to all the larger cities. The main cause of shrinkage was the expansion of suburbs and conglomerated municipalities outside the city administrative limits, which grew and included the population moving away from the city centre. This change was interpreted by Italian urban sociology as a step towards a 'post-modern' metropolitan pattern of settlement, which created larger metropolitan areas.

The shift towards urban sprawl was basically the major, if not the only cause of demographic decline in Italian cities. Nonetheless, all along its history and especially since the 1960s, Italy has been a country characterised by significant internal migration from the South to the North. Clearly, the point is not that Italian internal migrations had no consequences on depopulation of southern society, but that these consequences are not primarily urban. In the South, the urbanization was actually delayed, and southern cities during the 1970s were still increasing their populations from the rural areas, and in many areas birth rates are still positive (albeit rapidly declining). When, during the 1960s, there was massive migration from the less developed to the more industrialized parts of Italy, birth rates in southern cities were positive enough to compensate the population loss, while for many rural areas those years marked the beginning of a definitive decline¹. It is therefore more interesting to look at historical demographic reproduction patterns and their socio-spatial impact on Italian cities. We will proceed in this way for two reasons.

Firstly, until very recently (compared to the other European countries) Italy was characterized by a variety of local demographic patterns that were determined by the uneven levels of industrial development, modernization and urbanization on a national scale. What is specially compelling in Genoa as a case study is not so much its profile, as the fact that already twenty years ago it anticipated the urban effect of what was called the second demographic transition in a Mediterranean and, more particularly in an Italian context. The same trends seen in Genoa in the 1970s are now at work in almost all Italian cities, even if in Genoa these traits overlapped with the typical consequences of de-industrialization in a port city, and a common error was to attribute this demographic decline to economic decline.

The second reason for focussing on historical demographic patterns concerns de-industrialization. Concentrating on historical demographic patterns will offer an opportunity to detach demographic decline from the economic cycle, and to better evaluate the weight of the latter in shrinkage processes. Since ageing and depopulation began to be perceived as a problem in the late 1970s) both by Genoa's municipal government and by the residential population, the conviction arose that a proper transition to a post-industrial form of development would also revitalize these demographic patterns. Tourism and culture-based Regeneration strategy were chosen to drive the urban recovery over the last two decades. Recent years have in fact seen a stabilization of the rate of decline and even a minor counter-trend.

Is it then merely a cycle of decline and rebirth achievable by adopting a successful urban policy strategy? We will try to go deeper into the causes of Genoa's shrinkage and how it interacted with its recent economic history, and also try to describe the social effect of this demographic pattern and its recent developments in order to predict how stable the recent counter-trend growth indicators will prove to be.

D4 Sosnowiec & Bytom report – summary

The Katowice Conurbation is the largest metropolitan region in Poland. In the core zone there are 16 cities, followed by another 17 in the peripheral region. It is important to underline that the Katowice Conurbation makes up the largest shrinking region in Central and Eastern Europe. The depopulation of the region has marked itself strongly in the 17% decrease of population, from 2 million 311.5 thousand in 1990 to 1 million 978.5 thousand in 2007. The fall was noticed in all cities of the Katowice Conurbation, including Katowice - the capital of the region, as well as the examined cities of Bytom and Sosnowiec. The shrinking cities of the Katowice Conurbation present the most spectacular example of socio-economic problems existing in the post-industrial area of the urban region.

Both above mentioned cities - Bytom and Sosnowiec have been analysed in the report as partially different types of urban centres in the view of city shrinkage. Medieval Bytom, with its urban space similar to H. Hoyt's sector model of urban land use, differs slightly when compared to Sosnowiec, which was established in the beginning of the 20th century, with its urban space explained by Harris and Ullman in multiple nuclei theory of urban structure. Different political histories, as well as, partially different economic functions of the cities, were consolidated after World War II into a visible spatial monolith.

Destruction of the monolith from the socio-economic point of view took place at the end of the 1980s. However, some symptoms of the upcoming demographic crisis surfaced in the 1980s and even in the 1970s. Both cities entered new paths of development after 1990, but the paths differed - in the case of Sosnowiec, it was a reaction and simultaneously positive one, and in the case of Bytom - unfortunately, it was reaction, but

¹ In 2008 the southern part of the country (the Mezzogiorno) accounted for just 35% of the population. Furthermore, the southern Italian population is overestimated since many people work temporarily in the north, but keeps their legal residence in the south.

at the same times a negative path. Both cities, however, belong to the group of cities with a majority population outflow rather than inflow, and also belong to the group of urban centres with a negative image. It is significant to mention that in the research of BAV Consulting, as well as KB Pretendent Agency, Bytom was qualified as the most repulsive city in Poland in 2009. Unfortunately, Sosnowiec ranked high too. The effects of city shrinkage are visible in both cities in the context of social and demographic models, economic processes or spatial changes. As far as demographic problems are concerned, issues such as the decreasing number of persons in the average flat or household, or a lower index of the number of children in the average family, shall be brought to attention. A decreasing unemployment rate has been a very positive element in recent years (around 12-16% in 2007), and is presently similar to the Polish average. The problem of demographic decrease has been brought about mainly by the economic transformation and changes in the regional economic base. In the course of the last two decades, the model of an industrial city has been transformed into a model of a service city or a service and industrial city. The inflow of new investments is concentrated on, and directed to, only several cities. Sosnowiec constitutes a good example. Bytom, on the other hand, is unfortunately outside this network.

A positive element of the transformation is the fact that the technical infrastructure is in much better condition than it was 10-20 years ago, but there is still room for improvement, especially in the field of transport. A similar problem is posed in the case of housing. The problem results from the fact that the shrinking numbers of citizens increasingly use both kinds of infrastructure. The fact is the growing number of houses and flats are occupied by a plummeting number of inhabitants. It is significant to mention that the society is growing older and earn relatively less. The municipal budget may be of limited help. An additional problem, in the case of Bytom, is caused by mining damages, with reference to both housing and infrastructure. Bytom and Sosnowiec constitute two representative cities located in the post-industrial conurbation and they strongly experience all the problems determined by the shrinkage process. Both cities present similar examples of different methods of urban space improvement as well as the elimination of limits of frequently ambitious aims.

D4 Ostrava report – summary

The city of Ostrava and its urban agglomeration within the Moravian-Silesian Region grew on the economic base of coal mining, coke production, iron and steel production and related industries in different political contexts over the period 1828 – 1989. Year 1828 marks the establishment of a first important plant on Ostrava's territory - Vitkovice ironworks. Year 1989 signposts the "velvet" democratic revolution, which enabled launching of the necessary economic and political transformation process in the Czech Republic, resulting between 1990 and 2009 in remarkable social, economic, and structural changes which affected the city, the old industrial region, and the whole Czech Republic.

Ostrava and its metropolitan polycentric region with regional sub centres such as Karviná, Havířov, Frýdek-Místek, Trinec, Český Těšín, Orlová, Bohumín, has been traditionally industrial, miners' city with all the negative characteristics such as environmental damages and pollution, with bad image as city of workers and city without culture and quality education.

Shrinkage is characterised by the population losses and deterioration of building stock, which was the reality during the communist era in 1950s-1980s, and then during the post-communist transformation period since 1989 until now as well. In the period from 1950s to 1980s, on one hand new housing estates were established and developed such as Poruba or Ostrava-Jih (Zábřeh, Hrabůvka, Výškovice). On the other hand, the communist party decided in second half of 1940s and 1950s that the older building stock was to be left to decay. After this decision, large parts of the city, such as Vítkovice, Přívoz, Mariánské Hory, or for example in Moravská Ostrava its parts along Masná and Stodolní streets, started their decline due to disinvestment. In 1990, at the beginning of transformation, vast parts of the city were deteriorated and settled by people with the lowest social status and worst living conditions, especially Roma ethnic group. In the course of 1990s and 2000s the run-down parts of the city have been partly renewed. This process was based on the privatization of houses, finding out other dwellings for the people to be displaced (displacement), on the renewal of privatized houses by new owners, retrofitting and conversion of houses for new functions such as services. Very good examples of successful renewal are the revitalization of the area in Moravská Ostrava around the Stodolní street with more than a hundred of clubs, pubs (culture-driven regeneration) or regeneration of houses at Masná street through advanced producer services or health care services. The tertiarisation of economy, establishment of micro- and small enterprises was important impetus for the city regeneration. This services-

driven regeneration contributed to the revival of Přívoz, Mariánské Hory, Vítkovice and surprisingly partially Hrušov as well.

After the “velvet” democratic revolution in November 1989, the transformation of the political and economic system of the former Czechoslovakia brought the liberalization and opening of the economy to the external global competition. The new stage of the history of Ostrava began. The competition pressures revealed the very complex weaknesses of the regional big companies in old or traditional industrial branches and launched their adaptation process to conditions of global market. The restructuring process had different intensity with regards to the Czech, European and global economic development context, but brought high unemployment. The deindustrialization started at the beginning of 1990s – in June 1994 all the collieries and most of coke plants on the territory of Ostrava were closed down and the decay of production in related industries caused the increase of unemployment. The peak of unemployment rate of 18% was reached in 2003 (???), but in 2004 began the economy revival (after restructuring and modernization of companies in 1990-2003). The deindustrialization process and high unemployment has been dampened by tertiarisation and re-industrialization of the regional and national economy.

Ostrava has been slightly shrinking city in the period 1990-2009 in the context of transitional post-communist country in Middle Europe. The trajectory of shrinkage and its causes are generally similar to the causes in all bigger cities (like Brno, Plzeň), but are modified by specific situation of Ostrava as old industrial city affected by deindustrialization. The population decline as the most significant indicator of shrinkage was approximately 7% (331,000 in 1988 and 307,000 in 2009), which is evidently a slight shrinkage. The causes of shrinkage of some parts of Ostrava are the rapid plunge of birth rate in the whole Czech Republic as a natural adaptation to the demographic situation in developed countries, the outward migration of young, well educated people (“brain drain”) and the suburbanization (the move of people from the inner city or neglected and unattractive neighbourhoods to the periphery or beyond the administrative borders of Ostrava city. The most affected neighbourhoods of Ostrava by the shrinkage process, measured as population decline/loss, in the last 20 years (1990-2009) are Poruba, then central “historical” parts of the city as Moravská Ostrava, Přívoz, Slezská Ostrava and its parts such as Hrušov or Kunčičky. The process of shrinkage has been rather slight and has been dampened by many factors such as the elimination of commuting to collieries from distant regions (North-western Slovakia – Kysuce), affecting the unemployment rather in these distant regions than directly in Ostrava, not well working or not well developed housing market (shortage of dwellings in all Czech cities, which eliminates mobility), low mobility inclination of population (Czechs have more strong social and family ties and lower mobility), the growing home and dwelling ownership in the Ostrava region (privatization of dwellings even in prefabricated housing estates). However, according to the Solansky demographic projection, Ostrava will have 280,000 inhabitants in 2050, which shows the necessity of being aware of the existing shrinkage trajectory and importance of political initiatives dealing with the shrinkage. Ostrava has been shrinking, however with low intensity and the future development of Ostrava can/will be different according to many factors such as: the economic situation in the EU (EU competitiveness in comparison with competitiveness of USA and/or China), and the economic situation in the Czech Republic – its high dependence on external structures / framework conditions, and according to the success of Ostrava’s (or the Moravian-Silesian regional) shift from low road development strategy based on industrial mass production at lower prices of inputs to the high road strategy based on innovation and quality improvements of production (i.e. flexible provision of quality goods and services with higher added value at higher prices). The success of implementation of the high road strategy in the city of Ostrava depends on the quality of education and R&D institutions; on urban planning and institutions supporting the development, which have to create innovative milieu through the improvement of soft development factors such as attractive housing; quality environment – clean air, water, green areas and parks; recreational and cultural facilities; architectural flag ships; better image; safety; existing events; etc. There are many projects in the pipeline to be carried out such as New Karolina development project, New Vitkovice, Cultural cluster on Černá Louka, IT4Innovations (Information Technology for Innovations is a project of development of research capacities at Technical University of Ostrava via Supercomputing Centre to be supported by EU structural funds). Within the Moravian-Silesian Region, the city of Ostrava has pro-active economic and urban development policy, good working governance system based on cooperation of many actors such as local and regional government, central government and EU (e.g. attempts of JESSICA implementation), active universities, local businessmen (such as owner and general director of Vitkovice) and NGOs. The slight process of shrinkage will continue in some parts of the city, despite the pro-active local governance, and due to the analogical

shrinkage reasons such as lower birth rates, selective out-migration and weak in-migration, ageing, suburbanization, social exclusion, and environmental situation.

The most remarkable problems and challenges in the future development of the slightly shrinking city of Ostrava will be:

- Diversification of the regional economy through support of higher added value economic activities and creation of more (quality) jobs;
- Maintenance and upgrading of prefabricated housing estates;
- Roma/gypsy exclusion/inclusion
- Solution of bad environmental situation - especially in the Eastern parts of the city.

D4 Timișoara report – summary

Timisoara is nowadays the 2nd city of Romania, an important economical, social and cultural urban centre. Until 1990, the city had a relatively continuous growing, natural at the beginning of the 19th century, but artificially accelerated during the communist period. After the political change, the city has started a natural process of reconfiguration, similar with the national and euro-regional trends. The decline of the Timisoara's population was almost constant during 1990-2008 and, thus, it clearly reflects that the growing of the city under the totalitarian regime was not a functional, adequate or pertinent model. The statistical fact is eloquent: during 2 decades, Timisoara has lost 14% of its population. This paper tries to identify the reasons and the premises of the city shrinking, but in the same time, the impact and the consequences of the population decline.

On the base of the statistical data, the shrinking of the city can be delimited in 2 distinct periods: 1990 - 1999 and 2000-2010. For the 1990ies, the population decline can be explained by the decreasing of the birth rate (as a general behaviour at national level). Thus, from 1991 the natural spore has become negative, and the number of births was in continuous decreasing until in 2002. From 3,302 newborn babies in 1990, the natural spore has decreased to 2,201 in 2002 and after that it has increased back till 3,175 in 2008. From 1992 to 2007 the number of deaths was constantly higher than the number of births. The negative spore during this period has cumulated a decreasing of the population with 7,718 inhabitants (2.19%).

All villages around Timisoara have known a significant process of development (the trend is to become a residential area, similar with West European models). The project for the metropolitan area of the local administration is directly connected with these trends. In the context of rural depopulation (specific for the entire national level), all the growing of the villages near the Timisoara represents actually a clear process of suburbanization. For the last decade, this is one of the most important causes for the shrinking phenomenon in Timisoara. During the last 7 years, the population from the 11 villages involved in the future metropolitan area has grown with 5,774 inhabitants (equivalent with 1.64% from the peak of Timisoara's population).

Another cause of this population decline was the migration. Thus, from 1994 until 2007, the number of persons that have moved from Timisoara in a foreign country was constantly higher than the number of foreigners that have established in Timisoara. During this period 11,684 of Timisoara's inhabitants have moved away and 2,763 foreigners have moved in the city. These statistics cover especially the ethnic groups (firstly, the German population from Timisoara that have gone in Germany during the 90ies). By this phenomenon, Timisoara has lost 8,921 inhabitants (2.53%).

D4 Donetsk / Makiivka report – summary

The Donetsk conurbation is the core of the Ukrainian Donbas – the country's proud industrial heartland – and is the third largest continuously built-up area in Ukraine, after Kyiv and Kharkiv. The Donetsk conurbation began to shrink in 1993, from the population peak of 1,611,072 inhabitants to 1,393,620 in 2009, thus, experiencing in 16 years a net loss of 217,452 residents, or 13.5% of its population base. By 2018, the conurbation is projected to decline even further to 1,292,200 residents; hence shrinking by 20% in twenty five years. The city of Donetsk – the conurbation's bigger and much better off municipality – declined by 146,802 residents (or 13.1%) between its population peak of 1,121,400 in 1992 to 974,598 in 2009. The city of Makiivka – Donetsk's poorer and more troubled neighbour – lost 20.1% of its population (or 91,323 net residents), having started to shrink half a decade earlier than Donetsk, from 455,000 inhabitants in 1987 to 363,677 in 2009.

The primary reason for urban shrinkage in both Donetsk and Makiivka has been a dramatic decline in birth rates due to historically unprecedented fertility levels in the conurbation. The urban fertility rate in the region has declined under post-communism to one of the lowest level in the world (0.9 live births per 1,000 women

in 2002), thus, falling far below the natural replacement level. This phenomenon, combined with a profound public health crisis which accompanied Ukraine's social and economic transformation in the 1990s and 2000s, as well as the overall ageing of the local population, will further accelerate the rate of urban shrinkage in the Donetsk conurbation throughout the 2010s. This report suggests that the severe and prolonged economic depression suffered by Donetsk and, to a much greater extent, Makiivka, following the collapse of the USSR, along with the physical, emotional, and mental stress generated by Ukraine's post-communist developments, have left a very deep scar on the two Donbas cities.

The overall process of shrinkage in the conurbation has gone hand in hand with an increasingly uneven urban development, caused by a profound divergence of performance trajectories of the Donetsk and Makiivka urban economies in general, and of individual inner-city areas and local firms in particular. Whereas the Donetsk economy had recovered from the output slump of the 1990s and continued rapidly to expand well until the recent recession of 2008-09, Makiivka lagged far and further behind. This report provides an extensive list of impacts *on* and consequences of urban shrinkage *for* Donetsk and Makiivka. Most of the time, the effects of urban shrinkage on patterns of segregation and social cohesion in the Donetsk conurbation, business growth and employment opportunities in various parts of Donetsk and Makiivka, the urban social infrastructure and education, housing developments, the state of the technical infrastructure in both cities, land use characteristics, environmental quality, as well as the financial and fiscal ability of the local authorities to cope with the tremendous challenges of shrinkage, have been intensely intertwined with the overall impact on the Donbas of Ukraine's economic, social, political, and cultural transformations following the fall of state socialism in 1991.

In addition to the reports, a database was compiled for all case studies, following the indicator list elaborated in D3. the gathered data serve as a base for all follow-up research in the project and represent also a stand-alone deliverable in that sense that they show which statistical data are there in the single cities to picture urban shrinkage, where are constraints demanding necessities to think about gathering non-statistical data. Table 3 shows a part of the database (screen shot).

Table 3: Part of the D6 database (screen shot, example of Timisoara database)

1	Theme	Typ/Indicator	Unit	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
17	2. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC	Cor Households	total number								
18		Cor Households	mean (average) size								
19		Cor Out-migration	total number	3746	3791	3071	3816	4418	4130	3937	4030
20		Cor In-migration	total number	9119	6713	4319	4305	4543	4416	4276	3738
21		Cor Interregional migration	net (in-migrants - out-migrants)								
22		Cor International migration	net (in-migrants - out-migrants)								
23		Cor Suburban migration	total number								
24		Cor Aging index	ratio of older people (or persons over 65)	0,44	0,42	0,45	0,48	0,52	0,57	0,60	0,63
25		Cor Youth rate	ratio of young people (nationally defined)	0,20	0,21	0,20	0,19	0,18	0,17	0,16	0,16
26		Cor Elderly rate	ratio of older people (nationally defined)	0,09	0,09	0,09	0,09	0,10	0,10	0,10	0,10
27		Population	total number of inhabitants/residents	338.920	325.704	325.359	327.830	333.049	332.277	334.098	324.304
28		Age	average age	34,1	33,7	34,1	34,3	34,6	34,9	35,2	35,9
29		Age structure I	aged under 15, share of total population	26,7	28,4	27,9	27,4	26,6	25,8	24,9	24,0
30		Age structure I	aged 15-65, share of total population	64,5	62,7	63,0	63,3	63,9	64,5	65,1	65,7
31		Age structure I	aged over 65, share of total population	8,8	8,9	9,1	9,3	9,5	9,8	9,9	10,3
32		Age structure II	aged under 15, share of total population	20,1	21,1	20,4	19,4	18,3	17,3	16,4	16,3
33		Age structure II	aged 15-65, share of total population	71,1	70,0	70,5	71,3	72,2	72,9	73,6	73,4
34		Age structure II	aged over 65, share of total population	8,8	8,9	9,1	9,3	9,5	9,8	9,9	10,3
35		Natural change of popul.	total number of births	3136	2824	2836	2692	2610	2572	2580	2531
36		Natural change of popul.	total number of deaths	2984	3207	3026	2988	3187	3193	3309	3274
37		Total fertility rate	live births or children per woman								
38		Dependency rate	ratio of total population to economically active	0,41	0,43	0,42	0,40	0,38	0,37	0,36	0,36
39		1-person households	total number								
40		1-person households	average age								
41		2-person households	total number								
42		3-person households	total number								
43		> 3-person households	total number								
44		Single parent's household	total number								
45		New and recently moving	total number								
46		Migration by age	aged under 15, net (in-migrants - out-migrants)								
47		Migration by age	aged 15-25, net (in-migrants - out-migrants)								

Source: D6 database

D5 represents a work-in-progress paper and the current stage of discussion on the cross-cutting themes of our analysis of trajectories of shrinkage in the case study cities. It served as a base for the discussion at the next full meeting of the SHRINK SMART consortium in Genoa in June 2010 and was elaborated further to become a discussion paper by the end of month 15 of the project (D7, see below).

Workpackage 3

The main aim of WP3 was to summarize and highlight the main challenges that shrinkage brings about for the indicated fields of urban planning. In this vein, D7 represents the summarizing result of the first phase of research of the SHRINK SMART project, in particular the cross-national and cross-cutting analysis of urban shrinkage. It is a result of the D5 cross-cutting analysis paper and the discussions of that paper within the project consortium during the second full meeting in June 2010 (see above). This paper includes a comparative assessment of the shrinkage analysis for all case study cities with respect to the WP1 analytical model and the arenas of impact that were analyzed in the WP2 D4 reports. It comes up with working hypotheses concerning the impact of shrinkage and resulting challenges for urban development as well as with newly emerging questions for further research. The paper served, together with the WP2 D4 reports, as a basis for the WP4 stakeholder workshops in each of the case study cities, and it serves as a basis for the WP5 governance analysis which is under way at the moment, too. In a way, the D7 discussion paper represents also a “living document” since it will be constantly improved in the later course of the project. The following text selection presents the most important parts and conclusions of the WP3 D7 paper.

General reflections: With regard to causes, trajectories, temporalities and dynamics of urban shrinkage the case study reports have revealed both commonalities and differences among the cities studied. Having cross-referenced all the case studies concerned, it has become obvious that urban shrinkage is a spatially and temporally uneven process that shows a differentiated dynamics in terms of duration, scope and speed. While phases of massive and rapid shrinkage have been detected in some of the cities, others have undergone a long-term but gradual (‘subtle’) process which – at first sight – is not that spectacular, but has nevertheless been measurable and impacting.

Moreover, not all of the cities have been affected by shrinkage in the same manner. While, for example, population loss has led to a severe housing surplus in the two eastern German cities of Leipzig and Halle, no other case study within the sample has been characterized by this problem to such an extent. (Post-) mining cities have had to cope with derelict mining lots as well as a variety of hazards emanating from the closed mines located in urban areas - a problem that did not appear in the same form in other cities. Similar specificities can be found in nearly all of the cases studied.

In addition, the situation of the cities under investigation appears in a different light when compared to the respective national urban trajectories. Thus, the postsocialist case studies represent no particular exception from their national urban systems. Shrinkage is the predominant type of urban development in Poland and a ‘normal’ trajectory of urban development in Czech Republic, eastern Germany, Romania and Ukraine. Nevertheless, important differences between our case study cities remain: while some of them have managed to sustain their position within the national urban hierarchy (e.g. Leipzig, Donetsk, Sosnowiec, and Timișoara), others have all but lost importance.

In all the ‘postsocialist’ case studies, the systemic change has had a profound impact on the development of urban shrinkage. It has either represented the starting point for deindustrialization, the break-down in birth rates and suburbanization (as it has been the case in Halle, Ostrava, Sosnowiec, Donetsk and Timișoara), or it has led to an acceleration of processes that had already begun before 1989 (as it has been the case in Leipzig, Bytom and Makiivka). Starting from this observation, one could reasonably ask whether there exists a ‘postsocialist’ pattern of urban shrinkage in the way that the systemic change and its socio-economic consequences had been a catalyst of similar processes which have eventually ended up in urban shrinkage and decline after the breakdown of the Communist party rule in the respective cities and urban regions. At the same time, the systemic change has also brought a number of improvements and new qualities for the postsocialist cities in the following fields such as housing, living standards or environmental pollution. Thus, despite shrinkage, the postsocialist transformations have enchased the quality of life in some of these cities.

The question whether the postsocialist condition represents a specific framework condition for urban shrinkage resulting in specific consequences, too, has to be discussed further.

Meanwhile, some of the cities under investigation have ceased shrinking or have stabilized their population development (e.g. Leipzig, Genoa or Timișoara), whilst others have continued and will be losing further inhabitants in the short- to medium-run. Liverpool has almost stopped, although the recent recession may have exacerbated the problems again. Nonetheless, even those cities which have managed to overcome urban shrinkage still have to cope with the long-term consequences of population loss, for example, with housing vacancies, derelict land and progressing ageing. Since these cities are located in the target regions for domestic in-migration and international immigration by the young people, their fortunes ought to depend on the development of these population inflows. In the case of young in-migration, the overall ageing of population would lead to a decrease in the potential for young in-migrants. In the case of international immigration, the future population trajectory would greatly depend on (geo-)political developments as well as national and EU-wide immigration rules and policies. Given the significant uncertainties involved, the resurgence or recovery of these cities can be jeopardized, before turning into new waves of population loss in the near future.

In all of the case studies, the impact of urban shrinkage has varied between various parts and districts of the cities and urban regions. In almost each of the case studies, there were areas or districts of a city, which have been particularly hit by urban shrinkage in terms of population loss, housing vacancies, brownfields, derelict land and dilapidation. In the extreme cases, the functioning of an urban district has been endangered by the population outflow and its consequences (e.g. in Ostrava-Hrušov as the consequence of the 2002 flood), or the combination of population loss, housing vacancies and demolition activities (e.g. Halle-Silberhöhe). In other cities which have managed to recover from the overall decline, such as Liverpool, Timișoara and Leipzig, there have been further intra-urban imbalances: as some districts start to re- gain population, others keep locked into the shrinkage trap. Resurgence and decline are, thus, often situated in close proximity to each other. Other forms of differentiated developments can be found at the regional level. In all the three conurbations concerned (Leipzig-Halle, Sosnowiec-Bytom and Donetsk-Makiivka), there have appeared to be significant differences between each of the two cities respectively, with one of the cities (typically, the smaller and/or more mono-industrial one) being more seriously affected by shrinkage (at the moment).

To sum up the first finding of our analysis, we can state that the trajectories, dynamics and forms of shrinkage are highly uneven and to a large degree dependent on the particular contexts.

Causes of urban shrinkage: The most widely-spread reason for urban shrinkage (population loss) has been deindustrialization in combination with job-related out-migration. In almost all of the cases concerned, demographic change (negative natural growth, ageing, downsizing of households and household numbers) has played a decisive role as a trigger of urban shrinkage/population decline. In certain cases, the impact of demographic change has become more decisive at the later stages of urban shrinkage, mostly as a consequence of the selectivity of population loss (e.g. the above-average outflow of young people and families from Leipzig and Halle). Apart from deindustrialization itself, the loss of a specific economic function represents another important reason for urban shrinkage, as it has been the case for the two port cities of Liverpool and Genoa, and might become the case for some of the old industrial cities in our sample in the future. In some cases, suburbanization – as a consequence of the suburbanization of businesses and jobs and changing housing preferences – has played a central role as the reason for shrinkage (e.g. in Genoa, Leipzig, Liverpool, and Ostrava).

Although the causes for shrinkage are thus fairly diverse across the analyzed cases, in all of them there has been a close relation between demographic and economic processes which have had an impact on settlement structures, land use patterns, and population composition of the particular cities. At the moment, we identified the three following major complexes of causes of urban shrinkage with respect to the case study cities concerned:

- economic decline and job-related out-migration,
- suburbanization and a change in the settlement system, and
- demographic change (death surplus and ageing).

These determining causes are influenced in their dynamics by other intervening factors such as the political system and its changes on different spatial levels (national, regional, urban, and local), the shape of

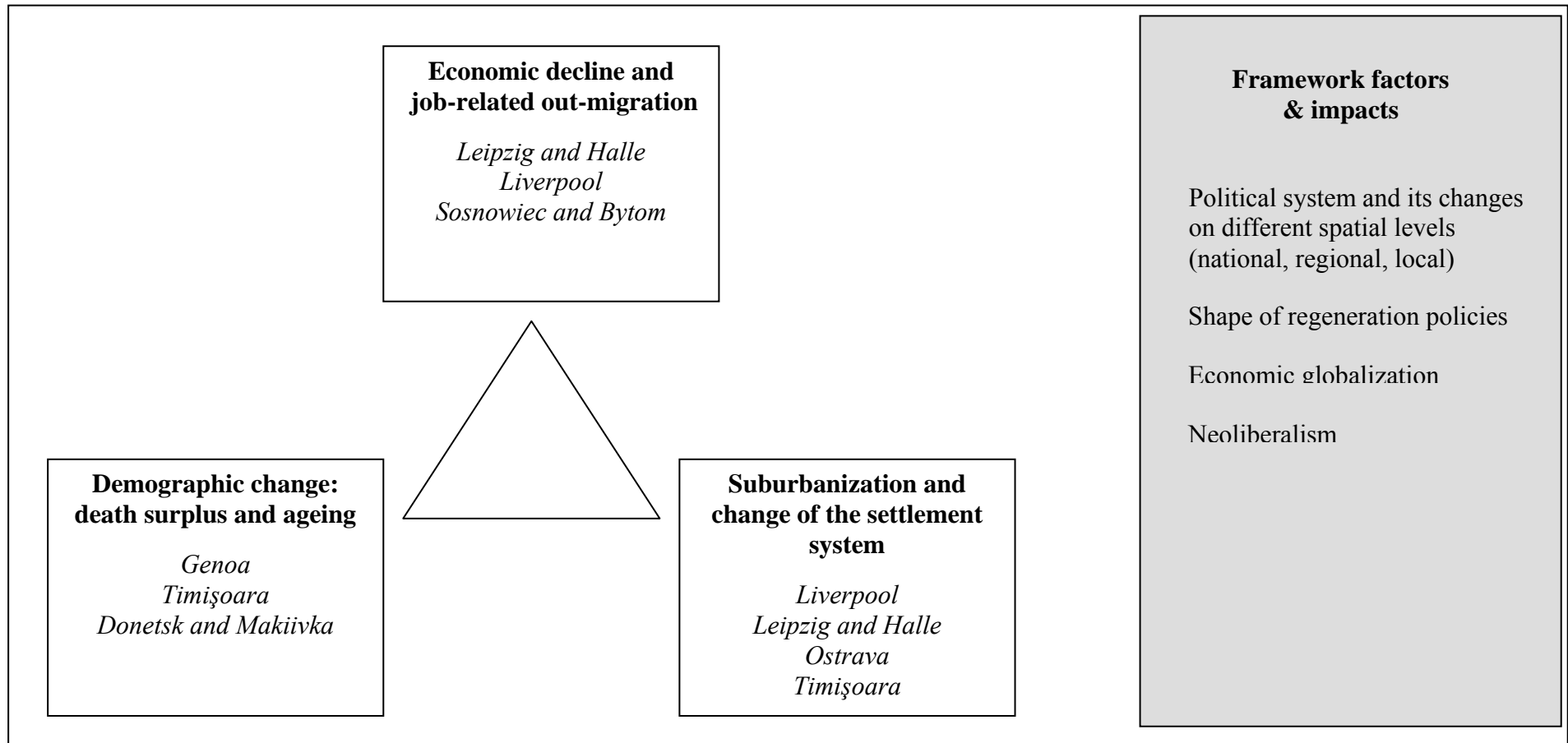
regeneration policies, the physical structure of the city, cultural factors, etc. Figure 4 illustrates this approach and assigns the case studies to the above developed typology of causes.

The core argument put forward in this diagram is that shrinkage is not a single process in itself but rather a combination of three macro-developments (economic changes, demographic developments, changing settlement structure) that impacts on cities in a very time- and place-specific manner and leads to population losses. Thus, while in eastern Germany economic changes, demography and suburbanization all play an important role in causing a downturn in population figures, in the case of Genoa or Timisoara population losses cannot be attributed to the economic situation. As a consequence, urban shrinkage does not only have different causes, but quite often it reveals itself in different combinations of causal mechanisms.

At the same time, shrinkage can only be understood when set into its context; thus, it makes a difference whether population losses appear in the situation of tight or weak housing markets, in compact or fragmented cities, or in the situation which is characterized by accentuated national welfare politics, or neoliberal globalisation. All these factors have an impact on the form of urban shrinkage, so that the outcome of similar macro trends (economic and demographic change, changing urban form) is often fairly different from place to place.

Moreover, the assignment of cases to particular causal characteristics must not hide the fact that the cases have all had certain definite particularities. In other words: each case assignment contains a specific story of economic decline and job-related out-migration, suburbanization, and demographic change, rather than a 'one size fits all' trajectory. Yet to arrive at a certain generalization, we have decided to apply a typology approach for it allows us to identify important causes behind the urban population loss, whilst a similar pattern can be observed in very different cities and regional/national circumstances. The same is true for the impact of framework conditions which are listed in the right box of Figure 4.

Figure 4: Predominant causes of urban shrinkage: assigning the SHRINK SMART case studies



Source: Rink et al. (2010) (D7)

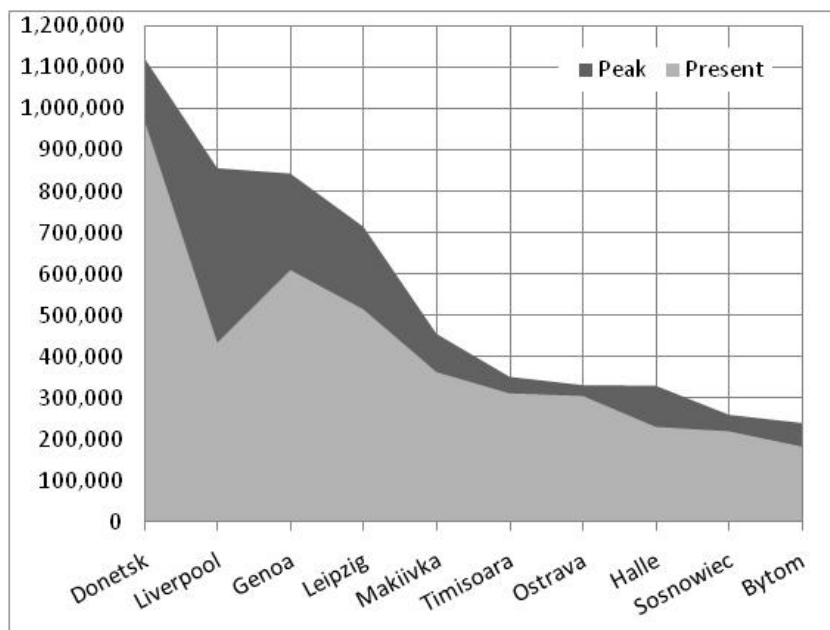
Dynamics: In our analytical model (WP1 D1-D3 paper), we have already stated that *urban shrinkage differs in terms of scope and speed as well as in dynamics over time*. The case study reports have *pointed to* some remarkable evidence regarding this assumption. The following summary lists some of the observations made during the cross-referencing of the reports:

- *Leipzig and Liverpool represent cases of long-term shrinkage* which dates back to the 1930s. In Genoa, the period of urban shrinkage also dates back to the 1970s and 1980s when the city experienced the most significant losses of population.
- Some of the *postsocialist case study cities* had already started losing population before the beginning of the systemic change in 1989/1991 (e.g. Bytom, Makiivka, the historical part of Halle). The transition and its consequences have reinforced what by then had already been urban shrinkage-in-progress. In other East European case studies, the postsocialist transformation was the starting point of population decline. However, postsocialist transition has contributed to shrinkage in all the affected case studies; its effect was most severe during the 1990s. In some of the case studies, the population trajectory ‘resurged’ throughout the 2000s, returning to stable or even positive growth rates in some cases (e.g. Leipzig, Timișoara).
- *Almost all the cities under investigation will face further phases of population loss in the near future*, mainly as the consequence of ageing and a future decrease in household numbers (both long-term processes that cannot fundamentally be reversed in a short-term period).
- *All the cities vary in how their case of shrinkage relates to its national context*. Liverpool, for instance, has been the worst affected urban area in England’s North West, whilst the north west of England as a whole has remained to be one of the UK’s fastest shrinking regions. Genoa has appeared to be specific or a “forerunner example” in the Italian context due to its specific demographic situation stretching to a long historic period. Donetsk-Makiivka, Sosnowiec-Bytom and Ostrava, however, have all been typical of old industrial cities in the respective countries; with the whole country experiencing population loss since 1990. (This has especially been dramatic in the case of Ukraine).
- In all our cases, *urban shrinkage has progressed through phases of higher and lower dynamics*. There is a close relationship between the causes and the duration and severity of shrinkage processes. While Liverpool and Genoa had witnessed significant shrinkage during the 1970s and 1980s due to industrial decline, most of the east European case studies were affected by strong population losses as a consequence of postsocialist transition, primarily in the 1990s. Yet in the latter cases, suburbanization has remained to be more significant as an issue than in the cases of Liverpool, Genoa and Leipzig-Halle.

To conclude, it needs to be emphasized that the dynamics of urban shrinkage (e.g. its severity and persistence, see Beauregard 2009) have differed considerably within our case study sample. The same processes have been revealed in the long-term analysis of population development of Europe’s largest cities (above 200,000) by Turok and Mykhnenko (2007). Furthermore, in all our case study cities, *urban shrinkage has not had the same effect on the whole territory of a given city in an equal manner*. Often, either particular districts and their dwellers or particular areas of urban development have been especially affected or hit by shrinkage. We have observed both a spatial- and sector-related variance of shrinkage within the case study sample. In all the cases concerned, shrinkage has been spatially varied within the city. Often it was the inner city areas which have experienced shrinkage to the worst extent.

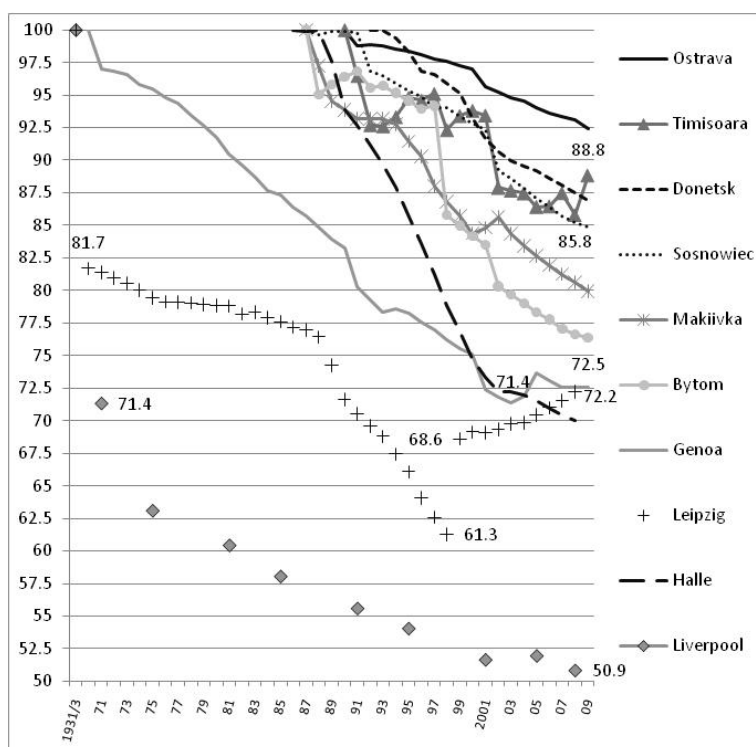
Figures 5, 6 and Table 4 compare the dynamics of urban shrinkage in the case study cities with respect to severity/scope and temporality.

Figure 5: Magnitude of urban shrinkage: population figures at their peak and current levels in the case study cities



Source: SHRINK SMART WP2 D6 Database

Figure 6: The case study cities: descending population trajectories, 1931-2010, volume index (peak year = 100)



Note: Liverpool's population peaked in 1931, whereas Leipzig's in 1933.

Source: SHRINK SMART WP2 D6 Database

Table 4: The case study cities: Absolute population figures and percentage change, peak to current levels, ranked by total population decline

	Shrinkage period (peak to present)	Peak population	Present population	Annual % change	Total % change
Liverpool	1931-2008	855,000	434,900	-0.64	-49.1
Halle	1986-2008	329,625	230,900	-1.36	-30.0
Leipzig	1933-2008	713,470	515,469	-0.37 (-0.42*)	-27.8 (-31.5*)
Genoa	1970-2009	842,114	610,766	-0.70	-27.5
Bytom	1987-2009	239,800	183,200	-1.07	-23.6
Makiivka	1987-2009	455,000	363,677	-0.91	-20.1
Sosnowiec	1987-2009	259,600	220,400	-0.69	-15.1
Donetsk	1992-2009	1,121,400	974,598	-0.77	-13.1
Timisoara	1990-2009	351,293	312,113	-0.59	-11.2
Ostrava	1990-2009	331,219	306,006	-0.40	-7.6

Note: * Estimated population decline figures within Leipzig's pre-1999 city boundary

Source: SHRINK SMART WP2 D6 Database

A next step of analysis that seeks to combine the view on causes and dynamics of urban shrinkage modelling locally-specific trajectories is presented in Figure 4. We set the causes of shrinkage for the case study cities against their development and impact over time. Figure 2 presents the case of Leipzig as an example. The scheme is added by the storyline behind. While the arrows describe the causes of shrinkage, the dashed line boxes indicate their impact over time. For the presented case of Leipzig, it becomes obvious that while demographic change has had an impact on the development of shrinkage over the whole period of time observed, economic decline and job-related out-migration have played a role since 1990 and suburbanization fostered population decline mainly in the 1990s.

With help of these analytical steps, we relate our empirical findings from the seven case studies to the theoretical assumptions we started our project with. In the further elaboration of this paper, we will discuss in more detail how our findings relate to different models of urban development and strands of discussion on shrinking cities, e.g. concerning the historical dimension of shrinkage and the embedding of current processes of shrinkage into a wider framework (Lampen and Owzar 2008, Benke 2005), the causes and dynamics of shrinkage as well as its development and change over time (Beauregard 2009), the cyclic character and phases of shrinkage and how it relates to general processes of urban deconcentration and reconcentration/resurgence (Berg et al. 1982, Lever 1993, Storper 1995, Bontje 2001, Couch et al. 2005 and 2009, Haase et al. 2010) resp. to polarization of spatial development how Herfert (2002) describes it for eastern Germany or even perforation, a term that was created within the eastern German debate on shrinkage (Lütke-Daldrup 2001). In doing so, we want to better understand to what extent existing urban development models are appropriate to analyze urban shrinkage (Kabisch and Haase 2009).

Impacts of shrinkage: Comparing the nine observed cities with regard to the impact of population losses is everything but an easy endeavour. Though it would be a correct statement to say that population losses have had a severe and, sometimes, even dramatic impact on most sectors of urban development in all the cities concerned, comparing the actual impacts in different cities is a complex issue. The main reason for this is that there has not always been a clear causal relationship between population decline and the issues of social cohesion, economy, housing, technical and social infrastructure, and municipal budgets. All these arenas of urban development have been also influenced by other factors, like the degree of social polarisation, a particular economic structure, the urban form, and (supra-)national and regional regulations; as a consequence, it has often been impossible to isolate the impact of shrinkage from other influential factors and intervening variables. Moreover, the particular course of urban shrinkage has played an immense role: Has shrinkage

happened over a long time or has it had a form of an abrupt change? Has it affected the whole city or only some parts of it?

As the result of this complexity, a comparison cannot provide a comprehensive explanation for the impact of population losses that would match every city in the sample. It can, however, highlight the features that have been most common among the cities under investigation and discuss some factors that are crucial to the developments concerned.

As the *overall comparison* reveals, the impact of shrinkage has been most clearly visible in the spheres of social infrastructure and land use. While similarities exist in other fields of urban development as well, they have either been not as strong, or the developments have not as clearly been the result of a population loss. As population losses tend to influence urban development in different ways and the outcome has been different among the cities under investigation, we have refrained from producing a 'one size fits all' kind of over-generalization, rather opting for a discussion of *typical* impacts of shrinkage on different arenas of urban development.

It is contended the urban shrinkage is not automatically related only to negative impacts. While, in some cases, it has been accompanied (or preceded) by disinvestment, an outflow of economic and human capital, as well as a deterioration of housing and living conditions, in other cases, population loss has led to a certain relief in the tight housing market (e.g. in the former state socialist case studies, except for Leipzig and Halle) and to a de-densification of the inner city residential areas (e.g. in Genoa). In most of the case studies concerned, deindustrialization has led to an improvement in the quality of natural environment, a decrease in environmental pollution and degradation, and an increase in the green urban space.

A further part sums up the impacts of shrinkage for all arenas of urban development that were analyzed in the WP2 D4 reports.

The paper ends with a collection of ideas and questions that remains from our hitherto work for the future concerning the governance analysis from both the scientific and practitioners' or urban planners' perspective.

Workpackage 4

In WP4, the bridge to urban practice was planned to cross with a series of stakeholder workshops taking place in all case study cities (i.e. 7 workshops) being organised and carried out by the respective partners. The overall pre- and post-workshop organisation (outline of a proceeding structure, guidelines for discussions) and collection of results was realized by the project coordinator. The coordinator was present at least with one representative at each of the workshops. After the workshops, the discussion paper D7 resulting from WP3 was added and modified where appropriate. D8 provides a comparative summary of the workshops as well as all minutes (following a general structure). The following paragraphs provide the most important results of D8 and some illustrative material of the workshops.

Facts and figures about the workshops

- 9 Workshops for the 10 case study cities
- between 10 and 50 participants, representatives from municipalities, civil society (NGOs, planning offices), R&D
- at each workshop, at least one representative of the Project coordinator took part and presented the ideas of SHRINK SMART to the audience
- mostly one-day workshops with statements, inputs or short presentations and a moderated discussion afterwards; some workshops had more informal, round table character (Leipzig, Halle, Liverpool) while others were organized in a more conference-like style (Genoa)
- each partner team was free to organize the workshop due to their wants and needs, the common basis was the topic (shrinkage and its causes and consequences for urban planning and policy) and the objective (reflection about our research and elaboration of stakeholders' view and reaction to our results as a starting point for the governance analysis)
- generally, the workshops brought us an important step further

- improved our knowledge (stakeholders' positions) and got stakeholders into discussion (many of them discussed the issue of shrinkage for the first time)
- we created a good starting point for the governance analysis, set up the schedules and questions for the single case studies, made first arrangements for interviews and focus groups
- positive: in some cases, the mayors took part in the meetings, in most cases, stakeholders were ready for a matter of fact debate, and exchanged also diverging opinions
- there are – depending also on the development of the debate on shrinkage and governance in the single cases – differing expectations to the project and the researcher teams, in some cases, they are more challenging (to give rapid advice), in others less (just further cooperation and information)

Topics and discussion

- population development, different aspects: population decline as a consequence of out-migration and suburbanization, ageing, immigration and selectivity of exodus (brain drain)
- economic development, restructuring, attraction of investment
- infrastructure (mostly with respect to balancing supply and demand)
- role of the education sector (important for many of the cities)
- role and position within regional competition (not only those cities that form part of an agglomeration)
- future development, future visions and ways to reach future goals
- housing supply (surplus and vacancies; decay; demolitions; refurbishment/restructuring)
- created comparable knowledge about the shrinkage debate at the local scale in 7 national and 10 local contexts

Lessons learnt

- the knowledge about and perception of shrinkage as a problem differs between the cities; although population decline is mostly acknowledged as a fact, it is not seen as a problem at all places
- accordingly, reactions differ between self-confident pro-growth strategies and real despair
- most cities have a pro-growth vision for the future; some explicitly mention demographic stabilization as an objective / nevertheless, daily action at most of the places represents a management of decline in different forms ...
- dilemma of “being attractive” and “being forced to cut surplus supply/infrastructure”
- paradigms for action: 1. attraction of new/more ...; 2. make investment, people ... stay
- shrinkage at most places no reason for despair!!!!
- the positioning within the national/regional framework is important for the self-understanding and future vision of most of the case study cities
- for the WP5 governance analysis, we have to take into consideration that the level of cooperation and the quality of communication and local hierarchies differ much between our cities → while at some places, we find well-established and experienced networks, at others places, there is almost nothing similar to be found
- decision-making depends a) from the national political and institutional framework and b) from local settings in terms of existing constellations of power, cooperation and participation

The general assessment is completed by a detailed table with cross-cutting information about the workshops and some photos (see table 5 and Figure 7 below).

Table 5: Comparative assessment of the workshops (screen shot of the first page)

WP4 D8 Summary of the workshops_TAB_KG.doc - Microsoft Word

	Leipzig	Halle	Liverpool	Genoa	Sosnowiec	Bytom	Ostrava	Timisoara	Donetsk/ Makiivka
Was the term shrinkage discussed, and how?	municipality did not use the term even in the period of population loss	term came up with the debate on urban restructuring and demolition of surplus housing stock; before adaptation to population loss	shrinkage as a term is not used; if then terms like decline or deprivation are used	discussion about population decline already since the 1980s	acceptance that Sosnowiec loses population; term shrinkage has not been used, if then depopulation	acceptance that Bytom loses population; shrinkage as term was not used, instead depopulation or population decline	"shrinkage" in Brackets used by project partners; discussion on "depopulation" (population decline)	The municipality don't use the term shrinkage, the city orient itself toward growth	Shrinkage is used in the cities and seen as a "normal process", the cities have to cope with it
What is the main problem?	to cope with consequences of shrinkage; to stabilize; to prepare for future population loss; to adapt supply and demand	to stabilize the population (no losses, new residents); to attract investment; to adapt supply and demand	how to further stabilize Liverpool's population; how to succeed in terms of investment and economic competition; restructuring of inner city	future ageing, consequences of immigration; physical and social decline in the inner city	management and reuse of brownfields; make the city attractive for investment and new residents	the city cannot stop population losses and cannot attract new residents; centre of impoverishment and decay in GOP = overlap of several problems	to understand the population dynamics in quantitative and qualitative dimensions in order to get an idea of the future prospects for Ostrava	1. to cope with the suburbanization, 2. to maintain the historical city centre; may be another problem will be the segregation in the inner-city	Effluent profits and taxes, lack of resources to invest in the infrastructures, worsening of the quality of life
Top challenges discussed	population development, infrastructure, investment, intra-urban differentiation, financial shortcomings and dependencies	population development, infrastructure, investment, intra-urban differentiation, financial shortcomings and dependencies	impacts of shrinkage on housing, infrastructure and economic development; restructuring of the inner city	population decline due to out-migration, ageing and suburbanization; de-densification and vacancies within the inner city; differences between urban districts, immigration	attraction of investment; reuse of brownfields; make young people stay	stop population loss; attract new residents; manage decline of old building-stock; stop impoverishment; lack of resources	fertility (short baby boom is over); out-migration (brain drain, female loss due to lack of jobs) development of region and hinterland (how long can this feed Ostrava?) suburbanisation	Out-migration in the beginning of the 1990ies (and now), suburbanisation, and the preservation of the historical building stock	Lack of resources, esp. finances because of a weak municipal tax base

Source: Rink et al. (2010) (D8)

Figure 7: Photos from the WP4 stakeholder workshops
(Leipzig, Sosnowiec, Genoa, Donetsk/Makiivka, discussion white board in Leipzig)



The D9 Research Brief introduces the idea and objectives of the SHRINK SMART project and summarizes the hitherto research activities and findings of the project. It covers the first 18 months of the project and deals mainly with the analysis of causes and consequences, local trajectories as well as impacts of urban shrinkage on different fields or arenas of urban development. It includes photos, maps and schemes and serves first and foremost as a document that should be disseminated to a wider audience including EU officials, politicians, urban planners and stakeholders as well as urban scholars. The Research Brief will be printed and distributed in January 2011.

Figure 8: Impressions of D9 Research Brief (screen shots from front page and pages 4, 6 and 7)



Source: Rink et al. (2011) (D9)

Workpackage 5

At the moment, WP5 is under elaboration. Until month 18, a common research structure and table of contents of the D10 research reports (representing M11, see below) was elaborated. It was initially introduced by the WP5 leaders (UFZ and LJMU) at the 2nd full meeting in Genoa in June 2010 and discussed within the consortium. A final agreement was made and distributed in October 2010.

WP5 common research structure

1. How has shrinkage played a role in policies? Please give a brief summary of *the impact of shrinkage on the policy area*, using the WP2-4 results.
 - a. When?
 - b. Where?
 - c. How?
 - d. Why?
2. What are the governance arrangements (institutional responsibilities, relation of public and private stakes, interaction of local, regional and national levels of government) for the particular policy area *and have they changed as a result of the shrinkage*?
 - a. Create a timeline diagram which shows major policies and institutional thickness across the last 20 years .
 - b. ‘Cut sections’ through the first diagram at different points in time (say, 1990 and 2010) to show the relationships between organizations at different points.
 - c. Explain and elaborate the diagrams. Describe the governance arrangements and how they have evolved.
 - d. How has this been affected by shrinkage?
 - e. What has been the role of structural factors (e.g. National/European government policy/funding)?
 - f. What has been the role of the private sector?
 - g. How have the financial arrangements for dealing with the problems caused by shrinkage evolved?
3. What has been the governance response *to the problems caused by shrinkage*?
 - a. Follow the policy cycle framework, p. 6 (bearing in mind the four crucial dimensions – p. 8, and criteria in Annex 1)
 - b. What were the policy instruments used (see p. 5)
 - c. What was the normative direction of the governance?
 - d. What were the relevant and significant non-decisions?
 - e. Define the local mode of governance for that issue (using Di Gaetano and Strom, 2003 as a source of inspiration).
4. What have been the *outcomes* of the governance response to the problems *caused by shrinkage*?

Having completed the above, answer the following questions:

5. Is the city *[after shrinkage]* characterised by a lack of capacity (financial, institutional etc.) in this policy area?
6. Does the city *[after shrinkage]* experience a dependence on external resources to enable local actors to cope with the problems in this policy area?
7. Does the city *[after shrinkage]* experience dependent, contradicting and instable governance arrangements in which local decisions on this issue are highly dependent on shifts of external frameworks (i.e. The cities are highly vulnerable due to changing circumstances such as financial, economic etc.)?