



ADAM MICKIEWICZ UNIVERSITY IN POZNAŃ  
Institute of Socio-Economic Geography  
and Spatial Management

## URBAN SHRINKAGE IN POLAND AND EMERGING POLICY RESPONSES

*Tadeusz Stryjakiewicz*

VASAB Workshop  
Smart urban governance in Times of transition  
Resilience of small and medium cities in the Baltic Region  
Liepaja, 6 September 2018

The presentation is based on:

- the results of the CIREs research project (*Cities Regrowing Smaller - Fostering Knowledge on Regeneration Strategies in Shrinking Cities across Europe*) implemented under EU COST Action (European Programme of Cooperation in Science and Technology) No. TU0803
- Studies carried out in the Institute of Socio-Economic Geography and Spatial Management, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland

# Outline of the presentation

- European dimension of urban shrinkage
- Scale of and spatial differences in demographic shrinkage in Poland
- Shrinkage as a challenge for urban policy in Poland
- Selected publications and projects on shrinking cities
- Case study: Wałbrzych

# **European dimension of urban shrinkage**

## Scale of and spatial differences in urban shrinkage in Europe

Under the CIREs project, a detailed analysis was made of changes that took place over the years 1990-2010 in the population number of 7,035 European cities with more than 5 thousand inhabitants. The changes taken into consideration were not only those within a city's administrative limits, but also in the administrative units that surround it (so-called Local Administrative Units LAU2, in EUROSTAT terminology).

## Definition of a shrinking city

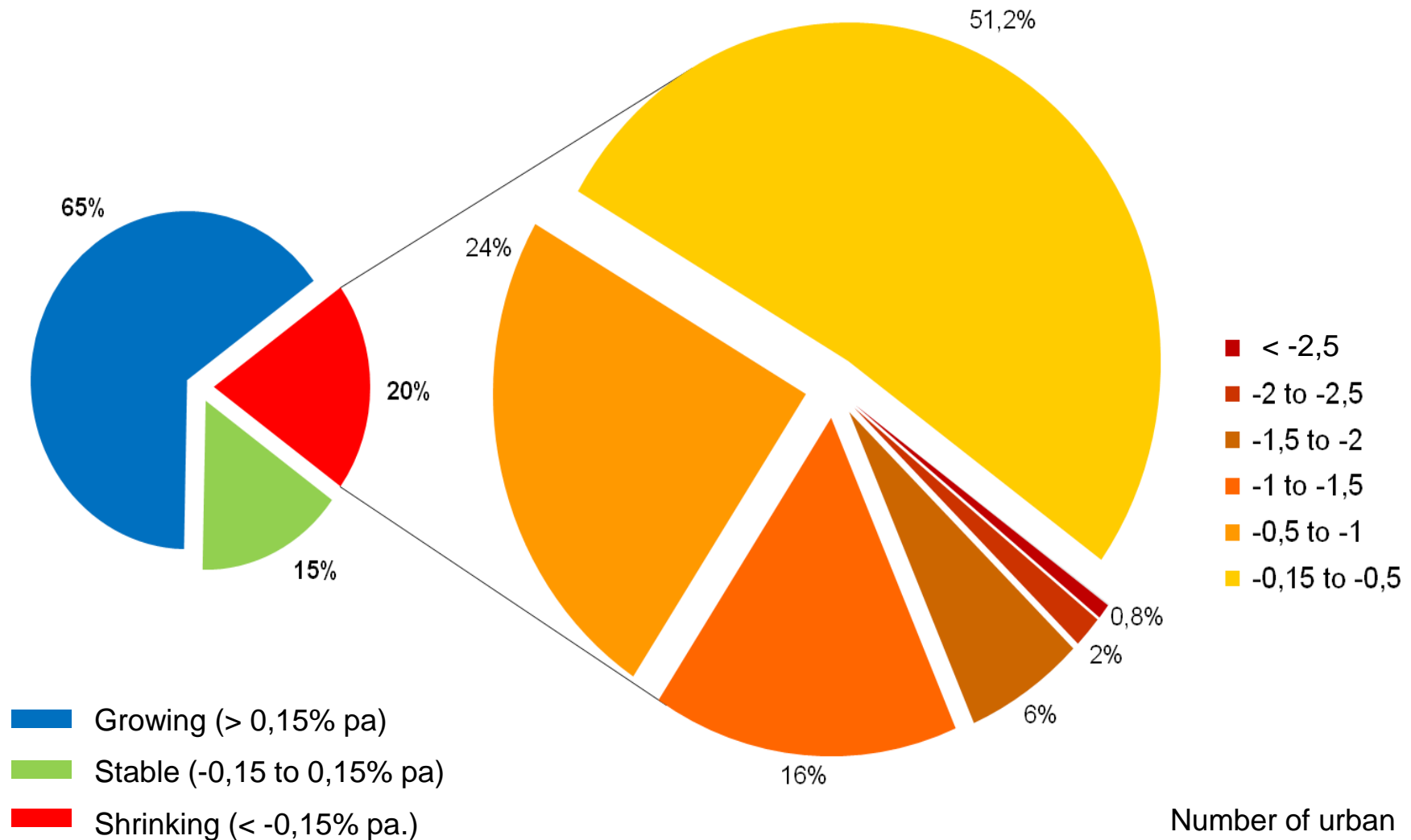
Definition of a shrinking city adopted in the CIREs project (formulated by the Shrinking Cities International Research Network - SCIRN):

"A shrinking city is a densely populated urban area that has on the one hand faced a population loss in large parts of it (for at least 5 years, more than 0.15% annually), and is on the other hand undergoing economic transformation with some symptoms of a structural crisis"

# Scale of and spatial differences in urban shrinkage in Europe

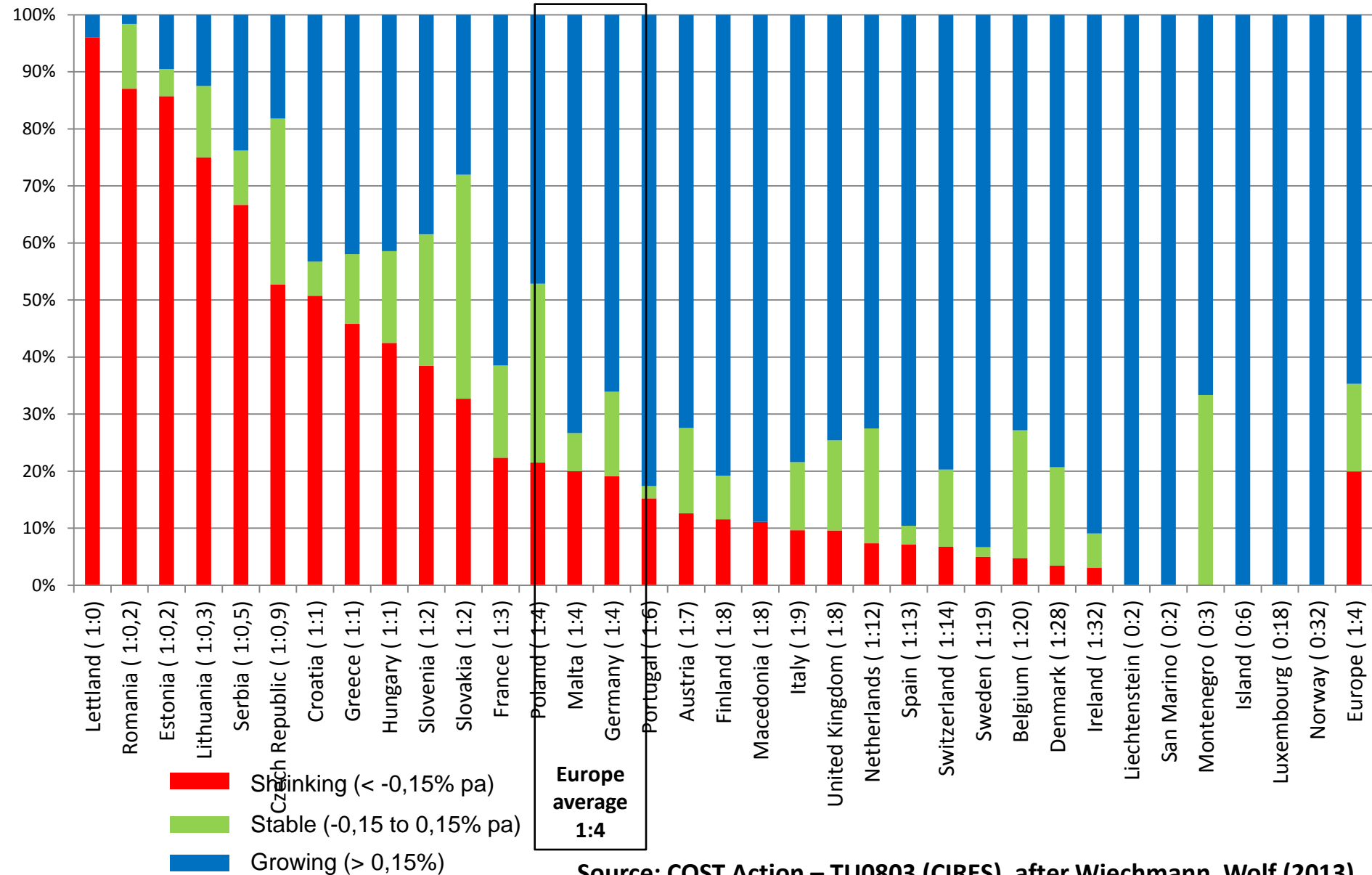
## Dimension of urban shrinkage:

Share of shrinking cities compared to non-shrinking ones 1990-2010



Source: COST Action – TU0803 (CIRES), after Wiechmann, Wolf (2013)

# Shrinking, stable and growing cities 1990-2010

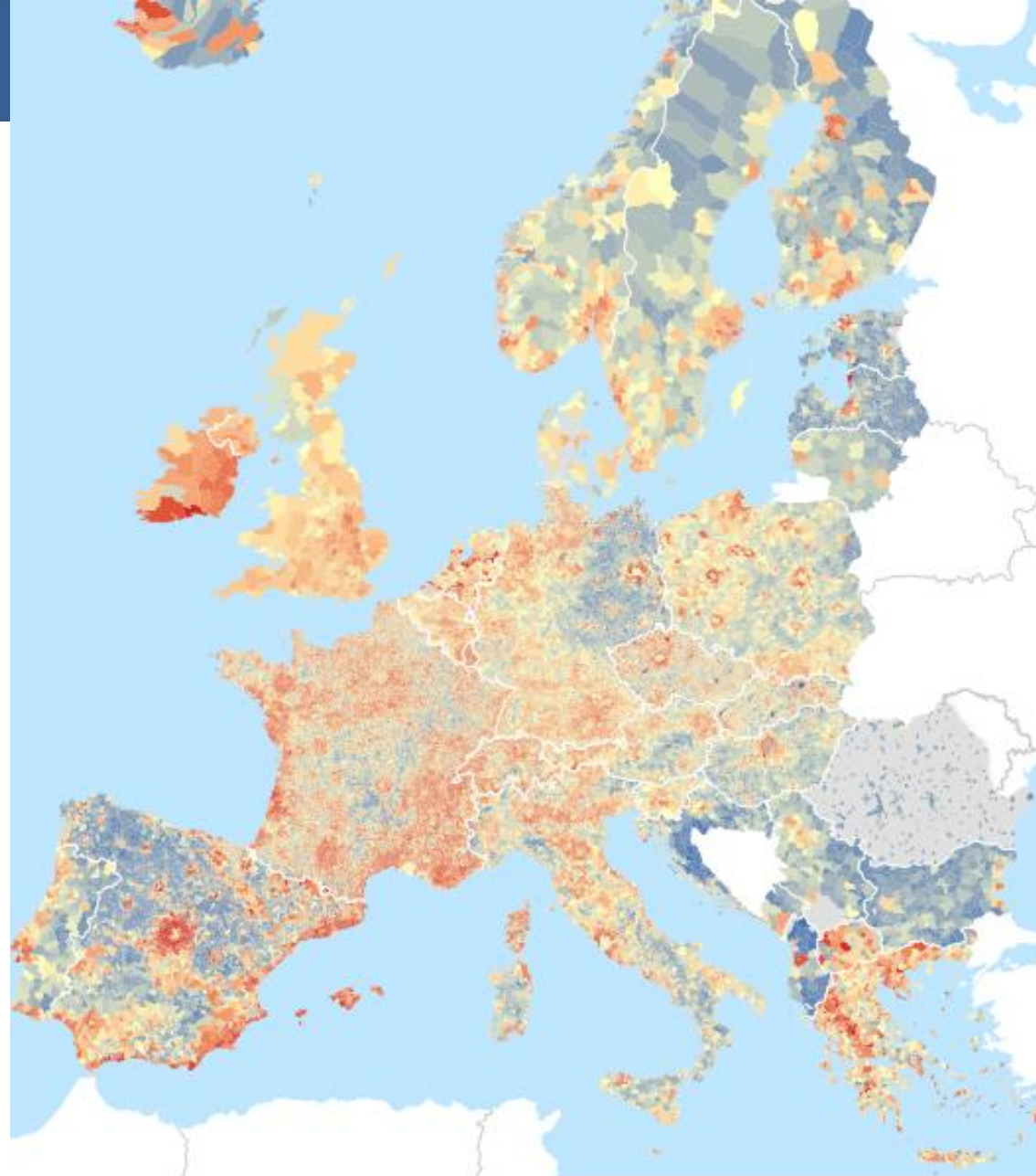


Source: COST Action – TU0803 (CIRES), after Wiechmann, Wolf (2013)



# Poland against the European background

Population change  
in Europe, 1990-2010

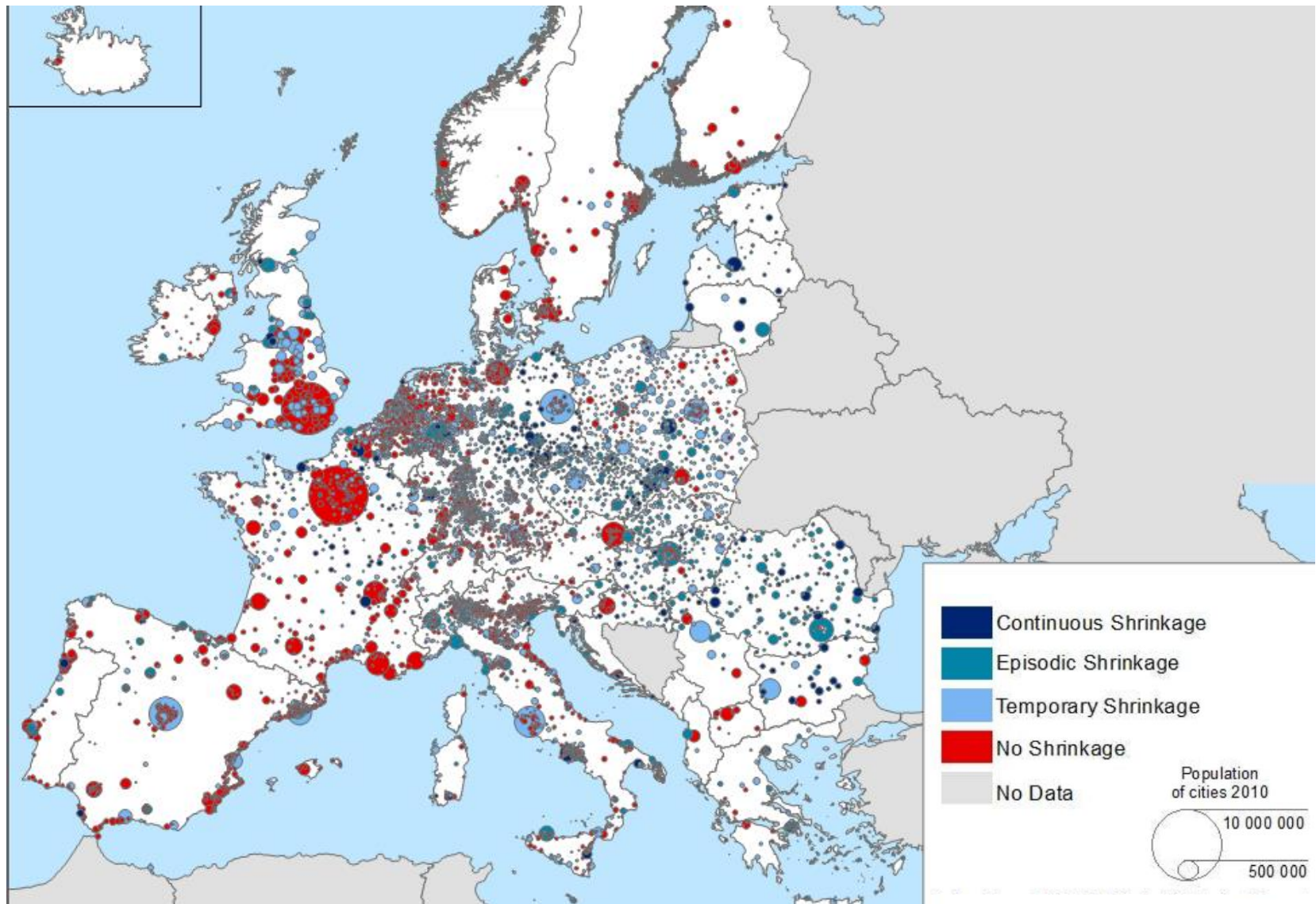


największy spadek      największy wzrost

brak danych

Source: COST Action – TU0803 (CIRES), after Wiechmann, Wolf (2013)

# Scale of and spatial differences in urban shrinkage in Europe



Source: COST Action – TU0803 (CIRES), after Wiechmann, Wolf (2013)

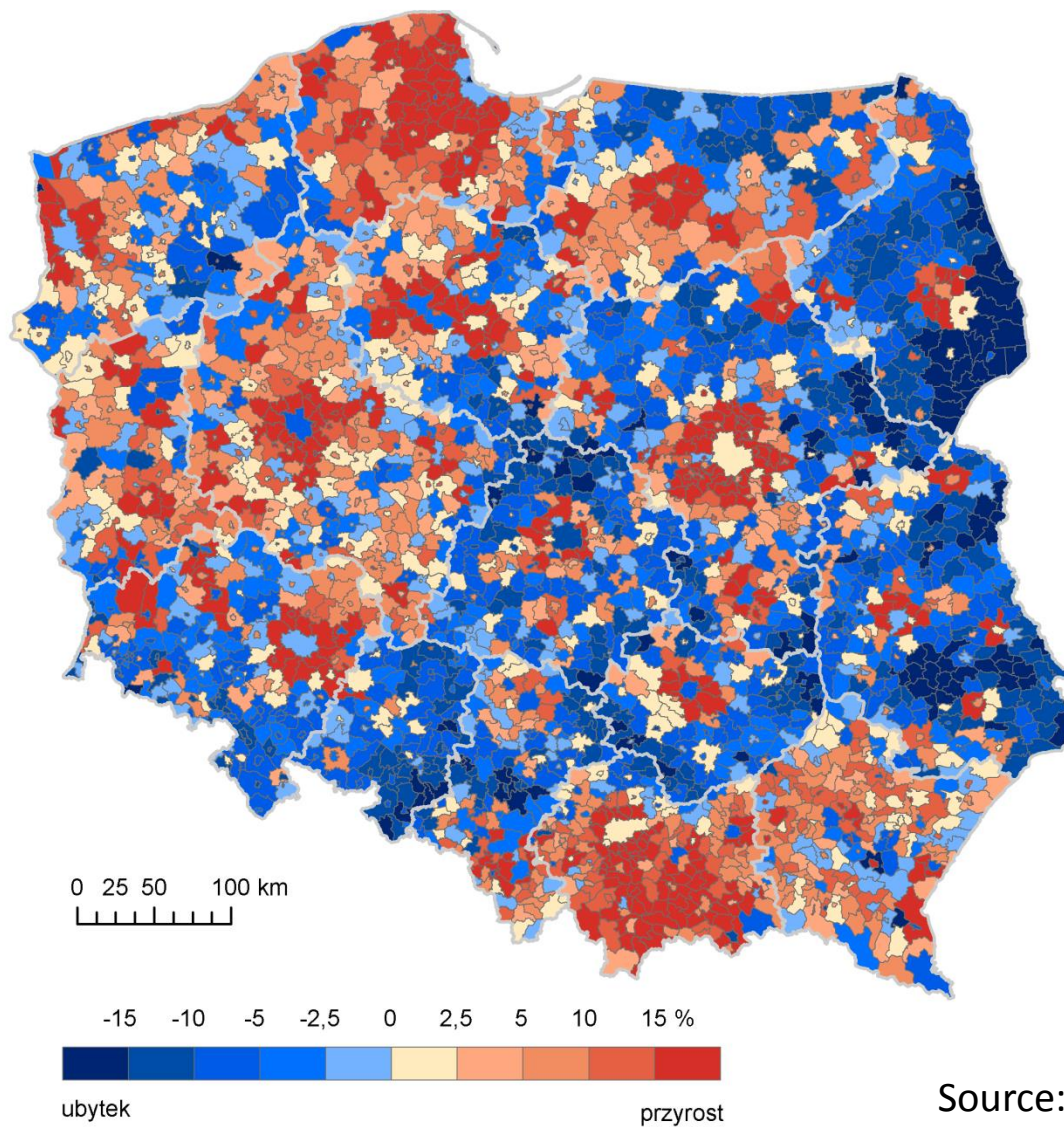
# **Scale of and spatial differences in demographic shrinkage in Poland**

## Key factors that have influenced the shrinkage of cities in Poland:

- **demographic change** (a decline in the number of births, population aging)
- **massive outmigration** (intensified especially after the EU enlargement)
- **transformations of the settlement system** (metropolisation, suburbanization)
- **transformation of the economy** (in particular its de-industrialisation)

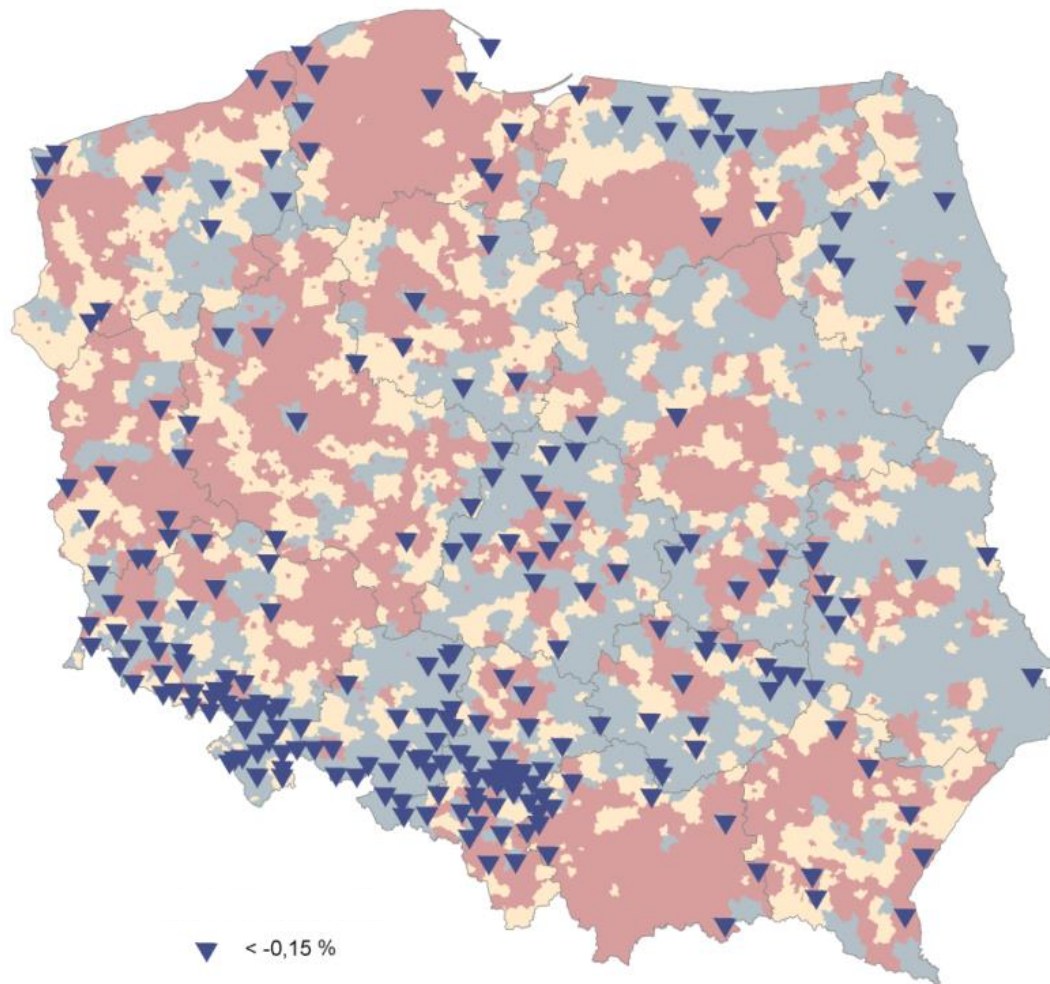


# Population change in Poland, 1990-2015



Source: Jaroszewska, Strykiewicz (2015)

## Annual population change (%) and location of shrinking cities, 1990-2015



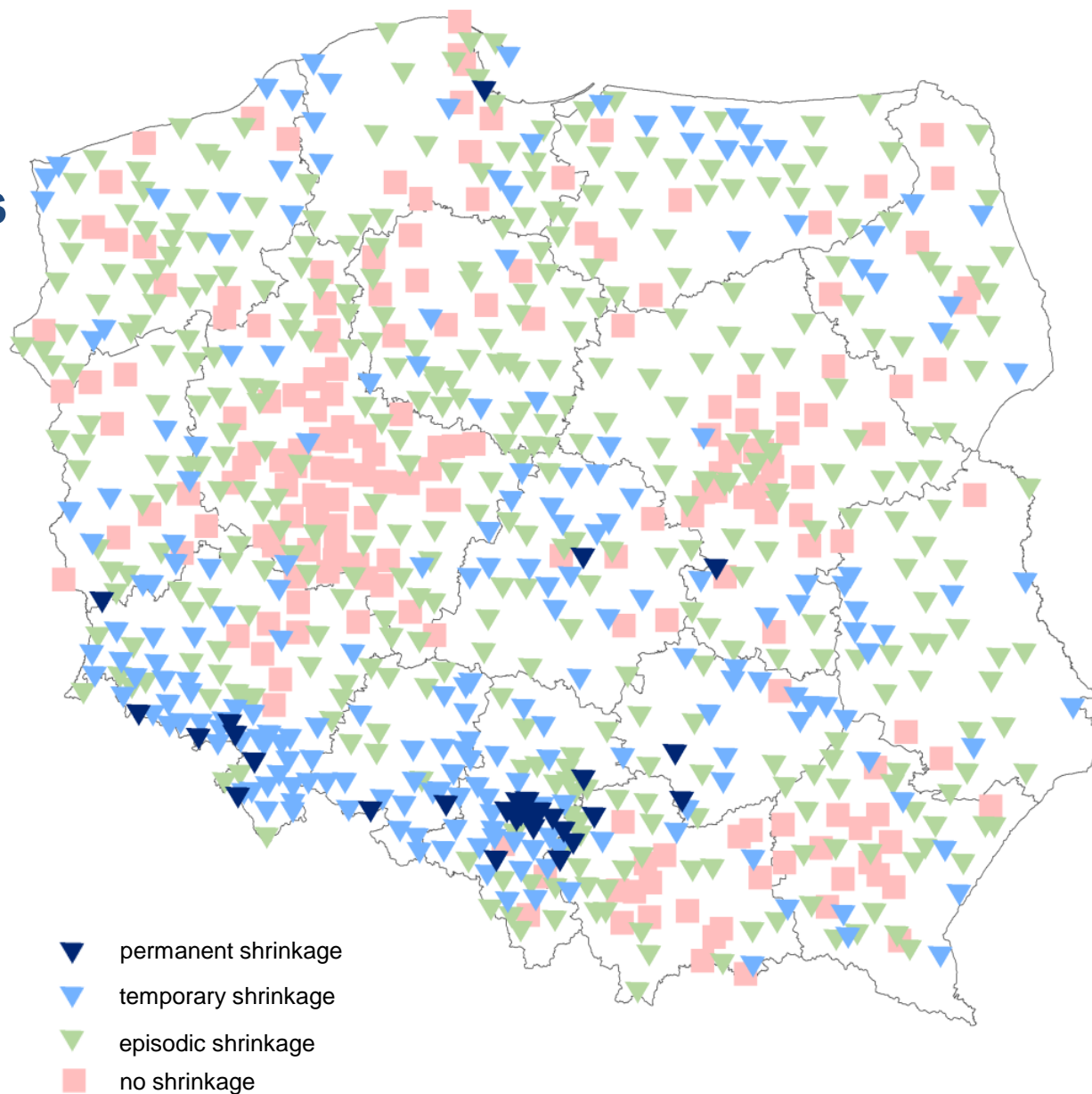
Source: Jaroszevska, Strykiewicz (2015)

# Scale and spatial diversity of urban shrinkage in Poland

Analysis of changes in the population of 829 cities and towns in five sub-periods (1990-1995, 1995-2000, 2000-2005, 2005-2010, 2010-2015) showed:

- **30 cities permanently shrinking**, i.e. in all five-year sub-periods, the population loss was  $-0.15\%$  and more;
- **215 temporarily shrinking cities**, i.e. in which the number of inhabitants - in the analyzed decade decreased (by over  $0.15\%$ ), with at least one five-year stabilization recorded (changes from  $-0.15\%$  to  $+0.15\%$ ) or even an increase in the population size ( $> 0.15\%$ );
- **395 episodically shrinking cities**, i.e. in which the number of inhabitants - in 1990-2015 did not decrease (by more than  $0.15\%$  in annual terms), however, there was at least one five-year period of decline in population size.

## Types of shrinking cities



Source: Jaroszewska (2018)

0 25 50 100 km



## The most shrinking cities in Poland (yearly decrease in population in %, 1990-2015)

Toszek (-1,59%),

Hel (-1,04%), B.S.

Nowe Warpno (-0,96%), B.S.

Kolonowskie (-0,90%),

Sosnowiec (-0,89%)

Bytom (-0,86%),

Chorzów (-0,85%)

Ruda Śląska (-0,85%)

Piekary Śląskie (-0,83%)

Działoszyce (-0,83%)

Szklarska Poręba (-0,83%)

Stronie Śląskie (-0,82%)

Katowice (-0,81%)

Boguszów Gorce (-0,79%)

Wałbrzych (-0,76%)

Dobrodzień (-0,75%)

Nałęczów (-0,74%)

Łódź (-0,74%)

Duszniki Zdrój (-0,73%)

red - small and medium cities, green – big old-industrial cities, B.S. – Baltic Seaside

# **Shrinkage as a challenge for urban policy in Poland**

# Shrinkage as a challenge for urban policy

Factors determining the character of a policy adopted towards shrinking cities:

- a) existing governance systems and cultures;
- b) political traditions;
- c) the way of formulating and addressing problem issues;
- d) the nature of multi-level arrangements and relationships;
- e) the mode of governance; and
- f) the availability and origin of resources.

# Shrinkage as a challenge for urban policy

## Fields of special impact of urban policies in shrinking cities

Field of impact	Problems and challenges
Socio-demographic structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- unfavourable reproductive behaviour and downward demographic tendencies (e.g. low birth rates)</li><li>- preventing population outflow, immigration incentives</li><li>- population ageing</li><li>- dwindling size of households</li></ul>
Economic structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- fighting unemployment and creating new jobs</li><li>- attracting investors</li><li>- dwindling urban budget receipts and growing budget deficit</li><li>- increasing dependence on external funding (in particular from public means)</li></ul>
Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- housing vacancies</li><li>- deteriorating housing stock</li><li>- deteriorating public facilities and spaces</li></ul>
Physical infrastructure and land use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- some components of physical infrastructure 'oversized' in the face of falling demand</li><li>- abandoned land as well as infrastructural and post-industrial facilities</li></ul>
Social infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- under-used potential of some child-care and youth facilities (e.g. nurseries, kindergartens, schools)</li><li>- growing demand for facilities and services for older people (e.g. nursing homes)</li></ul>

# Shrinkage as a challenge for urban policy

## Types of strategies designed to overcome the adverse effects of urban shrinkage

Strategies	Active			Passive
	expansive strategy	maintenance strategy	planning for a decline	absence of steps activating a vicious circle of shrinkage
Goal	keeping the population within city limits, or even making it expand	maintaining the attractiveness of existing urban structures	orderly shrinkage, qualitative development	no specified goals
Major forms of urban policy implementation	development of new residential areas	development of existing land-use pattern and functions, target group programmes	adaptation and reduction of existing infrastructure, development of recreational areas	waiting for external intervention (e.g. of central or regional authorities) and for financial support

# Shrinkage as a challenge for urban policy

Three most popular **policy approaches** distinguished in the CIRES project:

- (a) counteracting or alleviating the adverse effects of shrinkage;
- (b) seeking new sources of growth; and
- (c) promoting positive aspects of shrinkage.

# Shrinkage as a challenge for urban policy

## Two strategic orientations intended to counteract the adverse effects of urban shrinkage

- ***in situ (on site) strategies***

### Goals

reducing unemployment  
by stimulating entrepreneurship

urban renewal programmes  
(renewal of downtown parts,  
protection of industrial heritage,  
revitalisation of industrial facilities  
for cultural /educational purposes)

### Main actors

#### local

cities and communes, enterprises,  
business environment institutions,  
non-governmental organisations

#### supra-local

European Union and its assistance  
programmes, central authorities  
(e.g. Ministry of Regional  
Development) and local authorities

- **networking strategies**, based on cooperation with other, more advanced spatial units

# Shrinkage as a challenge for urban policy

*We need new scenarios and development programmes that would accommodate the process of urban shrinkage*

(Wiechmann 2008).

## **What is necessary?:**

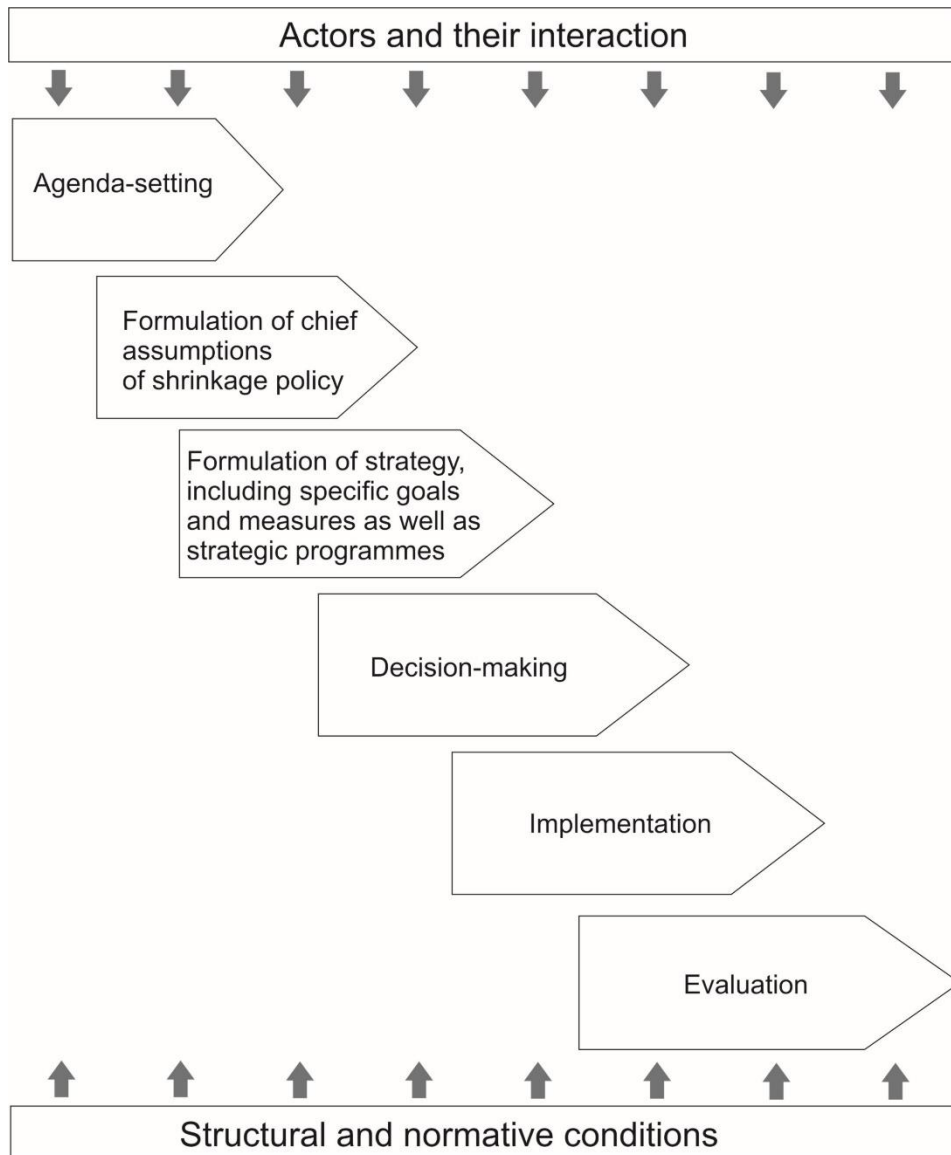
- to involve both, local actors (self-government authorities, enterprises, institutions and organisations of the business environment), as well as supra-local ones (marshal offices, the Ministry of Regional Development), backed by the European Union programmes and funds
- to liberate urban policy from 'the obsession of the steady-growth paradigm'
- to work out suitable forms of planning ('planning for shrinkage')
- to look at urban shrinkage from the perspective of the chances and possibilities of change in the path development followed so far ('shrinkage as an opportunity')

(Bontje 2004, Wiechmann 2006, Hollander i in. 2009, Suosa 2010, Hollander, Nemeth 2011)



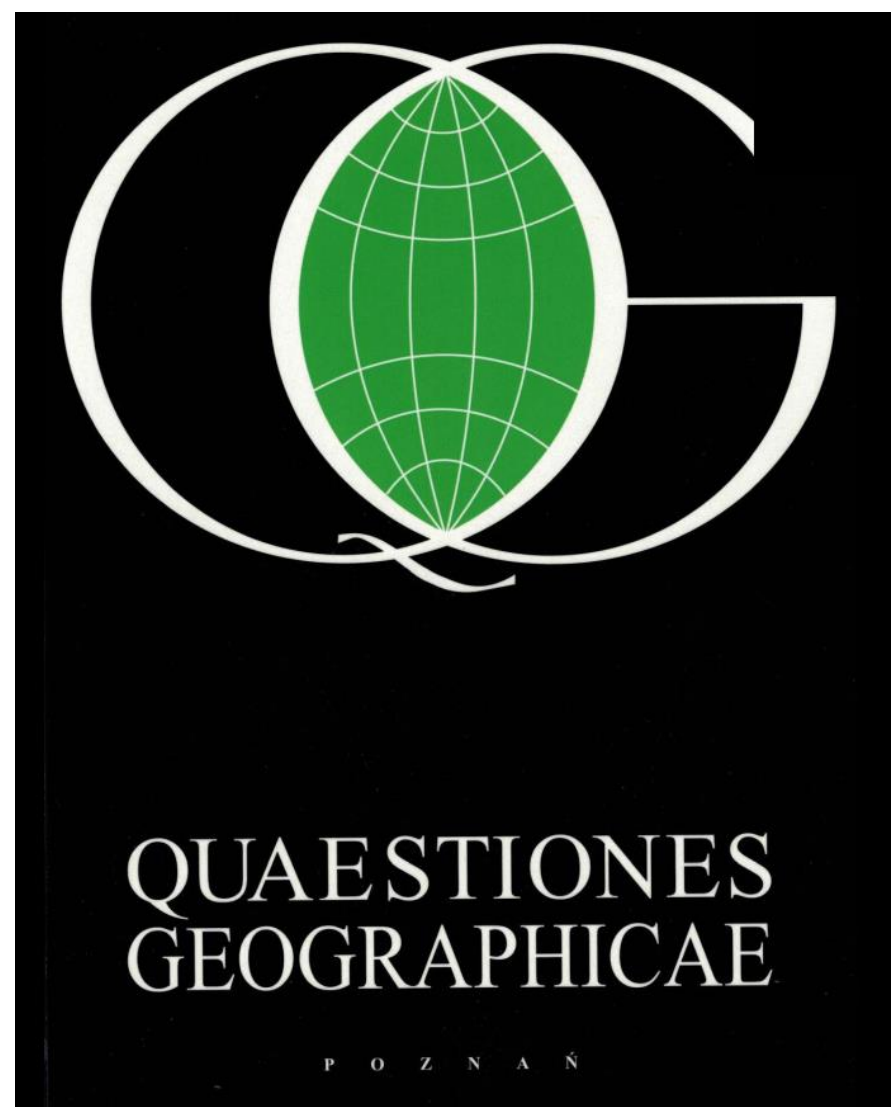
# Shrinkage as a challenge for urban policy

## Stages of urban policy implementation in shrinking cities



Source: Bernt et al. (2010), with the authors' modifications

# Selected publications and projects on shrinking cities



## THE PROCESS OF SHRINKAGE AS A CHALLENGE TO URBAN GOVERNANCE

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STRYKIEWICZ T., JAROSZEWSKA E., 2016. The process of shrinkage as a challenge to urban governance. *Quaestiones Geographicae* 35(2), Bogucki Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Poznań, pp. 27–37, 4 figs, 2 tables.

**ABSTRACT:** For many decades most researchers, planners and local authorities have been focusing almost exclusively on urban growth and its socio-economic and spatial consequences. However, in the current debate concerning the future of cities and regions in Europe the process of their shrinkage starts to attract more attention. In the conditions of a declining population, urban governance is an important challenge for local authorities, being usually much more difficult than during the periods of population growth.

The experience of cities affected by shrinkage shows that there is no simple method of counteracting negative consequences of this process. Regeneration strategies vary a lot, depending mostly on the way the problem is perceived by both central and local governments. The strategies can either choose an adaptive approach (the acceptance of shrinkage and adjustment to it), or attempt to renew growth (shrinkage is treated as just a temporary phenomenon). Quite often the problem is ignored and no action is taken at all.

In the paper the authors discuss the conditions and consequences of different approaches towards the process of shrinkage and present examples of regeneration strategies (together with their assessment). They conclude with recommendations for future urban policies.

**KEY WORDS:** shrinking cities, urban governance, regeneration strategies

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### Introduction

Cities and processes related to them undergo a never-ending transformation which makes the model of city management change too, as reflected by the transition from government to governance (Bailey 1993). Today local governance is understood as a flexible decision-making model based on loose horizontal links among various actors (public and private) (John 2001). The policy conducted in this way rests on the

process of learning. It is open to other participants and creates a climate of cooperation in order to achieve common goals. As Musterd and Kovacs put it (2013: 14), "policy makers would be wise to incorporate all available knowledge about pathways and place characteristics, and how to capitalise existing networks". That is why it is so important to gain an insight into the processes that take place in modern cities, and to revise policies pursued so far in order to meet new challenges. Urban shrinkage is one of them. This

XI СОКРАТИЧЕСКИЕ ЧТЕНИЯ:  
ЖАН ГОТТМАНН КАК ПРОВИДЕЦ И КРИТИК  
(К СТОЛЕТИЮ СО ДНЯ РОЖДЕНИЯ)

Материалы международной научной конференции  
«Пространственная трансформация  
урбанизированной среды  
в условиях постиндустриального развития общества»

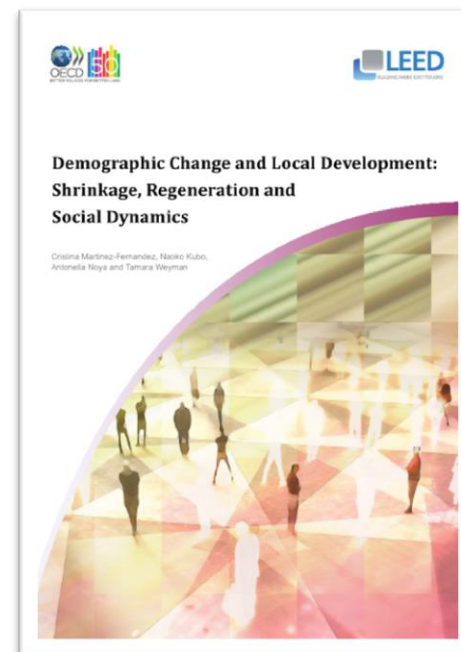
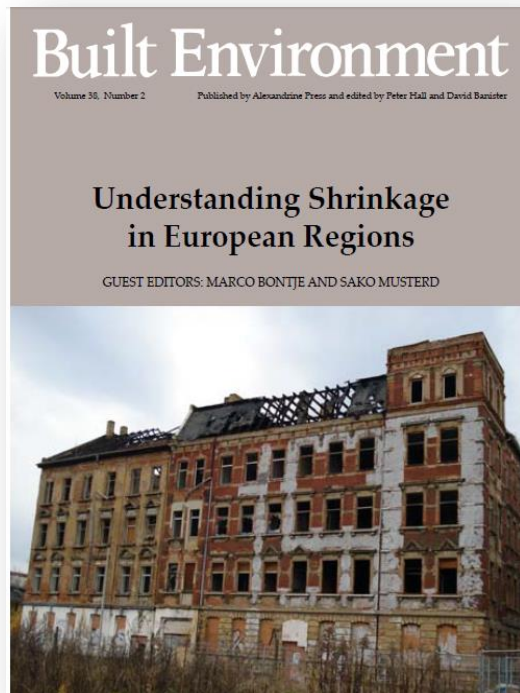
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# Selected publications

T. Strykiewicz, P. Ciesiółka and E. Jaroszewska, Urban Shrinkage and the Post-Socialist Transformation: The Case of Poland. *Built Environment*, 38/2, 2012

OECD Raport 2012 „Demographic Change and Local Development: Shrinkage, Regeneration and Social Dynamics”





# KURCZENIE SIĘ MIAST W EUROPIE ŚRODKOWO-WSCHODNIEJ



Praca zbiorowa pod redakcją  
Tadeusza Strykiewicza

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In preparation:

Chung Tong Wu, Maria Gunko and Tadeusz Stryjakiewicz (eds):  
Shrinking Cities in Post-Socialist Societies (working title),  
Routledge

Sections:

- China
- Russia
- East-Central and South-Eastern Europe

# New EU project on shrinking cities

**RE-CITY** "Reviving shrinking cities - innovative paths and perspectives towards livability for shrinking cities in Europe" Horizon 2020, Marie Skłodowska-Curie Innovative Training Networks.

**Coordinator:** Professor Karina Pallagst, Department of Spatial and Environmental Planning at Technische Universität Kaiserslautern

**Participants:** Technische Universität Kaiserslautern, Cambridge Architectural Research, École Normale Supérieure Paris, Spatial Foresight, Technical University Dortmund, University of Amsterdam, University of Porto, Adam Mickiewicz University Poznan, University of Guadalajara

**Partners:** The Bertelsmann Foundation, Rhineland-Palatinate Energy Agency, Helmholtz Centre for Environmental Research, "Fresh" marine fish farm in Völklingen, Saarland, Kent State University USA, Japanese Nomura Research Institute, Netherlands Expert Center on Demographic Change.



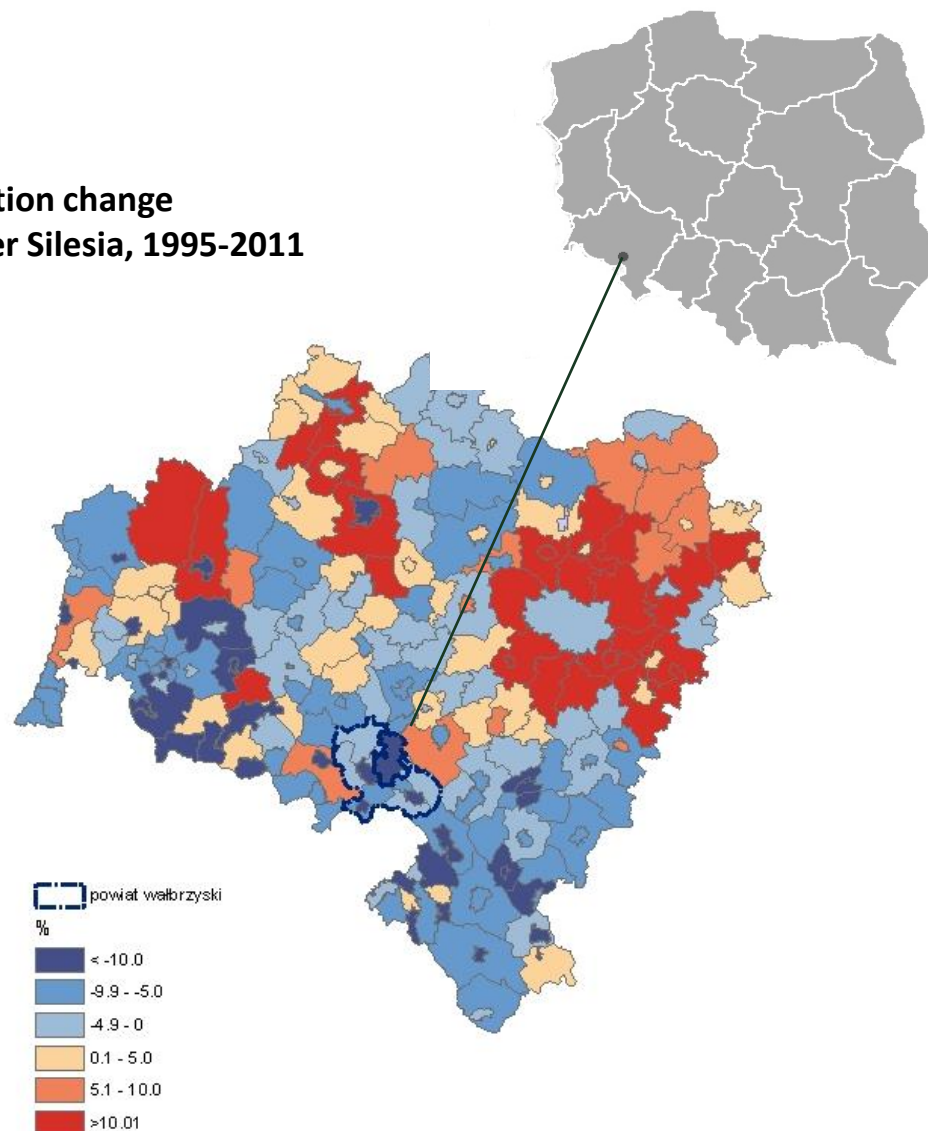
# Case study: Wałbrzych

# Case study: the city of Wałbrzych

## Population change In Wałbrzych powiat, 1995-2011

Territorial unit	%
Wałbrzych	-16.16
Boguszów-Gorce	-15.61
Mieroszów - miasto	-13.73
Głuszyca - miasto	-11.11
Jedlina-Zdrój	-9.91
Głuszyca	-9.19
Mieroszów	-8.13
Szczawno-Zdrój	-6.79
Walim	-3.74
Głuszyca - obszar wiejski	-3.53
Czarny Bór	-1.97
Stare Bogaczowice	-1.76
Mieroszów - obszar wiejski	-0.03

## Population change in Lower Silesia, 1995-2011



Source: own compilation based on Central Statistical Office (GUS) data

## Wałbrzych

... **past – 141,504** (data as at the end of December 1989)

**present – 114,568** (data as at the end of December 2016)

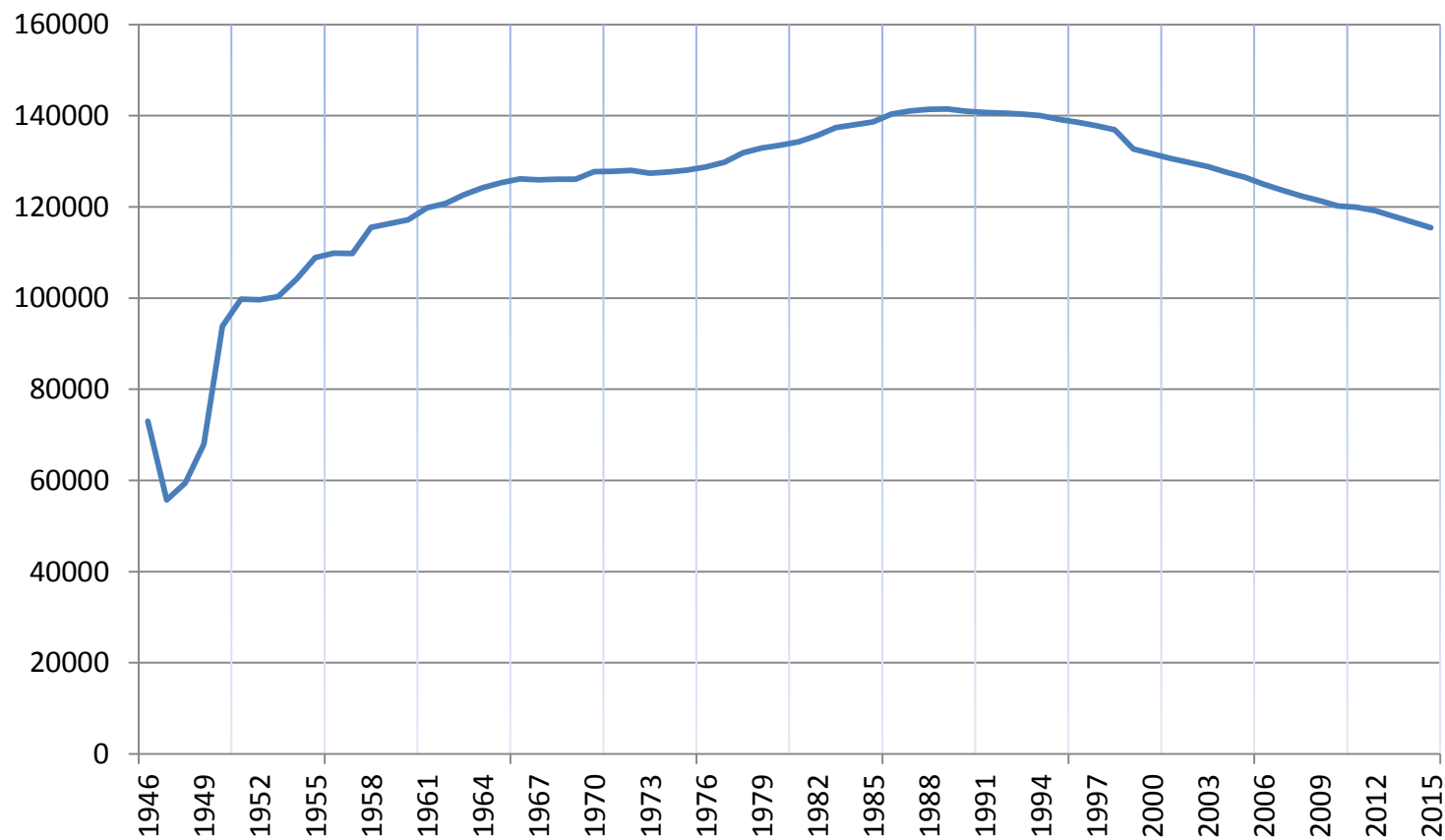
**future...**

**in 2030**, the city's population will fall to **99,187** and reach the state of population from 1950/51.

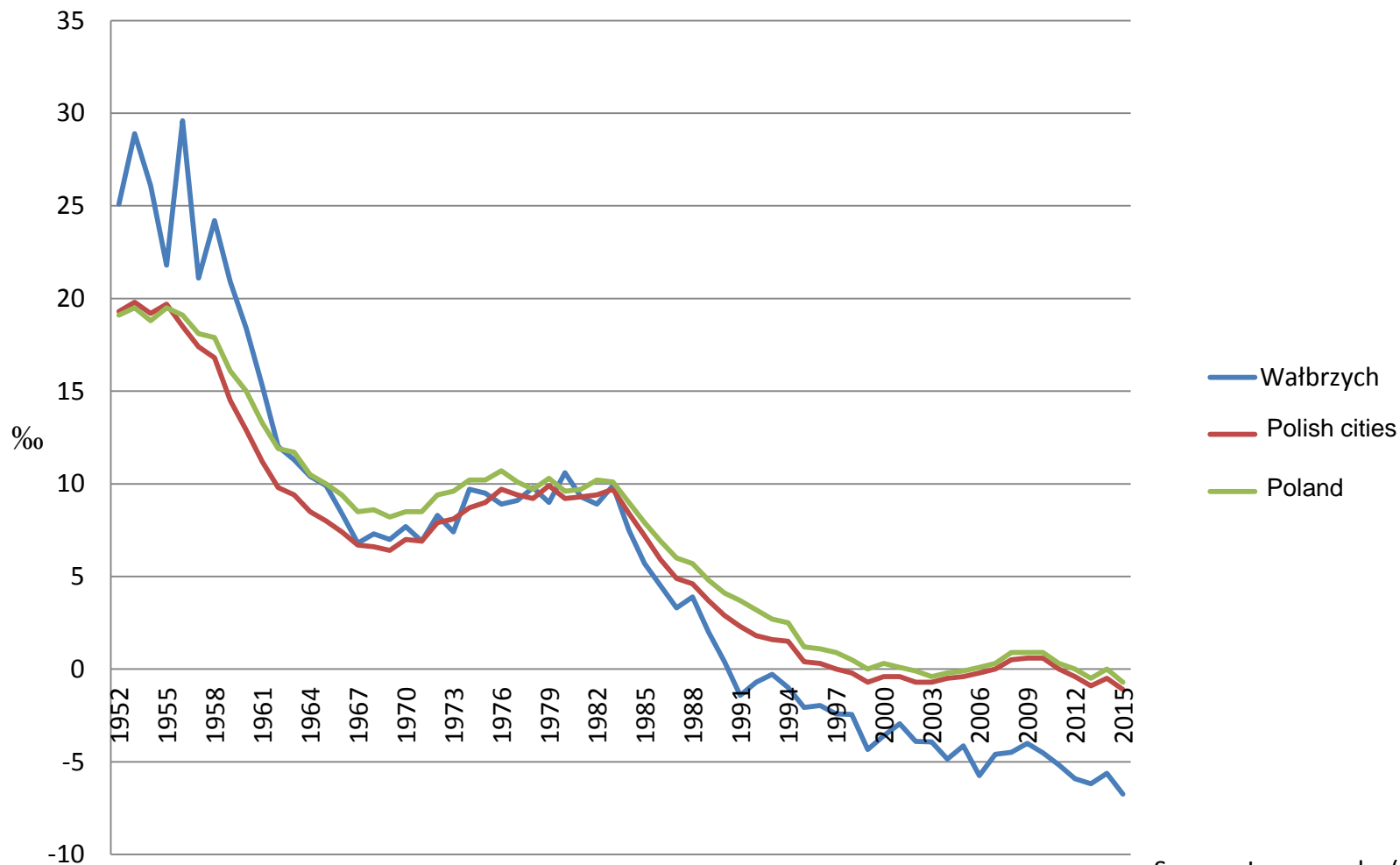
**in 2050**, the expected number of inhabitants will be **74,463**, which means that Wałbrzych will shrink by almost a half compared to the record number in 1989,

(GUS demographic forecast)

## Population of Wałbrzych in the years 1945-2015

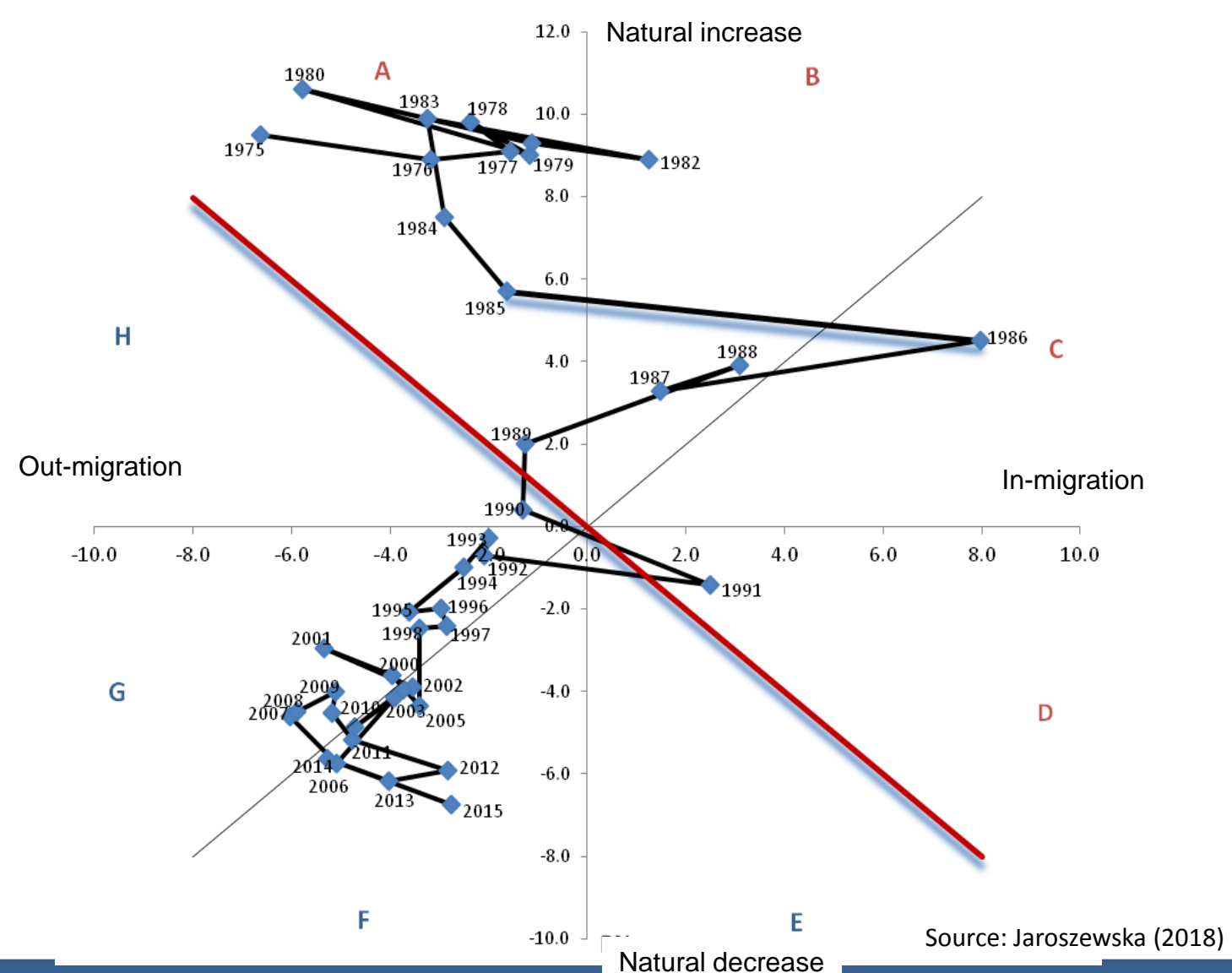


# Natural Increase/decrease in Wałbrzych, cities in Poland and Poland in 1952-2015



Source: Jaroszevska (2018)

# Direction of changes in the demographic development of Wałbrzych in the years 1975-2015 based on the Webb typology



Source: Jaroszewska (2018)

## Number of unemployed and job offers in the years 1990-2015 (data as at the end of December)

	1990*	1992*	1997*	2002	2005	2010	2015
<b>unemployed registered</b>	9320	21070	10432	15518	12717	7079	4088
with the right to unemployment benefit	-	-	3490	3024	2056	1658	601
<b>number of job offers</b>	39	70	28	0	0	44	1242

\*data refer to the Wałbrzych region

Source: Jaroszewska (2018), based on the reports of the District Labor Office in Wałbrzych (1990/97) and the Poviát Labor Office in Wałbrzych.

# Degradation of housing



- technical condition 42% of the municipal housing stock is described as bad, and 17.2% of the resource (121 buildings) is planned for demolition (Program ..., 2013)
- low real estate prices, the average price of flats in Wałbrzych in 2014 was at the level of 1791 PLN / m<sup>2</sup> and was significantly lower than in Poland (4117 PLN / m<sup>2</sup>) and in the voivodship (3378 PLN / m<sup>2</sup>) (Central Statistical Office, GPR 2016)





# Struggling to Shed the Negative Image

Despite improved living conditions and the completion of many revitalisation investments, Wałbrzych is still unable to rid itself of the negative image it has in the media.

The ugliness of Wałbrzych makes the city perceived as the most repulsive place in Poland (on a par with Bytom and Ruda Śląska). Magnetism of Polish towns" report (Young & Rubicam 2009)

Crisis of city's political élites:

'Poor man's democracy'

'Election was sold?'

Wałbrzych shame



# **Regeneration of Wałbrzych**

## **- a real chance or utopia?**

# Wałbrzych Special Economic Zone "INVEST - PARK"

## Number of employees in the WSEZ Subzone of Wałbrzych

	2000	2002	2004	2006	2010	2014
Employment	1470	3146	5676	6835	8300	6825
Number of unemployed*	11371	15518	13939	10451	7079	5816

\* data at the end of December

Source: Jaroszewska (2018), based on data from the WSSE and PUP in Wałbrzych

### problems:

- no employees with the necessary qualifications
- lack of interest of unemployed people with job offers due to low wages and work based on the so-called junk contracts
- aging of labor force resources





# Revitalization projects: buildings, infrastructure and open public spaces

2008



2016



Fot. LPR Wałbrzycha 2008-2015

Fot. E. Jaroszewska

# Revitalization projects

*Museum of Industry and Technology in Wałbrzych* → “Former Mine” Science and Art Centre

2008



2016



The first stage of revitalization was completed in 2014.

Fot. E. Jaroszevska

The project turned out to be three times more expensive than initially planned. - Instead of the planned 52.5 million PLN (including 35.7 million PLN co-financed from the EU), over 166 million PLN was spent (!).

# Summing up

- In the case of Wałbrzych, the process of shrinkage is closely related to its individual, industrial development path
- The city requires long-term and flexible policies which take the ongoing process of shrinkage into account and treat it as both a challenge and an opportunity
- Complex plans should be devised on qualitative development, adaptation and reduction of existing infrastructure and development of recreational areas
- Physical planning has to be adjusted to the consequences of shrinkage and the changing population structure (e.g. ageing)
- The Wałbrzych case will serve as a model of revitalizing solutions in the National Revitalization Programme

**Thank you!**