



Shrinking cities: a view from Britain

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Outline

- Longstanding counterurbanisation ...but shrinkage is now concentrated in specific places
- Legacy and location are prime determinants
...but clever governance helps to realise potential
- Most policy has assumed that shrinkage can be reversed
- The imperatives for policy are:
 - i) to develop a better understanding of the difference between places, and
 - ii) to use city regions as the basis for strategy



Population change in city regions, 1971-2009

(source: Southall 2010)

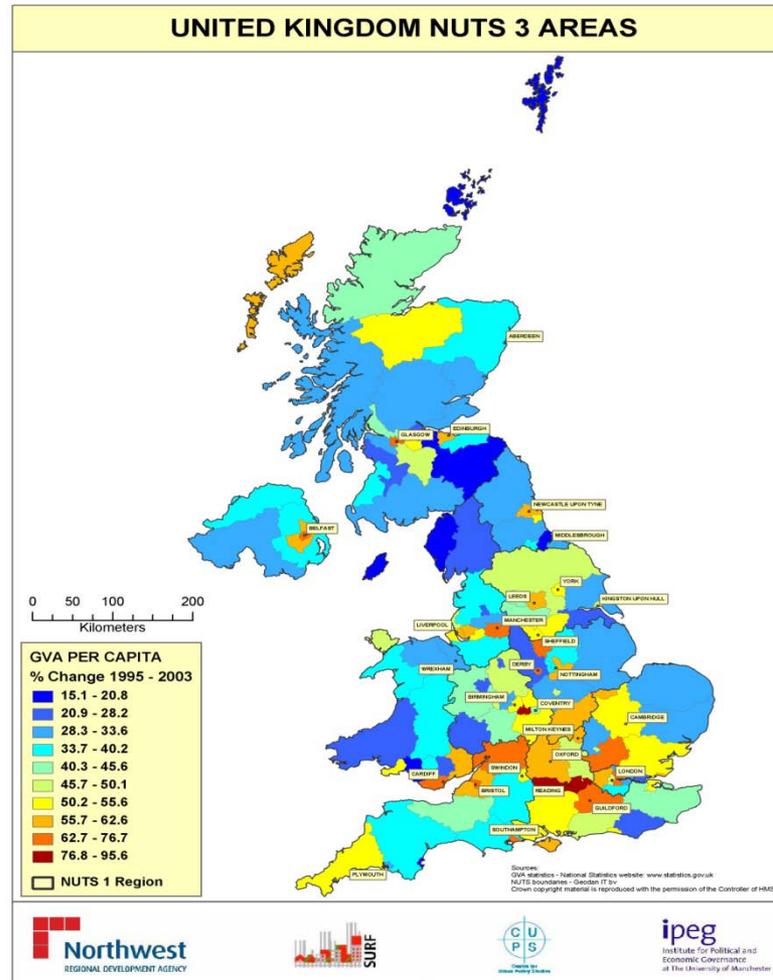
Greatest increase

	1971	2009	% change
Milton Keynes	66,900	236,700	253.6
Telford	97,200	162,300	67.0
Peterborough	105,300	171,200	62.5
Northampton	238,000	377,900	58.8
Cambridge	236,900	349,600	47.6
Swindon	139,900	198,800	42.1
Reading	427,500	572,600	33.9
Norwich	288,800	382,900	32.6
Crawley	454,700	585,000	28.7
York	154,700	198,800	28.5

Greatest loss

	1971	2009	% change
Liverpool	1,200,900	975,200	-18.8
Tyneside	917,300	824,700	-10.1
Manchester	1,962,700	1,824,600	-7.0
Stoke	475,600	458,500	-3.6
Burnley	180,900	174,900	-3.3
Wirral	654,300	635,100	-2.9
Grimsby	160,400	157,100	-2.1
Sheffield	815,900	800,800	-1.9
Sunderland	802,200	788,100	-1.8
Wigan	491,600	483,600	-1.6

Change in GVA per capita, 1995-2003



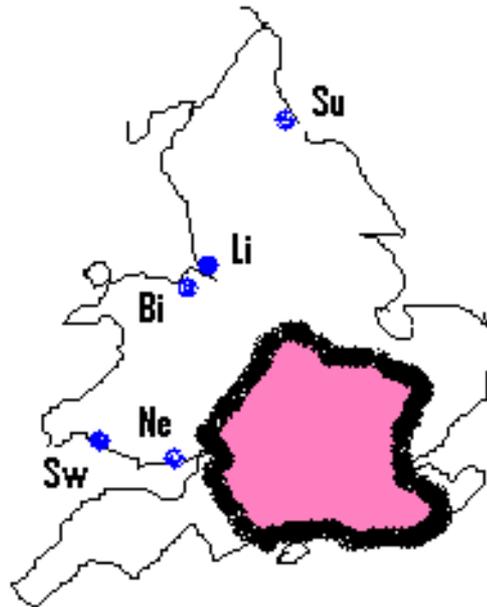


The drivers of shrinkage

- Industrial legacy
 - one-industry towns (textiles, heavy engineering, coalmining, seaside resorts) all with a legacy of low or outdated skills and poor housing stock
- Geography
 - cul-de-sac towns in the North – Sunderland, Middlesbrough, Hull, Liverpool.....) and
 - isolated towns east of London



The geography of shrinkage and growth – from production to consumption



The South East growth zone versus the five cities most likely to shrink fastest

New apartments in northern cities

Source: Norwood, Graham (2009) *The housing downturn*

The auctioneers Frank Knight suggest there was a total of 20,000 people living in the combined city centres of Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, Sheffield and Newcastle in 1995.

By 2005 this had more than doubled to 47,000 city centre flats.

	Built	Under construction	Awaiting planning permission	Longer-term plans
Manchester	5630	2377	2468	3000
Leeds	3655	2408	4808	4963
Liverpool	3523	3049	1548	2562
Sheffield	2445	1262	2112	2484
Newcastle	2421	480	1228	2419
TOTAL	17,674	9,576	12,164	11,192

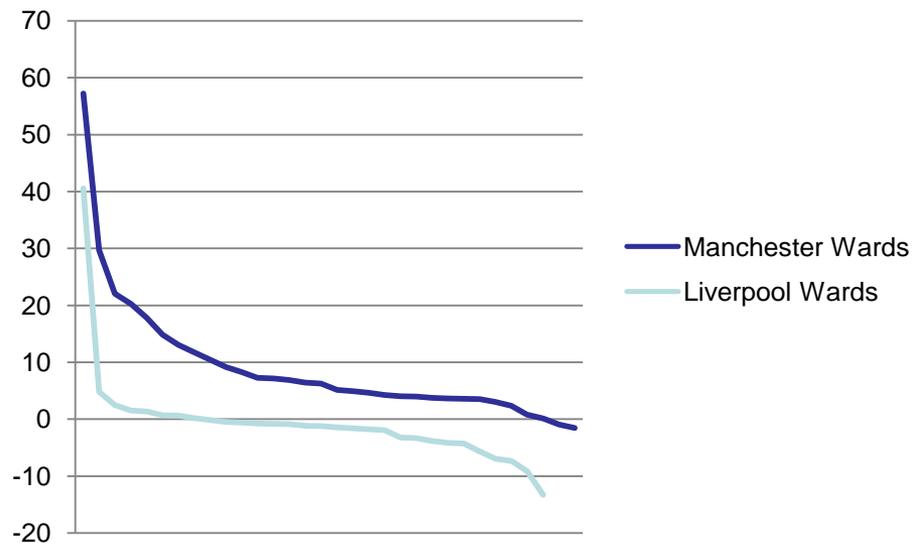


% population change, Manchester & Merseyside

	2001-3	2003-5	2005-7	2007-9
Greater Manchester	0.48	0.62	0.85	1.38
Bolton	0.54	0.04	0.08	0.80
Bury	0.44	-0.22	0.33	0.50
Manchester	2.25	3.38	4.07	4.00
Oldham	-0.32	0.05	-0.09	0.51
Rochdale	-0.05	-0.73	-0.39	0.34
Salford	0.14	0.97	0.87	1.72
Stockport	-0.39	-0.39	-0.14	0.60
Tameside	0.05	-0.09	0.09	1.03
Trafford	0.52	0.28	0.66	0.94
Wigan	0.30	0.36	0.20	0.79
Merseyside	-0.52	-0.16	-0.41	-0.17
Knowsley	-0.60	-0.13	-0.20	-0.27
Liverpool	-0.36	0.68	-0.16	-0.07
St. Helens	-0.06	0.00	-0.11	0.34
Sefton	-0.95	-0.93	-0.90	-0.65
Wirral	-0.54	-0.80	-0.61	-0.13



% population change 2001-7, Manchester & Liverpool wards





Wards with highest % population growth

		2001-04	2004-7
Manchester city		3.1	5.1
	Ancoats	4.2	17.1
	Ardwick	12.6	0.4
	City Centre	27.4	23.4
	Hulme	12.1	15.7
	Moss Side	11.7	5.4
Liverpool city		-1.1	-0.4
	Central	33.1	5.6

The logo consists of a blue circle containing a white cross. The letters 'C' and 'U' are in the top-left and top-right quadrants, while 'P' and 'S' are in the bottom-left and bottom-right quadrants respectively.

Manchester's assets

- Advanced professional services – finance, law, insurance, etc
- Airport
- Universities & R&D
- Media city
- Populous catchment area
- **Astute and stable leadership**
- **Public-private partnerships**



Policy responses

- Going for growth – countering the market
 - ‘Pervasive optimism bias’ in regeneration strategies, but they have helped to reverse or slow decline
- The bandwagon effect
 - bio-science, cultural industries, inner-city flats
- Few examples of policy that accepts shrinkage and the need for re-engineering
 - Durham mining villages
 - Housing Market Renewal programme



Category D villages in County Durham

- Numerous very small coal mining villages, many with populations of only a few hundred.
- Increasing closures of the small uneconomic mines in the post-war period.
- In 1948 government designated a new town – Peterlee - to provide a more economic grouping of population.
- In 1951 the County Development Plan categorised the mining villages in one of four types, with category D villages to be demolished.



Durham village categories

Category 'A' settlements (69) - likely to experience population increase and to which new investment should be directed.

Category 'B' settlements (140) - static populations where sufficient investment should take place only to maintain the existing population.

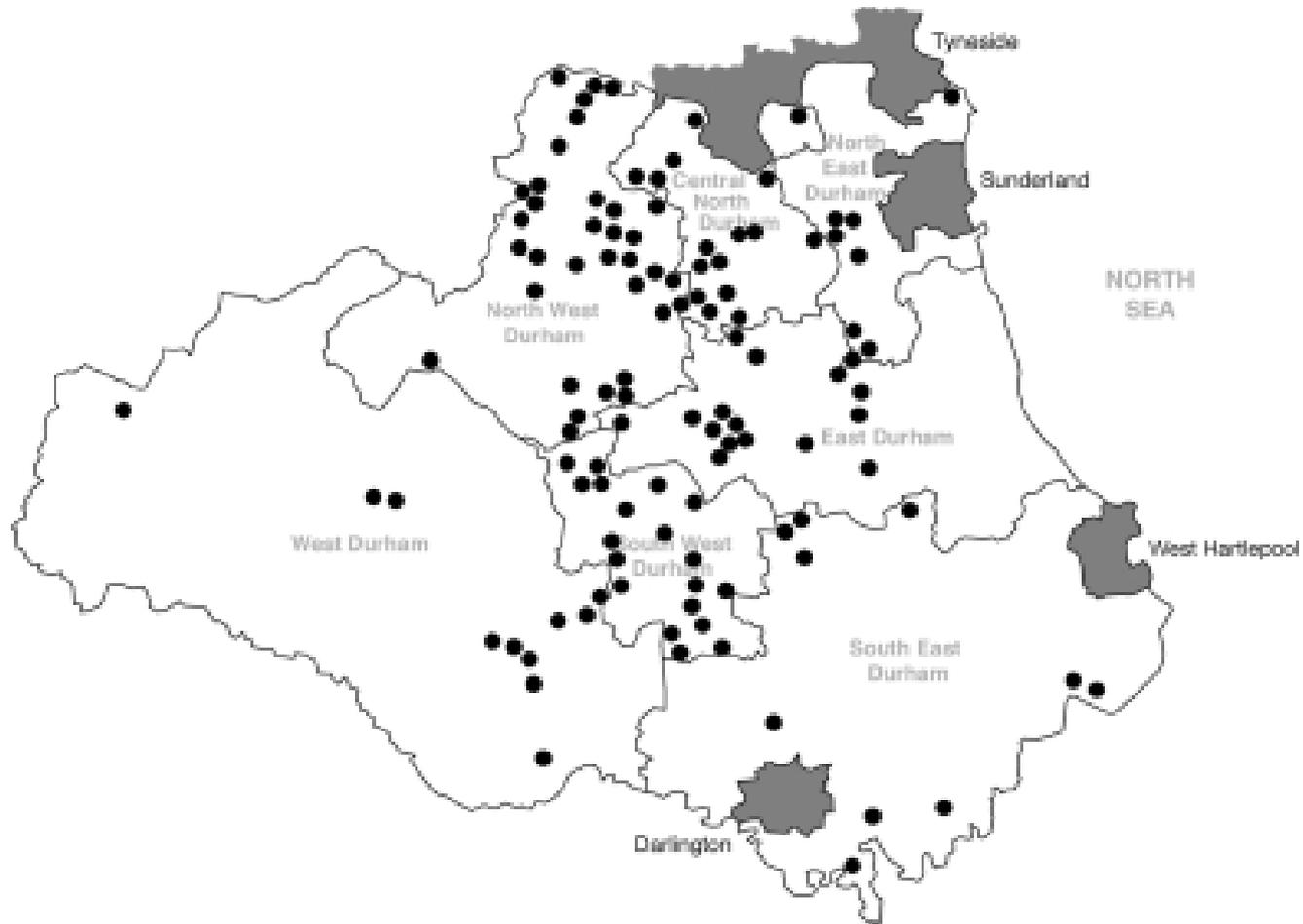
Category 'C' settlements (30) - population likely to decline and limited investment should occur, catering only for the remaining population.

Category 'D' settlements (114) - population likely to decline and no future development should be permitted and, where possible, property should be acquired and demolished.



Durham 'Category D' villages

(source: Pattison, 2004)





D-village outcomes

- The programme met with growing resistance and political opposition; did little after the 1960s; and was officially ended in 1977
- Of the 357 scattered pit villages only 3 had been wholly demolished by 1969:
 - Clash between the top-down ‘logic’ of planners and the cultural attachments and spatial identity of residents.
 - Technical difficulties in acquiring houses for demolition
 - Growth of commuting increased demand



The Housing Market Renewal (HMR) Programme

- Nine mostly urban areas in the North and Midlands. Started in 2002, with cumulative public funding of some £2.3 billion. Intended to be a 10-15 year programme, but after March this year all funding will be stopped.
- The original aim was to tackle areas of 'housing market failure' with high levels of vacancy and population loss by demolishing as well as improving existing stock.
- Critics argue that the net impact will increase housing supply in run-down neighbourhoods when one of the objectives of the programme was to reduce it.

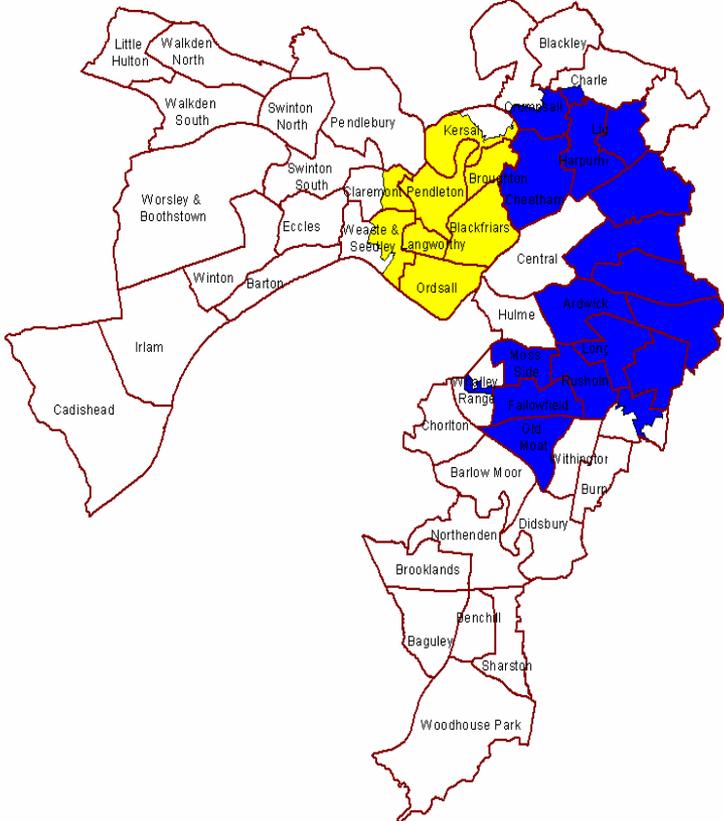


Manchester Salford HMR Pathfinder

Covers over 6,000 hectares with a 2001 population of 240,370, nearly 40 per cent of the total population of Manchester and Salford.

The area has faced severe concentrations of deprivation, collapse of traditional industries, and a population loss of 360,000 between 1951 and 2001.

New housing that had been built was of poor quality with low levels of homeownership and high concentrations of social housing. Poor quality private stock resulted in areas of low property values and high levels of abandonment.





Manchester Salford

HMR outputs

Year	HMR spend (£million)	New houses	Refurbished houses	Demolished houses
'03-04	20	891	1370	676
'04-05	44	2114	4273	571
'05-06	51	1307	2380	454
'06-07	52	3267	2305	935
'07-08	53	3371	512	381
'08-09	52	2367	1362	532
'09-10	46	1840	735	566
Total	318	15157	12937	4115



Housing design, Manchester regeneration





Chimney Pot Park, Salford



THE
TERRACED
HOUSE
turned
side
uMOP





Manchester/Salford HMR, Beswick, East Manchester

- 60% loss in employment, 1970-85
- HMR spend 2003-10: £5.3 million
- HMR output: 532 new houses

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Average house price (£000)	36.5	50.7	98.0	88.6	127.0	115.9
House Price as % GM average	36.4	41.7	72.9	60.4	81.6	77.2
Population	3019	3009	2980	2974	3171	3445
Working age pop	2384	2395	2447	2487	2721	3061



HMR outcomes

- Positive change in most – but not all - of the HMR areas

....but

- Huge cost of working against the grain of the market



Policy conundrums

- Planning logic versus community sentiment
- Counteract the market or go with the grain
- Demand-driven or supply-driven levers
- Copy successes or tailor to local potential
- Encourage commuting or minimise travel

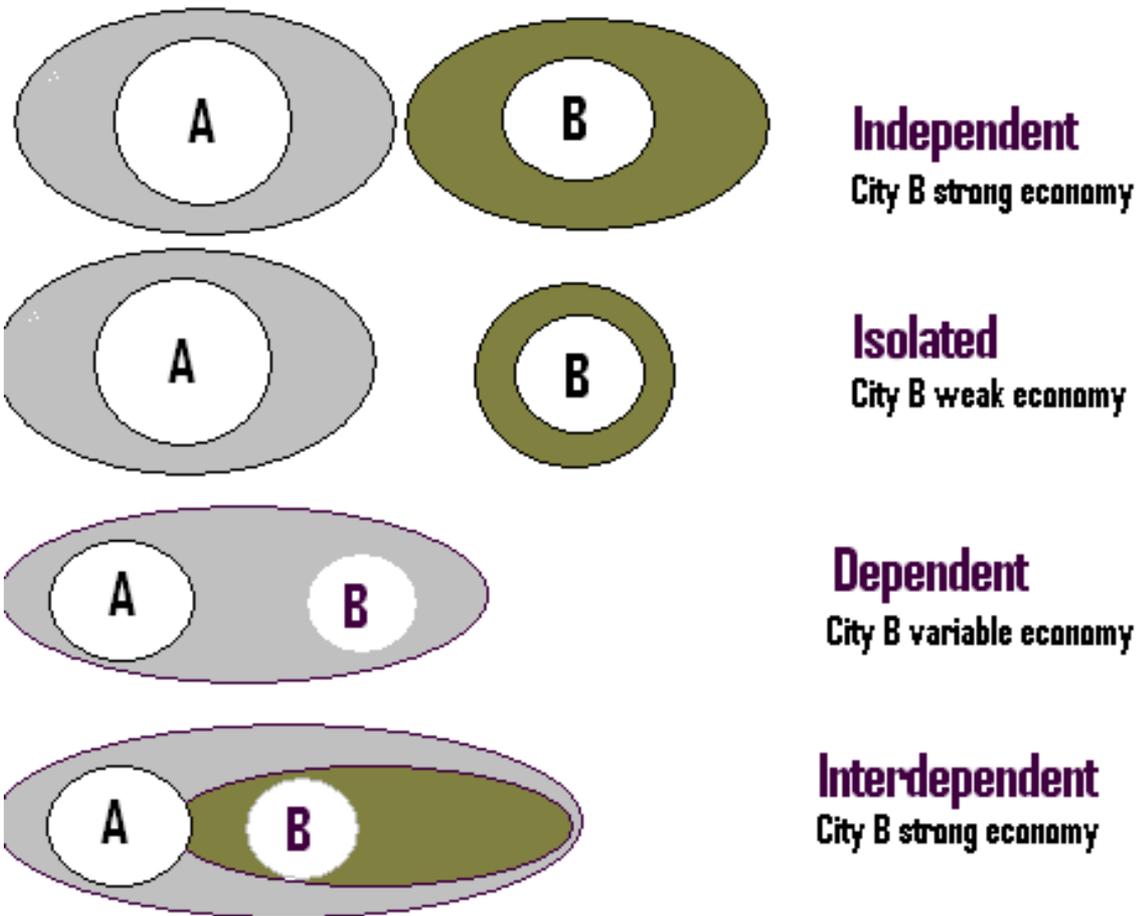


Policy imperatives

- Recognise the different functional roles and relationships between places
- Improve the environment and housing stock of shrinking places
- Work within the geometry of functional city regions

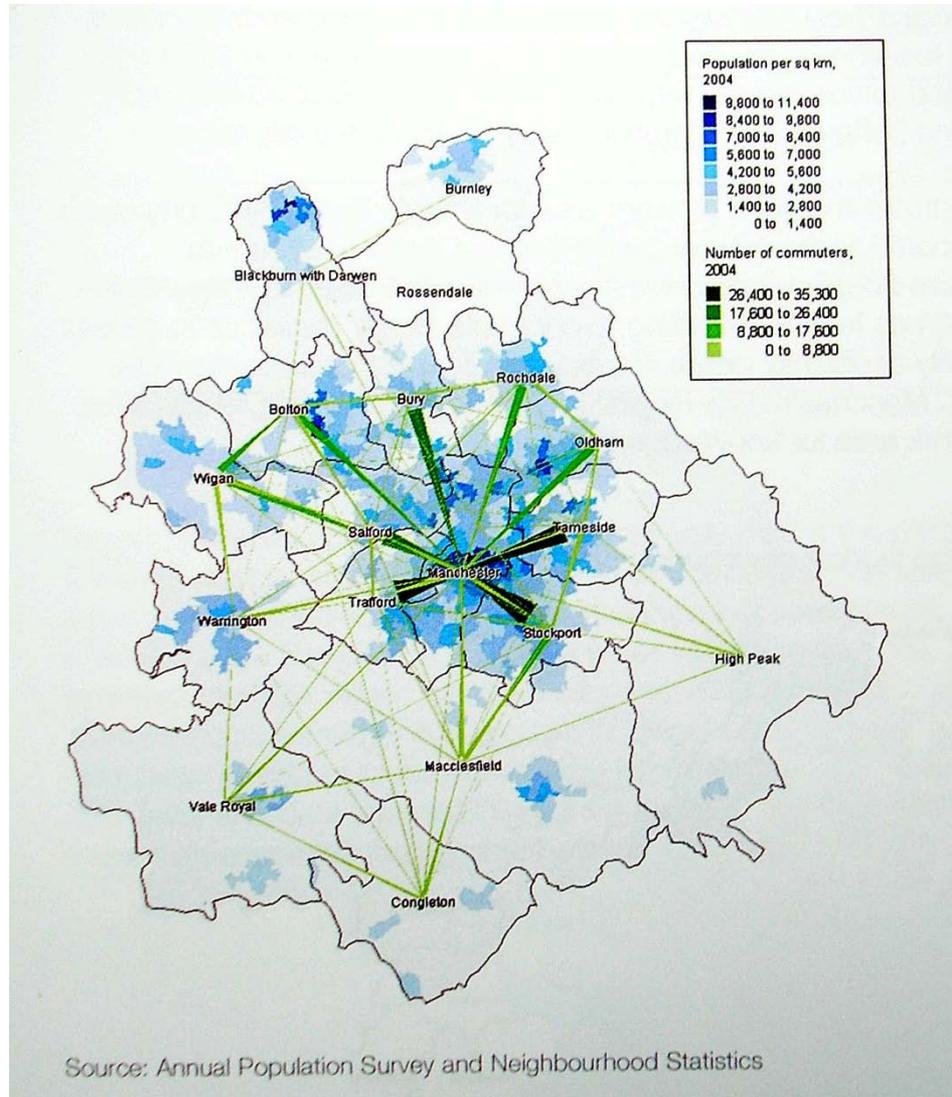
Settlement links within city regions

(source Paul Hildreth)





The Manchester city region



Settlement relationships in the city region

(source: P.Hildreth)

Figure 1: Wheel of city typologies – Manchester City Region



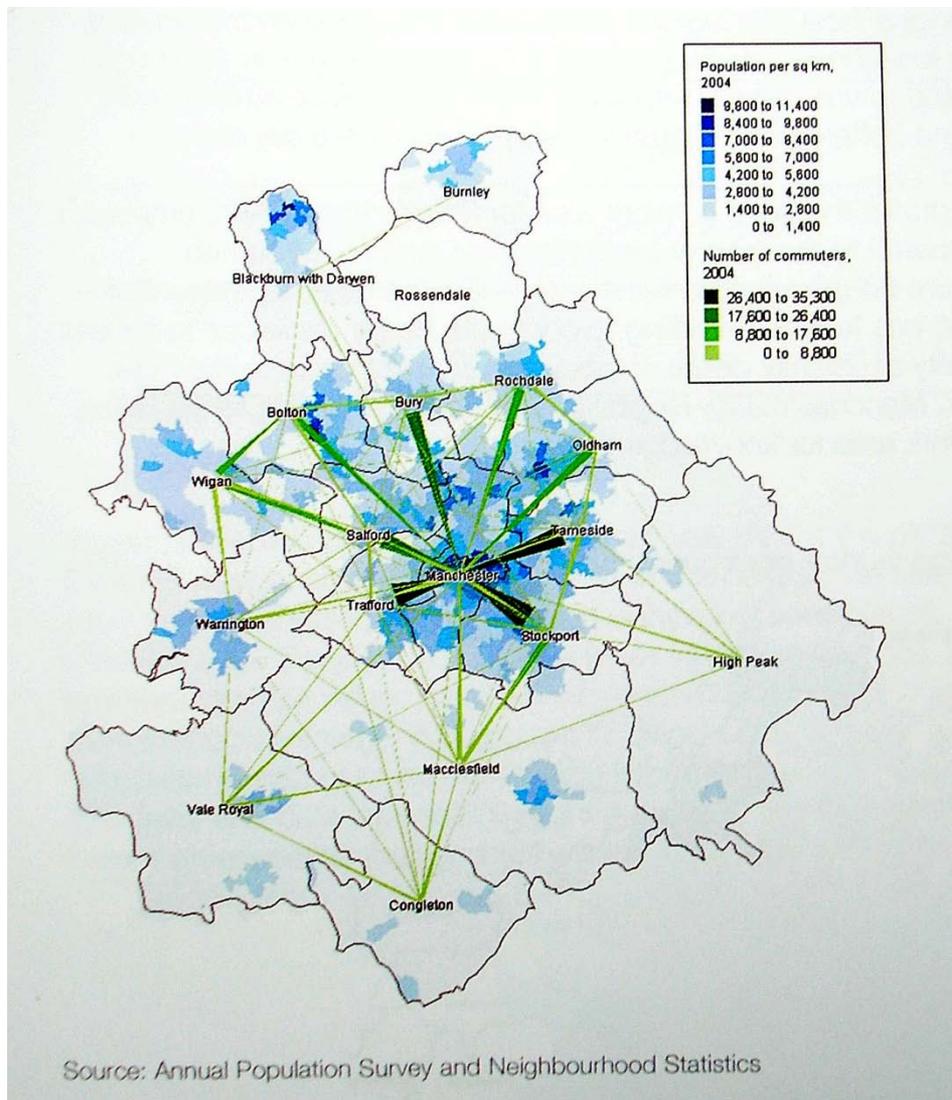


Policy imperatives

- Recognise the different functional roles and relationships between places
- Improve the environment and housing stock of shrinking places to make them more attractive for commuters and to create more mixed tenures
- Work within the geometry of functional city regions, rather than individual local authorities
 - Formal city regions and Local Enterprise Partnerships
 - Intra- rather than inter-regional transport investment



The Manchester city region





Continuing conundrums

- Regeneration policy has helped to turn around the fortunes of some shrinking cities by working against the thrust of the market – but with levels of public expenditure which are unlikely to continue.
- Even without large public investment, there is still scope to re-engineer shrinking towns within city regions that have large core cities that can benefit from agglomeration economies.
- However there remain many shrinking towns and cities outside the reach of the core cities. Without significant public investment it is difficult to see their decline being reversed. Ameliorative ‘greening’ policy seems inevitable – but politically difficult.