URBACT II

FROM CRISIS TO CHOICE:
RE-IMAGINING THE FUTURE IN
SHRINKING CITIES

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Cities of Tomorrow – Action Today. URBACT II Capitalisation.
From crisis to choice: re-imagining the future in shrinking cities

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ESPON, INTERACT, INTERREG IVC

FROM CRISIS TO CHOICE: RE-IMAGINING THE FUTURE IN SHRINKING CITIES

Dr Hans Schlappa and Professor William J V Neill

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Foreword

The 'Cities of Tomorrow' reflection process, which I initiated in 2010, culminated in a report which provided inspiration for urban development policy-makers and practitioners alike, whether at local, regional, national or European level. It is good to see URBACT now taking on the challenges it outlined, and through its broad network of urban experts and city partners, trying to find possible solutions. URBACT is building on the lessons learnt during these years of work, including last year's conference in Copenhagen, while working closely with other EU-funded programme partners in ESPON, INTERACT, INTERREG IVC, European cities associations such as EUROCITIES and Energy Cities, and the OECD.

In this way, URBACT is actively seeking concrete solutions to the six interlinked challenges that rank high on the agenda of European cities: shrinking cities, more jobs for better cities, supporting young people through social innovation, divided cities, motivating mobility mind-sets, building energy efficiency.

I am pleased to present this series of six reports that provide evidence of sustainable urban development strategies pulling together the environmental, social and economic pillars of the Europe2020, while also adopting an integrated and participative approach, essential in these times of scarce public resources.

More than ever, cities need an 'agenda for change' to focus on decisive action that will boost growth, to tap into their existing potential, and to rethink their priorities. Better governance, intelligence and changing of the collective consciousness are all part of it. Cities of tomorrow need action today. URBACT is all supporting cities to make this happen so... don't be left behind!

Johannes Hahn
Member of the European Commission in charge of Regional Policy

Abstract

This report calls for a new realism with regard to urban regeneration in cities affected by shrinkage. Drawing on a wide range of case studies and building on the most up-to-date debates about the causes and consequences of urban shrinkage, the URBACT workstream "Shrinking cities: challenges and opportunities" focuses on the development of sustainable strategy options for shrinking cities. We examine the generic aspects of developing realistic perspectives on strategic choices for shrinking cities and identify actions, process requirements and good practice in re-imaging a sustainable future. While we emphasise the importance of regional policies and development frameworks, we argue that shrinking cities should not rely on national or European institutions to arrest the shrinkage process. Developing a realistic forward strategy must come from within the shrinking city, because meaningful and deep collaboration between public agencies, businesses and citizens has been found to make all the difference between the success and failure of strategies designed to change a city's fortunes. These processes need to be based on an acceptance that socio-economic development is an inherently evolutionary and cyclical process of change. Sustainable choices for shrinking cities are therefore unlikely to demonstrate a linear and predictable progression from the status quo to a better future.

Keywords

Shrinking, evolutionary change, citizen engagement, co-production, strategy, leadership, adaptability, land-cycle management, cities for all ages

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Executive summary

This report builds on current research and practice concerned with the causes and consequences of urban shrinkage in Europe. It has been informed by a number of workshops with policy-makers, politicians and regeneration professionals from across Europe which have identified possible responses to the challenges shrinking cities face.

We draw on a number of case studies to illustrate how cities are attempting to counteract the negative consequences of shrinkage. While the focus is on local strategy development, the paper emphasises that regional policies and development frameworks are of critical importance to shrinking cities. However, many such policies appear to be pursuing interests which do not reflect the challenges and opportunities shrinking cities encounter, for instance the Europe 2020 strategy framework which emphasises growth and economic competitiveness. A similar situation is found in many national and regional programmes supporting urban development and also national tax systems, which reward growth – and punish shrinkage. This context, as the consultations during the URBACT capitalisation process brought out, is one of the causes of the 'spiral of decline' shrinking cities are caught up in. The efforts undertaken on the municipal level to stabilise the shrinking processes will only succeed if a rethink takes place on all political, administrative and societal levels. That said, our paper argues strongly for a locally-driven re-envisioning process, where the challenges of shrinkage urge a fundamental rethink of spatial planning, away from simplistic notions of linear growth to more balanced conceptions of sustainable urban development for the 21st century.

Our report calls for a 'new realism' with regard to urban regeneration in areas affected by socio-economic decline, and for a 'paradigm shift' with regard to approaches towards regenerating cities affected by shrinkage. It advances a model of strategy development which recognises that decision-makers need to move out of a constrained situation with very limited choice and into a mindset which fosters an emergent strategy and engages the local population in the development of realistic options. The strategy development model presented here brings together the conception of Joseph Schumpeter that economic development is an inherently restless, destructive and evolutionary process with Mintzberg's work on the strategy process. We argue that cities must learn to conceive of sustainable urban development as an ongoing cyclical process of change, rather than pretend that socio-economic development is a linear and predictable progression from the status quo to a better future.

Two contrasting case studies are elaborated – one to provide a warning and the other to illustrate good practice. Detroit is presented as an example of how *not* to handle shrinkage, and highlights the potential dangers even large and powerful cities might face. This worst case scenario is included for its dramatic illustration of the consequences which can result from an over-emphasis on economic development and ineffective regional integration of urban development and regeneration strategies. The case of Detroit also counters arguments by a number of urban economic theorists who propose that capital and labour should be allowed to flow to wherever they are most efficiently used, and downplay the social and environmental consequences arising from the 'disposable city'. Detroit is then contrasted with an example from the URBACT OP-ACT Thematic Network which developed ideas on how to tackle shrinkage in a holistic and integrated way. As most shrinking cities in Europe are small and medium-sized towns, we have purposely chosen Altena to illustrate a successful process of working through the constraints created by shrinkage and towards choices for sustainable development with very few additional resources.

We then examine the generic aspects of developing realistic perspectives on strategic development options for shrinking cities. This includes general process requirements as well as checklists on the content of re-imagining the purpose and future of a shrinking city. Shrinking cities, it is stressed, have to develop a new perspective on a purposeful future. We warn against 'rehashing' concepts of development which generated prosperity and growth in the past, and show how cities can create fresh perspectives which are built on citizen commitment, not just economic considerations. It is generally agreed that citizen engagement is essential for developing a realistic strategy, but for cities facing shrinkage, meaningful and deep collaboration between public agencies, businesses and citizens may make the difference between success and failure in changing their fortunes.

The report proceeds to discuss the challenges associated with the physical environment. We attempt in particular to address three interlinked issues. The first is the use of vacant land to create new landscapes in and around towns. We then explore approaches to encouraging the interim use of buildings before discussing different models aimed at revitalising stagnant land markets.

In the penultimate chapter we address the adaptation of services. Here we focus on problems arising from an ageing population, because shrinking cities tend to have a high proportion of older people in the population. But we also deal with more generic issues of service reform, the social economy, social innovation and the coproduction of welfare services. We also try to show that ideas about child- and age-friendly cities advocate a high-quality urban environment in which residents can enjoy a safe, healthy, socially and economically rewarding life. Hence, aiming to meet the needs of older people should not be viewed as a burden; it is one way of making strategic investments which strive to retain and attract economically active groups, especially young people, into shrinking cities.

The results of this URBACT capitalisation workstream reflect findings from other studies which acknowledge that urban shrinkage will become a reality for many places in Europe and suggest that urban shrinkage demands new approaches to urban planning, design and management. Combined with demographic change, urban shrinkage is a major driving force for modernisation in terms of both urban governance and public services. It creates perhaps the most exciting opportunities to change urban structures since the 1950s. But there are significant barriers to harnessing these opportunities, particularly in the minds of people charged with the development of forward strategies.

Our findings show that engaging citizens in strategy development and implementation fosters new approaches to the use of physical assets and other social and economic resources. Given that shrinking cities are increasingly less able to provide the levels of service expected by their populations, it would seem imperative to activate and engage citizens to contribute to governance, place making, service coproduction and the social economy. However, our findings, and those of other experts concerned with urban shrinkage, suggest that the development of a realistic vision and a set of sustainable strategic choices is essential before the social and economic resources of the population can be released.

It would seem that this involves a paradigm shift away from a growth-oriented perspective of urban development to an acceptance that strategic goals concerned with 'non-growth' are viable and realistic options. We argue that going through a re-envisioning process is part and parcel of developing answers as to what shrinking cities can do to deal with socio-economic decline and to engender more balanced and sustainable socio-economic outcomes.

This report illustrates how such a paradigm shift is beginning to happen locally and how this process seems to be disconnected from higher levels of policy-making. Most EU policy instruments and state-level fiscal, regulatory and economic policies are not designed for shrinking but for growing cities. We join other authors referred to in this paper in arguing that policy instruments should be adapted to reflect the realities of shrinkage. Without a paradigm shift on these policy levels, shrinking cities will continue to swim against the tide of mainstream socio-economic policy in Europe.

While regional, national and supra-national policy frameworks need to begin to reflect the new realities of urban shrinkage, we argue that shrinking cities should not rely on national governments or the European Union to 'sort things out'. Not only does the current economic climate militate against intensive government-led investments in shrinking cities, but the controlled transformation of the urban space must come from within the city. Making existing resources accessible and putting them to use by the local population appears to us to be an important source of transformational energy to turn shrinking cities around.

The content and context of urban policies in Europe is highly diverse, but there are some common features which should be developed at the national, regional and local levels of government. These include:

- alignment of service and land-use planning with regeneration policies
- effective linkages between city and regional planning mechanisms
- co-ordination of policies concerned with shrinking cities across all ministries and public-sector agencies

Current EU policy initiatives concerned with demographic change and active ageing, such as the European Innovation Partnership, also offer a useful template and starting point for the development of policy frameworks capable of addressing the socio-economic challenges of urban shrinkage in novel ways. Furthermore, supporting shrinking cities to develop adequate responses would include the enhancement of learning and knowledge exchange programmes, such as URBACT, so that they can cater more specifically for their needs.

Despite the profound challenges encountered by the people who live in and work for shrinking cities, this paper illustrates that urban shrinkage and demographic change are driving forces of modernisation and innovation. Shrinking cities are cities in transition. Those who lead and live in such cities must challenge old explanations for the status quo, and build a new positive vision of the future of their city – which may be smaller than in the past but could also be better in many ways.

1. Introduction

Urban shrinkage is rising to the top of the political agenda in Europe. The *Cities of Tomorrow* report refers to 'stagnating' and 'shrinking' cities as one of the main challenges for policy and practice. Shrinkage is uneven and some regions fare better than others, but every EU Member State has cities that are shrinking within its boundaries. Current estimates suggest that 40% of all European cities with more than 200,000 inhabitants have lost significant parts of their population in recent years and that many smaller towns and cities are also affected. One of Europe's leading experts, Professor Thorsten Wiechman, sums up the work of CIRES *(Cities Regrowing Smaller)*, a initiative currently funded by COST (European Cooperation in Science and Technology), by saying that 'in Europe we are dealing with islands of growth in a sea of shrinkage' (Wiechman 2012). He warns that without targeted action many local and regional governments are unlikely to gain control over the socio-economic and physical decline of an ever-increasing number of urban settlements. This warning is amplified by the main findings of the recently completed *Shrink Smart* project funded by the Seventh Framework Programme (FP7) (Bernt, M. et al. 2012) which calls for targeted actions at sub-national, national and European levels to focus resources on supporting shrinking cities.

Shrinking cities typically face declining revenues, rising unemployment, outward migration of economically active populations, surplus buildings and land together with a physical infrastructure which is oversized for the population it serves. These problems are compounded by current demographic trends. Although there are stark regional variations across Europe, and also big contrasts between rural and urban communities, the overall tendency is a shrinking population of working age and a growing population of 65 years and older. The *Cities of Tomorrow (European Commission 2011a)* report summarises the complex demographic change process we all are subject to in a few key numbers: the number of people aged 60 and above is rising by 2 million each year at present. The proportion of retired people aged 65 and above in relation to people of working age is currently approaching 25% and is expected to rise to 45% in 2050. Very old people of 80 years and older will make up 10% of the total population of Europe by 2050. These trends have serious implications for all cities in terms of adapting buildings, transport, services and the physical environment. Moreover, the implications of demographic change are more pronounced for shrinking cities, which have very limited resources but large proportions of older people living in them. This report therefore explored the issue of ageing populations in shrinking cities with regard to the provision of services.

1.1 Overview of content

This paper begins with an outline of the dynamics and extent to which problems of urban shrinkage permeate contemporary urban regeneration practice. As a point of departure we call for a 'new realism' with regard to urban regeneration in areas affected by socio-economic decline and the need for a paradigm shift with regard to our approaches towards regenerating cities affected by shrinkage. We then put forward a model of strategy development which recognises that decision-makers need to move out of a constrained situation with very limited choice and foster an emergent strategy process which engages the local population and creates realistic development options. This model brings together the conception of Joseph Schumpeter that economic development is an inherently restless, cyclical and evolutionary process with the work of Mintzberg (Mintzberg et al. 2009) who argues that all institutions are dealing with an ongoing cyclical process of change, rather than a linear and predictable development processes. Our model of

strategy development is intended to encourage local actors to take a critical look at their city's position in the cycle and to foster the emergence of new strategic options.

Two contrasting case studies are then elaborated. Detroit is presented as an example of how not to handle shrinkage, and highlights the potential dangers even large and powerful cities might face. This worst case scenario is included for its dramatic illustration of the consequences which can result from an over-emphasis on economic development and ineffective regional integration of urban development and regeneration strategies. The case of Detroit also counters arguments by a number of American urban economic theorists who argue that capital and labour should be allowed to flow to wherever they are most efficiently used. Such a perspective suggests that the decline of cities like Detroit is inevitable, but the question is, who deals with the social and environmental consequences arising from 'disposable cities'? The case of Detroit also sounds warnings in relation to the Lisbon Strategy and the European spatial model of territorial development, because the current emphasis on economic development in the Europe 2020 strategy may lead shrinking cities to make choices which reflect those taken by the city of Detroit over thirty years ago. We contrast the case of Detroit with an example from the URBACT OP-ACT Thematic Network which was concerned with developing ideas on how shrinkage can be tackled in a holistic and integrated way. As most shrinking cities in Europe are small and medium-sized towns, we have purposely chosen Altena to illustrate a successful process of working through the constraints created by shrinkage and towards choices for the sustainable development of a shrinking city.

From here on, and continuing to be illustrated with case studies, the report examines the generic aspects of developing realistic perspectives on the development of strategies for shrinking cities. This includes general process requirements as well as checklists on the substantive content of re-imagining the purpose and future of a shrinking city. We then discuss the challenges associated with the physical environment, in particular encouraging interim uses of land and buildings which can make a significant difference to the socio-economic situation and also to the quality of life in a shrinking city. In the penultimate chapter we address the adaptation of services. Here we focus on problems arising from an ageing population, because shrinking cities tend to have a high proportion of older people living in them, but we also deal with more generic issues of service reform, the social economy, social innovation and the coproduction of welfare services.

The topic of shrinking cities and demographic change embraces almost all policy and service literatures. While we draw on the most up-to-date publications and case study material we have still had to be very selective, and chose material that was firmly practice oriented. The sources referred to in this paper should therefore be considered as indicative and illustrative of the wide range of initiatives and publications that are relevant to our topic.

2. From constraint to choice: fostering emergent development strategies

In this section we provide an overview of the way in which shrinkage can affect cities. This complex topic cannot be explored here exhaustively and we therefore focus on three key issues which are part of this dynamic: the drivers of economic decline, the implications of an ageing population, and the need to overcome denial among local stakeholders that the urban shrinkage process must be tackled holistically and with clear strategic intent. We then present a model that captures the cyclical nature of urban strategy development and which is intended to help decision-makers to locate their city in relation to the constraints they are dealing with and the emergent choices they might be able to develop. We then present two contrasting case studies, one of a dramatic failure to arrest shrinkage through mainly economic policy and another where the city is beginning to overcome its constraints through a process in which the future of the city, and its strategic choices, are re-envisioned.

2.1 Dynamics of urban shrinkage

Urban shrinkage happens when urban development is affected by economic, demographic and political processes in ways which lead to a reduction in the local population. Despite a rapidly growing number of initiatives and publications concerned with urban shrinkage, shrinking cities are not a new phenomenon. Cities grow and decline in cycles which are determined by macro-level processes, such as global shifts in economic activity and changes in political regimes or economic policy (Martinez-Fernandez et al. 2012a). However, the combination of demographic change in Europe coupled with a concentration of economic activity in globally networked cities creates significant challenges in many European regions. A report recently published by the OECD (Martinez-Fernandez et al. 2012b) illustrates how the combination of a decline in population, economic capacity and employment opportunities leads to a complex shrinkage process from which cities struggle to escape. The report suggests that governments cannot rely on the market to halt or reverse the process of urban shrinkage, and that public agencies must develop their abilities to engage stakeholders from governmental, civil society and commercial organisations in the effort to develop viable interventions.

Similar proposals were made in the recently completed *Shrink Smart* study funded through the FP7 programme (Bernt, M. et al. 2012). This study found that almost half of all medium-sized cities in Europe are experiencing population and economic decline, and that European and national interventions are required to support shrinking cities in developing adequate responses. Little statistical data is available on shrinkage in smaller towns, but going on emerging data from the COST project *Cities Regrowing Smaller*[1] and the capitalisation of results from INTERREG projects dealing with demographic change[2] we can assume that the majority of cities in Europe are struggling with shrinkage. Calls for specific economic policy instruments and proposals for improvements in local governance would therefore appear to be timely and justified.

In addition to policy tools which target economic and governance matters, specific social policy

1 CIRES http://www.shrinkingcities.eu
2 www.interreg4c.eu

interventions addressing welfare services are also needed. This is because shrinking cities are also ageing cities. The growing costs of housing, care and transport for older people create a formidable problem constellation for shrinking cities, which face rapidly declining revenues and increasing demands for services. In a comprehensive analysis of how demographic change affects cities and regions, the Council of the European Union (Council of the European Union and Hungarian Presidency 2011) argued that municipalities need additional support to address the needs of an ageing population. In addition to the costs associated with an increase in demand for health and social care services, the report points to the need for housing adaptations and improved access to services.

While an ageing population makes higher demands on services as well as the urban environment, responding to the needs of older people benefits the whole population. For example, the WHO initiative on age-friendly cities and the UNICEF child-friendly cities initiative demonstrate that both economically active families and older people value good services, a clean, safe and sustainable environment, personal development opportunities and measures which combat social exclusion (UNICEF 2004, World Health Organisation 2007). These and other priorities are also found in current European social policy on demographic change (European Commission et al. 2011, European Commission 2012a, 2012b) which means that the 'social benchmark' to accommodate active ageing in European cities is set at a high level. To be able to aspire to such high levels of living standards shrinking cities require specific assistance, as pointed out by a number of recent studies referred to above.

A third and equally important dimension of urban shrinkage is that the process of socio-economic decline is often not recognised as something that must be addressed holistically and with clear strategic intent. Instead, typical problems associated with urban decline, such as underused land or buildings, unemployment, migration or social polarisation, are identified as separate strategic priorities for intervention. In the best case, such decisions are based on careful problem analysis and research on how to build effective solutions to specific problems. But the overall trend of decline, the broad strategic context of constrained choices and even profound crisis, is often not explicitly recognised. Instead, city leaders, planners, businesses and residents often deny these realities and pursue fragmented, sectoral interventions which are often based on models which generated economic growth in the past. A review of current and past URBACT networks supports the argument that urban shrinkage is often not explicitly recognised as the 'macro problem' cities are dealing with. Out of over 40 URBACT networks that have completed their work, 12 were directly concerned with core issues of urban shrinkage without making references to this condition.[3]

While it is of course essential to be focused in the development of regeneration interventions, the answers to questions about *what* should be done will flow from a recognition of the overall context in which a city finds itself. If the

3 The table in Annex II provides an overview of topics that are directly relevant to dealing with urban shrinkage, which range from supporting older people to lead independent and economically active lives to land use management.

trajectory for a city is contraction, reduction and decline in its socio-economic fabric, then individual projects aimed at economic growth and population retention, however bold, are unlikely to change this trajectory – because they cannot change the overall context in which a city is shrinking. Nevertheless, acknowledging that, the development of strategy for a shrinking city must first be concerned with developing an acceptance of the reality of shrinkage and its long-term as well as short-term implications. The experience for this workstream, and also other projects which explored urban shrinkage, suggests that it is very difficult to create such an acceptance among local stakeholders. This is in part due to a natural resistance to accept that economic growth is unlikely to return in the foreseeable future, but also to the difficulties in stabilising shrinkage itself. Changing perceptions about what represents a viable future for a shrinking city is perhaps the most formidable barrier to unlocking the resources local residents and institutions hold which can be deployed to arrest decline and reverse the fortunes of a shrinking city.

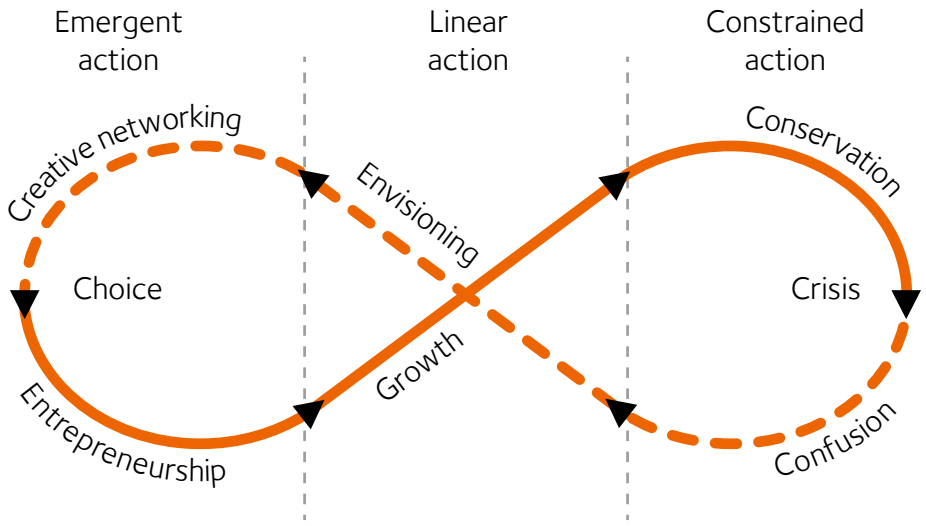
2.2 Developing new strategic options in the context of shrinkage

The current debate about urban shrinkage and demographic change points to the need for a departure from traditional models of urban development. It seems that decision-makers and practitioners continue to focus on 'linear' trajectories of urban development, which have their roots in confidence that local actors can attract inward investment and create economic growth. Since 2007 leading researchers and practitioners such as the International Research Network on Shrinking Cities[4] have called for a 'paradigm shift' in urban planning and development. This suggests that markets as well as traditional interventions through financial and planning instruments are no longer appropriate to deal with urban shrinkage and to reverse the spiral of decline so many shrinking towns and cities are caught up in:

"Today there is general agreement in the shrinking cities literature that a paradigm shift is needed for planners from growth-oriented planning to 'smart shrinking'. ... The lack of adequate instruments for developing existing complex settlement structures with unused or underused building stocks and surplus infrastructure requires not only new tools but a new planning paradigm." Thorsten Wiechman and Anne Volkmann of the CIRES network, 2011, p. 98

Through the URBACT capitalisation process we developed the idea that urban development is a cyclical process and that the strategies cities adopt must reflect this. It struck us that many shrinking cities invest significant resources in the maintenance or 'conservation' of what they perceive to be their strategically important socio-economic assets, and define goals which are more a reflection of the city's prosperous past than its likely future. We also found that many shrinking cities had got stuck in a 'crisis' stage and could not break out of this mindset to initiate a process which might lead to the emergence of new choices and development opportunities.

4 http://www.shrinkingcities.com



H. Schlappa, 2012, *Cyclical perspective on urban strategy development*, based on Mintzberg et al., 2009, p. 342

Furthermore, a sense of confusion prevails in a shrinking city. This confusion is in part caused by the failure of initiatives that were intended to reverse the decline and pull the city back to a previous development trajectory characterised by economic growth. The other reason is that there seems to be general uncertainty over the future function or purpose of the city. Potential sources of stability or prosperity appear to be different from those from the past and neither citizens nor those who govern the city seem to have a vision convincing enough to dispel the general confusion about a future development trajectory. It seems unclear how to bridge the gap between the city's past and its future.

The model above is based on the idea that shrinking cities find themselves beyond a point of continuous socio-economic growth. Shrinking cities have limited choice and have entered a phase where strategic options are constrained. Cities which find themselves at this point in the cycle need to set in motion a process through which their future can be re-imagined. Developing a viable vision of the future may need to be based on capabilities and assets that are different to those which created prosperity in the past. Such a new vision is likely to be emergent and incremental in nature. Once new choices are emerging these can then be pursued and developed through mainstream economic development tools fostering entrepreneurship and growth.[5]

The solid line in the model above represents the conventional 'performance' part of the cycle on which much contemporary economic development policy is focused. The dotted line represents the 'learning' part of the cycle, a phase characterised by uncertainty and tension between the status quo and possible alternatives. Transition between the different stages is at times seamless but more often is fraught with difficulty. Shrinking cities are in the part of the cycle characterised by constraint, confusion and crisis. Their choices have for some time been very limited and quite

5 The other reports from this URBACT capitalisation programme provide a rich source of case studies and reference material that would be applicable to cities wishing to pursue new socio-economic development initiatives.

often concerned with the conservation of strategic capabilities. Cities which find themselves at this stage in the cycle need to set in motion a process to re-envision their purpose. This learning process is collective in nature, draws heavily on the contribution of citizens, businesses and public agencies, but, importantly, is emergent. This means that outcomes are uncertain and most likely require strategic interventions which are different to those which were adopted in the past.

This cyclical model of strategy development above might be seen to suggest that the different stages of linear, constrained and emergent action are of similar or equal length. This is not the case, however. Each city experiences contraction differently and the length of time it takes to work through the different stages of a cycle will vary from place to place. The case of Altena shows that the maintenance or 'conservation' stage can last for several decades and that attempts at restoring old strategic capabilities ultimately give way to a period of crisis and confusion. Some cities can find themselves in the crisis part of the cycle for such a long time that it becomes very difficult to develop a viable forward strategy which is based on a city's resources, as the example of Detroit in the United States demonstrates. The 'envisioning' stage where citizens, officials, businesses and politicians try to re-imagine a future for their city can be relatively swift, as the case study of Altena illustrates, and can lead to new opportunities and new ways of collaborative working between public agencies and between public institutions and citizens. Once the key stakeholders have identified viable options for development these can be pursued by fostering local entrepreneurship and policies aimed at redesigning services and the physical infrastructure. This more linear and predictable part of the cycle can last for generations as cities like Leipzig, which have gone through an 'envisioning' stage and are now dealing with emergent strategic choices, demonstrate. Energising the population with a sense of purpose and engaging key stakeholders in dialogue to create strategic pathways out of the cycle of constraint and towards new choices is an essential characteristic of effective leadership of shrinking cities.

The urban strategy cycle is of course not one-dimensional. Given the multi-layered and multi-dimensional nature of urban development and governance it is likely that different institutions, or services within institutions, are in different stages of the cycle. The leadership of shrinking cities has to create a viable vision for their city which takes this into account. Mobilising local actors into an emergent phase where actions are collectively conceived to create options for future development is the overall goal for any city caught up in an urban shrinkage process.

How this process can play out in practice is now illustrated by two contrasting case studies. We have chosen the American city of Detroit because its decline is well documented and because it represents a particularly crass example of how an over-emphasis on economic development policy within a context of liberal market economics can lead to the dramatic failure and decline of a once powerful city. We then contrast this case with the small European town of Altena on the fringes of the Ruhrgebiet in Germany. This case was chosen because Altena represents the challenges of very many formerly prosperous industrial cities in Europe which have lost out in the global competition for markets and jobs. The case of Altena is also well documented through the OP-ACT Thematic Network and shows that smaller cities have the capacity to harness local support, but then they themselves require help from regional and national tiers of goverment to rebuild their futures.

2.3 How economic development policy can exacerbate urban shrinkage: the case of Detroit[6]

Detroit is associated with societal breakdown and failure, a reality made all too apparent by the state's appointment of an emergency manager and bankruptcy specialist to take over the running of the city in March 2013. It is the quintessential shrinking city. Designed for a peak population of over 1.5 million people in the mid 1950s, its recorded population in the 2010 census was barely over 700,000. Since Detroit went into freefall especially after the urban riots in 1967, a consequence of racial and social exclusion, various attempts have been made to use major development projects to promote a revival. However, this uphill task of promoting Detroit over the last 40 years has ultimately proved impossible. In 2005, as it teetered on the brink of city receivership, the *New York Times* declared in a headline "Shrinking: Detroit faces fiscal nightmare". Things have not improved since. The problems of the shrinking city of Detroit lie beyond 'silver bullet' re-positioning, marketing and spatial fixes. Despite the current restructuring challenges of the automobile industry in Michigan, Detroit is situated in what is still a wealthy metropolitan region. However cutthroat competitive civic entrepreneurialism and a lack of strategic regional planning frameworks have created a situation where Detroit has become a 'disposable city'. While Detroit's urban fabric is declining, the suburbs on the metropolitan fringe continue to sprawl further outwards.

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Linear trend planning for growth

Promoting Detroit in the early 1960s was relatively easy. The economy of the Motor City was strong, with the United States undergoing a period of record economic growth. While the city was beginning to shrink in population due to rapid suburbanisation supported by an aggressive highway building programme, the city's hope and expectation was that through building modernisation and flagship projects the tarnished image of Detroit as portrayed in *Time* magazine in 1961 as already a 'city in decline' could be reversed. A promotional strategy was endorsed that for 50 years failed to reverse the fortunes of what is now the first-rank shrinking city in the developed West, a repository of both anger and despair. This urban regeneration strategy has always been driven by a public sector led partnership which had only limited private sector support. The interests of private investors were primarily concerned with developing the ever-extending metropolitan periphery into lucrative suburban housing projects and shopping malls.

In response to this, various 'big ticket' reimaging projects came on stream in the early 60s. These included the new Civic Center complex on the riverfront and the massive Cobo Hall and Arena, at the time the largest convention facility in the world, which was promoted in a 1964 Detroit

6 This case study draws on William J.V. Neill: 'Für Detroit Werben (Promoting Detroit) (2005), Chapter commissioned by German Cultural Foundation and Bauhaus Foundation Dessau, in *Schrumpfende Städte* (Shrinking Cities) ed. Philip Oswalt, Hatje Cantz Verlag. pp. 731-739.

guide book as 'a symbol of the New Detroit'. In March 1967 *Look* magazine designated Detroit as the 'All American City'. This image comeback was short-lived, however. Within four months of the Detroit civil riots and disturbances, fundamental problems rooted in regional urban development policy were exposed. In the aftermath of the violent summer of 1967 the 'white flight' to the suburbs gathered pace leaving marginalised African Americans and the old trapped in the hollowed out core of the city.

Crisis and failed visioning

It could be argued that the city has reached a point where decision-makers recognise that ongoing shrinkage is not due to irreversible laws of the market but a lack of a suitable and viable vision of its future.

The 1970s were the last best hope for turning around the image and the reality of what one Detroit journalist at the end of that decade called the phenomenon of 'the incredible shrinking city'. The most visible building project during this time was the huge flagship Detroit Renaissance Center, or 'RenCen', which opened on the riverfront in 1977, trumping the previously built Civic Center. Comprising a towering prestige hotel with office and retail space, the complex continues to dominate, as intended, the city skyline and provides a place identity symbol for much promotional literature. As the name implied it was to herald the beginning of the renaissance of the city. Sold at a knockdown price, the 'RenCen', which has never been the centre of any renaissance, became the headquarters building of General Motors in 2003. More important for the city, however, is the fact that no flood of private investment ever followed. Most of Detroit's 139 square miles of urban fabric were left untouched by any development renaissance.

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Alongside this Detroit lost 300,000 people largely due to white flight in the 1970s thus increasing the African American population to two-thirds of the total number of residents. However, it would be wrong to see the continued shrinkage of Detroit as rooted in the failure of promotional grand projects such as the Renaissance Center. Rather, Detroit was driven to searching for one-off promotional spectaculars because of dysfunctional metropolitan governance structures. In the 1970s more important for the future of the city than the ultimate failure of the 'RenCen' was the failure, despite sympathetic executive administrations in the state capital and in Washington, to establish a sense of regional belonging and citizenship in the polarised racial geography. A major push for strengthened regional government and responsibility floundered amidst the continued profligate use of land in a new 'spread-city' which has left the old Detroit behind. In 1976, with the support of the governor, a regional tax base sharing bill was introduced into the Michigan legislature. This would have required local governments in SE Michigan to pool and share

50% of future increases in business property tax receipts, but even this modest proposal crashed on the rocks of predominantly white suburban hostility. In a cutthroat regional competition for local tax base and access to jobs, the laissez faire institutional rules of the economic development game strongly favoured greenfield sites on the urban periphery and not brownfield land beset by social problems and crime.

Since the 1990s Detroit has continued to be subject to yet more major reimaging projects which revolved around the leisure and entertainment industry. Tax incentives to draw in investment to an 18 square mile Empowerment Zone containing some of the worst landscapes of the shrinking city, which was portrayed grimly in the movie *8 Mile*, failed to compete with the fresh allure of Michigan's cornfields. New sports parks and casinos have failed to turn the city around. Detroit now boasts new home stadiums for the Detroit Lions football team and Detroit Tigers baseball team, both constructed with substantial public subsidy. The city is also host to three casinos. Despite this Detroit continues to shrink in a way that no amount of promotion or one-off mega-development projects can change. It could be argued that the city has reached a point where decision-makers recognise that ongoing shrinkage is not due to irreversible laws of the market but a lack of a suitable and viable vision of its future.

Current emergent actions

In the present there are some signs that the city may be confronting the reality of shrinkage and stark polarisation through a re-envisioning process unveiled in January 2013 as the 'Detroit Future City Plan'. This involves embracing what was previously unthinkable, such as promoting nature conservation, environmental and commercial agricultural uses on vacant sites. Urban farming, community food plots, gardens, improvised playgrounds and urban forestry are now part of the repertory of emergent action alongside the concurrent benefit of more efficient service delivery in a downsized or 'right-sized' city. With an emphasis on making a better city without growing, the population is to be consolidated in selected more easily serviced locations. Whether this will provide rhetorical cover for the absence of a regional planning perspective combining smart growth with smart shrinkage remains to be seen.

2.4 The power of thinking small: The case of Altena, partner in the URBACT OP-ACT Thematic Network

Altena's history as a metal producing and processing town stretches back over several hundred years. The town is located on a river, has a much visited castle at the top of the valley and has an attractive historic centre. Being located on the edge of the biggest industrial conurbation in Germany, the Ruhrgebiet, Altena is surrounded by many large and successful industrial cities.

Linear growth phase peters out and decline sets in

In the 1970s Altena began to lose large parts of its metalworking industries and the number of jobs declined from 9,000 in the 1970s to 5,000 in 2012. Over the same period the town's population declined from 32,000 to 18,000 and the municipality expects to continue to shrink by 1.5%–3% each year over the next 20 years. It

is anticipated that the city will stabilise at around 15,000 residents, less than half the population it is designed for. The loss of residents and jobs has resulted in surplus residential and commercial property and a decline in the range and quality of services the town can offer. During this period Altena also lost its function as a sub-regional administrative centre. Deteriorating services and physical infrastructure led to a further loss of the working population. Those who had the means to do so moved to more attractive towns nearby, quite often continuing to hold down their jobs in Altena.

Overcoming denial

The turning point came in the 1990s when the political party that had been in power for almost 40 years was replaced with a new administration. The key issue of the political campaign was the previous administration's denial that the city was in decline. The proposal was advanced to develop a vision and strategies that depart from notions of 'recreating' the former economic basis on which the town had prospered. The new mayor invested much energy in repositioning the town in the eyes of the population and among external stakeholders as a shrinking city that had suffered more than other cities in the region. He emphasised the fact that Altena was the city with the highest level of population loss in Germany. This strategy was designed to achieve two aims: first to generate more financial support from regional government and secondly to explain to citizens why services needed to be adjusted and reduced.

Re-envisioning and emergent actions

In the early stages the mayor encountered substantial resistance from residents to his attempts to 'open their eyes' and face up to the reality of shrinkage. Citizens objected to being labelled as a declining city by their own mayor and, in addition, they did not want to accept that services had to be downsized to reflect budgetary constraints and population changes. After two years of widespread closures of sports centres, libraries, nurseries and primary schools it became clear that the city did not have a vision that went beyond the reduction of costs and liabilities associated with an oversized and dilapidated infrastructure. It was fortuitous that at around this time the municipality took part in a research project sponsored by a charitable foundation which was concerned with ageing populations in smaller towns. This project generated a wide-ranging public debate which, once started, went far beyond the original purpose of the study and began to explore how the people of Altena could arrest decline and develop new perspectives for the future. This research and consultation process went on for two years and resulted in an integrated development concept with 10 strategic priorities and 300 actions, most of which were focused on addressing shrinkage and creating options through collaborative actions. The needs of older people were of course considered, but this group was presented now as playing a key role in reversing the fortunes of the town, rather than being seen as a burden on the public purse.

Citizen 'buy-in'

Through this re-envisioning process Altena was able to develop a new strategic perspective which no longer relied solely on economic growth to reverse decline but focused on how the quality of life could be improved with existing resources and in ways that are sustainable. Encouraging citizen participation was part of this process and helped to turn negative energy into positive developments. This included investment in the local voluntary services council and a budget for small projects that can only be accessed if citizens are actively involved. A pivotal project which dramatically improved relations between municipality and citizens was the pedestrianisation of the market square and riverside promenade. Improvements to these prime locations had been at planning stage

Courtesy of the City of Altena, Germany

for very many years, but owing to lack of funding the municipality kept putting the project off. In the newly found spirit of citizen-led action the municipality bought the building materials, closed the road on Fridays and Saturdays and called on the people of Altena to 'get their hands dirty'. Over several months the staff of the municipality, including the mayor, worked alongside traders and residents to resurface the areas. This process demonstrated that the municipality was determined to find innovative ways of working collaboratively with citizens and traders to improve the town. Since then the strength of voluntary action by Altena's citizens has grown substantially. This pioneering spirit recently resulted in the founding of a retail co-operative owned by the residents of the neighbourhood it serves. This co-operative provides a butchers and a mini-market in a neighbourhood which 'market forces' have neglected for several decades. Residents are also taking responsibility for a growing number of premises the municipality would otherwise close, such as former nurseries or schools, and use them to provide a range of social care as well as cultural initiatives.

Polishing diamonds

Altena has a range of locational assets which were largely ignored during the years when the town was hoping that the prosperity of the past would return in some way. The re-envisioning process identified a number of assets the town could exploit. One of these assets is the river front which was largely obscured by civil engineering structures designed to deal with spring floods. Here the town opened up vistas, created access to the shore and encouraged cafés to open. At the time of writing this report two cafés were being established and a third was planning to open.

The second 'unpolished diamond' was the castle which towers high on the cliffs above the town. Each year the castle receives approximately 100,000 visitors, but Altena does not benefit from this in any way because the castle is owned by a separate public entity and visitors gain access via a road network that bypasses the town. Various options had been explored in the past but the re-envisioning process resulted in a complete rethink of how this asset could be used for the benefit of the town. Instead of creating a 'rival' attraction in the town intended to make visitors take a detour, the idea of building a lift into the cliff face emerged. This lift would take visitors from the castle directly into the town centre within minutes, offering an attractive short break for lunch or coffee combined with a walk along the riverbank. Lacking resources, the municipality initially asked the regional government for funding – but without success. It has now found a private investor and Altena is therefore able to finance the project entirely from EU sources, the owners of the castle and private-sector sponsorship. The

Courtesy of the City of Altena, Germany

town itself makes no financial contribution to the development costs at all. The lift project has now spawned other developments, such as the improvement of the footpaths along the river and new cafés as well. In addition there are now plans to use empty shops in the town to develop an arts and crafts village which would be based on the pop-up shop concept.

These and other initiatives are showing the first signs of a wider impact on the town. There is now growth in sales in the domestic property market with more people moving to Altena, and the commercial sector is also showing an upturn with new shops and restaurants opening. EU funds have been applied for to develop networks to overcome isolation and encourage the exchange of knowledge on how to deal with shrinkage. Perhaps most importantly, citizens are taking the initiative to use the assets of the town to help themselves. Without the contributions of the local community the mayor and the municipality are unlikely to have generated the level of positive change that is now evident.

Caught up in a zero-sum game

As Altena has no delegated powers from the regional government to deal with economic and labour policy, its entrepreneurial strategy initially focused on local services and tourism. In terms of services, Altena pursued a strategy of reducing the volume of services while increasing the quality of those that remained. For example, there are now fewer childcare providers in the city, but those that have survived offer the best facilities and stay open for longer, thus improving service quality and giving parents more flexibility to combine work and family life. The secondary school in Altena also received heavy investment in equipment and the modernisation of buildings. It has maintained a good reputation with regard to teaching quality and these investments have attracted a growing number of pupils from surrounding towns. This has not only resulted in an increase in pupil numbers, but aspiring teachers from elsewhere in the region compete for teaching positions in Altena's secondary school (though most of them do not settle in the town and instead choose to commute). However, Altena has positioned its secondary education services in a way which puts it in direct competition with neighbouring towns. The mayor expects that some of these towns will have to close their secondary schools in the near future while his school will continue to flourish. There is a clear sense of 'survival of the fittest' because smaller towns like Altena and its neighbours cannot rely on being 'rescued' by regional or national government. It would seem that even in highly regulated and finely balanced federal systems like Germany, regional support for shrinking cities is lacking, leading to a fight for survival in a zero-sum game. The mayor of Altena capture the mood of the times when he said: *"Only the strongest will survive."*

Leadership

The case of Altena illustrates what might be involved in leading change in a shrinkage situation. The mayor recognised that it was of critical importance to change attitudes, among local citizens as well as within regional government. Locally it was important to overcome deep-rooted denial of the reality of shrinkage among

Photo: Courtesy of the City of Altena, Germany

citizens, politicians and officials, while external stakeholders were urged to recognise that smaller cities like Altena faced socio-economic problems which were as severe as those of larger cities. During the early stages the early stages of the re-envisioning process the mayor invested heavily in collaborative interventions with citizens. Interventions which the population perceived as negative, such as the closure of public services, were used to engender dialogue about possible alternatives and the role residents could play in bringing about constructive solutions and change which responded to their needs.

2.5 Key issues arising from the case studies

The two cases presented here are different in many ways, but they share one important characteristic, namely that industrial restructuring eroded their economic bases to such an extent that after a relatively brief period of decline these cities had lost their raison d'être. Compared to the time it takes to build up a city like Detroit or Altena, decline seems to happen rapidly. Within just two or three decades a city is left struggling to establish a new rationale for continued existence in its current form. Our two case studies show very different responses to this problem. In Detroit we saw a sequence of flagship projects intended to reaffirm and resurrect the industrial and political might of a once powerful city. This was combined with the relaxation of planning controls to fuel a housing boom which created short-term financial gain for developers and increased pressures on the core city. It would seem that both these strategies failed to revitalise Detroit and that a dramatic departure from growth and market-based principles of urban development is now beginning to create openings for more creative and perhaps sustainable solutions, such as the commercial urban forestry programme which is a definitive departure from traditional urban land use models.

Altena did not have the scope to develop flagship projects and instead nurtured its remaining industry and tried its best to manage with an ever-decreasing revenue base. Rather than being proactive in the early stages of decline, Altena was reactive and for several decades hoped for an economic upturn which would reverse its fortunes. This approach also did not help and in some ways made matters worse, because the population continued to decline which in turn exacerbated the problems and reduced the opportunities to reverse the downward trend.

It can be expected that small towns like Altena struggle to influence regional investment decisions and to integrate different governmental funding streams so that they can be bundled into cross-cutting strategies, but Detroit appears to have suffered from very similar problems. Being decoupled from regional decision-making on resource allocation seems to make cities more likely to succumb to pressures to simply adopt standard 'recipes' from consultants which might have worked in other places. However, the lessons from Detroit are that physical and other flagship projects are unlikely to halt decline precipitated by a significant adjustment in the economic foundations of a city. A more forward-thinking policy mix could make a difference in places like Detroit and also Altena, particularly if regional spatial planning is supported by joined-up governance approaches and a degree of resource redistribution from growing to distressed areas.

Participation in knowledge exchange programmes, such as the URBACT, appears to have been of pivotal importance to Altena and is likely to benefit other towns suffering from shrinkage. Altena benefited from the URBACT OP-ACT Thematic Network[7] in part because it was based on a combination of self-directed peer learning and structured problem solving led by experts in the field, and although Altena is a small city there is no reason to believe that larger cities affected by shrinkage would not derive similar benefits from their participation in such transnational capacity building programmes.

Developing the capacity of municipalities to bring about paradigm shifts among their internal and external stakeholders seems to be the core challenge. The mayor of Altena demonstrated

Photo: Courtesy of the City of Altena, Germany

vision and courage in going forward with a message which was not about growth, wealth and a better future. This was not welcome but it seems that it is the public recognition of the reality of shrinkage which stands at the beginning of the reversal of decline. Altena and also Detroit show that recovery is locally led, and built on local resources and vision. But these efforts must not take place in a regional or sub-regional strategy vacuum. The zero-sum game Altena has engaged in could quickly become a 'double-zero-sum game' where other shrinking cities make similar investments to attract pupils, shoppers, tourists or residents. Without higher level co-ordination, the very limited resources of shrinking cities may be squandered on initiatives which may create short-term financial gain for investors while deepening the socio-economic crisis of the shrinking city.

In the following sections of this report we explore some aspects of these issues in more detail. We will first look at the re-envisioning process and the relevance of leadership, citizen engagement and regional co-ordination. Then we will discuss a number of examples which illustrate how shrinking cities can deal with their natural and built environment, before discussing how services can be adapted to reflect a shrinking as well as ageing population.

7 http://urbact.eu/en/projects/active-inclusion/op-act/homepage

3. Re-envisioning a future in the context of shrinkage

"In shrinking cities it is inevitable that at some point citizens will also have to make use of their own resources to improve the local quality of life." Hospers, 2012

This section considers some of the key aspects involved in working through a stage in a city's strategy cycle where a sense of crisis dominates. The task is to find ways of identifying emerging opportunities and developing strategic choices which generate a new vision of the future of a city struggling with the socio-economic effects of shrinkage. We decided to use the term 're-envisioning' for this process, to emphasise the importance of a departure from established ideas about the purpose and expectations associated with development trajectories based on economic growth. Following a brief discussion about regional strategy, active citizenship and local leadership, we present a broadly contoured road map for the re-envisioning process itself. However, the local contours will always be determined by the uniqueness of every place and citizen involvement with this; hence this section can only provide general guidance rather than specific answers.

3.1 Regional dimensions: the need for vertical integration

Cities cannot tackle shrinkage alone, regardless of whether they are large or small – as our two cases above illustrate. Their needs must be reflected in a regional policy framework. While the horizontal integration of social, economic and environmental actions is of course essential at the local level, vertical integration of policy by different levels of government is equally important. A current project led by the OECD concerning 'local scenarios of demographic change'[8] advocates the need for the horizontal co-ordination of strategy development by key ministerial institutions, such as labour, economic development, health, education and environment. This should be combined with the vertical integration of international, national, regional and local governance processes. The aim is to create a policy design and implementation process which has a 'whole of the government' approach, and where strategic conflicts are resolved before local actors invest resources in trying to arrest and then reverse the urban shrinkage process.

The regional and sub-regional policy levels appear to be particularly relevant for shrinking cities, not only because the European structural funds are usually co-ordinated at this level, but also because important investment decisions are made at this level (EUKN 2011, Ministry for Economic Affairs 2011, Potz 2011). In addition, the regional policy level is of critical importance in preventing competition between shrinking cities. The OP-ACT network, which explored strategies adopted by shrinking cities to reverse their decline, found that where possible shrinking cities would invest in leisure, retail or educational facilities in order

8 http://www.oecd.org/cfe/leed/demographicchange.htm

to attract and retain service users and paying customers. However, if neighbouring cities copy such investment strategies only limited benefits will be gained and the opposite can become a reality: investments made by competing cities fail to create growth and instead produce additional financial and administrative burdens for an already weak economy and overstretched public budgets. They have created not a 'zero-sum' game but a 'double zero-sum' situation for themselves and other cities in the area (Schwedler 2012).

We found limited evidence of vertical policy integration specifically aimed at supporting cities that attempt to address urban shrinkage. A government-led programme which started after the unification of Germany with Stadtumbau Ost, and then expanded to include the western part of Germany, appears to be one of the most significant policy initiatives in Europe which explicitly targets shrinking regions with funding and policy instruments specifically designed to support cities. With this programme, Germany's federal government has set out a new vision for the future of shrinking regions and cities which is based on reducing the scale of physical infrastructure and improving the quality of housing at the same time (BMVBS 2002).

A recently completed INTERREG IVC project, DART (Declining, Ageing and Regional Transformation) also explored linkages between local and regional actors to address socio-economic decline and demographic change (DART, 2012). This project explored ways of adapting regional policies to tackle demographic challenges and boost the development prospects of declining regions. From 89 'good practices' identified during the project, a number of principles were distilled which should guide effective regional strategy in declining areas. These include that policy must be integrated both horizontally across departments and vertically across local, regional and national levels, in particular for health, social care and educational services. In concluding that shrinking regions cannot be expected to grow and that regional level strategy should focus on arresting decline, the project argues that in future regional as well as local strategies need to focus more on the quality rather than the quantity of development:

"Success in the political debate is equated with growth: more jobs, more roads, more hospital beds, more childcare services etc. ... But more jobs are not a success if they cannot be filled because there are not enough people alive or of working age. More places in nursery day care centres are not a success if there are too few children to use them." DART, 2012, p. 35

It would seem that urban shrinkage and demographic change together are fostering the creation of new models which try to pursue the logic of conventional economic development strategies but aiming them at 'non-growth'. These dynamics become clear when we look at demographic change. Demographic change makes public agencies adjust their services, infrastructure and investments in ways which reduce many established ways of supporting people and at the same time attempt to grow new socio-economic interventions which reflect the needs of an ageing population. This represents a change in services which is different from merely changing the quantity of services. Here we see a focus on changing the 'quality' and nature of the services that are being provided, rather than simply increasing the number

of school and hospital beds, the number of gyms and swimming pools and so on.

An interesting regional approach that facilitates the application of such a new logic in the design of regional policy and investment strategies was developed by the federal state of Saxony in Germany (Sächsische Staatskanzlei 2011). The 'Demografietest' or 'demographic checklist' aims to ensure that all policies and investment decisions take account of the way in which demographic change affects the nature and scale of services. This is illustrated in the case below.

Policy tools such as the demographic checklist are likely to have a far-reaching impact, not only with regard to where investments are prioritised but also in terms of changing expectations and perspectives on what the future for a region or a city should look like. However, shrinking cities

The Demographic Checklist in Saxony, Germany

Municipalities tend to request financial support from regional or national government because local plans identify social needs or opportunities for economic growth. Over time the content of such plans becomes a fixed element of political positioning and budgetary negotiations, especially where certain elements have been approved and are waiting for funding to be made available. The federal state of Saxony realised that local strategy was often not in tune with dramatic demographic changes. Many municipalities continued to plan for expansions in the housing, schooling, health and transport services, even while the population was falling and also ageing at a rapid pace. In 2010 the government of Saxony approved a policy framework which requires every ministry to demonstrate that all local and regional planning processes have taken due account of the implications of demographic change. This policy framework is based on the 'demographic checklist' which must be completed for all proposals requiring a political decision by the ministries of finance, law, culture and sport, social care, education, employment or environment. Insisting on the vertical as well as horizontal integration of all policy streams affected by demographic change is expected to assist in prioritising investments and assessing the viability of existing infrastructure as well as service and administrative systems. Among a wide range of factors that must be included in the demographic checklist, the following appear to be of particular relevance:

- Does the proposal take account of statistical evidence of population trends?
- Is the proposal based on the anticipated future composition of the population?
- Does the proposal provide for improvements in employment and income for the whole population?
- Does the proposal promote lifelong learning?
- Are intergenerational models of living and working considered?
- Is the continued adaptation of physical and service structures provided for?
- Is the modernisation and creation of a viable public administration provided for?

Importantly, existing policy frameworks and tools, such as those concerned with land use planning and economic development, will not be changed or downgraded in their function. Instead, the demographic checklist provides a complementary assessment tool which allows decision-makers to test whether proposals contained and sanctioned through existing planning instruments reflect the realities of demographic change. Ultimately, the demographic check will inform the investment strategies for the whole of Saxony and integrate these with guidelines for sub-regional and local policy as well as specific interventions.(i)

(i) www.sk.sachsen.de/demographietest

have to take control of the situation themselves and behave as proactive partners in the interplay between local, regional and national policy. To achieve this, shrinking cities must create realistic visions of their future themselves, and negotiate these with higher levels of government. This means that the municipalities of shrinking cities must find ways of engaging and 'activating' one their most important resources, their citizens.

3.2
Local dimensions: active citizenship and local leadership

Shrinking cities have to develop a new perspective on a purposeful future. However too often they try to rehash older concepts of development, whereas they need to create fresh perspectives which are built on citizen commitment, not just economic considerations. It is commonly agreed that citizen engagement is essential for developing a meaningful and realistic strategy, but for cities facing shrinkage meaningful and deep collaboration between public agencies and citizens may make the difference between success and failure in changing their fortunes:

"Planning for a shrinking area is far more difficult than planning for a growing city. ... Right from the beginning ideas should be developed with the people. The city could give up central control and give it to neighbourhoods and communities instead, trusting that locals know these areas best and can therefore come up with plans for their future. In addition, if you have a strategic planning process for a shrinking place in which you try to develop perspective, it is more promising to involve citizens, the public sector and civil society" (Wiechman 2012, Chair of CIRES network, p. 42).

Furthermore, the lead experts of the recently completed Seventh Framework Programme (FP7) study on shrinking cities, *Shrink Smart*, argue that the first concern for shrinking cities must be the engagement of their citizens:

"Civil society actors contribute to very different fields of policy in numerous processes. In particular in shrinking cities they take on points that are not (or cannot be) dealt with by policies and planning. Finally, empowerment is suited as an approach in shrinking cities as it deals with the strengthening of the population and capacity building under the conditions of very limited resources. We are dealing here with, classically, low cost approaches" (Haase and Rink 2012, of the FP7 Shrink Smart network, p. 32).

However, citizen engagement does not happen by default, as the past 30 years of urban regeneration practice demonstrate. Engaging local communities in a constructive collaborative change process is one of the most intractable problems for many regeneration partnerships. For the in most part the source of the problem is not the citizens but the public agencies themselves, which lack the capacity to engage effectively with the population they serve. Gert-Jan Hospers, a respected academic with a substantial track record of publications on the topic of shrinking cities, concludes:

"In shrinking cities it is inevitable that at some point citizens will also have to make use of their own resources to improve the local quality of life. ... Civic engagement, however, is not something that can be dictated. If city councils want citizens to care for their community, they must enable them to do so. Civic engagement requires the engagement of local government as well. After all, it takes two to tango" (Hospers 2012, p. 18).

Considering the dramatic change many shrinking cities are experiencing, citizens must feel that they have a stake in the new direction their city is taking. Mere public consultation, as is

often practised in regeneration contexts, will not suffice. An effective visioning model which has been tested in a wide range of European development contexts is the European Citizens' Panel initiative. In pursuing the idea of deliberative participatory dialogue to re-envisage local and regional futures, the European Citizens' Panel method supports the authentic shaping of visions through citizen-focused bottom-up approaches. This builds on local resources and develops local capabilities to exploit physical, cultural as well as human resources. Participants in the International Building Exhibition in Saxony-Anhalt, Germany, concluded that rather than being a problem, the shrinkage process is an opportunity to create something better and something new and that this requires the collaboration of citizens:

"Shrinkage first and foremost means making room for something new! This arouses the potential of civil society. ... I already view this reflexive modernisation with citizen participation as a lasting asset brought about by this innovative building exbition" (Staatssekretär, Ministerium für Regionalentwicklung, Sachsen-Anhalt, IBA 2010, p. 73).

The case from the borderline between Ireland and Northern Ireland illustrates how constructive dialogues can be established in very difficult and adversarial circumstance and how these can lead to a different and shared vision of a place.

Key aspects of an authentic dialogue between citizens and government agencies include the following principles which have been influenced

The European Citizens' Panel Initiative: a case study from the Irish borderlands

The EU has confronted the development challenges involved with rural shrinkage for many years, especially by making use of the base of experience established through the bottom-up approaches to economic diversification involved in the LEADER programmes. Building on this, the European Citizens' Panel initiative was launched in Brussels in the premises of the Committee of the Regions in May 2006 as a pilot project involving citizens from 10 rural regions of Europe. It aimed to explore further the practice possibilities inherent in bringing into close fusion local development visions and bottom-up democratic renewal. One regional panel contributing to the wider European initiative was assembled on the borders of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. A detailed report of this exercise is available, which concentrates on the deliberative process and shows what can be accomplished even under the most challenging of circumstances. Conducted over five days with EU-funded facilitation it proved possible, with skilful professional mediation, to move from articulating the vision, in dialogue between citizens and a diverse range of stakeholders, to setting goals for implementation goals – thus holding politicians and administrators to account while recognising the need for pragmatism in service consolidation. As the reflection on the process points out, the 'silent walls' between economic development, health, transport, housing, childcare and education were successfully breached by looking at things through the integrated lived experience of citizens. The Citizens' Panel enabled a re-imagining of what it means to be a 'place in transition' or, as the report puts it with Irish humour, to be a future citizen of 'Ballygoforward'. In other words there are process and visioning lessons from rural shrinkage experiences for 'Rebound Towns' in an urban context. A key is the active engagement of local civil society networks.

(Based on the report of the Cross Border Citizens' Panel, 2006)

by the LEADER experience (LEADER Observatory, 1995):

- It is a process that involves different interests working together towards a common understanding
- In dialogue it is necessary to listen to the other sides in order to understand, discover meaning and search for agreement
- Dialogue exposes hidden assumptions and causes reflection on one's own position
- Dialogue has the potential to change a participant's point of view
- Dialogue creates the possibility of reaching better solutions and strategies than any original proposals
- In dialogue participants are asked to temporarily suspend their deepest convictions and to search for strengths in the positions of others
- Dialogue can create a new open-minded set of attitudes: an openness to being wrong and an openness to change
- Dialogue works on the basis that many people have pieces of the desired way forward and that by talking together they can put them into a workable set of strategies
- Dialogue is an ongoing process linked with the development of a capacity to think of new strategies and to take sustained actions

(Adapted from Lovan et al. 2004:249)

Leadership

As we have seen in the case of Altena, leadership is essential to develop new perspectives and initiatives in shrinking cities. This can be a difficult process because leaders need to find ways of incentivising their citizens to become involved in a process of re-imaging the future of their city.

The governance of a city does not rely on just one 'leader' of course, and ideas of the charismatic leader who brings about dramatic change on his or her own are quite outdated. Contemporary conceptions of leadership see it as shared process, where many different 'leaders' contribute to the achievement of overall goals. Every city has a great many leaders. There are business leaders, community leaders and then of course leaders who are appointed to lead institutions, such as municipalities. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that leaders of institutions are always the ones who initiate and bring about change. The power of civil society is frequently recognised where there are revolts or protests by citizens against decisions or initiatives supported by public institutions. The recent riots in London are a stark reminder of this.

Citizens of shrinking cities can adopt highly effective and entirely collaborative ways of initiating change. The case of Riga (page 29) illustrates that municipalities may in fact be a key barrier to change in shrinkage situations because they lack the capacity to work collaboratively.

This pilot initiative in Latvia might be applicable to other countries and municipalities. The final report of the URBACT SURE Thematic Network (Schlappa 2012a), which was one of the URBACT networks concerned with the socio-economic regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods, also found that it is not just community groups who have to develop their collaborative working skills. Quite often it is municipalities which struggle to engage their communities in collaborative ventures because they lack skills and understanding to create partnerships or to foster civil society organisations. Shrinking cities cannot afford municipalities which lack the basic capability to integrate their strategic process and to engage with their citizens. National and regional levels of government must identify these deficits and act upon them. Encouraging citizens to challenge the status quo and by doing so enhancing the capacity of municipalities to

Capacity building for public agencies, Latvia

The municipality of Riga has many serious problems brought about by the collapse of the property bubble and the economic downturn. People are leaving the city in large numbers, the economy is flatlining and the municipality is struggling financially, yet citizens and officials still believe that all the solutions have to come from government. Such initiatives have focused in the past on the restoration of historic buildings and the medieval town centre in the hope that this will reverse the fortunes of the city, but the social and economic benefits are yet to materialise.

A number of sociologists and planners working for the local university realised that the lack of appreciation of the importance of civil society organisations is one of the root causes for the lack of progress the city is making in reversing its decline. Another problem is the lack of experience of cross-departmental and cross-agency working. Public agencies operate in isolation from each other and within these agencies individual departments pursue their individual strategies. While this runs against contemporary urban regeneration practice, established cultures and structures impede the adoption of different approaches.

To tackle this issue, staff from the university joined with a citizen initiative to establish a not-for-profit organisation which championed participative planning. This was partially successful in engaging planners from the municipality, but there was no desire on their part to establish partnerships or engage in a cross-departmental regeneration strategy.

Through a European Union funding opportunity supported by a research grant from Germany and the regional government in Latvia, these local activists were able to secure resources for a three-year capacity building programme for officials and community leaders. Officers from municipalities will work on 5-6 problem areas in the region to develop collaborative solutions to urban regeneration problems. Community leaders will participate in a taught capacity building programme for three months and then engage in practical community-led projects to implement some of the ideas they developed during the taught part of the programme.

engage with inclusive approaches to regeneration is a good start, but public agencies cannot rely on this. They might not always initiate it, but local politicians and officials bear responsibility for leading the regeneration of their city.

3.3 Contours of a re-envisioning 'road map'

Re-imaging or repositioning a city in the minds of citizens is the foundation of creating and maintaining place identity. A place does not need to be beautiful to engender identification, but rather personal and collective emotional attachments need to be respected as building blocks in the feeling of sharing a place and having a stake in its future. As the case of Detroit illustrates, superficial branding for the benefit of outsiders will not work, since the task is first and foremost to mobilise local action and create confidence in the possibility of improvement. It is people who make meaning out of places, and while this is obviously affected by the economic and social opportunities available, the physical environment is central to notions of pride in place. The following table points at the sort of issues that need to be considered when the all-important sense of place, in the present or future, is in doubt, and a new vision for the place, the city and the services it provides is needed.

Orientation to action	Early intervention – preventative Basic questions in context of need to retain place balance	Late intervention – reactive Basic questions in context of re-balancing place
Sense of place	What does a basic 'health check' say about how people feel about this place? What are the implications of a SWOT analysis? What are the warning signs and what can be done?	What are the positive things that still connect people to this place and that can be built on? What small things can be done to create a sense of empowerment, helping civil society to take some control of the situation? Beyond this, how can the more fundamental rebalancing of place be achieved?
Civic engagement	How can complacency be overcome? How can people be engaged in the context of an increasingly fractured sense of community?	How can negative feelings about locality, fatalism and powerlessness be tackled? How can people be convinced that with common effort things can be improved?
Service provision	How do we make people more aware of the challenges and threats to services lying ahead? What might be done by way of efficiencies and restructuring now to reduce future burdens?	What tough choices have to be confronted? What are the priorities? How can civil society be more creatively engaged in service innovations? What are the short-term pains for longer-term gains?

When turning basic questions such as those above into a strategic re-envisioning process, the aim should be to create a dialogue among local stakeholders. Such a dialogue must include not only citizens and the municipality, but local business, schools, health, transport and the whole range of providers of services. No re-envisioning process needs to start without the basic tools which facilitate participation, dialogue and problem solving. There is a wealth of effective participatory planning techniques that can be harnessed.[9]

An important question that should be raised in the re-envisioning process is: what is unique about this place? The URBACT OP-ACT Thematic Network suggests an interesting way of answering this question. The Lead Expert of OP-ACT uses the metaphor of 'polishing diamonds' to describe how underused or unused resources, situations, facilities or features can be turned into socio-economic assets (Schwedler 2012). Such 'unpolished diamonds' might include institutions, landscape features or urban structures. The case of Altena includes an example where the city finds a way of using a long-established visitor attraction outside their town to bring tourists into the town centre. This opportunity had existed throughout the times in which Altena was struggling to imagine a future different to that of its past, but it was only through the collective envisioning process that this 'hidden' potential to generate income was discovered. The URBACT OP-ACT Thematic Network has documented how a number of such hidden assets in relation to cultural heritage, waterfronts and higher education institutions can be turned into site advantages for shrinking cities.[10]

9 For a good overview of contemporary techniques see Demeter 2012, or http://urbact.eu/en/projects/disadvantaged-neighbourhoods/sure/homepage/

10 http://www.urbact.eu/en/projects/active-inclusion/op-act/homepage

4. Dealing with the physical environment

One of the most visible links between urban shrinkage and economic decline is the de-industrialisation of cities. Industrial districts in shrinking cities are characterised by underused or derelict buildings and vacant brownfield sites. These tracts of land are often close to the city centre, thus blighting central locations and the limited opportunities for economically viable development that might exist. The extent of brownfield sites varies significantly and is greatest in cities which have lost large scale metal, chemical or manufacturing industries. However, empty and underused buildings are a feature of any city that has been shrinking unchecked for some time.

In this section we attempt to address three interlinked issues. The first is concerned with using vacant land to create new landscapes in and around towns. We then explore approaches towards encouraging the interim use of buildings before discussing different models aimed at revitalising stagnant land markets.

4.1 Changing landscapes in shrinking cities

Landscapes and open spaces have always formed an important part of the urban fabric. In the past open spaces compensated for a lack of nature in compact urban development. The landscapes of shrinking cities will have a much more prominent role in shaping and defining the urban area. Such arguments are not new. The 19th century British concept of the garden city, developed further by Frank Lloyd Wright in the 20th century, advocated extensive cities with no urban centre that are absorbed in an agricultural hinterland. However, the shrinkage process of many cities will force a deeper integration of urban and open space planning, creating a better balance in the town/nature dichotomy.

The International Building Exhibition in Germany has experimented with extensive open spaces as building blocks in the design of shrinking cities. Rather than simply allocating areas for urban forestry, community gardens or fallow land, town planners are using land that becomes vacant in the course of shrinkage as a component to change the basic structure of the urban fabric. The example of Schönebeck in Saxony shows how large amounts of former industrial land can be used to restructure the urban fabric.

4.2 Interim uses of the built environment

Abandoned urban structures need to be actively managed to demonstrate collective care but just as important is their potential to create positive community benefit. Berlin is perhaps best known for its creative approach to interim urban uses from the creation of tourist attractions out of building sites in its historic centre, but the recently decommissioned Tempelhof airport in the heart of the city is also being used creatively. Here the high density residential areas are being improved by making the former airfield available as an extensive urban open space with cycle paths, a skatepark, barbeque areas, playgrounds and so forth while buildings are opened up for creative and social uses. Likewise shrinking cities need to harness the creativity of their citizens even in very difficult context to utilise buildings in ways they had not originally intended.

However, projects do not have to be of large flagship status to grab the imagination and create community identification. As in the case of Detroit such an approach can fail dramatically. More modest examples of interim uses include the 'pop-up shop'. This concept of making vacant high street premises available at low or no cost

Managing open space in Schönebeck, Germany

The urban structure of Schönebeck grew together from three originally separate settlements in the 18th century. The land that is becoming available through urban shrinkage is primarily found in the areas between these historic cores. The municipality is fostering the establishment of linked large open spaces and adopting a 'plot' approach towards developing them. This means that large swathes of land are not developed in one project and with one dominant land use. Instead the municipality creates a diverse range of habitats, including leaving land for a natural succession, woodland plantations, small allotments and larger fields through which urban farming is promoted. By integrating extensive open space into the urban fabric, the town of Schönebeck enhances the visual and physical quality of its environment, and thereby enhances the quality of life for its citizens.

For more information on this and other projects promoting the extensive use of open spaces see the report of the International Building Exhibition 2010 referenced in the bibliography.

to community-led initiatives has been adapted for art, retail, gastronomic and social purposes. A different approach towards using buildings is promoted by Walas Concepts.[11] This company turns surplus car parks, office and industrial buildings into places where food and ornamental plants are grown, thus generating a modest amount of income which offsets the maintenance costs of these structures.

A more complex arrangement is required where surplus residential property needs management

11 www.walasconcepts.com

© Phildaint-Dreamstime.com

to either save a property or use it before it is demolished. The Wächterhaus concept provides an interesting and increasingly used approach to creating a breathing space for owners of property to decide what to do with their property in future.

The Wächterhaus concept

The Wächterhaus project was initiated in Leipzig in 2004 at a time when the city's attractive inner-city districts suffered from high vacancy levels and lack of investment by owners. A coalition of architects, planners and residents created a voluntary organisation which facilitates the creation of flexible rental agreements between owners and tenants. In this agreement the tenant pays no rent, but in return agrees to protect the building from vandalism and carry out simple repairs to prevent structural damage. Some properties are being released from this initiative and owners have begun to refurbish them for residential purposes. At present there are 16 such Wächterhäuser in Leipzig and the initiative is beginning to shape planning policy in declining neighbourhoods. It also fosters social and economic inclusion in the neighbourhood.(i)

(i) For more information visit www.shrinksmart.eu or see European Urban Knowledge Network, 2012, referenced in the bibliography.

Street art can play an important role in softening the appearance of the built environment, which can be threatening or unpleasant in contexts of urban shrinkage. While not intended to cosmetically cover real expressions of social frustration and anger, experience shows that street art can be marshalled to give place uplift and to bolster local self-image. The experience of many Irish cities is of interest here. Rampant and often speculative development during the property boom years has created large numbers of unfinished buildings, often in prime city-centre locations. Usually only a small part of the development can be used, while other parts are unfinished, or even just building sites. The government established the National Asset Management Agency (NAMA) to deal with such developments, but given that the property market is a stagnant or declining and developers went into receivership before handing the sites over to NAMA, there is very little funding to complete the works. This results in long-term building sites in city-centre locations which have to be made safe through fencing and other physical barriers. A group of architects working with NAMA is developing low-cost interim solutions for such sites. These involve 'living walls' and murals painted by residents on hoardings protecting building sites, as well as low-cost paving materials to enhance the visual quality of temporary squares and other 'hard' urban landscapes.[12]

4.3 Managing stagnant land markets

Establishing some kind of control over a growing quantity of surplus land and buildings can pose serious problems where the market for these commodities has collapsed. In situations of

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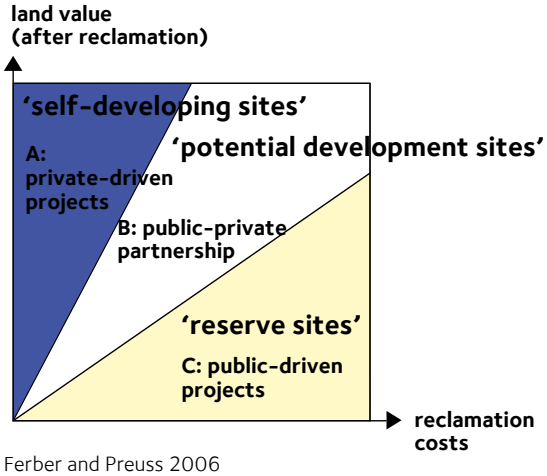
shrinkage the major driver of brownfield regeneration is the economic viability of individual sites, but the economic value of brownfield land is affected by many different factors and these can change considerably over time.

The economic status of a site can be affected by the indirect as well as the direct costs of the regeneration and by predicted revenues from the site. Using a conceptual model to characterise different types of sites in terms of their economic viability, and highlighting how status can change based on variations in location standing, site treatment costs and other economic conditions, can help policy-makers identify strategies that can improve the economic viability and status of sites. The ABC model of strategic brownfield land management policies presented next page refers to the costs and predicted revenues for different types of sites. This model identifies three types of sites according to their economic status (due to the cost of regeneration, the value of the land, etc.). Sites are classified as:

- **A sites** are highly economically viable and the development projects are driven by private funding. The redevelopment causes a clear increase in site value. There is no demand for special public intervention. The existing planning and administration system could give a general framework to the development.

12 For more information contact: www.compasinternationalarchitects.com

Brownfield types



Ferber and Preuss 2006

- **B sites** are sites of local and regional importance with development potential but also significant risks due to the final balance of the investment and the need for advice and assistance in planning and funding. These typical brownfield projects are situated in the border zone between profit and loss. In these cases public-private partnership strategies are most effective. Risk-division, coordinated planning and financing of projects by public/private companies are ingenious milestones for public intervention.
- **C sites** are not in a condition where regeneration can be profitable. Their regeneration relies mainly on public sector or municipality driven projects. Public funding or specific legislative instruments (e.g. tax incentives) are required to stimulate regeneration of these sites.

The ABC model highlights the funding drivers for brownfield regeneration. The conceptual model can assist institutions responsible for regional development and investment to develop strategies for dealing with different types of brownfield land. By identifying the type of site and considering the factors that affect a site's category, both public and private bodies can examine intervention options and regeneration strategies. The examination of factors that bring about the recategorisation of a site, for example from A to B, can result in the development of site-specific strategies to accelerate redevelopment. A number of municipalities are currently using these categories to review their local brownfield strategies and to produce informal inventories at the regional level as well.

Urban development companies are a widely used mechanism to bring underused land and buildings back into the economic cycle, but experience from the UK shows that pressure for quick results creates perverse incentives to reclaim sites which, given time, would have been brought back into the economic cycle by private sector investment alone (category A sites in the model above). On the other hand, sites which are difficult to develop (category C sites in the model above) have remained underused despite the interventions of Urban Development Corporations or Regional Development Agencies.

Land management models based on quick economic gain seem unlikely to respond to the needs or the opportunities that shrinking cities have. The land cycle management model developed in the Nord-Pas de Calais region in France offers an alternative and long-term approach towards dealing with land which is 'off market'.

Contra-cyclical land management in Nord-Pas de Calais, France

The impact of an earlier economic crisis which heralded the beginning of globalised markets for steel and clothing in the 1970s affected the Nord-Pas de Calais region severely. In 1983 this region contained 75% of all registered industrial brownfield land in France. Nearly 10,000 hectares of derelict land filled the region's landscape, some heavily contaminated from steel and coal industries, others containing large derelict buildings from the collapsed textile industries. To gain control over these developments the French government established a number of public companies to deal with brownfield land, and in 1990 the Establissement Public Foncier Nord-Pas de Calais (EPF-NPDC) was created to deal with land that was considered to be 'off-market'. Off-market land has little economic value at a particular point in time, usually shortly after the collapse of an industry, because the costs of re-claiming it are high while its economic value is low. The following diagram tries to capture the different categories of land that can be found in any context where there is industrial decline.

Over the past 20 years EPF-NPDC has reclaimed over 5,000 hectares, primarily for interim greenfield uses and nature conservation. Initially the organisation was part-funded by central government but at present EPF-NPDC is financed through a local tax levy of up to €20 per resident per year and the sale of reclaimed land. Local politicians are represented on EPF-NPDC's governing body, which means that regional land use strategy is integrated with local decision-making and accountability. In releasing sites, EPF-NPDC responds to requests from municipalities rather than marketing its potential development sites independently.

EPF-NPDC perceives itself as a 'contra-cyclical land operator' which acquires land when it presents a problem or there is no demand for it, and makes it available when economic demand for development sites is emerging. Its experience suggests that these cycles last approximately 30 years, which requires long-range planning and political support. Importantly, EPF-NPDC does not start with a master plan when it engages in the land acquisition and reclamation process. Land is purchased incrementally and also released incrementally, thus supporting local strategic developments rather than initiating them. This avoids the danger of interfering with emerging market dynamics and supports the achievement of public and locally determined objectives.

4.4 Summary

This chapter illustrates that there are effective models to deal with large tracts of brownfield land, in terms both of creating a balanced and more sustainable environment and enhancing the quality of life for the populations of shrinking cities. Finding ways to manage interim uses of residential and commercial buildings in ways which minimise risk for owners and maximise benefits for citizens are also well advanced, as our examples show. The A-B-C model of brownfield sites is likely to be of use to many planners and policy-makers tasked with developing forward strategies for their city, and the example from Nord-Pas de Calais brings together an approach which allows for the proactive management of the natural and the built environment. However, as we have already pointed out, there is a need for regional frameworks which facilitate the local management of shrinkage, and the examples given here are a good illustration that municipalities on their own are unlikely to gain control over the shrinkage process. Shrinking cities require regional and national policy frameworks which support their efforts.

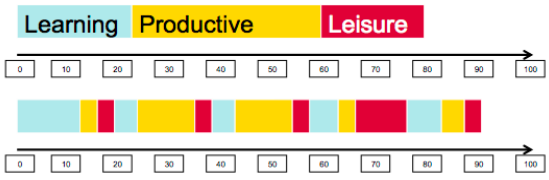
5. Adapting services

An outdated 20 th century view of three phases of life – learning, production and retirement, with a short path to end of life in our late 70s or early 80s needs to be replaced with a perspective on ageing which is based on a much more dynamic and interwoven life course that can support and sustain a more active life for longer.

Urban shrinkage affects all services in some way and, as we explained at the beginning of this report, services concerned with ageing populations are a particular challenge for shrinking cities. We therefore focus here on services for older people, although not exclusively.

An outdated 20th-century view of three phases of life – learning, production and retirement, with a short path to end of life in our late 70s or early 80s – needs to be replaced with a perspective on ageing which is based on a much more dynamic and interwoven life course that can support and sustain a more active life for longer. The model developed by John Beard and Tom Dychwald below challenges out-of-date assumptions about productive life, lifelong learning and leisure. Looking at the lifecycle as a more varied and dynamic interaction between learning, production and leisure provides a framework for valuing older people's contributions, and emphasises the need for our continuous development right through into old age.

In this chapter we identify important synergies between international programmes supporting cities in becoming balanced and sustainable places and the challenges associated with ageing populations in shrinking cities. Mapping across the objectives of child-friendly and age-friendly cities we can quickly see that these are complementary and in many cases identical. We then argue that learning and employment are important for all parts of the population and present an example where older and younger people study for vocational qualifications together. We then touch on the role of the social economy in supporting communities that suffer from poverty and exclusion. The chapter concludes with a brief review of the potential contribution that coproduction can make towards improving service quality, reducing costs and engaging citizens.



(cited in Bond 2012)

5.1 Developing age-friendly cities

There is an ever-increasing range of initiatives to improve responses to the challenges of demographic change, including sustainable cities, smart cities, creative cities, innovation cities, healthy cities, age-friendly cities and more, all bidding to address socio-economic problems. There are significant synergies between these programmes, in particular the WHO Healthy Cities project, the WHO Age-Friendly Cities project and the UNICEF Child-Friendly Cities Initiative. These initiatives operate in a framework aimed at change and quality improvement which is centred on the person, and offer scope to overcome perceptions about the different needs of people in different age groups.

A healthy city is one that continually creates and improves its physical and social environments, and expands the community resources that enable people to support each other mutually in performing all the functions of life and developing to their maximum potential. An age-friendly city is one where the physical and social environments enable people to remain healthy, independent and autonomous long into their old age. Older persons play a crucial role in their communities – they engage in paid or volunteer work, transmit experience and knowledge, and help their families with caring responsibilities. They can only make these contributions if they enjoy good health and if societies address their needs. A child-friendly city strives for non-discrimination, clear accountably for children's rights as well as safe, green environments. The Irish National Outcomes for Children programme provides a citizen-centric perspective that, while focused on children, enables outcomes to immediately be mapped across to the principles of age-friendly and healthy cities to underpin positive ageing strategies. These outcomes aim to for people to be:

- healthy, both physically and mentally
- supported in active learning
- safe from accidental and intentional harm
- economically secure and free from poverty
- secure in the immediate and wider physical environment
- part of positive networks of family, friends, neighbours and the community
- included and participating in society

An example from Ireland illustrates the potentially integrative power of strategies aimed at dealing with an ageing population.

The Age Friendly Strategy in County Louth, Ireland

When, as part of their WHO Age-Friendly County Strategy, Louth developed an action plan for age-friendly business to fit within the county's overall Economic Development Plan, they realised that age-friendly business was not just a strand in the plan; instead it became a pervasive theme animating actions in all the other development domains, agriculture and food, sustainable energy, tourism, retail and education.

In addition, County Lough is developing a child-friendly strategy and the insights gained during the earlier work point to a number of opportunities, including:

- Conversations between the 'voice of children' and the 'voice of older people' are more convergent than divergent. This creates opportunities for the dialogue which is so important for the envisioning process that shrinking cities must initiate.
- Breaking silos and aligning or integrating children's services committees and their agendas with those of the stakeholders for older people's services promises to generate synergies. In many cases it is the same organisations but different faces who are involved – in some cases it is also the same faces!
- Aligning the action agendas: in many instances a change of perceptive opens up new opportunities to create shareable services and spaces.
- Measures of progress and indicators of success do not have to be radically different for different age groups.

Officers, politicians and citizens in County Lough are beginning to see that demographic change may be just the catalyst that will introduce new paradigms of citizen representation, new collaborative models of governance, the activation of new energies and the injection of a new lease of life into declining communities.

5.2 Promoting learning and employment

One of the key targets for public service providers is to delay the point at which older people become dependent on supported living arrangements. Reasons for this are not only financial but also derive from the acceptance that giving up one's independence often reduces older people's lived experience or quality of life. Improved health means that older people can live independently for longer, but they need support systems that allow them to do so safely and with dignity. Possible interventions which facilitate independent living include digital and remote support systems, modernising the delivery of health and social care services and improving the accessibility of the physical environment, in particular transport, buildings and open spaces.

Much of the funding and planning for such services takes place at regional and sub-regional levels and we have already illustrated how age perspectives can and should be integrated into regional planning processes. Below is an example of how co-ordinated local and regional efforts created a new service which allows older people to update their qualifications and engage with younger people in the learning process. Creating intergenerational connections is particularly important for cities that are shrinking, because catering for the needs of ageing populations whilst remaining attractive to younger generations is clearly a source of tension in shrinking cities.

The concept would appear to be suitable for all cities with universities as it can be adapted to local conditions. Universities can use such a project to improve their profile and also create business opportunities for themselves, for example creating training programmes around lifelong learning. An important issue is providing financial support for participants while studying, for example through government benefit payments, such as unemployment benefit.

The Campus of Generations, Potsdam, Germany(i)

Brandenburg faces severe demographic challenges one of which is a 30% increase in the number of 55–65-year olds between now and 2020. In 2020 this age group will make up a major share (39%) of the employable population in Brandenburg. There are opportunities for older people to maintain or gain employment because there is an increasing demand for qualified employees that cannot be met only by young people. It is anticipated that in the near future much of the regional production and innovation process will managed by an ageing work force. At the same time many people aged 50 and older are losing their jobs. As longer phases of unemployment lead to a loss of self-confidence, older people in particular need to be encouraged to update their qualifications and re-enter the labour market. Hence new ways of qualifying and training have to be developed that meet the needs of both successful companies and an ageing population.

Student life at the Campus of Generations starts with attendance at a development centre where their individual strengths and motivations are assessed. Based on these results and their work experience, groups called 'task forces' are formed. These task force teams consist of two older and two younger students, and are composed according to the needs of local companies and the way the students' skills complement each other. Each semester about 16 older participants and 16 young students take part in the Campus of Generations, working on innovative projects in collaboration with SMEs from the region. One qualification cycle lasts for six months during which participants are registered as guest students at the university. Students can attend all lectures at the university but have to complete a number of modules to improve their management competence. These include:

- teamwork/leading teams
- project management
- creativity techniques
- basic IT (communication/presentation)
- conflict management
- entrepreneurship
- personal health management

During the qualification and afterwards the participants are supported and accompanied in their re-entry into the labour market. In the first year, 57 participants took part in the project, of whom 31 found paid employment – which is a success rate of 54%. The costs were €177,000 for the pilot project and the university estimates costs of about. €6,000 per participant in future years.

The project creates a range of benefits, including:

- it enables unemployed people to strengthen their soft skills and working abilities on an academic level (fresh, up-to-date knowledge)
- enhancing motivation for further job-seeking
- getting back the feeling of 'being wanted' by a company
- cooperation and mutual learning between experienced elderly and younger students
- students can do practical work in a mixed-age team
- companies can find skilled and dedicated employees
- companies learn about the high potential of skilled ageing people
- SMEs have the chance to find qualified employees

(i) For further information see www.campus-der-generationen.de

5.3 Promoting the social economy[13]

The social economy is a source of resilience shrinking cities should draw on. It emphasises building up the stock of social, economic, financial and physical assets in the same way as the market accumulates wealth, it recycles capital and it builds alliances to pursue its interests. This works best when this 'social capital' is integrated spatially to reinforce the capacity of places to adapt to the socio-economic impact of urban shrinkage. A range of issues are central to the development of the social economy, including the encouragement of non-monetised

13 This section draws on Murtagh, B. (forthcoming) 'Urban regeneration and the social economy', in Michael E Leary and John McCarthy (eds.) *Handbook of Urban Regeneration*, Abington, Routledge.

trading, which reflects one of the challenges shrinking cities face: a wide range of social, physical and also economic assets which are disconnected from the mainstream economy. Shrinking cities therefore need to create spaces where new forms of economic exchange can take place.

Local exchange trading schemes

Collectivised forms of non-monetised trading not only provide a deprived and often 'cashless' community with services, but also show that monetary exchange and profit is not the only logic to supplying the things that local people need. Time banks and local exchange trading schemes (LETS) transform labour power into purchasing power without the need for formal employment to earn a living. LETS are self-contained networks in which members buy and sell services but are paid in virtual currency units. Members have an individual account, which is independently brokered on a credit-debit basis, but the debt is not owed to another individual but to the wider scheme. For example, a gardener who maintains a sheltered elder housing complex is paid in the local currency and this can be used to purchase other goods or services offered in the same system. The example of the Castlemilk Estate in Glasgow illustrates how these principles might play out in practice.

The social economy provides alternatives to failing private markets and the example from Glasgow shows how local economies can work in informal but inclusive ways. This social economy will not rival the market or public spending in situations of shrinkage but it can provide services, strengthen the capacity for self-organisation and develop more independent and collectivised models of revival. By activating local assets and local talents there are opportunities through non-monetised trading to shape challenged urban areas as distinctive communities while generating new cultural practices and ideas about community self-help.

The LETS scheme in Castlemilk, Glasgow

Castlemilk is a large housing scheme in the outskirts of Glasgow in Scotland that faced a range of environmental, economic and social problems. As the area declined community relationships, capacities for self-help and organisational skills reduced, leaving the area highly dependent on outside resources and a range of area-based government programmes. In November 2001 the Castlemilk Economic Development Agency undertook a feasibility study that concentrated on the willingness of local people to offer and trade a range of 'bankable' services. The UK's Big Lottery Fund has funded the group since 2002, a management committee entirely made up of residents oversees its implementation, and three full-time staff now operate the scheme. There are now 300 participants and traded services include dog walking, ironing and shopping. Special software is used to record the hours that people have volunteered and the hours they have taken back out again. The evaluation of the scheme shows that as well as accessing a service, participants build their confidence, gain new skills and reduce isolation – especially the loneliness experienced by some older people.

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5.4 Promoting the coproduction of services

At a time of shrinking budgets and growing social needs, many shrinking cities are rediscovering the benefits of working with their citizens to provide services and create employment opportunities. But the idea of sharing the burden of service provision with citizens is not new. In the early 1970s, an era of severe budgetary constraints in the United States, a number of municipalities

encouraged citizens to contribute to services. They used the term 'coproduction' to describe a relationship between public servants, as 'regular producers' and their clients, the 'coproducers', who make a contribution towards the provision of a service, safer or cleaner neighbourhoods for example. The opposite of coproduction can also be identified. This is a situation where citizens produce services they value without the support, and at times against the wishes, of public agencies.

Coproduction is increasingly seen as a useful way to describe collaborations between public agencies and citizens, which are focused on the creation of tangible services – because coproduction is directly focused on practical service provision. In this respect coproduction is different from 'partnership working' which tends to be concerned with joint planning and strategy making.

Older people are extensively involved in coproduction. For example, arts classes in community centres are often run by older people, for older people. Here the municipality provides the premises, and older people do the rest. A similar case would be fitness or fall prevention classes, which are often organised and delivered by older people themselves within premises that are managed by public agencies. Community gardens are another example of the increasing popularity of coproduction approaches in urban regeneration contexts. Here a municipality might cultivate and secure the land, while residents manage and cultivate it.[14] Below is an example of coproduction in childcare services which is based on a study covering eight European countries (Pestoff 2006). We chose this example to emphasise a point made earlier, namely that there are important synergies between services provided for different age groups and that the underpinning principles can be applied to a wide range of issues with which shrinking cities tend to struggle.

Just as citizens are essential in the envisioning process through which a city's future is re-imagined, citizens also play a critical role in maintaining and enhancing services in situations of socio-economic decline. Seeing citizens and civil society organisations simply as a cheap form of labour misses the point. The example of Altena illustrates quite clearly that municipality and civil society need to establish a level playing field, and to operate as equals who negotiate what needs to be done and how it should be done. Only then are citizens willing to give freely of their time, skills, financial and other resources for the greater good.

5.5 Summary

Social enterprises and philanthropic organisations are now widely recognised as playing a central role in the regeneration of communities that have become separated from the mainstream economy.

In this chapter we have tried to show how ideas about child and age friendly cities point to a high-quality urban environment in which residents can enjoy a safe, healthy, socially and economically rewarding life. Hence, aiming to fulfil the needs of older people should not be viewed as a burden, but as one way of justifying strategic investments which strive to attract economically active groups and, equally importantly, attract young people into shrinking cities. Cities with universities have

14 A case study of such a project which took place in a suburb of Dublin can be found in: Schlappa and Ramsden 2011. http://urbact.eu/fileadmin/general_library/URBACT_16_08_11_pre_BAT-3.pdf

Coproduction of childcare

Citizen participation in the coproduction of childcare services is widespread across Europe, but participation takes different forms in different countries. In France, Germany and Sweden many childcare services are initiated and managed by parents. While professional carers take the lead in delivering the pedagogical aspect of the care service, parents frequently substitute for professional staff. This happens when professional staff are absent owing to sickness or other reasons but also where it is considered that parents can make a particular contribution to the development of the children. In particular the practical involvement of fathers in an otherwise female-dominated environment is considered to make a positive contribution towards children's personal development.

Parents coproduce childcare services in other ways as well. This involves a wide range of non-pedagogical tasks, such as keeping the accounts, cooking or carrying out repairs to the building. In addition, many parents also make financial contributions towards the cost of the services they use. However, without voluntary practical inputs a parent who just pays for the service would not be considered to be a coproducer; he or she would be a classic consumer or user of a service.

At a time of unprecedented budgetary austerity, many municipalities around Europe are beginning to build up their capabilities to foster the coproduction of services, in particular with regard to older people's services.[i]

For other examples of coproduction in urban regeneration contexts see Schlappa (2012b) or visit the URBACT website to view the article 'Coproduction, a New Perspective on Partnership.'[ii]

(i) For examples of current developments see the work of the European Innovation Partnership on Healthy and Active Ageing (http://ec.europa.eu/research/innovation-union/index_en.cfm?section=active-healthy-ageing&pg=implementation-plan
(ii) http://urbact.eu/fileadmin/general_library/URBACT_16_08_11_pre_BAT-3.pdf

additional opportunities to attract older and younger people together by enhancing their educational offer in ways which engage both of these groups for their mutual benefit.

The social economy is likely to be of particular interest to policy-makers in shrinking cities because not-for-profit enterprises and philanthropic organisations are now widely recognised as playing a central role in the regeneration of communities that have become separated from the mainstream economy. Many welfare services are already delivered through social enterprises and not-for-profit organisations, and municipalities in shrinking cities should consider ways of enhancing their contribution to socio-economic recovery. However, the concept of coproduction goes further and argues that public agencies should purposefully create opportunities for residents to have a distinctive role in contributing to the design and delivery of social welfare services. This would seem imperative in situations where high proportions of older people create growing pressures for social welfare services, while at the same time the revenues of public agencies are declining.

6. Conclusions

Shrinking cities are cities in transition. Current economic and demographic forces have a transformational impact on such places and we must attempt to turn these forces, as far as we can, into constructive ones. The results of the URBACT capitalisation process reflect findings from other projects which acknowledge that urban shrinkage will become a reality for many places in Europe and argue that urban shrinkage demands new approaches to urban planning, design and management.

Combined with demographic change, urban shrinkage is a major driving force for modernisation in terms of both urban governance and public services. But there are significant barriers to harnessing these opportunities, particularly in the minds of people. The demolition of housing and industrial buildings or the reduction of space given to motorised transport should not be perceived as evidence of defeat in the global race for market share, or a failure of corporate investment. Such developments are an opportunity to restructure our towns and cities in ways which enhance urban landscapes, buildings and services. As the cases presented here show, engaging citizens in strategy development and implementation fosters new approaches towards the use of physical assets, social and economic resources. Given that shrinking cities are increasingly less able to provide the levels of service expected by their population, it would seem imperative to activate and engage citizens to contribute to governance, place making, service coproduction and the social economy.

However, our findings, and those of other experts concerned with urban shrinkage, suggest that the development of a realistic vision and a set of sustainable strategic choices is essential before the social and economic resources of the population can be released. It would seem that this involves a paradigm shift away from a growth-oriented view of urban development to an acceptance that strategic goals concerned with 'non-growth' are viable and realistic options. As this report highlights, the tools and techniques developed for integrated urban regeneration strategies are likely to provide tried and tested methods for engaging local actors. The strategy development model which was created through this capitalisation process complements existing models based on integrated approaches to urban regeneration. Going through a re-envisioning process is part and parcel of developing answers as to what a shrinking city can do to deal with socio-economic decline. To support policy-makers and practitioners further in preparing for a re-envisioning process we have developed a model which is based on the principles of 'balance' and is included in Annex 3.

This report illustrates how a paradigm shift is happening locally, but there seems to be a disconnect with higher levels of policy-making. Most EU policies, such as Europe 2020, and state-level fiscal, regulatory and economic policies, are not designed for shrinking but for growing cities. We join other authors who are referred to in this paper who have argued for the need to adapt policy instruments in ways which reflect the realities of shrinkage. Without a paradigm shift on these higher policy levels, shrinking cities will continue to swim against the tide of mainstream socio-economic policy in Europe.

While regional, national and supra-national policy frameworks need to begin to reflect the new realities of shrinking cities, we would argue that shrinking cities should not rely on national governments or European Union policy to 'sort things out'. Not only does the current economic climate militate against intensive government-led investments in shrinking cities, but the controlled transformation of the urban space must come from within cities. Making existing resources

accessible and putting them to use by the local population appears to us to be an important source of transformational energy to turn shrinking cities around.

The landscape of urban policies is highly diverse, as the survey of the European Urban Knowledge Network shows (EUKN 2011), but there are some common features which should be developed at both national and regional levels of government. These include the alignment of planning and regeneration policies, good linkages between city and regional planning mechanisms, and the co-ordination of policies concerned with shrinking cities across all ministries and public sector agencies. Current EU policy initiatives concerned with demographic change and active ageing, such as the European Innovation Partnership (European Commission 2012b), might offer a useful template and starting point for the development of different policy frameworks addressing the socio-economic challenges associated with urban shrinkage. Supporting shrinking cities to develop adequate responses would also include the enhancement of learning and knowledge exchange programmes such as URBACT so that they can cater more specifically for their needs.

Despite the profound challenges encountered by the people who live in and work for shrinking cities, this report illustrates that urban shrinkage and demographic change are driving forces for modernisation and innovation. Those who lead and live in such cities must challenge old explanations of the status quo and build a new positive vision of the future for their city – which may be smaller than in the past but could also be better in many ways.

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Annex 1.

Capitalisation process and methodology

This report has drawn together the findings of a capitalisation process which was based on a critical analysis of practical experiences from within and outside the URBACT networks. The process was led by a core group of practitioners and academics who, following a review of policy and research on urban shrinkage, convened a number of workshops to explore in detail how cities can respond to the process of shrinkage and turn it to their social and economic advantage. Contributors included architects, planners and policy-makers who gave presentations on their work and then engaged in a critical reflective debate with core group members on the merits as well as shortcomings of their practical experiences. The results of the capitalisation process were tested and refined during workshops at the 2012 URBACT conference in Copenhagen.

The URBACT secretariat would like to express their gratitude to the following participants in the capitalisation process.

Core group members:

- Dr Hans Schlappa, chair of the workstream 'Shrinking cities' and Director of Studies in Leadership and Strategic Management in Public Services at Hertfordshire University, United Kingdom and Lead Expert of the URBACT SURE Thematic Network
- Professor William J V Neill, Emeritus Professor for Spatial Planning, University of Aberdeen, Scotland
- Professor Hanns-Uve Schwedler, Managing Director, European Academy for the Urban Environment, Berlin, and Lead Expert of the URBACT OP-ACT Thematic Network
- Dr Uwe Ferber, Partner, Projektgruppe Stadt und Entwicklung, Dresden, Germany
- Cristina Martinez-Fernandez, Senior Policy Analyst, OECD/LEED
- Dr Rodd Bond, Director, Netwell Centre, Ireland
- Dr Anne-Sophie Parent, Chief Executive, Age Platform Europe

Expert witnesses:

- Dr Hollstein, Bürgermeister, Altena, partner in the URBACT OP-ACT Thematic Network, Germany
- Marc Kasynski, Directeur Général, Etablissement Public Foncier Nord-Pas de Calais, France
- Joe Kennedy, Partner, SmithKennedy Architects, Ireland
- Pertti Hermannek, Project Co-ordinator of INTERREG IVC network DART
- Eva Benková, Prague, partner in the URBACT Active Age Thematic Network, Czech Republic
- Genoveva Drumeva, Municipality of Dobrich and partner in the URBACT Active Age Thematic Network, Bulgaria
- Matteo Apuzzo, Regional Authority for Health and Social Care, Friuli Venezia Giulia Region, Italy

Dr Hans Schlappa chaired and facilitated the capitalisation process. He also works as a Lead Expert for the URBACT SURE Thematic Network.

Annex 2.

European Territorial Cooperation projects and programmes working on urban shrinkage and demographic change

ESPON:

DEMIFER (Demographic and migratory flows affecting European regions and cities)

List of programmes provided by INTERACT:

- **Spain-Portugal**

IBERMOVILITAS – Promotion of CBC labour mobility http://www.ibermovilitas.org/

- **Spain-external borders CBC programme**

M@res – Sistema para la movilidad de flujos migratorios laborales en la provincia de Huelva – Mobility system for migration flows in Huelva province http://www.poctefex.eu/index.php?modulo=proyectos_aprobados&pagina=ver.php&id_area=&busqueda=M@RES&busqueda_socios=&busqueda_prioridad=0&limite=0&back=proyectos_aprobados&id_ficha=33

- **Baltic Sea Region**

New Bridges – improvement of urban-rural planning through new working methods and pilot actions corresponding to the needs of the population www.urbanrural.net

- **Slovakia-Austria**

MOBIL - Mobilität im Alter (Mobility and ageing): http://www.wien.gv.at/wirtschaft/eu-strategie/eu-foerderung/etz/projekte/mobil.html

- **INTERREG IVA NORTH PROGRAMME (Sweden, Finland and Norway)**

Gränslös omsorg – Elderly care without borders, http://www.interregnord.com/sv/beviljade-projekt/nord/3-regional-funktionalitet-och-identitet/graensloes-omsorg.aspx

Gränslös vård II – Tornedalen – Care without borders, http://www.interregnord.com/sv/beviljade-projekt/nord/3-regional-funktionalitet-och-identitet/graensloes-vaard-ii-tornedalen.aspx

- **CBC INTERREG IVA Germany-Netherlands**

Telemedicine and Personalized Care – Implementation of innovative technologies in the health care sector, creating possibilities for elderly people to live self-supporting for a longer time, https://www.fh-muenster.de/transfer/Projekte_a_z/telemedicine_and_personalized_care.php

Wohnen im Wandel – Differences in building/housing issues in Germany and the Netherlands, moving towards a 'new thinking' in the housing sector, http://www.wohnen-im-wandel.de/

- **North Sea Programme**

DC Noise – Dealing with demographic change related issues in urban and rural areas, namely labour market, service provision and housing issues by developing transferable action strategies in the North Sea Region http://www.northsearegion.eu/ivb/projects/details/&tid=78&back=yes

INTERREG IVC:

FLIPPER Flexible transport services and ICT platform for eco-mobility in urban and rural European areas

URBACT II Programme

The table on the next page shows the correlations of other URBACT projects with the topic of shrinking cities. All projects of the 1st and 2nd calls were checked and analysed. Projects which deal with the core themes of shrinking cities and demographic change are briefly described and aspects with specific relevance for further exploration are identified.

Table of URBACT projects dealing with problems of urban shrinkage and/or demographic change

URBACT Projects	Thematic fields					
	General Theme	**Physical environment (Land surplus, buildings, interim uses)**	**Adaptation of Services**	**Re-imagining (Demographic change / senior citizens / new ways of governance)**	**Migration & Social Inclusion**	**Economic Growth & Stabilisation & Alternatives to Growth**
ESIMEC	Development of innovative economic strategies that capitalise on the assets and specificities of medium sized cities to ensure they are better equipped to cope with economic downturns and to encourage faster economic recovery as well as long term economic growth and resilience.					
CREATIVE CLUSTERS	The creative industries [and creativity-based business models] are called to make a significant contribution in building the new post-crisis economic landscape. This assumption is promoting a re-view of local development strategies in most innovative cities.	Re-making Barnsley - Strategic Development Framework 2003-2033				"Enterprising Barnsley" (LAP)
REDIS	REDIS focuses on the interface between scientific promotion and urban development. Itraises the issue of the sustainable development and management of science quarters. Participants will have the opportunity to design together with their local actors a vision of future city development and an action plan to attain this vision.					
MILE	Development of an integrated exchange programme relating to the theme of "Managing migration and Integration at local LEvel					
REPAIR	Former military or heritage sites provide excellent potential to act as the catalyst for urban regeneration, many consist of historic buildings dating back over centuries and the source of rich cultural heritage. The challenge is to transform these abandoned sites into thriving sources of economic activity, employment and social cohesion.					
LC-FACIL	The main focus is to interrogate the current status of implementation of integrated sustainable urban development socially, economically, in physical renewal and environmental aspects.	Wächterhäuser Leipzig, Nachbarschaftsgärten, Selbstnutzerprogramm		The Dewsbury Renaissance Plan		
CoNET Many correlations (esp. services, inclusion, disadvantaged neighbourhoods)	CoNet collects, reflects and improves the knowledge about integrated approaches to strengthen social cohesion in neigbourhoods. The knowledge is implemented in innovative local projects espacially in the fields of community life, education, economy and employment.	Neighbourhood Management Scheme, Berlin	Dok Zuid, Community centre in South Apeldoorn, Gijón's integrated municipal centres and the citizen card /Vauxhall Children's Centre, Liverpool		Respect Weeks of Action, Liverpool	
LUMASEC	LUMASEC deals with strategic land use management, as it is one of the most important topics for competitiveness, attractiveness and sustainability of European city-regions					
NeT-TOPIC	The network deals with peripheral cities in transformation, with shared problems including industrial decline, territorial fragmentation and social polarisation.The network provides these cities with a platform to reflect on changes in the city model to increase the strategic value of its territory.					
OPEN CITIES	Cities that want to attract and retain international populations have to be 'open' cities that create a good 'offer' for international workers and foster a local climate that recognises and welcomes diversities and provides freedom of thought and speech. The project will consider how cities can develop more proactive policies to create OPENCities to better attract or retain mobile international populations.				OPENCities Monitor	
ToGETHER	So to say, the search for solutions to the crisis should be better shared between public authorities, economic stakeholders, etc...			They use for this a methodology of building indicators of well-being with the citizens themselves, the methodology SPIRAL		From GDP to Well-Being - System of Indicators for Well-Being

no relevance much relevance relevance for certain issues interesting case study

Annex 3.

Regaining balance: a model of approaches for 'Rebound Town' and 'Comeback Town'

This model is intended to assist decision-makers to compare and contrast two types of cities: those which are engaged in a process of managing the shrinkage process in a proactive and purposeful manner in order to 'rebound' from encroaching shrinkage, and those which are 'out of balance' and need to generate a 'comeback'. The 'comeback town' is a place that is in danger of being overtaken by socio-economic decline and has limited choices to react to pressing budgetary, environmental and service-related problems. Still, even in these circumstances, there are opportunities if passivity and 'fate' are not allowed to take hold.

We also distinguish between different types of local action. While regional context and support is of course critically important in the development of responses to shrinkage, the focus must be on locally-led visions of a sustainable and purposeful future for a shrinking city. Visions must be supported by strategy and policy which in turn guide particular programmes of interventions. Lastly, we refer to instruments that might be of importance and we then provide an indicative list of projects to illustrate the contrasting options that might be available to cities trying to either maintain or regain their 'balance'.

Types of local actions	Retaining balance in 'ReboundTown' (Proactive anticipation)	Regaining balance in 'Comeback Town' (Reactive challenges)
Vision	■ Local citizen 'buy-in' as key to sustaining a healthy and inclusive place with aspirations to resilience. ■ Context aware: knowledge of the unique situation within which the locality is embedded and the possibilities this affords. ■ Problems created by shrinkage trends seen as opportunities for change and modernisation ■ Useful to symbolise with reference to one distinctive physical marker of the place.	■ Leadership challenges established perceptions and explanations of the status quo ■ Vision must be realistic and not overpromise. Should especially focus on what is collectively achievable. ■ Small victories can be built on, but overall trajectory is a break with the past. ■ Context aware: knowledge of the unique relational web of connections within which the locality is embedded. ■ Identification with one distinctive physical marker of the place to galvanise resolve. Pride bolstered by good public realm focused civic design. ■ Citizens are key success factor
Strategy	■ Integrated development, strengthening horizontal integration locally and improving vertical linkages regionally ■ Consolidating collective physical assets such as hospitals, schools, theatres and so forth before circumstances become less favourable. ■ Public realm focused good civic design as a cross-cutting core element.	■ Establishing essential links with regional interventions while retaining local initiative and autonomy ■ Seeing demographic change and urban shrinkage as a driving force for modernisation and creativity. Smallness can open up restructuring possibilities for intervention. ■ Finding adaptive reuses for land and property and reducing liabilities associated with urban infrastructure. ■ Interim uses in recycling urban infrastructure essential ■ Making a difference, even if small, in demonstrating that change is possible
Programmes	■ Multiscalar with the need to avoid silo thinking of different agency approaches. ■ The need for citizen-driven approaches to breach silent walls between disjointed thinking of different agencies and actors	■ Multiscalar with the need to avoid silo thinking of different agency approaches. ■ The need for citizen-driven approaches to breach silent walls between disjointed thinking of different agencies and actors
Instruments	■ Coordinated, involving all available financial and planning instruments, drawing on local, regional, national and EU sources ■ Investment vehicles which support the recycling of land and buildings ■ Service design which supports citizen coproduction	■ Coordinated, involving all available financial and planning instruments, drawing on local, regional, national and EU sources ■ Instruments associated with the development of the local social economy particularly important in bolstering a collective sense of purpose in difficult circumstances ■ Investment vehicles which support the recycling of land and buildings
Projects	■ One symbolic project in particular can signal resolve. ■ Various projects with potential multiple funding sources can be tied together with local reimaging publicity aimed at citizens in the first instance	■ One symbolic project in particular can signal aspirations for regeneration. ■ Lessons to be drawn from shrinking rural experience (LEADER) in project generation and delivery ■ Art projects can be cost-effective in harnessing creativity around local resilience.

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URBACT II PROJECTS

PROJECTS	ISSUES ADDRESSED	LEAD PARTNERS
1ST CALL PROJECTS (2008-2011)		
Active A.G.E.	Strategies for cities with an ageing population	Roma – IT
Building Healthy Communities*	Developing indicators and criteria for a healthy sustainable urban development	Torino – IT
CityRegion.Net	Urban sprawl and development of hinterlands	Graz – AT
Co-Net	Approaches to strengthening social cohesion in neighbourhoods	Berlin – DE
Creative Clusters	Creative clusters in low density urban areas	Obidos – PT
C.T.U.R.	Cruise Traffic and Urban Regeneration of port areas	Napoli – IT
EGTC	Sustainable development of cross-border agglomerations	Mission Opérationnelle Transfrontalière – FR
FIN-URB-ACT	SMEs and local economic development	Aachen– DE
HerO*	Cultural heritage and urban development	Regensburg – DE
HOPUS	Design coding for sustainable housing	University La Sapienza, Roma – IT
JESSICA 4 Cities	JESSICA and Urban Development Funds	Regione Toscana – IT
Joining Forces	Strategy and governance at city-region scale	Lille Metropole – FR
LC-Facil	Implementing integrated sustainable urban development according to the Leipzig Charter	Leipzig – DE
LUMASEC	Sustainable land use management	University of Karlsruhe – DE
MILE*	Managing migration and integration at local level	Venice – IT
My generation	Promoting the positive potential of young people in cities	Rotterdam – NL
NeT-TOPIC	City model for intermediate/peripheral metropolitan cities	L'Hospitalet de Llobregat – ES
Nodus	Spatial planning and urban regeneration	Generalitat de Catalunya – ES
OPENCities*	Opening cities to build-up, attract and retain international human capital	Belfast – UK
REDIS	Science districts and urban development	Magdeburg – DE
RegGov*	Integrated policies and financial planning for sustainable regeneration of deprived areas	Duisburg – DE
REPAIR	Regeneration of abandoned military sites	Medway – UK
RUnUp	Strengthening potential of urban poles with triple helix partnerships	Gateshead – UK
Suite	Sustainable housing provision	Santiago de Compostela – ES
UNIC*	Promoting innovation in the ceramics sector	Limoges – FR
URBAMECO*	Integrated sustainable regeneration of deprived urban areas	Grand Lyon – FR
Urban N.O.S.E.	Urban incubators for social enterprises	Gela – IT
WEED	Promoting entrepreneurship for women	Celje – SI
2ND CALL PROJECTS (2009-2012)		
ACTIVE TRAVEL	Promoting walking and cycling in small and medium-sized cities	Weiz – AT
CASH*	Sustainable and affordable energy efficient housing	Echirolles– FR
ESIMeC	Economic strategies and innovation in medium-sized cities	Basingstoke and Deane – UK
EVUE	Electric Vehicles in Urban Europe	Westminster – UK
LINKS	Improving the attractiveness and quality of life in old historical centres	Bayonne – FR
OP-ACT	Strategic positioning of small and medium-sized cities facing demographic changes	Leoben – AT
Roma-Net*	Integration of the Roma population in European cities	Budapest – HU
SURE	Socio-economic methods for urban rehabilitation in deprived urban areas	Eger – HU
TOGETHER	Developing co-responsibility for social inclusion and well-being of residents in European cities	Mulhouse – FR
3RD CALL PROJECTS (2012-2015)		
4D Cities	Promoting innovation in the health sector	Igualada – ES
CITYLOGO	Innovative city brand management	Utrecht – NL
Creative SpIN	Cultural and Creative Industries	Birmingham – UK
CSI Europe	Role of financial instruments (Jessica Urban Development Fund) in efficient planning	AGMA Manchester – UK
ENTER.HUB	Railway hubs/multimodal interfaces of regional relevance in medium sized cities	Reggio Emilia – IT
EUniverCities	Partnerships between cities and universities for urban development	Delft – NL
Jobtown	Local partnerships for youth employment opportunities	Cesena – IT
My Generation at Work	Youth employment with focus on enterprising skills and attitudes	Rotterdam – NL
PREVENT	Involving parents in the prevention of early school leaving	Nantes – FR
RE-Block	Renewing high-rise blocks for cohesive and green neighbourhoods	Budapest XVIII District – HU
Sustainable Food in Urban Communities	Developing low-carbon and resource-efficient urban food systems	Brussels Capital – BE
URBACT Markets	Local markets as drivers for local economic development	Barcelona – ES
USEACT	Re-utilizing existing locations to avoid land consumption	Napoli – IT
USER	Involving users and inhabitants in urban sustainable planning	Agglomeration Grenoble Alpes Metropole – FR
WOOD FOOTPRINT	Local economic development through the (re)use of brownfield and buildings of the wood furniture sector	Paços de Ferreira – PT

*Fast Track Label

URBACT is a European exchange and learning programme promoting integrated sustainable urban development.

It enables cities to work together to develop solutions to major urban challenges, re-affirming the key role they play in facing increasingly complex societal changes. URBACT helps cities to develop pragmatic solutions that are new and sustainable, and that integrate economic, social and environmental dimensions. It enables cities to share good practices and lessons learned with all professionals involved in urban policy throughout Europe. URBACT II comprises 400 different-sized cities and their Local Support Groups, 52 projects, 29 countries, and 7,000 active stakeholders coming equally from Convergence and Competitiveness areas. URBACT is jointly financed by the ERDF and the Member States.

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EUROPEAN PROGRAMME FOR SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT

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