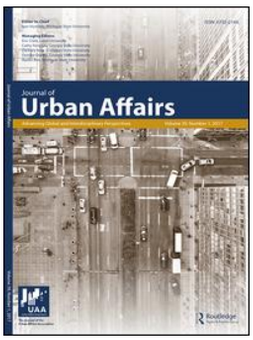

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ABSTRACT

This review essay contextualizes the articles included in the *Journal of Urban Affairs*' special issue on promoting social justice and equity in shrinking cities. It introduces a framework to guide the analysis of shrinking cities and the formulation of urban revitalization policies. The essay begins by anchoring the literature on shrinking cities to a broader critique on globalization. Following this discussion, the emergence of a new urban form, called the *peripheral dual city*, is described. The article concludes with an outline for radically rethinking revitalization policy in shrinking cities.

A prologue on shrinking cities

This review essay proposes a new framework to guide the analysis of shrinking cities and the formulation of policies to address inequities that stem from urban decline. As a starting point, this framework is intended to stimulate discussion and encourage new directions in empirical research. This framework is also offered as a tool to contextualize and critique other articles in the *Journal of Urban Affairs*' special issue on promoting social justice and equity in shrinking cities. The articles in the special issue present a number of empirical studies focused on shrinking cities in the municipal and regional contexts. They include examples from the United States, Europe, and Asia. This editor's introduction reemphasizes that the other authors' observations at the microlevel are linked to broader global processes that help to explain similarities across jurisdictions and national borders. The framework I propose will resurrect theories of decolonization and attempt to link them with the dynamics of urban decline and regeneration. I argue that this nexus provides a critical framework for understanding how urban inequality is linked to broader structures of global inequality and reproduced. Through an understanding of institutional arrangements and interconnections at the global and local scales, I argue that reforms focused on ameliorating inequality can be more readily identified. I offer this as a competing paradigm to more conventional interpretations of urban processes that treat the reproduction of social and spatial inequality as a constant in society and thus acquiesce to a relatively fatalistic view of the future.

In an effort to escape this trap, the framework proposed in this essay picks up where prior research on shrinking cities leaves off. The essay begins by anchoring the literature on shrinking cities to a broader critique on globalization. By wedding the literature on shrinking cities to scholarship on global cities and dependency theory, a deeper understanding of spatial and social polarization is gained. Although many of the processes that produce inequality in areas such as housing, education, policing, and urban revitalization can be observed in global and shrinking cities, this synthesis draws a clear distinction between the two types. Shrinking cities are in a subordinate position in the global system of cities, lacking concentrations of wealth, capital, investment, and communications infrastructure. Global cities, or what Florida (2017, p. 16) calls *superstar cities*, "generate the greatest levels of innovation; control and attract the largest shares of global capital and

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investment; have far greater concentrations of leading-edge companies in the finance, media, entertainment, and high-tech industries; and are home to a disproportionate share of the world's talent." In contrast, shrinking cities are isolated from global cities where critical institutions are headquartered and their highest paid executives and workers reside. The distinction between global cities and shrinking cities has become more pronounced in the contemporary period. For instance, phenomena like the emergence of billionaires' rows, hypergentrification, and what Florida (2017, p. 39) refers to as the "oligarchification" of residential areas are distinct to global cities. Shrinking cities inhabit a different social, economic, and spatial terrain. This article is an attempt to traverse and survey this terrain.

After embedding the literature on shrinking cities to broader processes of globalization, a microanalysis of the emergence of a new urban form I call the *peripheral dual city* is delineated. Following this discussion, the article concludes with an outline for radically rethinking revitalization policy in shrinking cities. The goal of this reformulation is to identify policies that supplant social and spatial inequality with equitable development. These recommendations are offered as alternatives to prevailing neoliberal approaches to urban regeneration in shrinking cities. At a deeper level, the policy alternatives recommended in this article draw from the critique made by dependency theorists and argue for expanding the scope of self-determination and local control focused on meeting the needs of disenfranchised populations.

The thrust of existing research

Since the early 2000s, a substantial body of scholarship has emerged about shrinking cities. Much of this literature focuses on three interrelated factors that have contributed to the shrinking cities phenomenon. The first involves structural demographic shifts that have contributed to declining populations. This factor was the focus of early research on shrinking cities in the Western European context and other countries like Japan (Martinez-Fernandez, Kubo, Noya, & Weyman, 2012; Pallagst et al., 2009; Rieniets, 2009; Woetzel et al., 2016). This literature pointed to declining fertility rates, aging populations, shrinking household sizes, and slowing immigration as drivers of urban shrinkage. Although these trends were most pronounced in advanced industrialized nations during the post–World War II era, others have suggested that they are more general attributes of late-stage urbanization. For instance, a report by UN-Habitat (2008) found that the occurrence of shrinking cities was a general phenomenon emerging across the globe. Although most pronounced in developed countries, it was also detectable in developing nations. The report pointed out that

> The phenomenon of declining population in cities of the developing world is relatively new, an emerging trend that is not yet as prevalent as it is in the developed world. Population loss may be, however, a prelude to a new urban trend that is starting to unfold in the developing world, signaled by the fact that 143 cities experienced the loss of 13 million people from 1990 to 2000. (UN-Habitat, 2008, p. 41)

In the developed world, outside of Western Europe and the United States, shrinking was most pronounced in China, followed by other Asian cities. However, shrinking cities were also found in Latin America, the Caribbean, and, to a lesser extent, Africa. There is a growing consensus that the occurrence of shrinking cities is a transnational phenomenon reflecting the contradiction of increased urbanization on a global scale, juxtaposed against uneven growth and structural decline in older cities across the world.

The second factor contributing to the shrinking cities phenomenon was geopolitical in nature, epitomized by structural adjustments in the post-Soviet bloc (Bontje, 2004; Mykhneuko & Turok, 2008; Rieniets, 2009; Rink et al., 2014). Shrinking in this context became pronounced after the collapse of the Soviet Union across postsocialist Eastern Europe. The economic and political disruption caused by this collapse triggered mass migration from Eastern bloc to Western bloc cities beginning in the 1990s. For example, cities in what was East Germany experienced an exodus of residents who moved to the west after German reunification. This pattern was also observed in other

countries like Russia, Poland, and Ukraine. It is important to recognize that shrinking in the post-Soviet bloc was driven by multiple factors. Structural demographic shifts related to fertility rates, the aging of the population, declining household sizes, and lower levels of immigration contributed to shrinking across cities in this region. In addition, the region's economic and political systems were simultaneously dismantled and exposed to the global economy. Rieniets (2009) describes how the combined effects of structural demographic shifts and political–economic instability amount to a double whammy. Although this condition was most pronounced in the post-Soviet bloc, it is observable across the globe. Rieniets (2009, p. 251) points out that "many cities [in the world] face long-term decline, [and] they are at the same time being exposed to global economic competition with other, sometimes growing cities." In essence, the expanded influence of the global economy on cities has occurred in conjunction with the weakening of governmental mechanisms designed to protect local industry and social welfare. This dynamic has exposed the most vulnerable cities to market forces that are beyond their control and has hastened structural demographic decline.

The third factor contributing to the shrinking cities phenomenon focuses on economic restructuring and deindustrialization. This factor was largely identified as the driver for shrinkage in U.S. cities (Bluestone & Harrison, 1984; Dewar & Thomas, 2013; Hobor, 2013; Mallach, 2014; Mallach & Brachman, 2013; Silverman, Yin, & Patterson, 2013; Weaver, Bagchi-Sen, Knight, & Frazier, 2017; Zeuli, 2014). Economic restructuring and deindustrialization have weighed heavily in the analysis of shrinking cities in other parts of the world as well (Haas, Rink, Grossmann, Bernt, & Mykhnenko, 2014; Pallagst, Wiechmann, & Martinez-Fernandez, 2013; Richardson & Nam, 2014; Rieniets, 2009), but the dominance of these themes in discussions of U.S. shrinking cities has been unique. In the U.S. context, discussions of shrinking have been subsumed in debates about suburbanization, the decentralization of cities, and the fragmentation of local government (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2001; Lipsitz, 1995; Squires & Kubrin, 2005). As a result, shrinking cities in the United States have been contextualized as part of a broader dialogue about regional inequality between older core cities and suburbs. In many instances, divergent city and suburban trajectories are a dimension of the shrinking city phenomenon. However, limiting discussion of shrinking to uneven regional development patterns results in the undertheorization of the problem. The localized focus in the analysis of the U.S. context has contributed in beneficial ways to the literature on rightsizing and planning strategies to ameliorate vacant and abandoned property (Anderson, 2011; Frazier, Bagchi-Sen, & Knight, 2013; Gallagher, 2010; Hummel, 2015; Rhodes & Russo, 2013; Schilling & Logan, 2008; Shetty & Reid, 2013; Stansel, 2011). It has also opened up new debates about the relevance of urban growth paradigms in contemporary U.S. cities (Hollander, Pallagst, Schwarz, & Popper, 2009; Mallach, 2017; Silverman, Yin, & Patterson, 2015; Wiechmann & Pallagst, 2012). Despite the value that this microlevel analysis adds to discussions of shrinking cities, the analysis of U.S. shrinking cities is relatively uninformed by more critical macrolevel theory like dependency theory. Although scholars have begun to reach a consensus that urban decline is a dynamic process involving demographic, geopolitical, and structural economic dimensions (Großmann, Bontje, Haase, & Mykhnenko, 2013; Haas et al., 2014), the analysis of shrinking cities in the United States has not fully incorporated a critique of globalization into this framework. In short, U.S. analysis has focused on recommending planning and land use tools for local government, but it is not informed by a more critical assessment that frames the shrinking cities phenomenon as an outgrowth of shifts in the global economy.

Fusing global cities and dependency theory

To remedy this problem, the analysis of shrinking cities should be embedded in the literature on globalization and dependency theory (Applebaum & Roninson, 2005; Cardoso & Enzo, 1979; Curtis, 2016; Frank, 1966; Knox & Taylor, 1995; Marcuse & Van Kenpen, 2000; Sassen, 1990, 1992). An early example of this approach is Sassen's (1992) research on global cities. This work describes how globalization has transformed a select group of core cities into an integrated network of knowledge

and financial centers. This network is composed of large megacites across the globe like Tokyo, New York, London, and Paris. During the last quarter of a century, these cities have experienced an infusion of capital and economic growth and appear relatively immune to shrinking. The ascent of these cities has also been accompanied by the concentration of wealth and growing income inequality. In the shadow of global cities, there has been increased instability in cities on the periphery brought on by international investment and labor patterns characterized by increasingly footloose industries operating within the construct of multilateral free-trade policies (Sassen, 1990). The relationship between global cities and other urban places found on their periphery is structurally unequal. Unlike global cities, peripheral cities are at the base of a system of inequality and oppression. They are most vulnerable to the mobility of labor and capital and pitted against one another in the global economy. In contrast to global cities that form a network of command centers for the accumulation of knowledge and capital, peripheral cities are fragmented and dependent on the flow of outside resources for their survival.

The global–peripheral cities dynamic is analogous to north–south relations described in the literature on dependency theory (Cardoso & Enzo, 1979). This theory describes a global system where core nations in the Northern Hemisphere control patterns of development in the Global South due to their access to capital, technology, and wealth. As a result, the Global South's development is structurally conditioned and hampered by capital extraction and inequalities in the global economy that favor developed economies in the North. Frank (1966) adds to this critique by emphasizing that the fates of peripheral nations are tied to their relations with core nations in a single integrated system designed to promote wealth accumulation and redistribution. However, the system is rigged to feed the core at the expense of the periphery. In essence, investments in the periphery are focused on extracting resources. When resources are depleted, or easier to access elsewhere, the flow of capital is cut off and the periphery withers. This results in what Frank (1966) refers to as the "development of underdevelopment" (p. 27) on the periphery. When dependency theory and the work on global cities are fused, we have a clearer understanding of the macroconditions behind the shrinking cities phenomenon.

Global cities have emerged as new command and control centers focused on generating wealth and extracting resources from peripheral cities. At the top of this system, global cities are well networked and integrated. At the bottom of the system, peripheral cities are pitted against each other in a fight to the bottom. In the short term, capital ebbs and flows into peripheral cities in order to sustain global city growth. Across cycles of investment, some individual peripheral cities prosper, whereas others do not. In the long run, peripheral cities are maintained in a relative state of stasis as a group, in order to perpetuate the global system of inequality that their oppression supports. Consequently, the growing concentration of wealth in a small number of global cities increases the ranks of peripheral cities. The omnipresent need for these cities to compete for investment from the core results in stunted development and eventual shrinkage as the global economy expands. Although scholars have identified various strata of peripheral cities such as second-tier and third-tier cities, in this article I emphasize the distinction between core cities and the larger group on the periphery in order to highlight their relative lack of resilience in the broader global system. In the end, many peripheral cities are destined to become shrinking cities. It is the culmination of a process of underdevelopment where new cities emerge, compete for the infusion of capital in the global economy, expand, and then succumb when the cycle repeats.

Spatial and social polarization in shrinking cities

The material conditions in shrinking cities are qualitatively different from global cities. Although both exhibit spatial and social polarization, shrinking cities are chronically resource depleted, dependent, disenfranchised, and dispossessed from the networks that promote the stability of the broader global economy. In essence, shrinking cities are alienated from the global economy and subordinated by it. Their underdevelopment is a structural component of the broader global

economy and it is expressed through spatial and social polarization. The conditions within shrinking cities are akin to those described by Memmi (1965) in *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Being a shrinking city is more than being peripheral to and dependent on global cities for resources. It also entails the internalization of a colonized mindset where decision makers actively seek affirmation from above by internalizing the institutional norms and practices that form the core of the global economy. This is largely a subconscious process where local leaders rationalize their actions as pragmatic efforts to make the best out of a bad situation. By failing to recognize the contradiction between the material conditions in shrinking and global cities, the former become alienated from their own interests, which perpetuates their acquiescence to the global economy.

Within this context, spatial and social polarization is distinct in shrinking cities. Researchers have noted that decline is not distributed in a uniform or equitable manner in shrinking cities (Mallach, 2015; Silverman et al., 2013; Weaver et al., 2017). One strategy adopted in response to shrinkage is to reduce the footprint for new development and to focus on physical revitalization in the urban core, historic districts, and affluent neighborhoods. This strategy has resulted in a distinct spatial pattern of development in shrinking cities. As Weaver et al. (2017, p. 5) point out, "Even cities that have experienced substantial population loss typically feature thriving (even growing) internal neighborhoods where residents have access to ample amenities and enjoy high-quality urban experiences." This approach focuses on the fortification and preservation of what Mallach (2015) identifies as the "economic city," (p. 445) which is the functional part of the city where job retention and economic development activities are pursued. However, Mallach (2015) contrasts activities focused on fortifying physical development in the urban core with those focused on addressing the broader needs of the "demographic city," (p. 445) which is the functional part of the city where the social needs of residents are met. In this respect, revitalization strategies fall short in shrinking cities. Although a small subset of institutional interests and more affluent residents benefit from targeted investment in the urban core, a broader segment of the population is systematically cut out of the equation. For instance, Weaver et al. (2017, p. 204) describe how this process plays out in Buffalo, New York, where "substantial inflows of capital investment (highly subsidized) flood the central business district and a growing medical corridor while little investment and no population growth is happening in many neighborhoods." The intensification of spatial polarization growing out of the decoupling of the economic city from the demographic city aggravates social polarization. Silverman et al. (2013, p. 137) point out that the fortification of the urban core "represents both a re-centering of the urban landscape and the establishment of a buffer zone between areas of the city that remain viable and those that have been systematically abandoned." Because shrinking cities in the United States are typically segregated by class and race, the outcome of this process is that low-income minority residents are walled off from the revitalizing core and confined in the periphery.

The emergence of peripheral dual cities

It is my contention that when viewed through the lens of the global economy and dependency theory, shrinking cities epitomize an increasingly dominant and somewhat dystopic urban form which I call the *peripheral dual city*. This urban form is characterized by increased spatial inequality and social polarization where pockets of revitalization are surrounded by expanses of disinvestment and decline. Past scholarship has examined the dual city phenomenon in the context of global cities like New York (Mollenkopf & Castells, 1991; Sassen, 1992). I offer an extension to the dual city concept and argue that this dichotomy is distinct and most pronounced in shrinking cities. These cities are differentiated from global cities because they lack concentrated wealth, capital, investment, and communications infrastructure. Being embedded in an environment of scarcity and dependence makes the experiences of peripheral dual cities unique. Disparities in the global system are expressed at the local level as inequalities between regenerating and declining neighborhoods. Spatial and material differences form a neoliberal subtext that prioritizes policies that promote physical development in the economic city over social programs aimed at addressing the needs of the demographic

city. This focus results in a narrative that represents a re-articulation of urban renewal and trickle-down strategies that focus on redevelopment in the urban core over investments in people and neighborhoods on the periphery. Thus, peripheral dual cities functions as a microcosm of the global economy. When the first signs of the peripheral dual city began to surface, Squires (1989, p. 289) observed that the proponents of this mode of urban revitalization "equate progress with the construction of high-rise office towers, sports stadiums, convention centers, and cultural megapalaces, but ignore the basic needs of most city residents." The emphasis on physical over social development continues in the contemporary period, and I argue that it has morphed to the point where shrinking cities are becoming paradoxical and grotesque.

Revitalized urban enclaves in peripheral dual cities

One defining characteristic of shrinking cities in the contemporary period is the emergence of revitalized urban enclaves. This is a new manifestation represented by the preoccupation of elected officials, private businesses, and large public and nonprofit institutions with the pursuit of revitalization projects to systematically transform downtown areas. Within the context of these projects, the definition of downtown areas goes beyond the traditional central business districts (CBDs) that constituted how downtowns were defined by Fogelson (2001) and others. In this context, downtown encompasses not only traditional CBDs but also what Mallach (2015, p. 447) and others identify as

> the quasi-downtown areas, such as Pittsburgh's Oakland, Detroit's Midtown, or Cleveland's University Circle, that house these cities' major universities and medical centers, along with a smaller number of predominantly residential areas usually adjacent to or closely linked to CBDs or university/medical complexes such as Cincinnati's Over-the-Rhine or the Central West End of St. Louis.

Revitalization efforts focus on the transformation of these more broadly conceived downtown areas along four dimensions: changing their functional uses, altering their demographic complexion, expanding the role and influence of anchor institutions in them, and redefining their physical boundaries. As the transformation of downtowns in shrinking cities proceeds, they become physically and socially unrecognizable. They shift from a narrow focus on commercial and civic functions characteristic of the post–World War II era to one with diverse entertainment, tourism, cultural, specialized retail, and residential amenities. These new functions are oriented toward satisfying the needs and tastes of populations that were largely absent in downtowns during the postwar era: upwardly mobile entrepreneurs and professionals; a new cohort of young, urban gentrifiers; and affluent baby boomers who fled inner cities during the latter part of the 20th century, constituting a segment of the White flight cohort. These functional and demographic shifts are sustained by an institutional reordering in downtowns characterized by the emergence of higher education and health care institutions as leaders in local economic development and urban revitalization.

Redefining the functional uses of downtown

A key feature of the peripheral dual city is a narrative about downtown resurgence. This narrative casts downtown areas of older core cities as newly discovered and thriving. They have become places that shifted from depopulated, 9-to-5 central business districts that office workers commute to from the suburbs into 24/7 urban enclaves where people from all walks of life choose to live, work, and play. Birch (2009, p. 149) provides one of the most vivid descriptions of this shift:

> The new paradigm for downtown (dense, walkable, mixed use with a heavy component of housing) is quite established in many of the nation's cities. While this downtown still has considerable commercial activity, its employment base is more diverse, with jobs in anchor institutions (universities; hospitals; and entertainment including arts, culture, and sports) rising as a proportion of the total. The residential component has become significant and is shaping the demand for neighborhood-serving retail, schools, and open space.

It is important to note that Birch (2009) identifies this shift as a "new paradigm." In doing so, she is signaling that the emergence of a 24/7 urban enclave, a vibrant core with a spectrum of sensory

stimulation, is a part of a broader urban system that represents a reordering of resources in the wider society. This reordering also entails a change in the complexion of the urban core's population.

Changing the demographic complexion of downtown

One of the core demographic drivers for revitalization in urban enclaves is what Florida (2002) identifies as the creative class. This thesis was widely disseminated among urban scholars and practitioners in the early 2000s and incorporated into the contemporary formula for core city revitalization. The thrust of the thesis is that cities that are able to attract highly educated creative workers, experience accelerated rates of revitalization. These professionals are concentrated in high-tech sectors and knowledge-intensive occupations, and they flourish in densely networked urban environments like the ones portrayed by Birch (2009). The shift in urban policy toward an emphasis on reconfiguring downtowns to attract the creative class has also included an emphasis on attracting childless members of the millennial and post-millennial generations, as well as empty nesters from the baby-boom generation. Zimmerman (2008) and Eisinger (2015) identify Milwaukee, Detroit, and other cities as exemplars of this policy shift and question the degree to which they meet the needs of the working class and poor who constitute larger segments of urban populations. The increased emphasis on creative cities and downtown revitalization designed to attract these cohorts represents a clear departure from policy proposals offered in the 1990s and early 2000s designed to attract middle-class families to core city neighborhoods by strengthening the social safety net, urban school systems, and public services (Rousseau, 2009; Varady & Raffel, 1995). Rather than improving conditions citywide and promoting social equity and upward mobility in an effort to reverse the historic development trends identified by Lipsitz (1995) that exacerbate urban inequality, neoliberal urban policies have focused more explicitly on extricating the working class, the poor, and people of color from revitalizing urban enclaves and replacing them with more affluent newcomers.

The institutional transformation of downtown

In addition to the functional and demographic transformation of downtowns in shrinking cities, the formation of revitalized urban enclaves involves a reordering of institutions that drive the urban economy. During the early 2000s, increased attention was paid to the emergence of the educational and health care sectors as dominant institutions in shrinking cities (Gaffikin & Perry, 2012; Silverman, Patterson, Yin, Ranahan, & Wu, 2016). These two sectors emerged as drivers of local economic development in the wake of deindustrialization and the exodus of manufacturing employment. Unlike their predecessors, universities and hospitals were uniquely positioned to lead downtown revitalization efforts due to their substantial investments in urban real estate and their lack of geographic mobility. Thus, they had a vested interest in promoting redevelopment around their campuses and facilities in the urban core. As a result, their assent as dominant institutions in shrinking cities led to the emergence of an *eds and meds* strategy for urban regeneration (Adams, 2003; Bartik & Erickcek, 2008; Gaffikin & Perry, 2012; Harkavy & Zuckerman, 1999; Perry, Wiewel, & Menendez, 2009; Piiparinen, Russell, & Post, 2015; Vidal, 2014).

The eds and meds strategy complements efforts to create a 24/7 urban enclave inhabited by the creative class, millennials, post-millennials, and empty nesters. Institutions in higher education and the health care sector provide supportive infrastructure for these targeted populations. It has been argued that these two sectors act as magnets for highly skilled professionals in the knowledge economy and generate employment and wage benefits that trickle down to inner-city residents (Bartik & Erickcek, 2008; Harkavy & Zuckerman, 1999). However, questions have been raised about the extent to which these benefits are distributed equitably. Deitrick and Briem (2007) concluded that due to their tax-exempt status, nonprofit hospitals and universities in Pittsburgh weakened the broader municipal tax base and increased stress on the delivery of local public services and social welfare programs. Nelson (2009) argued that in New Orleans the development of specialized hospitals targeting nonresidents seeking state-of-the-art medical treatments led to a reduction in general health care services for local indigent populations. Daniel and Schons (2010) found only

anecdotal evidence of employment gains, enhanced services, and other benefits spilling over to neighborhoods surrounding the Yale–New Haven hospital expansion project. Likewise, Silverman, Lewis, and Patterson (2014) concluded that university-led medical campus expansion in Buffalo was mired by grassroots concerns about gentrification, residential displacement, and a lack of community benefits.

Beyond these critiques, there is growing recognition of broader structural factors that limit eds and meds revitalization efforts in shrinking cities. These factors are directly related to the subordinate position of shrinking cities in the global economy. At one level, scholars like Renn (2012), Florida (2013), and Russell (2013) argue that the eds and meds strategy has peaked due to growing pressures from government and the general public to reduce the cost of health care and higher education. In addition to these pressures, shrinking cities are at a competitive disadvantage when compared to global centers for eds and meds activity. For instance, cities like Boston and Houston, with large and internationally recognized education and health care sectors, are expected to reap continued benefits, whereas the prospects for continued expansion in peripheral cities are relatively weak. For example, Hobor (2013) concluded that shrinking cities found it difficult to implement eds and meds strategies without substantial public subsidies and a large pool of well-insured pensioners seeking medical services. Vidal (2014) examined eds and meds activity in Detroit and concluded that this strategy produced modest successes against the broader backdrop of the city's decline and peripheral position in the global economy.

Re-articulating the physical boundaries of downtown

The functional, demographic, and institutional transformation of downtowns in shrinking cities is facilitated by the redrawing of their physical boundaries. Redefining the boundaries of downtown serves two primary purposes. First, it demarcates where physical redevelopment is encouraged and by default where it is discouraged. In part, the process of redefining boundaries for development is discussed in the literature on rightsizing in shrinking cities (Anderson, 2011; Németh & Hollander, 2016; Ryan, 2014; Schilling & Logan, 2008). Rightsizing takes population decline, property abandonment, and other changes in land use patterns into account and proposes that the boundaries for future urban development be contained. Under rightsizing strategies, areas outside of designated development boundaries are demarcated for less intense land uses or set aside as passive greenspace. Although cities rarely codify and publish rightsizing policies, rightsizing does occur more subtly. In shrinking cities, rightsizing is a reflection of shifting institutional priorities aimed at recentering the downtown and concentrating new investment in physical infrastructure around it. Silverman et al. (2013, p. 137) described this aspect of rightsizing as a process where new urban regimes are actively engaged in "both a re-centering of the urban landscape and the establishment of a buffer zone between areas of the city that remain viable and those that have been systematically abandoned." From this perspective, rightsizing is not an objective process of adjusting boundaries in response to population and physical decline but is a value-laden activity where core and peripheral spaces are demarcated in order to prompt a redistribution of resources functionally, socially, institutionally, and physically. In essence, redrawing boundaries is essential for the production of revitalized urban enclaves and the reproduction of inequality in shrinking cities once they emerge.

In addition to identifying areas where redevelopment is either encouraged or discouraged, redrawing the boundaries of downtowns serves a second purpose. It supports efforts to rebrand a shrinking city. On the surface, rebranding is a component of civic boosterism that allows a shrinking city to shed its image as a declining place and market itself to external investors as a creative city. A notable example is in Detroit, where much of the area associated with the epicenter of the 1967 Detroit riots has been rebranded as the Midtown area. For instance, the Algiers Motel where three African American teens were killed by the police during the Detroit riots was located within Midtown Detroit, Inc.'s boundaries for Midtown (Midtown Detroit Inc., 2018). Another example is in New Orleans, where the city's new downtown medical district has been developed around the former site of Charity Hospital, a public hospital that provided indigent care to the city's poorest residents before it

sustained severe flood damage during Hurricane Katrina. On a deeper level, rebranding has the effect of erasing knowledge of a city's historic patterns of inequality while simultaneously reproducing them spatially. As Berg (2011, p. 13) explains, "Naming places thus becomes caught up in the (re)production of wider processes of fetishization that efface the social relations of dispossession that underlay modern property relations." From this perspective, redrawing boundaries and renaming areas of a city goes beyond efforts to rebrand them in order to attract outside investment. These are also tools used to facilitate the displacement of unwanted residents and expunge their experiences from the culture and history of a place. At its most foundational level, the renaming of an area is a claim to turf. As Moran (2004, p. 129) explains:

> [T]he act of naming is plainly a statement regarding power. In many respects the power to name something or some place is an expression of control or a manifestation of influence over the process of selecting a name. The power to bestow a name on a public place is thereby both an assertion of authority and an affirmation of where that authority resides in a particular community.

From this perspective, the renaming of an area of a city signals to actors in the global economy that previously contested spaces are now open for business. The name change represents the culmination of a process where land uses, sociodemographics, and the composition of dominant institutions have shifted.

Redeveloped urban enclaves have emerged as a result of efforts to change the function, demographic complexion, institutional makeup, physical boundaries, and identity of downtowns in peripheral dual cities. Though a great deal of attention has been paid to these islands of renewal in shrinking cities, less has been said about the seas of despair that surround them. This gap in the literature is beginning to be filled. Florida and Adler (2017, p. 14) link the trajectories of the urban core and periphery in this observation about contemporary cities:

> [T]he knowledge, professional, and creative workers that make up the advantaged class appear to have recolonized the most economically functional and desirable places—in and around the urban core, along transit routes, close to universities and knowledge-based institutions, and along waterfronts and other natural amenities. The less advantaged classes are then shunted into the spaces leftover or in between—either traditionally disadvantaged areas of the inner city or the far fringes of the suburban and exurban periphery.

This observation highlights the fundamental dilemma faced by peripheral dual cities; that is, that redeveloped urban enclaves do not emerge in a vacuum. They come about as a result of decisions concerning where to channel resources, what public services society invests in, and what populations the benefits of revitalization are targeted toward. Thus, the same decisions about the distribution of resources that have facilitated the manifestation of revitalized urban enclaves exacerbate conditions of inequality and force the poor to retreat to the hinterlands of shrinking cities where they endure internal colonial conditions.

Internal colonies in peripheral dual cities

The emergence of revitalized urban enclaves is a reification of structural inequality in contemporary shrinking cities. These enclaves form and are sustained by policies designed to redistribute resources in a manner that complements neoliberalism and capital accumulation in the global economy. They represent one side of the dichotomy between the economic city and the demographic city (Mallach, 2015; Weaver et al., 2017). The other side of that dichotomy is represented by what I call *internal colonies in peripheral dual cities*. This part of the shrinking cities phenomenon is a spatial manifestation of disinvestment in social policies and programs. In essence, what remains of the demographic city has been pushed into internal colonies, and these places are central to understanding how neoliberalism forms an underlying logic for the global economy. Just as the exploitation of peripheral cities is necessary for capital accumulation to occur in global cities, there is an inherent dialectic between revitalized urban enclaves and internal colonies in shrinking cities. In these settings, the transformation of downtown areas is fueled by the impoverishment of what is colloquially referred

to as the inner city. In his analysis of shrinking Rust Belt cities in the United States, Mallach (2015, p. 465) observes that downtown revitalization "does not confer citywide benefits; if anything, it may even redirect jobs, resources, and wealth away from large parts of the city, concentrating them in a smaller area and leaving the rest worst off than before." Even earlier champions of revitalizing urban enclaves have acknowledged this. For instance, Florida (2017, p. 4) grudgingly admits that many critics have argued that a contributing factor to what he refers to as the *new urban crisis* is that

> global urbanization is being foisted on the world by an unrelenting neoliberal capitalist order and its defining feature is not progress and economic development, but slums, along with economic, humanitarian, and ecological crisis of staggering proportions. Gentrification and inequality are the direct outcome of the colonization of the city by the affluent and the advantaged.

From this perspective, the transformation of downtowns in global and peripheral cities has come at a cost. It has been accompanied by the production and reproduction of internal colonies. The expression of these conditions is most pronounced in shrinking cities.

The mechanisms that form and sustain internal colonies in peripheral dual cities are visible along four dimensions: decreasing access to affordable housing and supportive services, the dismantling of public schools and educational opportunities for the majority of low-income and minority group members, the militarization of the police and the criminalization of the poor, and the shifting of the missions of institutions of higher education and health care from being service providers to economic developers. Although these four dimensions are observable in core and peripheral cities, they have a more pronounced impact on shrinking cities, which lack the capacities, wealth, and economies of scale characteristic of global cities. For instance Mallach (2015, p. 467) points out that shrinking cities

> are subject to severe resource constraints drastically limiting their ability to undertake new initiatives; moreover, while a uniquely situated city like New York may contemplate limiting business incentives or imposing obligations on its private sector, such steps are far harder for the strapped cities of the Rust Belt, few of which are experiencing more than at best anemic job growth and which are in a weak competitive position in the global marketplace.

The framework for the mechanisms that form and sustain internal colonies in peripheral dual cities is informed by earlier writings on the role of urban social institutions in the community development process (Blauner, 1969, 1972; Patterson & Silverman, 2014; Pinderhughes, 2011; Silverman & Patterson, 2012). The four dimensions of those mechanisms are derived directly from that literature. I encourage other scholars to expand this list in future research; however, as a starting point, this framework builds on the works identified here, highlighting how internal colonial conditions are an integral component of broader urban revitalization policies in shrinking cities. Positioning inner-city neighborhoods as the *other* in the dialogue about where to invest and disinvest feeds into a narrative that justifies rightsizing strategies that concentrate revitalization in urban enclaves while simultaneously doubling down on neoliberal policies and the dismantling of the social welfare state.

Decreasing access to affordable housing and supportive services

Past research on shrinking cities has found that affordable housing and other supportive services remain concentrated outside of areas undergoing revitalization (Silverman et al., 2016; Silverman, Patterson, Yin, & Wu, 2015; Weaver et al., 2017). Although there are calls for mixed-income development and policies to promote opportunity-based housing (Joseph, Chaskin, & Webber, 2007; Lens, 2017; Powell, 2003), urban revitalization in shrinking cities has been largely unresponsive. Instead of promoting integration and greater social equity in the distribution of housing and social welfare, Addie (2008, p. 2688) points out that neoliberal policies have aggravated "the historic–geographic production and embedding of social inequality, uneven development, and spatial marginalization" in shrinking cities. At the same time that access to affordable housing and supportive services in the revitalizing urban enclaves of shrinking cities has been blocked, public policies aimed at augmenting resources for them in internal colonies have been steadily retrenching. The paradox is

that the emphasis has shifted toward the use of public subsidies to support the development of market-rate housing in revitalizing urban enclaves, whereas public resources dedicated to affordable housing and supportive services in inner-city neighborhoods have become more scarce.

Dismantling of public schools and educational opportunities

Shrinking cities have also been at the epicenter of discourse about failing public schools, especially in the U.S. context. In part, this is the result of the effect that urban decline has on local tax bases, which have historically been the bedrock of urban school finance. As cities lose population, local revenues to support public education and enrollment decline. Along with lower enrollment, the populations that remain in shrinking cities tend to experience greater economic hardship due to weakening employment opportunities, have higher rates of race and class segregation, and have higher rates of poverty. These conditions contribute to poor academic performance and lower levels of educational attainment. In response to these conditions, public school systems have been the focus of a series of school reform efforts. Initially, these reforms focused on addressing segregation and shortfalls in school funding (Goldsmith, 2016; Hochschild & Scovronick, 2003). For instance, in the 1950s, reforms aimed at desegregating public schools were adopted in the United States. Beginning in the 1970s, these reforms were followed by policies that provided for the transferal of state and federal equalization funding to local school districts. However, the shift to a neoliberal paradigm led to a de-emphasis on using school reforms to address social and economic inequality and a new focus on aligning them with the goal of increasing global competitiveness. Two policy innovations emerged in the late 1990s and early 2000s in the United States that were designed to promote this goal: linking the eligibility for school funding to standardized testing and advocating for the replacement of failing public schools with charter schools (Brathwaite, 2017; Fabricant & Fine, 2012; Ravitch, 2010). In both cases, these policy reforms disproportionately impacted shrinking cities, where many underperforming schools were concentrated. The labeling of schools in shrinking cities as "failing" and the subsequent disruption of local school districts that were subjected to turnaround strategies, school closures, and charter school experiments were most pronounced in neighborhoods with characteristics of internal colonies (Leonardo & Grubb, 2014; Lipman, 2009, 2015; Sanders, 2015). In these settings, public education is increasingly the focus of neoliberal reforms designed to enhance global competitiveness and reduce social spending, and the pursuit of social equity has been diminished.

The militarization of the police and the criminalization of the poor

In contrast to disinvestments in affordable housing and public schools, shrinking cities have increasingly militarized their police apparatus and criminalized poor minority residents living in internal colonies. In large part, the construction of a police state has been facilitated by neoliberal policies and the stereotyping of minorities living in urban neighborhoods (Dreier, 2005). As Meeks (2006, p. 33) observes,

> A policy once focused on social and economic revitalization and rehabilitation of urban communities and the development of human capital has become a policy that is focused on the control of the social and criminal behavior of the inner-city underclass.

This change in police–community relations has been fueled by the war on drugs and the construction of a prison–industrial complex that is intricately woven into the fabric of social life in inner-city neighborhoods (Goldsmith, 2016; Scott, 2014). In shrinking cities, the militarization of the police and the criminalization of the poor have reinforced patterns of spatial polarization that have produced revitalizing urban enclaves and internal colonies. For instance, Frazier et al. (2013) found that demolition and urban revitalization policies designed to address shrinking in Buffalo led to the movement of crime away from the city center and into inner-city neighborhoods. In essence, these policies led to a pattern of revitalization where demolition created a buffer zone

between revitalization in the urban core and areas of concentrated crime and poverty on the periphery.

The shifting missions of institutions of higher education and health care

Finally, conditions in internal colonies are exasperated by the shift in the missions of institutions of higher education and health care in shrinking cities. These institutions, many of which are public entities and tax-exempt nonprofits, have moved from maintaining some focus on the promotion of social equity and the provision of services to the indigent to an increased emphasis on their role as drivers for local economic development. This shift is an expression of the infiltration of a neoliberal ethos in the operation of these institutions and the blurring of the lines between the public, nonprofit, and private sectors (Bagchi-Sen & Smith, 2012; Bose, 2015; Hackworth, 2007; Washburn, 2006). This ethos is expressed in the built environment as universities and hospitals embark on campus expansion and neighborhood redevelopment projects that result in gentrification and the displacement of the poor. This pattern of institutional growth has been identified as problematic in the past when displacement occurred as a byproduct of university and hospital expansion (Worthy, 1977). However, it has evolved in the contemporary period as universities and hospitals have changed their missions to include a more central focus on local economic development and overtly identified themselves as real estate developers. Bose (2015) examined Columbus, Ohio, and argued that this shift has caused universities and hospitals to become more proactive about changing the social complexion of communities surrounding their campuses and physical plants. Bose (2015, pp. 2629–2630) concluded that

> [universities and hospitals] become entrepreneurial subjects that attend to their immediate surroundings through a politics of redevelopment. Such projects require alliance building which is carried out by constituting specific subjectivities, using fractures of class and race. … [They] co-opt powerful stakeholders like middle-class home owners and business owners, while exploiting the political weakness of poor renters. [They] manipulate subjectivities through subtly invoking classed and racial cleavages, to generate consent towards [their] projects and creating exclusion.

Adams (2014) reaches similar conclusions about the shift toward a focus on economic development and real estate development by universities and hospitals in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. She adds that this shift has been accompanied by the reconstitution of urban regimes composed of these institutions and regional elites in the nonprofit and private sectors. These regimes pursue development that lends to the creation of urban enclaves in peripheral dual cities while neglecting to address the needs of poor and minority residents of internal colonies.

Moving beyond dystopic shrinking cities

The dichotomy of revitalized urban enclaves and internal colonies in peripheral dual cities is meant to offer a dystopian view of the present. I argue that current policy responses to shrinking cities have reproduced uneven development, inequality, and an unjust city. This is largely the byproduct of the embeddedness of these policies in a neoliberal paradigm that facilitates the decoupling of the economic city and the demographic city. In order to address this imbalance, policymakers and practitioners must refocus on making advocacy and equity a priority. There is an established tradition of this in the field of community development (Alinsky, 1971; Davidoff, 1965; Krumholz & Forester, 1990; Walls, 2015). This tradition argues that minorities, the poor, and other disenfranchised groups should be empowered in local policymaking and governance. This goes beyond recommendations for income equality, investments in affordable housing, improvements to public education, and other progressive reforms designed to create linkages between new development and poor communities (Bornstein, 2010; Florida, 2017; Goldsmith, 2016; Rosdil, 2017; Schragger, 2016). In addition to these types of reforms, decisions about community development must rest in the

hands of the dispossessed. This is an indispensable dimension of just policymaking in shrinking cities.

It is time to radically rethink urban policy in shrinking cities. This process should begin with the acknowledgement that the current paradigm is flawed because it neglects the demographic city. Efforts to fuel revitalization by changing the demographic complexion of the urban core while expelling existing residents to internal colonies on the periphery raise similar issues as past urban renewal strategies. These efforts entail an internal inconsistency built on the assumption that by reducing the ranks of the poor in downtown areas, shrinking cities will revitalize. When viewed from the confines of a revitalized urban enclave, this strategy may be palatable to anchor institutions and urban elites. However, when the implications of these types of rightsizing strategies are considered in the context of the internal colonies that form in their wake, it can be argued that trickle-down policies are simply being offered as a justification for the purging of the poor.

A radical reconstruction of shrinking cities begins with a reorientation of urban policy toward the emancipation of the demographic city. This framework is informed by dependency theory and a critical analysis of the global economy. It focuses on designing urban policies to break down the structural conditions that produce internal colonies. These policies focus on four broad areas where poor and minority residents control the direction of housing resources and social services, public education and workforce development, policing, and locally based higher education and health care institutions. For decades, poor and minority urban dwellers have been displaced, disenfranchised, and segregated. This has been the outcome of urban policies that are increasingly driven by the demands of footloose industry and the global economy. Shrinking cities represent an extreme expression of these conditions, and poor and minority residents make up a growing segment of their populations. In order to promote social justice and equity, it is incumbent upon policymakers to focus revitalization efforts in these cities on the needs of this growing segment of the population. Unlike neoliberal policies that purge minorities and the poor in order to reconfigure the urban core and feed the global economy, shrinking cities should become cities of, by, and for the masses.

Community-controlled housing resources and social services

One component of transforming shrinking cities is the adoption of community-controlled housing and social service reforms. Such policies would be reoriented toward meeting the needs of poor minority residents who currently reside in shrinking cities. In terms of housing, the emphasis would be on expanding the supply of decent, safe, and affordable homes in opportunity areas. There are a variety of tools that could be applied to meet this goal, including the adoption of inclusionary zoning ordinances, the establishment of affordable housing trust funds, building co-operative housing units, and the establishment of community land trusts. In addition to adopting local policies that expand the supply of affordable housing units, shrinking cities should aggressively pursue fair housing enforcement in order to end housing discrimination and promote desegregation. At the local level, these goals could be pursued by expanding the scope of fair housing protections, the adoption of laws protecting renters' rights, and increasing civil and criminal penalties when instances of housing discrimination occur. To promote housing security, additional neighborhood wraparound services such as credit counseling, financial planning, employment services, transportation assistance, and recreational programs should be available to residents to promote comprehensive community development. Finally, community engagement and neighborhood governance should drive the design and implementation of housing and social programs.

Community-controlled public education and workforce development

In addition to housing and social service reforms, the transformation of shrinking cities requires investments in public education and workforce development. Public schools in shrinking cities require added equalization funding from the federal and state levels in order to raise teacher salaries, expand vocational education, augment mentoring and school-to-work programs, and provide for wraparound services for youth such as pre-K education, day care and after-school care, and summer programs. In

addition to these reforms, shrinking cities must enhance local efforts to recruit and train teachers and others who work in public education. Community-focused recruiting would reinforce community values and increase the chances that the classroom reflects the community. In addition, parent and student engagement in the governance of public schools and vocational programs is an essential component of ensuring that education is grounded in the principle of community control.

Community-controlled policing

A cornerstone of transforming shrinking cities is an expansion of the concept of public safety. An expanded definition of public safety goes beyond crime control and policing. Public safety also entails the engendering of enfranchisement, membership, dignity, and respect to community members by the police. In many shrinking cities, the police have been walled off from the community. Community-controlled policing entails the reintegration of the police with the broader community through the adoption of community policing, neighborhood watch, conflict resolution, restorative justice, and similar programs. Moreover, increased efforts to recruit police officers from the disenfranchised communities they serve is essential in shrinking cities. Recruiting police personnel locally would increase empathy for residents and improve police–community relations. In addition to community policing and the recruitment of police officers from disenfranchised communities, community control would entail the adoption of measures to increase police accountability. One measure would involve the establishment of citizen review boards that would investigate instances of police misconduct. Another measure would involve locally imposed bans on the use of lethal force by police officers. It would be a major statement if shrinking cities drew clear distinctions between civilian police officers and military personnel through the imposition of such bans. Valuing life is central to the promotion of public safety. Finally, community-controlled policing would involve the decriminalization of a number of nonviolent crimes such as drug possession and allow police officers to use their discretion to divert nonviolent offenders to public health and social welfare systems.

Community-controlled anchor institutions

The final set of policies to break down the structural conditions that produce internal colonies in peripheral dual cities would focus on enhancing poor and minority residents' control of local anchor institutions. In shrinking cities, this would involve requiring linked development agreements with communities when things like hospital and university expansion projects are proposed, as well as other megaprojects like the construction of sports stadiums. One tool that could be used to bring about such linked development agreements would be the adoption of local ordinances requiring community benefits agreements for megaprojects. Beyond linked development agreements, community control in local institutions would entail the representation of poor and minority residents in the formal governance of large public and nonprofit organizations. Enabling legislation at the state level to grant charters to nonprofit hospitals, universities, and other anchor institutions should include provisions requiring community representation on these organizations' governing bodies.

In short, to move beyond dystopic shrinking cities, the thrust of urban policy must shift from strategies that emphasize shrinking smart and rightsizing, to redistributive policies that focus on empowering the poor and increasing community control. This redistributive framework should focus on removing structural barriers that promote internal colonial conditions in shrinking cities, particularly as they relate to housing, supportive services, public education, workforce development, policing, and anchor institutions that are unresponsive to community needs. In closing, the framework outlined in this article is proposed as a starting point. I challenge scholars to build upon it, apply it through praxis, and subject it to empirical testing.

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