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
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 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

- 51.2% Shrinking (< -0.15% pa.)
- 24% Stable (-0.15 to 0.15% pa.)
- 16% Growing (> 0.15% pa.)
- 6% -2 to -2.5
- 2% -1.5 to -2
- 2% -1 to -1.5
- 0.8% -0.5 to -1
- 0.8% -0.15 to -0.5

Number of urban areas: 7035

Shrinking, stable and growing cities 1990-2010

Poland against the European background

Population change in Europe, 1990-2010

Scale of and spatial differences in urban shrinkage in Europe

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

Source: Jaroszewska, Stryjakiewicz (2015)
Scale and spatial diversity of urban shrinkage in Poland


- **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

- Permanent shrinkage
- Temporary shrinkage
- Episodic shrinkage
- No shrinkage

Source: Jaroszewska (2018)
The most shrinking cities in Poland (yearly decrease in population in %, 1990-2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Percentage Decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Toszek</td>
<td>-1.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hel</td>
<td>-1.04%, B.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nowe Warpno</td>
<td>-0.96%, B.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolonowskie</td>
<td>-0.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sosnowiec</td>
<td>-0.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bytom</td>
<td>-0.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorzów</td>
<td>-0.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruda Śląska</td>
<td>-0.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piekary Śląskie</td>
<td>-0.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Działoszyce</td>
<td>-0.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Szklarska Poręba</td>
<td>-0.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stronie Śląskie</td>
<td>-0.82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katowice</td>
<td>-0.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boguszów Gorce</td>
<td>-0.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wałbrzych</td>
<td>-0.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dobrodzień</td>
<td>-0.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nałęczów</td>
<td>-0.74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Łódź</td>
<td>-0.74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duszniki Zdrój</td>
<td>-0.73%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

red - small and medium cities, green – big old-industrial cities, B.S. – Baltic Seaside
Shrinkage as a challenge for urban policy in Poland
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field of impact</th>
<th>Problems and challenges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socio-demographic structure</td>
<td>- unfavourable reproductive behaviour and downward demographic tendencies (e.g. low birth rates)&lt;br&gt;- preventing population outflow, immigration incentives&lt;br&gt;- population ageing&lt;br&gt;- dwindling size of households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic structure</td>
<td>- fighting unemployment and creating new jobs&lt;br&gt;- attracting investors&lt;br&gt;- dwindling urban budget receipts and growing budget deficit&lt;br&gt;- increasing dependence on external funding (in particular from public means)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>- housing vacancies&lt;br&gt;- deteriorating housing stock&lt;br&gt;- deteriorating public facilities and spaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical infrastructure and land use</td>
<td>- some components of physical infrastructure 'oversized' in the face of falling demand&lt;br&gt;- abandoned land as well as infrastructural and post-industrial facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social infrastructure</td>
<td>- under-used potential of some child-care and youth facilities (e.g. nurseries, kindergartens, schools)&lt;br&gt;- growing demand for facilities and services for older people (e.g. nursing homes)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rink et al. (2009), with the authors' modifications
## Shrinkage as a challenge for urban policy

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategies</th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>expansive strategy</td>
<td>planning for a decline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maintenance strategy</td>
<td>absence of steps activating a vicious circle of shrinkage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal</td>
<td>keeping the population within city limits, or even making it expand</td>
<td>maintaining the attractiveness of existing urban structures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>development of new residential areas</td>
<td>development of existing land-use pattern and functions, target group programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major forms of urban policy implementation</td>
<td>development of existing land-use pattern and functions, target group programmes</td>
<td>adaptation and reduction of existing infrastructure, development of recreational areas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Danielzyk et al. 2002, p. 25; with the authors' modifications
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
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‘)

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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Stryjakiewicz T., Jaroszewska E. 2016. The process of shrinkage as a challenge to urban governance. Quaestiones Geographicae35(2), Bogucki Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Poznań, pp. 27-37, 4 figs, 2 tables.

Abstract: For many decades most researchers, planners and local authorities have been focussing 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 faces 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 ad-hoc approach (the acceptance of shrinkage and adjustment to it), or attempts to reverse 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 Mustard and Kovacs put it (2012: 14), “policy makers would be wise to incorporate all available knowledge about pathways and place characteristics, and how to capitalise existing networks”. This 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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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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territorial unit</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wałbrzych</td>
<td>-16.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boguszów-Gorce</td>
<td>-15.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mieroszów - miasto</td>
<td>-13.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Głuszycy - miasto</td>
<td>-11.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jedlina-Zdrój</td>
<td>-9.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Głuszycy</td>
<td>-9.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mieroszów</td>
<td>-8.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Szczawno-Zdrój</td>
<td>-6.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walim</td>
<td>-3.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Głuszycy - obszar wiejski</td>
<td>-3.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czarny Bór</td>
<td>-1.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stare Bogaczowice</td>
<td>-1.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mieroszów - obszar wiejski</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Population change
in Lower Silesia, 1995-2011

Source: own compilation based on Central Statistical Office (GUS) data
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,
Population of Wałbrzych in the years 1945-2015

Source: Jaroszewska (2018)
Natural increase/decrease in Wałbrzych, cities in Poland and Poland in 1952-2015

Source: Jaroszewska (2018)
Direction of changes in the demographic development of Wałbrzych in the years 1975-2015 based on the Webb typology

Natural increase

Out-migration

In-migration

Natural decrease

Source: Jaroszewska (2018)
Number of unemployed and job offers in the years 1990-2015 (data as at the end of December)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unemployed registered</td>
<td>9320</td>
<td>21070</td>
<td>10432</td>
<td>15518</td>
<td>12717</td>
<td>7079</td>
<td>4088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with the right to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3490</td>
<td>3024</td>
<td>2056</td>
<td>1658</td>
<td>601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unemployment benefit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number of job</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>offers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*data refer to the Wałbrzych region

Source: Jaroszewska (2018), based on the reports of the District Labor Office in Wałbrzych (1990/97) and the Poviat 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 / m2 and was significantly lower than in Poland (4117 PLN / m2) and in the voivodship (3378 PLN / m2) (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’s shame
Regeneration of Wałbrzych
- a real chance or utopia?
 Wałbrzych Special Economic Zone "INVEST - PARK"

Number of employees in the WSEZ Subzone of Wałbrzych

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>1470</td>
<td>3146</td>
<td>5676</td>
<td>6835</td>
<td>8300</td>
<td>6825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of</td>
<td>11371</td>
<td>15518</td>
<td>13939</td>
<td>10451</td>
<td>7079</td>
<td>5816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unemployed*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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. E. Jaroszewska
The first stage of revitalization was completed in 2014. 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!