Reurbanisation and city regions – some trends and reflections

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Reurbanisation and suburbanisation in Northwest Europe – Dembski et Al. (forthcoming)

1. Main trends of urban development for metropolitan areas in three countries since the 1980s (NE, DE, FR, UK). Has reurbanisation taken place and what are its spatial and temporal characteristics?

2. The contribution of national urban policy in shaping reurbanisation: to what extent was reurbanisation a national policy priority and has it been successful?

3. Population turnaround in the urban cores and its effects on suburbia in two metropolitan areas per country under different regional economic contexts.

4. Specific strategies of these metropolitan areas in addressing urban development challenges in both the urban core and suburbia.

Reurbanisation

Stage of Development		Classification Type	Population Change			
			Core	Ring	FUR[1]	
I	**Urbanisation**	1 Absolute centralisation	++	–	+	Total growth
		2 Relative centralisation	++	+	+++	
II	**Sub-urbanisation**	3 Relative decentralisation	+	++	+++	
		4 Absolute decentralisation	–	++	+	
III	**Counter-urbanisation**	5 Absolute decentralisation	– –	+	–	Total decline
		6 Relative decentralisation	– –	–	– – –	
IV	**Re-urbanisation**	7 Relative centralisation	–	– –	– – –	
		8 Absolute centralisation	+	– –	–	

[1] Functional Urban Region

Note: The + and – signs indicate the strengths of absolute population change.

Source: Adapted from Van den Berg *et al.*, 1982: 36.

Typology of Suburban Development

Type	Development of Population Profile	Development of Built Environment
Urbanising Suburb	Growing population, in-migration of young urban professionals	High density, densification, increase of (rental) flats, mixed-use
Expanding Suburb	Growing population, in-migration of families	Medium to low density; densification; single-family dwellings, residential
Leafy Suburbs	Stable population, high socio-economic status	Low density, mature building stock, residential
Declining Suburbs	Declining population, low and declining socio-economic status	Medium density, housing estate, lack of investment
Suburbanising Towns	Declining socio-economic status	Vacant commercial properties; loss of employment and services

(adapted from Phelps and Wood, 2011: 2594)

NE, DE, FR and UK
Population Change, 1950–2015

United Nations (2017) World Population Prospects: The 2017 Revision
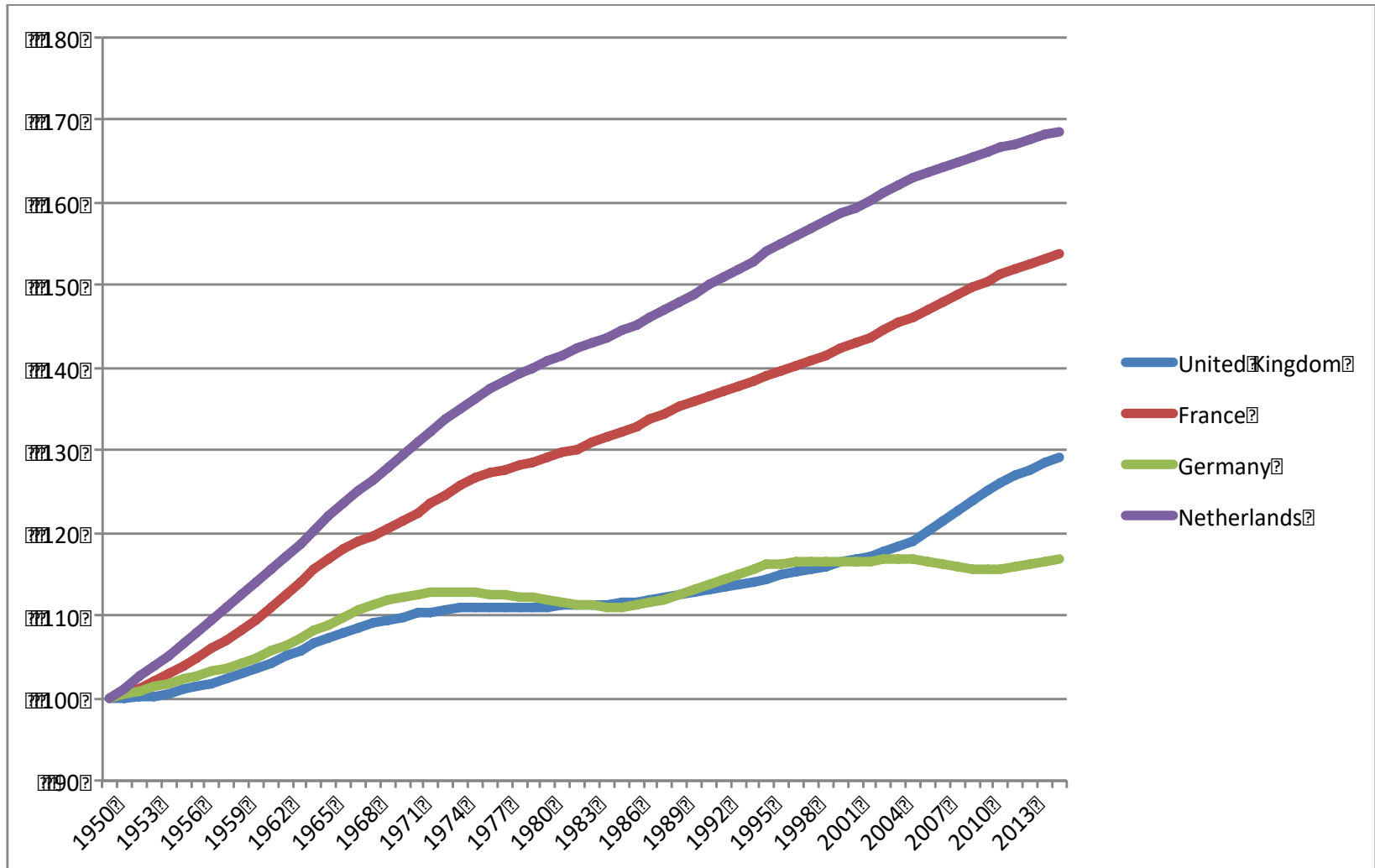
National Comparisons

	England	**France**	**Germany**	**Netherlands**
National population growth	Weak (until 2000) Strong (since 2000)	Strong	Weak	Strong
Depopulation of urban core	Strong	Weak	Medium	Medium
Urban regeneration	Strong	Strong	Strong	Strong
Urban containment	Strong	Weak	Strong	Strong
Urban de-concentration	Medium	Medium	Medium	Strong
Dominant spatial trend	Reurbanisation since 2000s	Sub-urbanisation	Reurbanisation since 2010s	Reurbanisation since 2010s

Reurbanisation trends

- National population change and regional disparities affect urban growth

- Clear shift from population deconcentration towards reconcentration in some, but not all countries

- Suburbia continues to grow as a whole, but growth rates are often declining

- Strong regeneration and urban containment in combination with densification support reurbanisation

- National population trends and urban policies can at least partially explain why English cities reurbanised earlier than their Dutch and German counterparts, and why French cities are still suburbanising
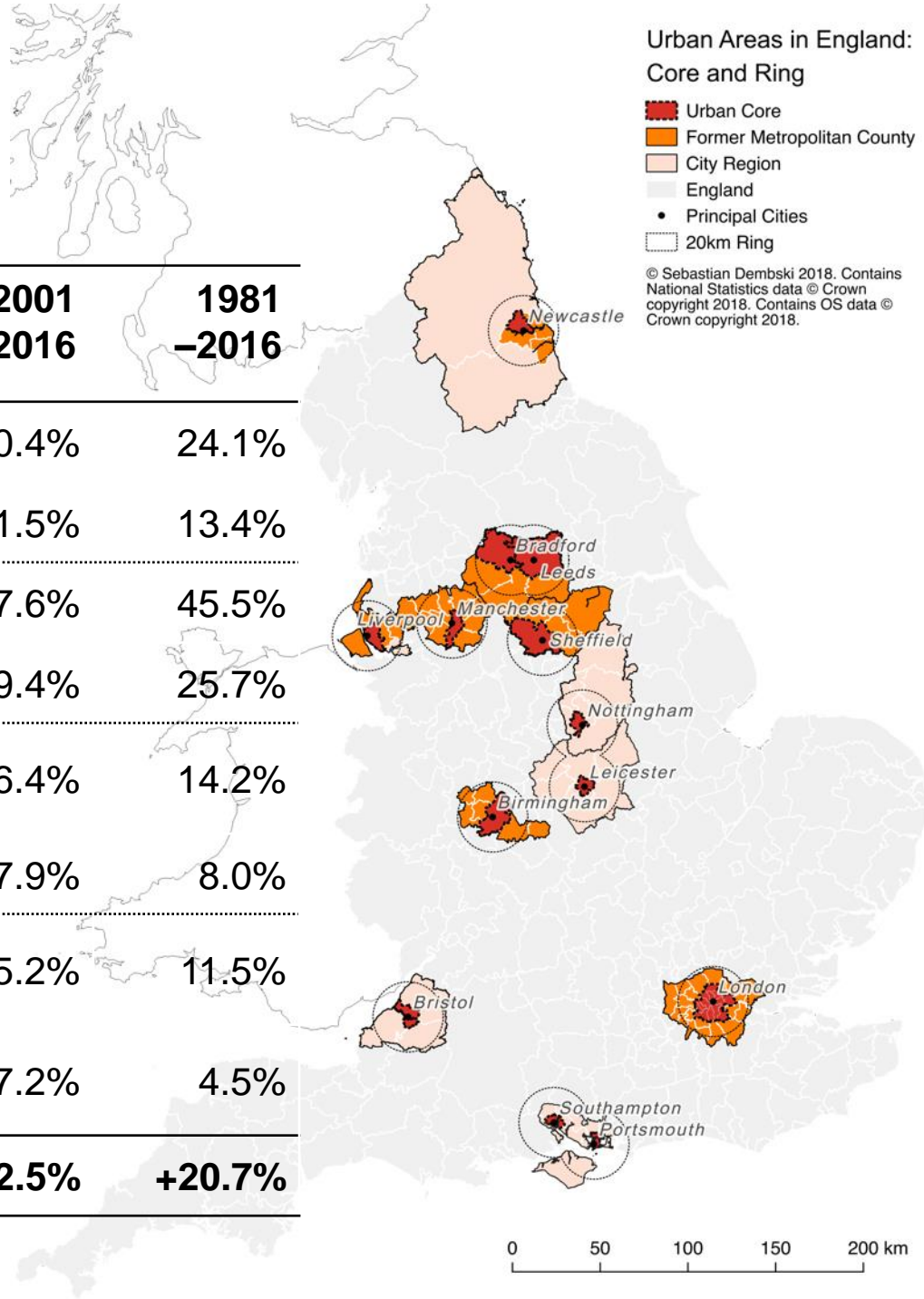
ENGLAND

	1981 –2001	2001 –2016	1981 –2016
Total Core	3.1%	20.4%	24.1%
Total Ring	1.7%	11.5%	13.4%
Inner London	14.0%	27.6%	45.5%
Outer London	5.3%	19.4%	25.7%
Second Tier Cities	–2.0%	16.4%	14.2%
Second Tier Ring	0.0%	7.9%	8.0%
Met Counties Core	–3.3%	15.2%	11.5%
Met Counties Ring	–2.5%	7.2%	4.5%
England	**7.4%**	**12.5%**	**+20.7%**

Urban Areas in England: Core and Ring

- Urban Core
- Former Metropolitan County
- City Region
- England
- Principal Cities
- 20km Ring

© Sebastian Dembski 2018. Contains National Statistics data © Crown copyright 2018. Contains OS data © Crown copyright 2018.

City Regional Cases

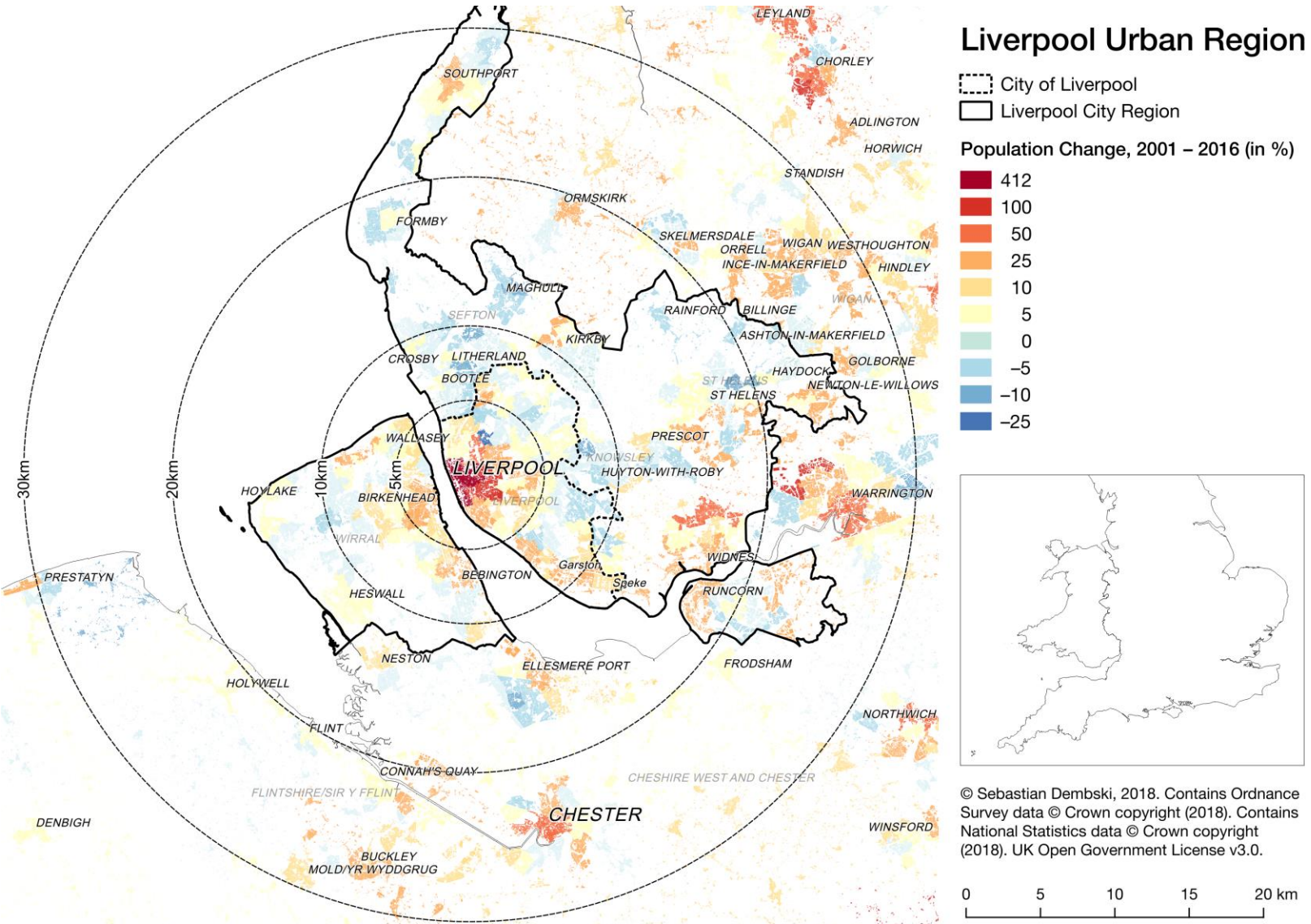| Country	Metropolitan Area	Characteristics	
		Economy	**Spatial Pattern**
England	Bristol	Prosperous	Monocentric, compact
	Liverpool	Less prosperous	Monocentric, fragmented
France	Bordeaux	Prosperous	Monocentric, compact
	Rouen	Less prosperous	Monocentric, compact
Germany	Frankfurt/Main	Prosperous	Polycentric, fragmented
	Dortmund	Less prosperous	Polycentric, fragmented
Netherlands	Amsterdam	Prosperous	Monocentric, compact
	Rotterdam–The Hague	Less prosperous	Polycentric, fragmented

[OECD, 2012]

Case of Liverpool

- **Economic shrinkage** began in the mid-20th century with decline in the port and port-related industries – leading to mass out-migration.

- Simultaneously **suburbanisation** (planned and private sector-led) pushed a growing proportion of the remaining population beyond the core city to the periphery.

- But **from the early 1990s** employment in both the core city and periphery started to grow again. Local growth of employment in higher education, health, financial services, culture, leisure and tourism;

- Strong and increasing **planning controls** over the suburbanisation process from the mid 1980s.

- **Regrowth** supported by national and EU funding; growth in ring marginal and driven by residential expansion.

- From the millennium the **population also began to recover** with the core city growing faster than the periphery. Reurbanisation strictly speaking from 1991 - 2001.

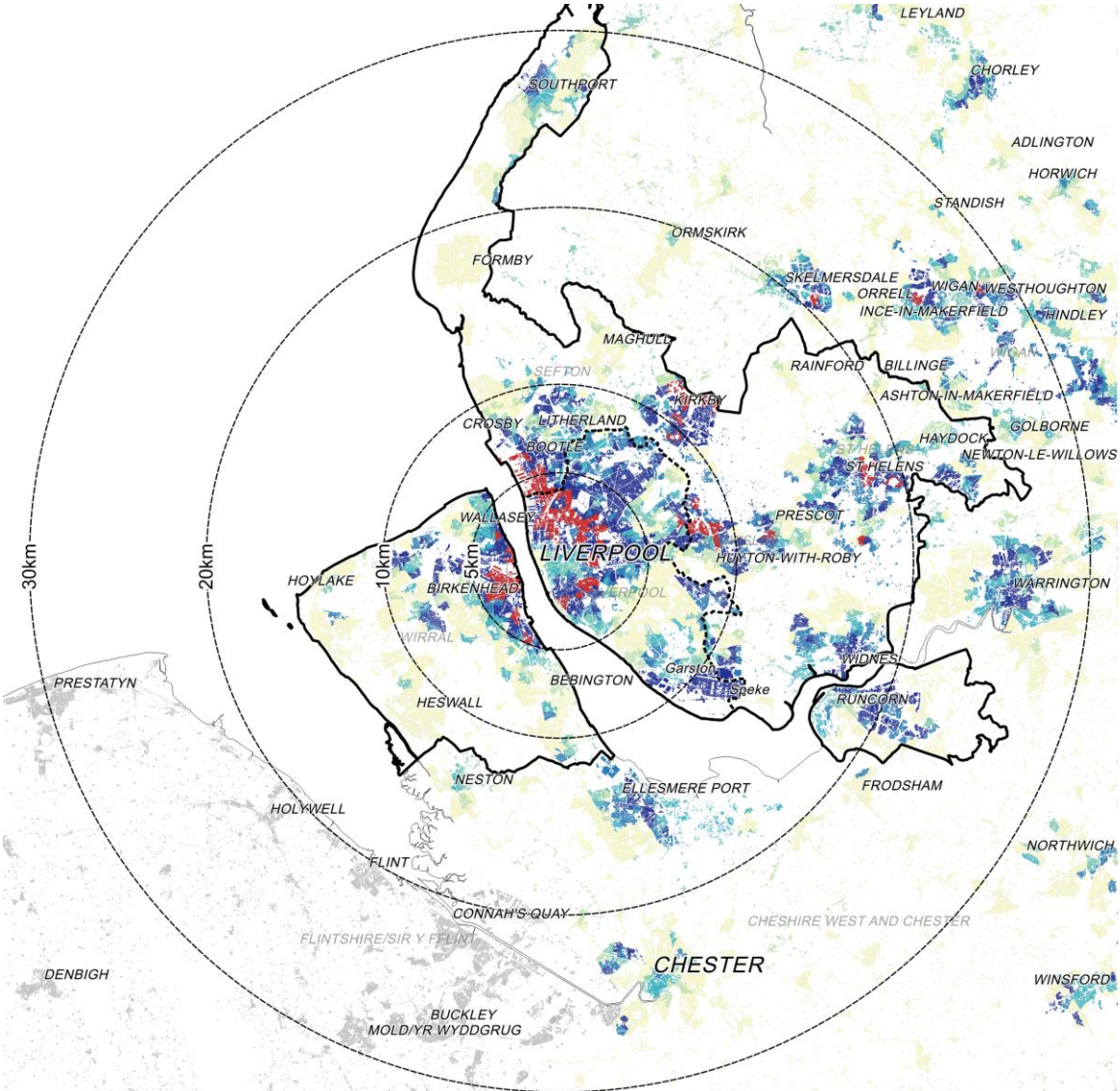- Regeneration of city region's **town centres** and post-war estates in the ring is a key issue

City of Change and Challenge
Urban Planning and Regeneration in Liverpool
Chris Couch

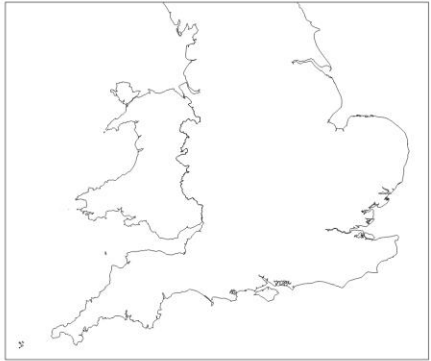# The Case of Liverpool Urban Region

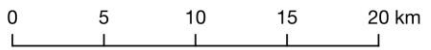# The Case of Liverpool Urban Region

Liverpool Urban Region

⬚ City of Liverpool
☐ Liverpool City Region

English Index of Multiple Deprivation 2015

- 1% (most deprived)
- 10%
- 20%
- 30%
- 40%
- 50%
- 100% (least deprived)
- No Data (Wales)

0   5   10   15   20 km

France & UK City Comparsions

- Bristol: reversing the stages of urban development (Suburbanisation II.4, Suburbanisation II.3, 2x Urbanisation I.2)

- Liverpool: the paradigmatic city? (Counterurbanisation II.6, Reurbanisation IV.7, Urbanisation I.1, Urbanisation I.2)

- Bordeaux: same procedure as ~~last~~every year (4x Suburbanisation II.3)

- Rouen: almost urbanisation (Suburbanisation II.4, 3x Suburbanisation II.3 [but 2x Urbanisation 1.2 if core city])

England and France

- England strong urban decline followed by strong reurbanisation. Regeneration and development control as supporting policies with evidence of population re-concentration in English but not the French cities

- Stark contrast between prosperous and less prosperous cities, affecting both the urban core and the urban ring

- Renewed growth and population concentration in the core is earlier and more powerful in prosperous cities

- Suburbia benefits from growth pressures in prosperous cities where growth is constrained

- Suburbia negatively affected in urban regions with post-industrial towns and modernist estates

- Varied patterns of suburban development depending on planning cultures

UK - Urban Crisis to "Urban Renaissance"?

- Increasingly in the 1970s and into the 1980s, wider structural changes led to economic turbulence, mass unemployment and urban unrest in a number of major cities.

- Alarmed by the sustained decline of cities, the New Labour government in 1997 set up an Urban Task Force (1999) whose final report Towards an Urban Renaissance paved the way for new investment in Britain's cities (Colomb 2007).

- This agenda was allied with investment in regenerating the big cities (especially the centres), "town centre first" policies for retail development and targets to increase the amount of new housing built on "brownfield" land to push regeneration and limit sprawl (Schulze Bäing & Wong, 2012).

- This policy approach was seen generally as a success which has led to a "return of" and "return to" the city (Rae, 2013).

- In a culture which has often been characterised as having anti-urban traits (Taylor 1998), there has been a slow shift of perceptions about cities, from them being viewed as a source and locus of problems to a recognition of their economic, social and cultural importance.

- New institutional forms which recognise this - e.g. city regional Combined Authorities

The 'new' anti(sub)urbanism?

Cities in depth
Cities

Why is Britain so bad at planning cities?

Cities is supported by

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

About this content

David Rudlin
Thu 11 Apr 2019 06.00 BST

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▲ Bradley Stoke, Bristol, an example of the late 20th-century housing estates that followed rules set out in 1977's Design Bulletin 32. Photograph: SWNS

From cul-de-sacs to retail parks, Britain's planning rules cause environments that are bewildering, illogical and ugly. We have forgotten that urban areas are grown

H ere is something you might try if you live in Britain. Go to your favourite urban place, whether it be the centre of a large city or a small market town. Close your eyes, turn around three times and walk in that direction for 15 minutes (or an hour if you're in London). I can predict with a reasonable degree of confidence that the place where you end up will be crap.

"Here is something you might try if you live in Britain. Go to your favourite urban place, whether it be the centre of a large city or a small market town. Close your eyes, turn around three times and walk in that direction for 15 minutes (or an hour if you're in London). I can predict with a reasonable degree of confidence that the place where you end up will be crap.

You may be stuck in the no-man's-land around the ring road, or in a brutally functional industrial estate, or among the endless rows of parked cars in a retail park, or lost in a tangle of suburban cul-de-sacs. Wherever you are, the environment will generally be bewildering, illogical and ugly." (Rudlin, 2019)

What about small and medium sized places in the metropolitan adjacency?

- New challenges in ensuring regeneration of town centres and post-war estates in the ring?

"…there is emerging evidence and experience to warrant further investigation of what happens to the urban periphery in an era where many core cities experience reurbanisation. Our concern is that small- and medium-sized towns in less prosperous urban regions might not benefit significantly from any overspill effects of reurbanisation and that established strategies attracting traditional suburban households, particularly young families, might not be sufficient to address this issue".

Dembski et Al., (2017, p. 223)

"Many dormitory and industrial towns, …are struggling as they lack the character and attractiveness of affluent villages and the vibrancy of big cities".

(Ibid. p.239)

Political Legimacy? Combined Authority Mayoral Elections, 2017

Combined authority mayoral elections

Fewer than a third of eligible voters picked a candidate

■ Turnout (%)

Liverpool City region - St Helens

Liverpool reurbanisation supported by national and EU funding; growth in ring marginal and driven by residential expansion. Rising core city population and new 'urban offer' attractive to an new population notwithstanding continuing deprivation and issues such as austerity - Liverpool has seen a real term decline in day-to-day council spending of 32% since 2009/2010 - the second largest percentage fall after Barnsley.

"It also urges us to critically examine the policy options for places in the periphery like St Helens and to investigate the institutional conditions under which policies are being pursued. The current trend of suburban housing estates and warehouse developments offering mainly routine jobs may exacerbate the already existing divide between cities and their hinterland, or between urban and non-urban lifestyles, potentially giving rise to new political conflicts".

(Dembski et Al., 2017)

District	Leave	Remain
St Helens	58%	42%
Halton	57.4%	42.6%
Warrington	54.3%	55.7%
Knowsley	51.6%	48.4%
Cheshire West and Chester	50.7%	49.3%
Wirral	48.3%	51.7%
Sefton	48.1%	51.9%
Liverpool	41.8%	58.2%

City regions v. the rest?

- The debate on the aftermath of the EU referendum is being framed in territorial terms with the evocation of imaginaries of 'Left Behind Britain' ('Brexitland') and 'Metropolitan Britain' ('Remainia') (Sykes, 2018)

- New initiatives explicitly addressing the splintering and fragmentation of the nation have emerged which clearly frame the challenges in terms of region and settlement size and type, bringing to the fore socio-economic and cultural differences between these

2005 ⟶ 2017

But what about towns?

Foreword by Lisa Nandy MP

For far too long the ambitions, needs and values of nine million people in towns across Britain have not been heard.

Our economic model treats cities as engines of growth, which at best drag surrounding towns along in their wake, causing life to become harder, less secure and less hopeful for too many people in towns in recent decades.

Our political system is blind to the values and experiences of people who live in our towns, wrongly treating cities as a proxy for national opinion.

After the EU Referendum starkly exposed the growing gulf between towns and cities, it is clear that this is no longer sustainable.

That's why we've launched the Centre for Towns, a partnership of academics, analysts and activists. Over the coming months we'll make available the largest dataset about towns across England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. And we'll publish research that gives a voice to the needs, hopes and experiences of people in towns and re-examines a political and economic model that has failed to deliver.

For far too long towns have been ignored, patronised and labelled 'left behind' allowing the assets, skills and aspirations within them to go untapped and unrealised. Those assets are alive and well in towns like Wigan, where the protecting the environment and good public services are a priority, and skills, tightly knit communities and a strong sense of shared history and identity are plentiful. With the right thinking, they hold the clue to a better future.

Core Cities   and   Key Cities

_BIRMINGHAM
_BRISTOL
_CARDIFF
_GLASGOW
_LEEDS
_LIVERPOOL
_MANCHESTER
_NEWCASTLE
_NOTTINGHAM
_SHEFFIELD

Why Core Cities?

Our cities already contribute more than a quarter of the combined wealth of England, Wales and Scotland and,...

⟶

Agenda

⟶

OUR KEY CITIES

The UK works best when it works together. And so, together as Key Cities Group, we will share our knowledge and develop solutions to our problems. We will become a unified voice and an alliance of shared interests.
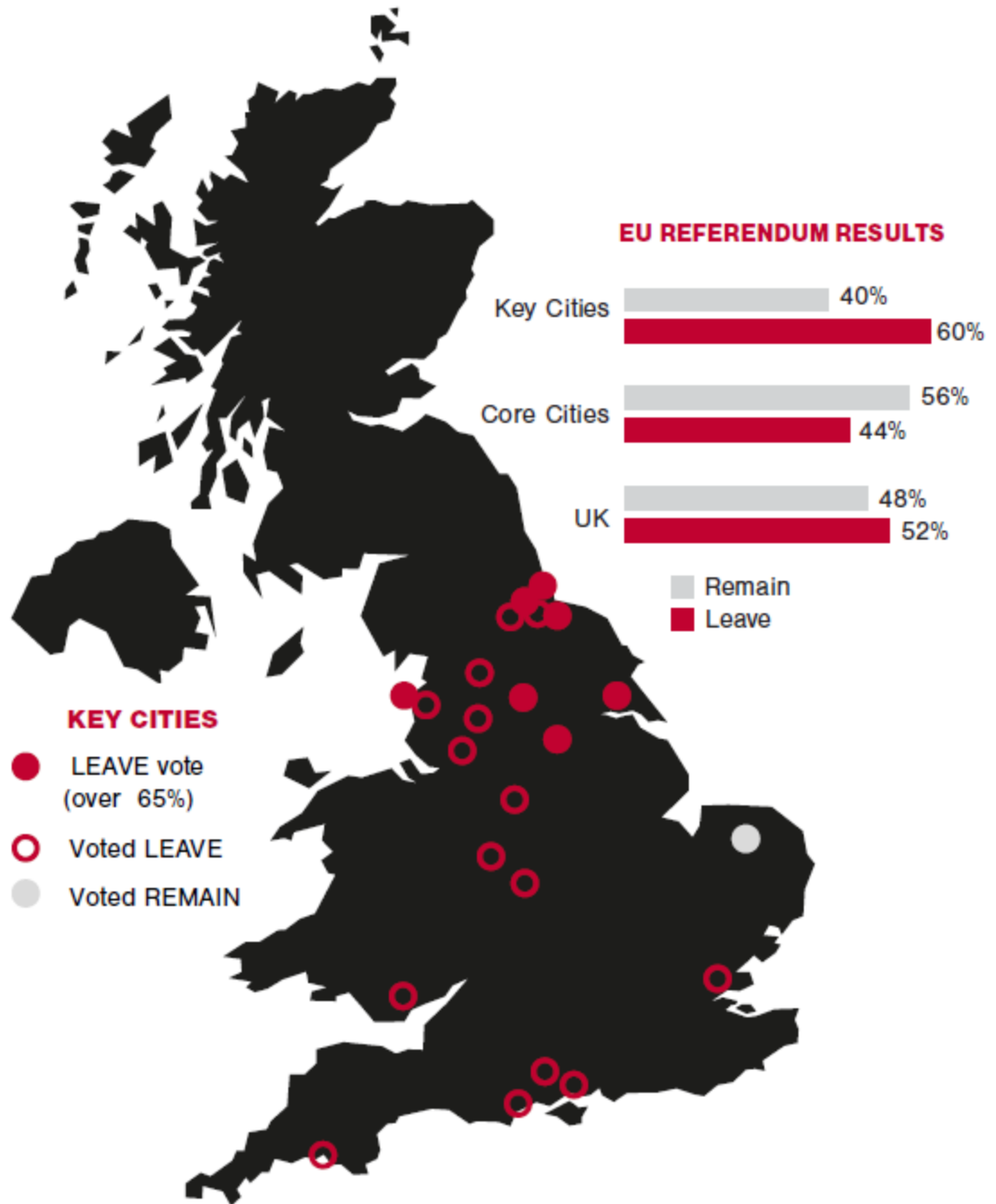
We will make the most of this opportunity we have to promote our economic interests, and ten per cent of the population's economic interests, to central government.

Click below to find out more about our Key Cities.

Select a Key City ▾

SUNDERLAND
TEES VALLEY
BRADFORD
BLACKPOOL ● PRESTON ● ● HULL
WAKEFIELD
KIRKLEES ● DONCASTER
SALFORD ●
DERBY ● NORWICH
WOLVERHAMPTON ●
COVENTRY ●
NEWPORT ● SOUTHEND ON SEA
SOUTHAMPTON ● PORTSMOUTH
BOURNEMOUTH
PLYMOUTH ●

Cities and the 'B' word…

Key Cities voted 60% Leave and 40% Remain, compared to 52% Leave and 48% Remain across the UK and 44% Leave and 56% Remain in the Core Cities.

The Leave vote performed better in every Key City (bar one) than in the UK as whole.

Seven Key Cities had leave votes of over 65%.[11]

EU REFERENDUM RESULTS

Key Cities
- 40%
- 60%

Core Cities
- 56%
- 44%

UK
- 48%
- 52%

Remain
Leave

KEY CITIES

- LEAVE vote (over 65%)
- Voted LEAVE
- Voted REMAIN

Conclusions

- **England** – from counter-urbanisation towards some forms of reurbanisation – demographic, but also economic and cultural - gentrification; studentification; physical and economic restructuring, regeneration/revitalisation (Bourne, 1996)

- A concern for **the future of small and medium sized towns and cities**; conceived in an imaginary and material reality of territorial fragmentation even disintegration. This can include metropolitan peripheries (small cities in such areas v. reurbanisation, Dembski et Al., 2017) & a smaller and medium sized industrial communities

- Different places positioning themselves – **perception of neglect of smaller towns and cities in the metropolitan agenda**

- **Not just material issues** but also play out in symbolic and strongly cultural ways. Heightened political awareness and many questions for the future. 'Core Cities' v. 'Key Cities'; Centre for Cities --> now Centre for Towns

- **Questions for city regions** surrounding articulation with peripheral and adjacent territories; perimeters; solidarities and complementarities within city regional territories; political legitimacy, and, metropolitan and non-metropolitan places