

# A practitioner's view on neighbourhood regeneration

Issues, approaches and experiences  
in European cities

Frank Wassenberg and Koos van Dijken

The Hague, 2011



ISBN 978 94 90 967 048

Nicis Institute  
Laan van N.O. Indië 300  
PO Box 90750  
2509 LT The Hague  
The Netherlands  
Tel: +31(0)70 344 09 66  
Fax: +31(0)70 344 09 67  
Email: [info@nicis.nl](mailto:info@nicis.nl)

[www.nicis.nl](http://www.nicis.nl)

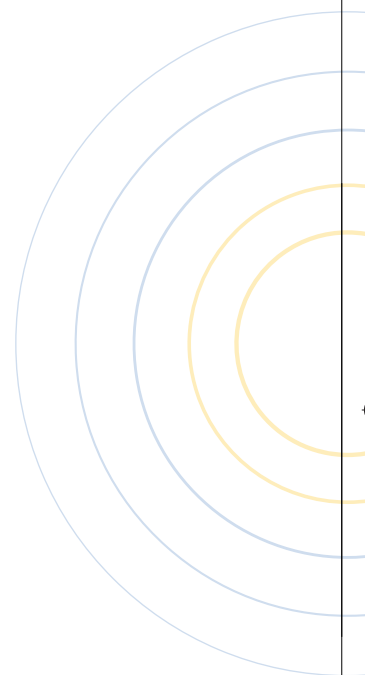
Opmaak: [www.az-gsb.nl](http://www.az-gsb.nl), Den Haag

Drukwerk: Ipskamp drukkers

Oplage: 1100

#### **A PRACTITIONER'S VIEW ON NEIGHBOURHOOD REGENERATION**

The responsibility for the contents of this report lies with Nicis Institute. The diffusion of this report or part of this publication in any form or by any means is permitted when the source is clearly mentioned. Nicis Institute would welcome to be informed about the use and quote of the results of this report. Nicis Institute does not accept responsibility for printing errors and/or other imperfections.



# Preface

Nowadays, many scientists and policy makers have become aware that Europe's towns and cities are the primary source of wealth creation, job creation and productivity growth. Cities bring together people who, in turn, benefit from interacting with each other. In cities people can find jobs and move up the social and economic ladders. Cities are the places where new technologies are being developed. Cities are the places where highly-educated people cluster, where start-ups flourish and face-to-face interactions increase productivity. There is a growing consensus that Europe can only achieve its EU2020 goals if and when cities are thriving. But cities do not flourish automatically. Cities also face large challenges such as physical, economic and social deterioration. The problems are particularly evident in our city's deprived neighbourhoods. In these neighbourhoods human resources are not (yet) fully mobilised. In these parts of the city many problems seem to accumulate, often within one family, house block, street or area. Everyone engaged with and responsible for a city's development is aware that these deprived neighbourhoods exercise negative effects on the city's image and on the urban economy itself. Therefore, all European countries typically have policies in place in order to renew cities and neighbourhoods. Urban regeneration is a social, economic, physical, sustainable, demographic, financial and collaborative issue. Regeneration is a demographic issue, in the sense that deprived areas are characterized by large movement of (groups of) people; those who can afford it move out, and underprivileged newcomers move in. Regeneration is a financial issue, as renewing activities are costly. However, doing nothing will prove to be far more costly in the long run. And urban regeneration is a



collaborative issue, as governments, private investors, owners and residents must all work together.

There is a wealth of experience and knowledge about urban regeneration in all the cities that are members of EUROCITIES. And becoming the Chair of the Economic Development Forum in 2009 gave me a chance to make use of this experience and knowledge by means of an exchange programme focussing on the way six European cities are dealing with disadvantaged areas. A special feature of this exchange programme was that participants were practitioners who deal with the people living in and the challenges facing these disadvantaged areas on a daily basis.

In this report the reader will get a very good impression of the experiences of the participants of this exchange project.

Many tips and points of attention have been reviewed, but for me one of the most important features is evident: the human factor is and will be the most decisive element in combating disadvantages and providing a better future for the people living in these areas. An area-based approach, engagement and knowledge of the neighbourhood and its inhabitants are crucial factors for understanding the needs and the wishes of our people. The value unofficial leaders have in an area cannot be underestimated, whether it is a former gang leader, a local police officer or a neighbourhood manager, and an area-based approach is vitally important in order to keep in touch with the residents of these areas.

This report and the process that has lead up to it show again the importance of cities as the places where wealth is created, but also where less fortunate people live and who deserve our attention. It also shows the importance of human contact. Contact not only between our practitioners and the inhabitants of disadvantaged areas but also between the practitioners in our different cities to learn from each other. This report will give you a very good insight into these real life experiences of our best people on the front lines of our deprived neighbourhoods.

As for the European Union as a whole, there are also important lessons to be learned. I see three dimensions:

1. The open structure of the EU makes it possible to exchange views and experiences between towns and cities on a large scale. These exchanges give us the insight that all our European towns and cities face similar problems. Towns and cities can therefore learn a lot from each other and the EU can help by facilitating these exchanges!

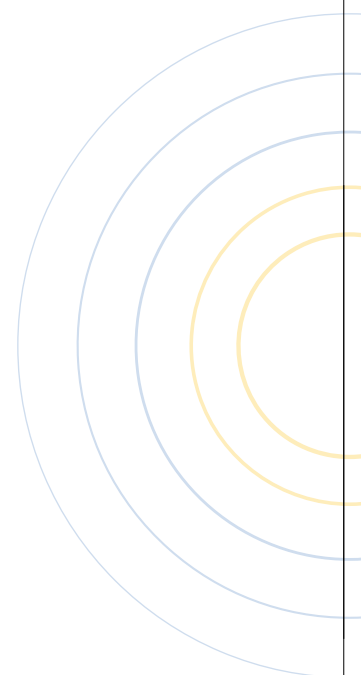
2. The similarity in problems makes it easy to give sharp focus to the EU structural funds towards towns and cities. Two things are becoming clearer. First, the governance system of the EU funds is rather difficult. Secondly, Dutch cities have good experiences with EU-funds they have direct budget rights to.
3. This report is an agenda-setting report for EU 2020. The wealth of the EU depends on the economic position of our towns and cities. This position depends also on the opportunities of our towns and cities to complete the process of urban regeneration. Therefore, urban regeneration deserves a place in the EU 2020 agenda and this publication shows that organizations like EUROCITIES can contribute to this extremely important European task.

I wish you a lot of pleasure in reading this report.

Henk Kool  
Vice-mayor for Economic and Social Affairs  
City of The Hague

# Content

Preface	3
Content	5
Synopsis	7
1 Introduction	11
2 Issues and approaches in deprived urban areas	17
3 Balancing policies	27
4 Experiencing social mixing	35
5 The pursuit of durable quality	43
6 Collaborate into governance	49
7 Empowering residents	57
8 Financing urban regeneration	63
9 Conclusions and lessons	71
Annex 1 The Urban Practitioners	76
Annex 2 Background information per city	77
Annex 3 References	89



# Synopsis

## Neighbourhood practitioners from six European cities learning from each other

Neighbourhood practitioners from six cities (The Hague, Oslo, Berlin, Dresden, Porto and Preston), agreed to work with each other to look at how, where and why they organised and delivered area based interventions in deprived neighbourhoods in their respective cities. In this voluntary collaboration they visited each others practices and hosted one visit. Participants went into the process with an open mind for ideas, projects and inspiration that were relevant to them.

Urban regeneration of deprived areas is a local activity where countless numbers of people are involved. Most of these people hardly ever come to other urban practices and they definitely do not notice how urban regeneration practices abroad really function. The actual visitation of urban practitioners to foreign colleagues who work in other cities, in another context, but on similar positions, makes this project unique. What the practitioners learnt is central in this report.

## Six key issues in urban regeneration from a practitioner's view

The visits of the urban practitioners raised many issues and questions. Starting with the common understanding that integrated policies are useful and that area based initiatives are necessary, the practitioners reflected in each others cities about the practical implications. They know from their own practice that the often advocated integrated area based approaches are easier said than done. And they know that

approaches can work out differently in practice. The practitioners grouped the most interesting questions into the following six key issues: 1) balance people, place and organisation, 2) social mix approaches, 3) durable quality, 4) from government to governance, 5) empowering residents and 6) financing. The most important conclusions are highlighted hereafter, and further elaborated in the report.

## Balancing policies (in chapter 3)

- In any area based approach there has to be a unique balance between place based policies (improve buildings and environments), people based policies (help underprivileged people forward, stimulate social communities) and system improvements (better coordination, inspired collaboration, room for 'best persons', clear tasks and responsibilities). Local conditions determine the best balance between those three.
- Use the strengths of an area. Use, sometimes hidden, strong points, varying from 'forgotten' buildings, vacant land, accessibility, location, cultural diversity and in particular the people. Involved people are an asset and should be looked upon as such. Try not to stir up negative energy by focusing on problems only.
- Create icons or landmarks within deprived neighbourhoods that serve a wider function than only the area residents, but attract outsiders for functional reasons and help to improve the negative stigma.

### Experiencing social mixing (in chapter 4)

- Social mix can be influenced by improving functional meeting opportunities (e.g. schools, shops, greens, sport facilities). Mixed facilities attract both more inhabitants as well as a mix of inhabitants. Make facilities multi purpose and target on different groups.
- Make use of the diversity of an area. Diversity is one of the strengths of cities.

### Pursuit of durable quality (in chapter 5)

- Low quality solutions won't last long and are not durable and sustainable. Experiences show that cheap solutions in urban regeneration will result in expenses on a later date.
- When finances are short, consider to postpone decisions instead of decreasing quality requirements.
- Deprived areas have a negative image among outsiders. Show successes to both insiders (residents, workers) and outsiders (e.g. politicians, potential residents). One way is to involve the media into the renewal process.

### Strengthen partnerships and stimulate governance (chapter 6)

- Be keen on the best workers, best persons, street-level bureaucrats and frontline workers in the area. They need special support and a certain freedom of operation from town hall.
- In many cases the private sector pays for housing and local government for public facilities (schools, care, greens,

welfare facilities etc.). In practice in urban regeneration in European cities examples can be found that the market sector as well as the non/profit associations are taking up extended tasks in neighbourhood management and development (e.g. in Porto and Dresden).

- There is a tension between the long term vision and the implementation in practice. New governments will come up, key players will leave, budget restrictions prevail and new insights will occur. Every approach needs a balance between flexibility in the implementation and the final vision at the end.

### Empowering residents (chapter 7)

- Residents should be stimulated to help to regenerate their own areas as much as possible. This can vary from 'classical' participation and community building to people construct their own house or open their own shop or business. This is also important from a financial perspective because governments withdraw, market investors are reluctant because of the economic crisis and housing associations and other owners are confronted with higher expenses and lower earnings. So residents are the major actors left to invest, with their time, energy and money.
- Joint groups of residents can decide about their own neighbourhood. This can be via cooperatives, where groups of people invest in their own buildings and environment, via area budgets to be decided by residents, or other ways. Create ways to stimulate self organization of residents.



## Financing urban regeneration (chapter 8)

- The existence of subsidies regulates for a large part the existence of programmes. Subsidies come and subsidies go, but a neighbourhood often is helped more by long term decisions, on the base of needs. This pleads for long term commitments, long term funding, separate from sector or temporary involvements. Long term funding, continuity and endurance are needed to turn the situation around in the most deprived neighbourhoods with multiple problems.
- Use more revolving funds wherever reasonable and try to find alternatives to mere subsidies whenever possible, subject to the condition that there is a good chance to lower thresholds, stimulate private initiatives, provide revenues in later years and enlarge the total investment capacity. Accept in the same time that investments are somewhat risky and revenues not guaranteed.
- Some cities participate in European programmes. These funds are important, in some cases extremely important, but need more consistency, efficient procedures, less bureaucracy and procedures that empower residents. With the reduced national and local means the European programmes and instruments become more important.

## Some recommendations for other neighbourhood practitioners

- Combine long term goals with work on a daily basis. A successful neighbourhood approach may take many years (10, 15 years or more). A continuous effort can be needed when constant new people enter

the area. Continue good practices and successful projects, also after initiating subsidies are over. Besides the long term vision also solving daily inconveniences (dirty streets, drug abuse, jobless hanging, improving public services) is important. Any local approach has to be a mix between long term and short term activities.

- Mobilise private capital. Use government money as a multiplier for as many private investments as possible. Work with tenders to stimulate market creativity, but don't spend too much energy on too small and complicated tenders (e.g. for ERDF and ESF projects).
- Put the best people in the front line. Be sure that mandates to arrange things are laid at the lowest possible level. Use as less bureaucracy as possible. This means that people in the field are able to decide about the problems and approaches they face.
- Stimulate practical transnational exchanges of experiences between
- city practitioners in regeneration areas; this is the level where regeneration approaches actually are implemented.
- Recommendations for European cohesion policy
- In urban regeneration a lot of experimentation takes place in our cities.
- These experimental approaches should complement the mainstream understanding of urban regeneration in regional, national and European urban policies. The experiments demonstrate the benefits of integrated actions in cities
  - first and foremost in those with the greatest need for investment. The lessons, conclusions and recommendations of the practitioners participating in this project complement the mainstream programmes

of urban regeneration. This makes it possible to demonstrate how Europe 2020 can be delivered in an integrated manner at local level. And how new approaches can be developed in urban development and within European cohesion policy.

The insights, experiences, conclusions and recommendations of the practitioners can be used to implement European cohesion policy. One of the set-backs of the current programming period is that the role of cities in programming and decision-making processes has not been taken seriously. However, with the Lisbon Treaty in force, the role of the local authorities for delivering EU policy actions has indeed been expanded and emphasised. With the new regulations the gap between the European policy responsibility of sufficiently involving cities and the reality of programming can be closed. Other recommendations of the neighbourhood practitioners are:

- remain continuously aware that Europe's towns and cities are the primary source of wealth creation, job creation and productivity growth; but that this source is not automatically flowing and needs carefully and long term treatment of its weaker parts;
- there is a need and benefit of allowing support for area based approaches in towns and cities (and not just thematic or sectoral approaches);
- demonstrate that urban regeneration and neighbourhood regeneration addresses most of the EU social, economic and environmental priorities and is an experience field of new forms of governance;
- integrated approaches are important and there is a necessity for alignment of

funding streams (in particular ERDF and ESF);

- locally designed and delivered projects/ programmes are the most effective as they best reflect local need and circumstances;
- many of the best ideas and innovations come out of experimental local projects and EU should encourage innovative approaches and support the dissemination of results;
- bureaucracy, regulations and over-legislation continue to be a problem and the EC needs a more proportional pragmatic approach where smaller sums are involved;
- learning first hand from peers and colleagues is one of the best ways of spreading best practices and broadening mindsets in Europe.

# 1 Introduction

## Cities are crucial for Europe's competitiveness

Europe's towns and cities are the primary source of wealth creation, job creation and productivity growth. Cities bring together people who benefit from each other. Cities are the places where new technologies are being developed. Cities are the places where high-educated people cluster, where start-ups flourish and face-to-face interactions increase productivity (Glaeser, 1992; World Bank, 2009). Europe needs cities and regions which are strong to live in, as the Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities (2007) declares.

For this role of cities human capital is essential. Investments in human capital affect social relations and the social climate in communities, neighbourhoods and cities. This boosts the attractiveness of a city, region and country as a place of business and promotes further investments in education and innovation. All over the world, firms are expressing high demand for skilled workers. Because the labour force in many parts of Europe is decreasing or will decrease in the near future, seriously challenging our competitiveness, we need to mobilise the human resources in deprived neighbourhoods, cities, regions and countries better than today.

In the fast changing competitive world we need to adapt constantly. In the increasing competitive environment cities are at the same time a solution and a challenge. They are a challenge because they are places where problems of social exclusion and poverty accumulate and not all human resources are (yet) mobilised and because they are very quickly and heavily affected by

negative economic trends. Also a challenge because a long term commitment is needed to improve deteriorated situations in deprived neighbourhoods. At the same time cities are the solution because they offer vast possibilities for integration, education, cultural dialogue, innovation and energy saving. Politicians are aware that cities play a key role for the future of the European cohesion policy and the EU2020 strategy (Hahn, 2010).

## City's key role is not guaranteed and urban regeneration needs continuous and long term policy commitment

Although cities can increasingly be seen as the engines of the regional, national and European economy, this driving power doesn't come easy and is not guaranteed.

When parts of cities are not faring well, it is important to find out how best to change them, because they exercise negative effects on the city's image and on the urban economy itself. Therefore, all European countries have policies to renew cities and neighbourhoods. Urban regeneration is a social, economic, physical, sustainable, demographic, financial and collaborative issue. Regeneration is a demographic issue, as deprived areas are characterized by large moves of groups of people. Mainly people who can afford it move out, and underprivileged newcomers move in. Regeneration is a financial issue, as renewing activities are costly, but doing nothing will cost far more on the long run. And urban regeneration is a collaborative issue, as governments, private investors, owners and residents have to work together.



*Each city organised a visit in their regeneration areas; here Oslo.*

## Six key issues in urban regeneration

Governments as well as other key actors develop policies to regenerate deprived neighbourhoods. These can be radical or incremental. Policies can focus on a single area or the whole city. The focus can be on a combination of physical and non-physical issues. Policies can focus on community building, private sector involvement, or sustainability et cetera. The policies vary widely and general lessons are hard to learn because of this variation and different histories, contexts and institutional arrangements. Urban development needs to respect local and regional contexts, strengths and weaknesses. In the policy debate often an area based approach, integrating horizontal policies, with sustainable perspectives,

collaborative partnerships and empowering inhabitants, is advocated. How do the policies and advocated ideals work out in practice?

In practice we are becoming more and more aware that a more forceful approach in problematic neighbourhoods is linked with the behaviour of professionals. It is no coincidence that concepts as 'street-level bureaucrats', 'frontline workers', 'everyday makers', 'everyday fixers', 'exemplary practitioners', 'best persons' pop up in literature. From the point of view of the practitioners in the field there is often a gap between the academic debates and empirical literature about urban regeneration and the things that happen daily in the cities, neighbourhoods and streets in their place of work.

Therefore, practitioners from six European cities visited from September 2009 till November 2010 each others six cities to learn from each other, exchange experiences and test the mainstream ideas of urban regeneration against practical experiences that are observed during these visits. This report is the reflection of a unique process. Urban regeneration of deprived areas is a local activity where countless numbers of people are involved, both workers as residents. Most of these people hardly ever come to other urban practices, maybe by coincidence. And they definitely do not notice how urban regeneration practices abroad really function. The uniqueness of this project is the actual visitation of urban practitioners to foreign colleagues who work in other cities, in another context, but on similar positions. There have been exchanges before between policy makers, politicians, aldermen and directors, and there have been a couple of academic research exchanges. This project however is the first in which experiences of local urban practitioners are central. Urban practitioners from six cities – The Hague, Oslo, Berlin, Porto, Dresden and Preston – visited each others practices and hosted in turn a visit. Although, in urban regeneration no size fits all. The Hague is not Porto, Preston not Berlin and Dresden not Oslo. What works in one city might not work in any other. This report tells what the practitioners learnt from each other.

The urban practitioners participating in this project are specialists in neighbourhood regeneration, neighbourhood managers, representatives of policy and strategy city departments and professionals from housing, employment, education and social fields.<sup>1</sup> Each of the urban practitioners participated

in visits to other cities, hosted a visit to the other practitioners, provided background documentation, contributed to discussions and evaluations of findings and played an important role to provide and improve the information in this report.

The visits of the urban practitioners to each other's cities, areas and projects raised many issues and questions. The experiences can be grouped into six key issues. Firstly, the balances or the focus sought in people, place and organisation area based policies. Secondly, various experiences with social mixing of residents. Thirdly, the search for durable quality preventing the continuous dealing with the same areas and the same people over and over. Fourthly, strengthen partnerships and stimulate governance. Fifthly, the empowerment of residents. And sixthly, the various practices in financing urban regeneration. These six key issues form the core of the report and are described in chapter 3 to 8.

## The goal of this project and report

This publication attempts to share some of the learning and good experience that the group of neighbourhood practitioners identified in a format that will be of interest and use to other neighbourhood practitioners. Three statements of practitioners can illustrate the importance of this learning process.

*“With the visits a better understanding of the problems and solutions was realized than with written report only; we will incorporate these experiences into future plan”.*

---

1 For a list of the involved practitioners, see Annex 1.





Visiting Porto

*"After some hesitation I was delighted to find out that my colleagues were becoming more and more enthusiastic about this project. It was good to hear from one of my colleagues that it gave him a lot of inspiration and energy to walk around and talk with colleagues that have a fresh and other point of view in solving likewise tasks".*

*"The view from the outsiders has been valuable for all cities that have been visited. It is valuable to have questions and comments from other practitioners working in deprived neighbourhoods in other countries and other contexts. It is a sort of peer review from professionals that are trying to solve the same problems as you."*

Of course not all good ideas can be repeated or transferred but the group identified

the above mentioned six aspects of neighbourhood regeneration which they believed to be important. They suggest twenty lessons learned or conditions of success which they believe will benefit colleagues in other cities, as well as a few obstacles or barriers that readers may do well to avoid.

### Outline of the report

Chapter 2 gives an overview of the main issues in deprived urban areas. That overview follows from the literature as well as from practice, i.e. the visited areas in the six cities. The most interesting issues and questions are grouped into six issues mentioned before. These form the body of this report and are



*Each practitioner visited on average about half of the cities; here Dresden*

successively treated in the chapters 3 to 8. Each chapter ends with some conclusions. Chapter 9 summarizes the main results of the project and the lessons learned by the practitioners. What is the common understanding of issues and solutions by the practitioners? What works and what doesn't work? What are the recommendations from the observations and evaluations of the urban practitioners to a wider audience?

During the field trips in the six cities the practitioners visited a range of projects and practices. These projects have been chosen by the organising city because they were interesting for the European visitors. Projects had to do with interesting features, a very involved process, some particular financial or juridical measure, a practical approach, aimed at specific groups in population, show

successes and failures, serve a particular goal, or whatever was interesting. Some of these projects and practices are included in the main text others in separate text frames.

The project is initiated by Eurocities (the network of more than 140 large cities in over 30 European countries) and the Dutch city of The Hague (chair of the Economic Development Forum of Eurocities at the start of the project). The authors of this report are staff members of Nicis Institute. The city of The Hague supported Nicis' activities for the project. The final publication is sponsored by EMI, the European Metropolitan network Institute, a joint initiative of Nicis and the city of The Hague (co-funded by ERDF, the European Regional Development Fund of the European Community).






## 2 Issues and approaches in deprived urban areas

In deprived urban areas in European cities all kinds of physical, social, economic and other problems cumulate. Multiple problems urge an approach that focuses on multiple interventions. Many urban regeneration policies can be characterised by integrated approaches, combining several points of view, and based in particular geographic areas. In this chapter we first elaborate on the main issues in deprived areas, followed by policies to counteract those. An integrated area based approach may sound good, but this is easier said than done. What are the main questions in urban practice when implementing such an ideal integrated area based approach? This chapter points out six key issues according to the urban practitioners, and these will be explored in the six following chapters.

### 2.1 Developments and problems

*All areas develop.....*



Neighbourhoods are not static entities. They change when being used by residents, visitors and local entrepreneurs. They 'age', wear out and need maintenance and renewal. Some neighbourhoods are continuously doing well, while others face decline. In the latter case they become branded as a 'problem', 'disadvantaged', 'deprived' or 'concentrated' area, low-income neighbourhood or poverty district. This refers to a downward process in which people who can afford it are moving out and make place for people in the lower social strata, where dwellings and streets are deteriorating, crime and non-social behaviour rise, facilities leave or go out of business and the image of the neighbourhood is worsening. Almost by definition, cities are characterised by differences and inequalities. They are places for both poor and rich households,

for new and old inhabitants and for wealthy and modest neighbourhoods. Cities comprise various districts and neighbourhoods, each with its own function, nature, architectural style, attraction, and advantages and disadvantages for residents, businesses and visitors.

*..... but some areas get deprived*

Variety and differentiation belong to urban life. However, when differences are too large, problems will concentrate in too large and too heavy concentrations: the deprived areas. Deprived neighbourhoods exist in many different forms. Some areas can be characterised by one single problem, such as noise from an adjacent railway track, while other areas are characterised by a multitude of problems. For an area to become included in a national urban policy programme it is often required that it exhibits a multitude of problems.

There is abundant literature explaining area developments and providing reasons for deterioration. Van Beckhoven and colleagues provide a recent overview, including findings of earlier scholars (2009). They mention processes that are considered to happen more naturally and automatically (like the ecological school of succession, filtering and downgrading), while others emphasize the influence of human behaviour (with preferences, social cohesion and identification with an area, constraints and possibilities) or the physical appearance (bad buildings and brownfields cause deterioration). Others focus on institutions and organisations (like good or bad management of estates and processes of allocation).

### *Issues in deprived urban areas*

What issues may there be in deprived urban areas? A long, and even not complete, list can be presented based on a range of earlier research. In a random order:<sup>2</sup>

- Dwellings show clear signs of physical decay, that may include: problems with the construction of buildings, bad painting, damp rooms and elevators that do not work;
- Social-economic problems, such as poor schooling, unemployment, debts, language problems, broken families, etc. A concentration of households that live in such circumstances is expected to intensify problems;
- Buildings leak heat and are energy inefficient, which causes high CO<sub>2</sub> output and high heating costs;
- Public space may be dirty, dysfunctional or dangerous;
- Dwellings are outdated, kitchens and bathrooms are too small for modern equipments, lack of good heating facilities, sanitary equipment and storage space;
- Health inequalities: people in deprived areas die earlier, and live more years in unhealthiness;
- Relatively cheap housing attracts those

2 See e.g.: Power (1997); Hall (1997); Social Exclusion Unit (1998); Cars (2000); Van Kempen et al (2005); Wassenberg et al (2007); Whitehead & Scanlon (2007); Rowlands et al (2009); Heeger (1993); Skifter Andersen (2003); Murie et al. (2003); Van Beekhoven et al (2009); Turkington et al (2004); Dekker et al (2005).

3 Nyström (2006) describes the growth and decline of the carefully planned neighbourhood centres of the post-war decades.

4 See e.g. Wacquant, 1993, 2008; Dean & Hastings, 2000; Wassenberg, 2004; Hastings, 2004.

households that cannot afford to live elsewhere, leading to a population that is not interested in the neighbourhood, nor in bonding with others living there;

- Many deprived urban areas are characterised by a disproportionate number of the unemployed or those with other disadvantages, such as elderly with low pensions, single parent families, etc.;
- Urban design or spatial problems, related to an isolated location, bad transport, high building density and problems with traffic (e.g. noise pollution, lack of parking space);
- Anti-social behaviour towards fellow residents, noise and other nuisances, intimidation, poor neighbour relations and a weak social cohesion;
- Financial problems exist both for tenants because of increasing rents and service charges, and for landlords who have to deal with rent arrears, vacancies and maintenance costs;
- Management and organisational problems result from inadequate maintenance and insufficient resources;
- Neighbourhood centres are declining and sometimes closed;<sup>3</sup>
- Stigmatisation of a neighbourhood can arise from downgrading processes in the area, especially when the processes of decay are broadly covered in the media. Getting rid of these negative images is often very difficult;<sup>4</sup>
- Unpopular areas in a loose housing market may result in oversupply and vacancies.

### *The local and national context*

The great diversity of issues and problems in European cities can be explained by various reasons such as the size, location and history of the areas and specific local and

regional developments and circumstances. For example, when global forces changed the worldwide industrial landscape, former heavily industrialised countries such as Britain, Germany and Belgium had to cope relatively more often with vacant industrial plots that obviously needed transformation and restructuring. In France, Sweden and the Netherlands relatively many inexpensive and sober social housing was produced in the three decades following World War II. When prosperity rose and people could afford other types of housing, these mass housing neighbourhoods increasingly proved to be unpopular resulting in a renewal focus on these post war areas. In southern European countries owner occupancy rules and urban renewal activities focus on the upgrading of central districts. In Eastern European countries, most changes started only from the 1990 onwards after the political turnover. Despite general trends across Europe, local and national circumstances, path dependencies and interests influence outcomes of the process of urban renewal (see Levy-Vroelant et al, 2008).

### *Issues in the six participating cities*

The six cities involved in this project cope with multiple issues and problems that exist at the same time in particular areas. However, issues and problems show up in different combinations, which underlines the importance of the local context. Consequently, it is often not possible to point at one main issue or problem. Often a combination of issues and problems exists, such as unpopular housing, inhabited by less well off residents, in an unattractive environment and avoided by outsiders because of its negative image. Nevertheless, there exist some common

problems. For example, most deprived urban areas face socio-economic problems and deteriorating environments. Otherwise, there is a lot of similarity in approaches in different cities as well. Different local circumstances urge to caution when transferring approaches straight away in another context. The urban practitioners are well aware of these local differences. They consider successful solutions in the visited cities as a base for ideas to tackle the problems in their own deprived urban areas. This is the core of transferable knowledge: stimulate the implementation of external ideas and approaches into someone's own local context.

## **2.2 Multiple problems need integrated area based policies**

The uneasy situation of deprived urban areas is that generally a combination of the above described issues exists which may lead to a spiral of decline. For example: when new, attractive housing is built adjacent to a deprived neighbourhood, those who can afford it move out. This may produce vacancies in the neighbourhood and lead to a population of inhabitants that is more one-sided when it comes to income and choices. Gradually the area may become stigmatised as one which is not regarded as a nice place to live in; it may even become a no-go area. New people do not move in and even more people move out, creating more vacancies in the housing stock, leading to unsafe situations, criminal activities and an even less attractive living environment than before.<sup>5</sup>

---

5 Such spirals of decline are described for example by Prak and Priemus (1986) and Power (1997), see also Van Beekhoven, 2009.

### *Single and comprehensive measures*

Problems are there to be solved, will be the most logical policy response. Concrete approaches and measures to tackle problems are very diverse in urban practice. Sometimes simple measures may be sufficient. For example, physical measures aim at physical problems, social measures at social problems. When the roof is leaking, repairing the roof is a good solution. When children have nowhere to play, new playgrounds can be constructed. The same is true for social measures: language courses can rectify language deficits, budgeting may help preventing large debts for households, et cetera. Sometimes physical measures can help social problems and vice versa. Jobless youngsters can be trained in the refurbishment of houses in their area, caretakers can prevent vandalism in the neighbourhood and sport facilities can involve young people instead of hanging around. Measures often have intended, but also unintended results. The image of an area, property prices, crime and pollution can rise as a result of some approach, while in another, adjacent, area these might decrease. When more problems exist, a more integrated approach is

necessary. The larger and more widespread the problems are, the more a comprehensive approach will be necessary.

When characterising deprived urban areas as those with a large number of problems mutually interrelated, it becomes clear that a policy aimed simply at attacking only one of those problem aspects is doomed to fail. Almost automatically, integrated urban policies appear as maybe the only solution to the problems in deprived areas. Yet integration between policy sectors and between parties is generally a very complicated job. In all six cities we have seen good examples of integrated approaches.

### *2.3 Development of urban policies*

Governments as well as other key actors develop policies to renew existing neighbourhoods when these do not match with future ideas for the area. Depending on place and time, urban renewal policies can be very radical, leading to demolition of the whole area for example, followed by complete reconstruction. Or the measures may be much softer, perhaps aiming only at better social relations between the various groups of residents. Or they focus on improving the poor situation of individuals. Or on making places safer. Urban areas across Europe are targeted by urban policies, many of those focusing on the improvement of deprived urban areas.

All European countries have policies to renew cities and neighbourhoods. We will share all policies to regenerate or renew an area under the umbrella term of 'urban regeneration': this includes urban regeneration, urban renewal, urban revival, area development and any similar term. Moreover, in all different

---

6 Droste et al (2008) mention the evolution of terms of urban regeneration, urban reconstruction, urban renewal in English; renovation urbaine, rehabilitation, renouvellement urbain, renovation urbaine in French; stadsvernieuwing, stedelijke vernieuwing and herstructureren in Dutch; Stadtsanierung, Stadterneuerung, Stadtentwicklung, Soziale Stadt and Stadtumbau in German; Kvarterløft in Danish; all different terms with all slightly different meanings.

languages specific terms are used, often with their own political connotations. Not seldom, when a new national administration arrives, new policies are implemented, using a different terminology, and only changing the final activities in a minor way<sup>6</sup>. We don't make difference between any of those related terms and use all these terms equal, as referring to activities that change existing parts of the city.

### *Does the ideal approach to regenerate urban areas exist?*

The obvious answer will be no. The more deprived an area and its inhabitants are, the more multiple and complicated problems occur, and the more extensive the approaches have to be; extensive approaches that necessarily often are very comprehensive. An ideal approach might be area based, integrate horizontal policies, has a durable perspective, with collaborative partnerships and empowering inhabitants. In urban practice however, in any approach the focus will be on particular issues, depending on the local context. An evaluation of any successful project might show that it happened to be on the right time, in the right place, with the right actors, so in the right circumstances.

### *National policies gradually growing into integrated policies*

All across Europe area based integrated approaches are common practice to improve deprived areas. Examples of national policies to regenerate deprived areas are City Policy (*Politique de la Ville*) in France, the national Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal in England, Big City Policy (*Grote Steden Beleid*)

and neighbourhood approach (*wijkaanpak*) in the Netherlands, POLIS XXI in Portugal, the Metropolitan Development Initiative (*Storstadssatsningen*) in Sweden, urban regeneration (*Kvarterløft*) in Denmark and the Socially Integrative City (*Soziale Stadt*) in Germany, to mention a few countries. An overview about urban development policies in Europe is provided in EUKN (2010).

In most European countries urban regeneration gradually became an integrated policy during the 1990s as a combination of horizontal policies. Urban renewal has broadened from physical to social and economical issues in most countries. The more complicated multiple problems are, the more integrated any policy or approach will be. Several authors mention common features of European urban regeneration policies since the 1990s (Murie et al, 2003; Taylor, 1998; van Kempen et al, 2005; Wassenberg et al, 2007; Droste et al, 2008). They all mention the development of national policies. Two elements are widespread, that we successively will elaborate on:

- policies and approaches are integrated, combining several points of view
- policies and strategies are area based, with interventions concentrated in a limited area.

### *Integrated policies: differences and common developments*

The integrated approach understands that problems are often 'wicked' problems with no easy solution or one universal remedy. Completely eradicate unemployment, crime or marginality from problematic areas is impossible as these are part of urban life, but they can be made less persistent.

Definitions of an integrated approach differ, but here we focus on the combination of several sectoral policies, like physical, social, economic, ecological, cultural, psychological, financial and others, depending on the local context. Some do divide these several horizontal policies simply in two, namely physical and social policies.

All cities work on one way or another with an integrated approach, but the focus differs. Integrated approaches often don't start integrated at the start, but develop over time into more integrated approaches. Illustrating is the case of Dresden, where after the reunion an enormous physical task occurred, aggravated by migration flows to the west from 1990 onwards. The first priorities obviously were to improve the physical conditions of the neglected housing stock, to get rid of the oversupply of unpopular housing, and to rebuild the numerous empty spots in the centre. At present, these first priorities are being nearly fulfilled, and other issues get more importance, so the focus moves towards economic, social and cultural issues. In Porto, the physical deterioration is the starting point, but with increasing unemployment levels, strategies try to combine physical upgrading with more employment. In Preston however, programmes have focused on social interventions, aiming to improve community engagement, anti-social behaviour and employment, but integrated physical improvements of public spaces and houses have been included. There is a strong belief that local people are central to the success and sustainability of integrated approaches. Residents are key drivers of change in an area.

It is clear that the focus in the approach

is influenced by external circumstances. In present times of economic crisis, the focus moves towards employment issues, jobs, schooling and incomes. In times of prosperity and growth, there will be more private initiatives to invest in buildings. When immigration flows are large nationally, local issues of cultural integration and spatial segregation will rise.

### *Area based is common practice*

In an area based approach it is not the measures themselves that are central, but a particular area. Problems tend to concentrate in selective geographical areas in town, generally known as deprived areas, problem areas, disadvantaged areas or similar terms. An area – or neighbourhood – based regeneration approach is a way to focus the implementation of measures within a limited area. The strategy directs at a series of measures, a bundle of earmarked actions to achieve a specific goal, which is the regeneration of a particular area and the well being of the inhabitants.

Area based approaches have gained prominence across Europe, largely because they provide a framework for concentrated action to counteract multiple deprivations. The area based approach is a way to focus activities and to connect policy-making more directly with implementation. The neighbourhood often seems a natural, logical scale to assemble the actors in the urban renewal process, both those within the area (residents and other users) and those with wider responsibilities (municipality, police, social care, housing associations, etc.). Area based approaches can be successful: some or most problems are solved, the environment



looks better, images will improve, property prices increase and residents are happier in their improved houses and environment – at least immediately after the interventions (see Wassenberg et al, 2007).

As an alternative to area based interventions, horizontal, or sectoral, policies are put forward (Tosics, 2009). These more general policies do not focus on a particular area, but on a particular issue and point at for example all less educated in the city, or all jobless people, or all non-isolated houses, or all places with high crime rates. Most urban policies are horizontal, which is fine when problems do not culminate in a limited number of areas. In that case, area based approaches suit better.

By far not all deprived people actually live in a deprived area, nor do most factual problems actually occur within these few selected areas. It is always a relative picture, resulting in these areas being on top of the 'wrong lists'. And, as Tosics states, horizontal policies often do not reach the most marginalised groups of society – those living in the most deprived areas.

### *Two different strategies for deprived areas*

It is an open question what the aim of any area renewal approach should be, leading to different strategies. The first is to improve the deprived area, to make it an average functioning urban neighbourhood, according to a number of features (safety, joblessness, pollution, image) and becoming attractive for insiders as well as outsiders. This strategy aims at a socially mixed neighbourhood by offering a mixed housing stock. and provides opportunities to keep successful social climbers within the area.

The other strategy is to accept the position of the deprived area on the bottom of the local housing market, and to focus on improvement of the most deprived. Once they succeed to climb upon the social ladder, they are able to, and often willing to, leave the area, making place for new underprivileged people. This strategy aims at the provision of solid basic circumstances and concentrating both control and support structures within the area. This is effective, as the 'customers' live nearby. This strategy doesn't aim at mixed neighbourhoods, nor large scale transformation of the housing stock, but to provide a vital role of the deprived neighbourhood at the bottom of the housing market within the functioning of the city as a whole.

These are two strategies with totally different management consequences.

### *Place-, people- and organisation oriented policies*

Within any integrated area based approach, three types of policies can be distinguished: place oriented policies aim to create better places; including physical measures to regenerate buildings and the housing stock, to develop the residential environment (streets, public spaces, playgrounds, greens) and provide or improve facilities such as shops, restaurants, pubs and entertainment, sports, employment and transport to make the area more attractive for both locals and outsiders; people oriented policies focus on better lives for residents; containing social measures for individual improvement (schooling, employment, debt relief, alcoholism, psychological problems, etc) and social cohesion measures aimed at better social relations. Some measures in a regeneration

approach are in between place and people based, such as creating (physical) facilities (community centres, child care, schools) for social aims, or creating economic opportunities and employment for locals. In fact, many strategies are in between social and physical, emphasizing the need for a balance between both; organization oriented policies which aim to improve the system and the functioning of institutions; including improving the management, tuning the horizontal or vertical organisation and involvement of residents or the market sector. Efficiency, collaboration and partnerships are among this classification. When finances fail, governments are more willing to provide opportunities for other actors.

The question is what balance between the three types of policies is reached in practice: better places to live, better lives for residents or a better organization of the system? Place based policies with physical renewal that only upgrades the area, but offers no guarantee that residents' daily lives will improve, was found during the 1980s in Western European countries. People-based policies focus on improving residents' socio-economic situations, but if successful people continuously move out of the area it will stay deprived. This we can call the paradoxical relationship between territorial action and residential mobility. Organization-based policies try to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of the organisation. These policies gain more attention in times of cutting budgets. The challenge is to find the right balance between the three policies, given the particular context of an area.

### *From evidence based towards experience*

Policies need to be evidence based, according to what we can read in many policy documents. This sounds fine, as the opposite would implicate that policies are just being done speculatively, not efficient and not effective. There exists a large quantity of literature about measuring results, setting goals and objectives, considering effectiveness, reaching policy goals, all meant to reach the best practices. Results are measured, weighted, counted and analysed. We do not go into this evidence base, how valuable this might be. That is being done elsewhere.

What is missing however, is how the policies, approaches, measures and interventions are actually experienced and implemented in practice. The practitioners in the field are playing an important role and often make the difference. How do the urban practitioners on the working floor deal with the well meant intentions? What do urban practitioners experience? Does it work? Do they understand, support and value it? Practitioners often look to practices in another way than policy makers who set goals and targets, or scientists who describe generalisations out of a case. Urban practitioners tend to look for a way to transfer the best bits of an experienced project, and apply that to their own situation. Therefore, the interaction between practitioners on the spot is essential. Learning by doing and visiting works better than just reading about best practices.



### *Six key issues in urban practice*

The urban practitioners do not end with the conclusion that integrated policies are useful, or that area based initiatives are necessary. In contrary, they use these conclusions as a starting point, and elaborate on them, focussing on practical implementations. Integrated area based approaches are easier said than done. How do the often advocated integrated area based approaches work out in practice?

The visits of the urban practitioners raised many issues and questions, of which the most interesting are grouped into six key issues. These are:

- Balancing area policies, finding a balance between people based, place based and organisation based policies, including the aims of the interventions.

- Experiences with social mix approaches; how does an area cope with increasing diversity in society?
- The pursuit of a durable quality, to prevent continuously dealing with the same areas and people time after time.
- The shift from government to governance, in which approaches are dependent on several actors and collaboration is important.
- The empowerment of residents on individual or group level, or for reasons of democracy.
- The financing of urban regeneration.

These six issues are further elaborated in the next six chapters.

## Box 1

### The use of facilities as local icons in The Hague



We have seen several examples of facilities that both had a function for the deprived neighbourhood where it is situated, as a city wide reach. The neighbourhood function is obvious, to serve the needs of the nearby residents. The city wide function partly is symbolic, to put the problematic area on the map to upgrade the image of the area. This could be with a striking building, or more easily, the offer of services and facilities that attract people from other areas in the city to the deprived area for functional reasons. This could be the city library, the town hall, a university (or faculty), a large shopping

centre, a theatre or disco. In The Hague some fine examples could be found. We visited 'Culturalis', a large, modern and well equipped cultural centre in the middle of the Schilderswijk area, spectacular to be opened by the queen the month after we had been there. Culturalis is both a cultural community centre for the neighbourhood, but also has a city wide function, to attract others into this neighbourhood. In the Southwest district in The Hague, similar projects are made with some appearance to the wider city as well. A large local government building is constructed, which has to house some city wide functions.

Another eye-catching project is the remake of an old youth hostel into a community centre, which actually has to be replaced some hundreds of meters away. All three projects can be used by the locals, but also should attract people from all over the city and further on, people who normally wouldn't visit those deprived areas.

### 3 Balancing policies

**Any area based approach is carried out in a particular area. However, sizes and selections differ per city and per country. Once areas are determined, policies can focus on the improvement of the area, on the position of its inhabitants, or on a better organisation. What is a good balance between these three policies? And how can assets of any area be used to strengthen the results of an approach?**

#### Determining areas: about sizes and selections

There are a couple of questions that arise when comparing area based approaches. First of all, how are target areas selected? And how many neighbourhoods are part of a programme, on a local, regional or national level? Has there first been a national in-depth research that resulted in the country's most deprived areas? Or did cities themselves select one or more deprived areas? Or are backward areas chosen with good prospects for results (i.e. with some enthusiast residents' groups, or promising private investments)? And who did choose the areas anyway? The municipality? The minister? The parliament? The regional authorities? Residents themselves? A related remark is the size of the chosen area. The smaller the area, the smaller the task will be, in absolute numbers. However, focussing on smaller and fewer areas means that more places in the city, and more people are left out. On the other hand, when half of the city is selected, it will dilute the intervention and it will be hard to notice any results.

#### How areas in our six cities were selected

The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) in England is a top down, data based approach

that provides an as objective as possible way to determine depriving or well doing areas. The last IMD dates from 2007 and a new version is expected in spring 2011. Data are available for 32,482 areas, so called Lower Layer Super Output Area (LSOA), with on average almost 2,000 people. On a larger scale, there are 354 districts. The IMD helps to identify concentrations of deprivation and to develop policies aimed at tackling its causes. The analysis combines a number of indicators (income; employment; health deprivation and disability; education, skills and training; housing; income affecting older people, income affecting children; geographical access to services and crime), into a single deprivation score for each LSOA that is ranked to all other areas.

According to the IMD 2007, Preston is ranked the 48th of 354 districts in England and has become relatively more deprived since 2004, its deprivation ranking having moved up to 48th from 59th. The areas in Preston visited by the practitioners belong to England's 10% most deprived areas.

In The Netherlands 56 areas in 30 cities were selected in 2003 by local governments in consultation with national government, on criteria of deprivation and future perspectives for success. National government provided programme and finance, local government received financing and was one of the partners in organizing. In 2007 forty areas were selected based on 18 indicators in four domains: measured social-economic (income, work, education) and physical arrears (small, old and cheap houses); residents' opinions about liveability and safety; housing satisfaction and inclination to move out. About half of these 40 areas coincide with the former 56. The forty selected areas on average

have a population of 12,000, but sizes differ much. The Hague has four such areas, varying from 4,500 inhabitants to about 60,000 inhabitants.

The urban regeneration area in Oslo was initially determined by environmental awareness and pollution problems. Pollution in the Grorud Valley is mainly caused by old industrial sites, waste dumps and steadily increasing traffic on the main road network that runs through the valley. At the same time the wear and tear on the satellite communities, the lack of good facilities (meeting places, services, cultural and sports facilities) and the negative image became increasingly obvious. These communities also have had the largest influx of immigrants populations in Oslo. During the inception phase of the project the scope was widened and focus was shifted more towards social issues. In 2000 the City of Oslo decided to set up an environmental improvement project for the Grorud Valley and invited the government to take part. For the first time the national government participated as an active partner in an integrated improvement project, rather than just as a grant provider. The City prepared a Strategic Development Plan as the base for the physical part of the project. Within the project area four satellite townships were chosen as special action areas. The selection of these communities was based on comparative studies of social indicator development over a ten year period. Two of these communities were visited by the Core Group – Furuset and Romsås – and are described in the report.

The choice for the Porto area has been a different one. The historic center of Porto was classified as World Heritage in 1996,

but the area suffered from continuously degradation and neglecting. The area need to be regenerated was obvious. In 2000, a Regulatory Decree declared the Critical Area of Urban Rehabilitation and Reconversion (ACRRU). Because it was a big area, and priorities should be addressed, a study carried out in 2004, through a multicriteria analysis, defined a smaller area, called Priority Intervention Zone (ZIP), which includes the Historic Center of Porto.

After the German reunification, priorities in Dresden soon focused on regeneration of the old, deteriorated areas. In the socialist times, the old areas had been neglected, while the focus was on the construction of new areas made up of prefabricated panel buildings ('Plattenbau style'). After 1990 three criteria were set for the choice of regeneration areas: the state of urgency of the construction, the social structure of the area, and the urban structure. The first priority was to support old premises to prevent them from falling down. At the turn of the century, it became clear that housing market problems arose on a large scale (with vacancies on a large scale, see text box Dresden). The suburbs Prohlis and Gorbitz, both dating from GDR times, were added as regeneration areas (according to specific programmes: "Urban Conversion Programme "Stadtumbau Ost" and later on the "Socially Integrative City Programme").

The determination of the areas in Berlin is depending of the type of policy measures. An important urban regeneration strategy is the Neighbourhood Management, that addresses social, economical, health, ecological and urban design issues in an integrated and bottom-up way of policy making. The Neighbourhood Management areas are

located in 34 neighbourhoods in 9 boroughs of Berlin. After a regular and detailed evaluation in the whole city, the focus and intensity of the interventions can change in the areas ('intervention' category 1 or 2, 'prevention' category 3 and 'long-term sustainability' category 4). The periodical evaluation can also result in an adjustment to the number of areas as well as the size of areas. The Local pacts for Economy and Employment (BBWA) exist in all Berlin districts. The Public Employment Sector is available for all Berlin areas.

Comparing the experiences in the six cities, we can see differences in size, and in selection. In England and later on in the Netherlands the most deprived areas have been chosen on the base of a range of statistics, resulting in a number of selected areas in the country. National government's programmes concentrate on these selected areas. In the German cities local governments decided themselves which areas depending on the evaluated need got priority, in coordination with higher level governments for their support. With twelve dynamic and structural indicators the development of the areas is being monitored. In Porto and Oslo the approach was started because a large area significantly was deteriorating. In Porto the consequences became clear of decades of demographic abandonment and real estate disinterest, while in Oslo the area gradually became obsolete and increasingly unpopular.

### **The balance between place, people and organisation based interventions**

In all our six cities area based approaches are implemented, as is common in most

European cities where neighbourhoods are being rehabilitated. Within these areas the focus can be on place based strategies, (such as improving houses and environments), on people based strategies (like employment programmes, integration of immigrants, schooling), or on the improvement of the system (better coordination, partnerships, clear responsibilities, etc). In all of our cities there is some balance between these three elements. However, interventions in the cities of Oslo, Preston and Berlin are on balance more people oriented, whilst Porto and Dresden are more place oriented, as the rehabilitation of their derelict areas is the main focus. In Dresden they seem to be ahead of Porto, according to the practitioners. The Hague is somewhere in between both kinds of strategies.

In Porto, the very concentrated approach of the Porto Vivo organisation is the basis of the renewal process. This organisation model focuses on a limited area, where all owners are tempted or eventually forced to collaborate, which results in qualitative well rehabilitated buildings (see Textbox).

In general the focus of the area based approach is dependent on the aim of the rehabilitation, and therefore on the perception of the problems. In Berlin rather high (though partly decreasing) unemployment rates dominate the scene, in Oslo the relative social degradation, in Porto and Dresden the physical deterioration and in The Hague future housing prospects as well as issues of social cohesion.

**Urban practitioners about social and physical interventions:** *"With local actions that aim at a better position for neighbourhoods and their inhabitants, it is very important not only to look at*



## Box 2

### Children's playing opportunities, The Hague



In a densely built up neighbourhood in the Transvaal area, a park is made by the demolition of a couple of hundreds of dwellings, in order to create more open space and to provide better meeting opportunities. Transvaal is one of the country's most culturally diverse neighbourhoods, with 120 different nationalities and 85% non-Dutch originated people.

Within this park a project is running to provide opportunities for children to play. Children can earn points

(by doing little work like helping small children, cleaning up the park, sing a nice song, etc). These points can be used to rent a skelter, skates and other nice toys the children normally cannot afford themselves. This project is run and led by volunteers, with some paid support. Tens of children were playing, and some parents were waiting (and talking). Additional results are the increased social cohesion between the parents, mostly mothers, the informal social control (by being there) and the provision of volunteer jobs (people working there).

A practitioner mentions his experience with the lack of means for sufficient maintenance once the park is being used. In his country nice parks are designed as well, but resources are failing to properly look after the park in later years. This is a shared experience, in The Hague they have tried to include it in the design of the park and the used materials. And the children do a good job as well.

the physical restructuring of an area, but also to pay a lot of attention to the people who live in that area. This seems an open door, but in the cities we have visited we have seen several examples of innovative ways in which other cities succeed in mobilizing the people living in disadvantaged areas”.

*“Though the balance between physical and social projects is different for each city, all cities underline the importance of focusing on both types, in order to succeed with urban regeneration.”*

### Recognise and make use of assets in the area

One feature of an area based approach is the area itself, with its characteristics. Any area based approach aims to tackle local problems like unsafe spots, polluted streets, derelict houses, school drop-outs, joblessness, et cetera. In this respect, our six cities do not differ from any other area based approach in any European city. Approaches aim to tackle existing problems, but another question is whether there is also attention to positive aspects of a neighbourhood and its inhabitants. Or to put it in ‘SWOT-jargon’: is the focus on the numerous weaknesses and threats, or are strengths and assets utilized and opportunities created?

Strengths of a neighbourhood are often hardly recognised by residents, but are more obvious to visiting outsiders. Assets can be the open green structures of some neighbourhoods (like the Southwest district in The Hague and Gorbitz in Dresden, or the forest and the lakes in Furuset and Romsås in Oslo). Another example is the large international open air market in Transvaal, The Hague. Or a location close to the city centre (The Hague, Preston, Berlin). Or the

cultural heritage (Porto, Dresden). Or the notion that widespread use of cycling in the Netherlands makes an otherwise isolated location less isolated, as people are less dependent on transport.

In Preston the neighbourhood management teams ascribe to an asset based approach that recognises local people as significant assets. This is quite different to traditional community development models that take a ‘deficit approach’ by focussing upon problems rather than strengths in a neighbourhood. Local people are invited to take part in a number of schemes that improve the environment, for example ‘Britain in Bloom’ projects that receive national awards and a Street Representatives scheme where people are provided with training to monitor local services and to be an ambassador of their streets.

**As the practitioners concluded after one of the site visits:** *“The biggest lesson from Oslo for us is that there are assets in every city that can be built upon, be that a civic or leisure facility, a park or people. Cities need to use the existing assets. A view from outsiders can help to make locals more aware of their assets”.*

### Create landmarks in deprived areas to strengthen the area

Existing assets can be used, but can new strengths be brought into a neighbourhood as well to attract outsiders and to turn around a negative image. One approach or opportunity is what we call the creation of icons or landmark facilities in deprived areas. In several areas facilities were developed to serve not only residents in the vicinity, but with a city wide scope. In the Schilderswijk in The Hague a large cultural centre is

opened, that not only serves nearby residents, but also people from all over the city. The programming of the centre, called Culturalis, focuses on all inhabitants of The Hague, with an explicit aim to attract outsiders into the regeneration neighbourhood. The same idea exists with the building of a part of the municipal offices in the renewal area of The Hague Southwest. In Dresden the cultural centre 'Riesa Efau' in Friedrichstadt explicitly operates citywide with the same purpose: to attract people to an area they often don't come to. In Porto, 'Palácio das Artes – Fábrica de Talentos' (Arts palace – Talents factory) has been opened in the middle of the renewal area, facilitating ateliers and artistic residences, multimedia rooms, rooms for workshops and expositions of traditional Portuguese creative industry and an exclusive restaurant, simultaneously serving as a training place for school dropouts. In Berlin an old factory (Fabrik Osloer Strasse) has been transformed into a culture centre, including a museum for children, that attracts children (and their parents) from all over the city. These actions also try to address the bad image of the deprived area; a negative image that at least exists among outsiders. These are examples of facilities that not only serve the local people, but also outsiders. However, most facilities focus on the people from the own area.

### Rethinking the use of the greens

The use and function of an area might change over time, this is also true for particular functions within an area. Moreover, functions may change among several groups of the population. A good example is what happened in Oslo.

Traditionally, many Norwegian people like

outdoor activities. The physical layout of most areas facilitates outdoor use, so Norwegian neighbourhoods have large wooded park areas with tracks leading to the surrounding nature. The present renewal areas Furuset and Romsås were developed around a large park, forest-size, in the middle, which used to be one of the major assets for the original inhabitants, and still is to many of them. However, many immigrants have moved into both areas, about half of the present population has their roots outside Norway. It became clear that many immigrants do not use the central parks and the local forests as the Norwegians do. Actually, they never go there, many are scared to be in the forest, and avoid therefore the central area within the neighbourhood. Their preference is to clear the forest and make open areas and spaces of it. So far there is no solution on what to do with the forest, but a re-thinking of the greens is on the agenda. These different uses came to the foreground in the Furuset area, where the central park in the area is being upgraded after 35 years. This is done in consultation with the inhabitants, but it was time consuming to fine-tune the different cultural recreation needs of the multi ethnic populations.

### Creative industry

Since Richard Florida's bestseller about the positive effects of the creative class, all cities seem to embrace such people. Although definitions differ locally as to who is included as a creative class member, our six cities are no exceptions. Creative people are considered open minded, spend money, are tolerant and cooperative, are inventive and flexible workers, initiate and think, and are future oriented to provide their own employment,



and preferably others as well. This might be ideally seen, but all cities are open for creative industries. Creative industries often are oriented towards cultural goals, digitalisation, or both. In Porto new creative small enterprises are supported, embroidering on the theme of Porto being cultural capital of Europe and leading to the creation of ADDICT Creative Industries Agency. Berlin supports the Creative Centre Pankow. Buildings are rehabilitated within the deprived areas to facilitate the creative industry initiatives. Experiences in Berlin and Dresden show that the creative sector is ahead in the process of upgrading an area, similar to experiences with gentrification processes (see Text box).

### Unintended side effects?

Despite the general practice of area based approaches, there are some critical accounts as well. An area based approach may lead to side effects, both negative and positive. Positive effects are nearby areas that are uplifted, housing prices of nearby areas rising as well and private owners that invest in adjacent areas. Negative side effects attract more attention: particularly the issue of simply moving the problem to elsewhere in the city – burglars break in the next street, dealers and junks relocate and non-social families cause problems at their next address. These adjacent neighbourhoods then get pushed into a downward spiral of socio-structural development. Any area based approach has to take account of side effects on nearby areas and incorporate plans for these areas. And the smaller the policy action area is chosen, the more readily side effects will occur. Another point of discussion is that although some problems concentrate in an area, they

can not be solved on the neighbourhood level. Clean streets, derelict housing and social cohesion can be improved locally. But it is more efficient for issues such as unemployment, inadequate schooling, organised crime or energy use to be addressed at a higher scale level. For the Netherlands it is counted that just a mere 1 percent of all jobs is provided within the own neighbourhood (Marlet 2009). So, the chance that any jobless finds a job is much larger somewhere else in the city, or in the region, than in his or her own neighbourhood. And programmes to stimulate employment in a deprived neighbourhood will have only a marginal effect on the jobless in the neighbourhood.

Although stimulating the local economy may not provide many local jobs, there are other, major effects, such as the creation, or rehabilitation, of attractive shopping streets, more activities in mainly living areas, more mix of functions and more informal social control.

Aussere Neustadt in Dresden is a fine example where investments in the neighbourhood led to the upgrading of the wider area. Negative side effects of such a gentrification process that are put forward in the literature are probably less present in Dresden than in other cities. The housing in the old centrally located district lacked quality after decades of neglect, while from the 1990s onwards most residents got plenty alternative opportunities, due to the very loose housing market, to move to housing of their preferences. The amount of people who had to leave this district against their will because rents were no longer affordable is being discussed controversially (Glatter 2007). The formerly deprived and dilapidated area

has become an attractive quarter, enabling a mix of housing, commercial premises, restaurants, bars and events related to the so called 'fringe culture'. Some even say that this centrally located area is going to be too popular: the many restaurants and pubs cause nuisances, and prices go up, a remark that was made as well in Berlin's upgrading district Prenzlauer Berg.

One side effect that was observed is the opposite of the concentrated focus: there is a risk that other areas, often adjacent and often with almost similar conditions, are neglected. This is the case in Preston. Regeneration focuses on two wards, St Matthews and Fishwick, belonging to England's most deprived areas. Regeneration started first in Fishwick, where positive results are measured. This has caused claims from other wards, seeing both their position decreasing, some problems being transported and local priorities set elsewhere.

The urban practitioners state that with any approach that focuses on one particular area, some of the problems probably will move. However, this might not be a reason to omit activities. The practitioners notice the movement of some problems in their cities, but to a limited extent.

### Conclusions about balancing policies

- In any area based approach there has to be a careful balance between place based policies (to improve buildings and environments), people based policies (to help underprivileged people forward, and to stimulate social communities) and system improvements (better coordination,

inspired collaboration, clear tasks and responsibilities). There is no single best balance between those three.

- The creative class is said to be positive for a city. Many deprived areas, but not all, do have favourable conditions for the creative industries, cultural goals, digital industries and small starting enterprises, because of their location, their image among other civilians, low prices and attractive buildings. Use these creative initiatives.
- Look after strengths of an area. Use, sometimes hidden, strong points, varying from 'forgotten' buildings, vacant land, accessibility and location to the presence of many cultures. Try not to stir up only negative energy by focusing on problems.
- Create icons, or landmarks within deprived areas. Use services or amenities that serve a wider function than only the area residents, but attract outsiders for functional reasons, and help to improve the negative stigma.
- Involve inhabitants with these strengths and assets; not only by tackling the negative issues such as safety and cleanliness.
- Don't stick too close to the target area. Not the whole area will be struck by the same problematic, nor are adjacent areas problem-free. Problems don't stop at the area's border, so why should any approach do so?

## 4 Experiencing social mixing

**Social mixing deals with the issue how people live together. It is by far not a new issue, although the social mix debate according to economic classes have got company of the debate according to different ethnical backgrounds. There is no best social mix available, but in urban practice some promising results show up.**

### About social mix

The concept of a socially mixed area is quite fashionable in mainly west European urban regeneration policies. Many players in the urban and housing policy arenas believe that social mix in urban areas does enhance the opportunities in life, as Musterd (2009) states. He provides some arguments. It can be a key factor for social cohesion, mixed communities provide role models to weaker ones, and interaction would create positive socialisation processes. Mixed communities prevent a negative reputation. Wilson has been one of the most influential supporters of socially mixed areas with his famous book 'The truly disadvantaged' (1987).

Nevertheless, some critical points are made (Musterd, 2009; Tosics, 2009; Galster, 2007; Van Eijk, 2010). Groups don't always mix well with each other, especially when new groups enter the scene (for example when new middle class housing is being built). Many people prefer to live next door to people with similar habits and customs as themselves. Newcomers in the city are helped by living among their own people. Too much diversity stimulates people to find contacts outside their area. When social mix is forced by demolition on a large scale, a shortage of affordable housing may occur. These are just some of the critics. Tosics (2009) provides an overview and concludes that there are no

clear answers on the dilemma how much social mix is needed at all. And that a social mix in a particular area has to be considered on a wider scale of the city or the region. In earlier Dutch debates a satisfactory social mix is formulated as 'homogeneous smaller areas within a larger heterogynous district'. People live close to others who don't differ too much from them with similar habits and lifestyles, but are able to meet all kinds of people in the wider neighbourhood: on schools, in shops, in sports, in the park, etc. In some cases, strict national rules have been implemented to enforce social mix. In France, city governments can be fined if they do not provide a predefined percentage of social housing units (Droste et al, 2008). These obligations have been made because of the reluctance of some municipalities to provide social housing, thus maintaining the large concentrations of social housing elsewhere, in France concentrated in the 'zones sensibles'.

In the debate about social mix in urban policy several layers can be distinguished. It starts with the question: is something wrong with the existing social mix of the population? What is the problem? If the analysis of the problem concludes that the present social mix is problematic - in other words, contributes to deprivation in the area - a second question is whether active policy is needed to change the existing social mix. Interventions to change the social mix can focus on the population (better schooling, jobs, language courses, etc), on the place (differentiate the housing stock, provide better schools), or on the system (allocation rules, tax subsidies, school bus system).

## Box 3

### Cooperatives stimulate participation, Oslo



In Oslo, three quarters of all housing is owner occupied. Most of that is organised in cooperatives, in which a group of dwellings, a block, form together one cooperation. The whole block is financed with one loan, and improvements to the building or the surroundings come on top of this loan. People pay monthly costs for these loans and expenses to the cooperation. New residents buy the right for a dwelling from the old inhabitants, but the whole cooperation has to agree. Those things are arranged by the board, a democratically chosen representation of inhabitants. The board arranges payments, new investments, and organises common activities. The cooperatives were known for the 'dugnad', voluntary communal work in the area, like cutting the greens or painting the youth centre. This communal work is under pressure, because of

individualism (a worldwide phenomenon), and the entry of new immigrants who are hard to interest. Some 46% of all Oslo housing is organised in coops, with another 26% in condominiums. The last ones are mainly more recently built, with individual loans via a bank. Common activities are less frequent. The cooperation model obviously has advantages in urban renewal areas. Most housing in Norwegian deprived areas – which in itself shows that deprivation is a relative notion in this wealthy country – in cooperatives. All inhabitants have an interest in the well being of the area. Leaving the area is different when you have a financial interest as well. It is in the interest of all residents that newcomers integrate in the (neighbourhood) society as well and as soon as possible. Because they have to pay for common expenses, they have to take decisions in the general

meetings, they have to respect some common 'do's and don'ts' in the area. The 'dugnad', the voluntary communal work in the area, sometimes is being done by giving courses on Norwegian language, or 'living together' courses, or to volunteer in the youth centre.

Two urban practitioners after the visit: *"We learned that Oslo, following the Second World War, developed a system for building houses funded by a central bank that enabled people to come together and form cooperatives to help with house building."*  
*"We learned a lot about the housing system, which allows people to take on shared responsibilities where people do roles to keep the homes in good repair and which encourage responsible tenancies. This generally works well, and people register with a coop often as soon as they are born."*

## Keep the social climbers

Territorial and integrative programmes combine physical, economic, social and other goals and strategies. In these programmes increasingly the strategy is developed to keep the residents in the urban regeneration areas, instead of attracting new, middle class, groups into the area. People used to flee from the deprived areas as soon as they climbed up the social ladder. Instead, contemporary strategies aim to offer attractive regenerated neighbourhoods that those successful climbers appreciate and which tempt them to stay.

Policies have developed in a new way. The housing stock is differentiated to increase a social mix of the population. There are two main approaches: either to build social housing in areas where it was scarce, or to replace social housing by middle class housing in areas where social housing was dominant. In all cities social mix is an issue. In the Dutch neighbourhoods, the focus is on social economic mix by providing a more mixed housing stock of a better quality, aiming to keep the so called social climbers within the neighbourhood. The aim is 'to offer upward moving households more attractive houses within their own neighbourhood', preventing those social climbers to move out of the area. This implicates that advertisements for new developments start within the neighbourhood, inhabitants are involved in panels, and when interest is large, priority for people who live in, or work in, the neighbourhood.

## Mixing and meeting

Facilities attract inhabitants, and the combination of a range of facilities attracts a range of people. A tendency can be observed

to concentrate several facilities on one spot, and use the same building for multiple use in time (day time, evenings), or in place (the same room for multiple purposes). There is an increasing attention for opportunities where people of different classes, origins, age and with different interests and (social and cultural) capital can meet. One base is to know each other, at least by face, as a minimum requirement to understand each other. Such activities may vary from upgrading the local park to support residents' initiatives (see textbox).

Concentrated facilities attract different kinds of people, which makes contacts and integration easier. Multi use facility buildings are more stimulated in areas with high land pressure, such as The Hague and Oslo. In Dresden and Berlin this need was nearly absent, as there are more unused buildings and unused land. The Romsås Centre in Oslo functions as the centre for the neighbourhood, where all kinds of activities are organised for elderly and youth, for Norwegians and new immigrants. The youth club 'The Raven', located in the residential area of Romsås, is an activity center where the majority of users are of immigrant origins. One project is the 'Romsås Pilots', to activate and teach various skills in their leisure time.

Many facilities are available, but own responsibility and initiatives are not only stimulated, but also requested. This dormitory suburb is brushed up and made more known to outsiders: a film is made, the quality of living is promoted, and the nice surroundings are shown. Financing comes not only from the municipality, but also from the adjacent cooperative, so from the surrounding inhabitants themselves.

In The Hague, schools are being refurbished or built to facilitate more activities than only

providing lessons during school hours. These 'extended schools' (literally 'broad schools' in Dutch) are created on a wide scale, with a focus on deprived areas. At present there are some 1350 community schools in the country. During school hours these serve as an ordinary primary school, but after (and sometimes before) the regular school hours other activities are offered: child care, homework guidance, sports, computer courses, language courses, for both the pupils and adults. Some community schools are newly built and serve as a motor for the neighbourhood, while others just offer a couple of courses a week, so the intensity varies.

In Preston a similar 'Extended Schools programme' is underway, which involves schools opening up their facilities for wider community use. The practitioners observed an example of this on the Callon estate whereby the local school has an agreement with the community to use a recently refurbished sports pitch for local clubs. A community association, Callon Kids Club, has developed a social enterprise by opening and managing the facility for external hire to neighbouring football clubs in the evenings and at weekends. All proceeds are re-invested into the facility and the community.

**An urban practitioner:** *"The Hague, Dresden and Preston are examples which show the opportunities from the involvement of schools*

*into the urban districts. Schools can be the main trigger for integration of disadvantaged population groups. Through corresponding education and guidance of the children they are developing the responsibilities and openness to get involved into direct and indirect improvement of their urban areas."*

## Ethnical mix

Socio-economic differences have always been part of city life. However the emphasis on social mix in neighborhood development progressively addresses the element of ethnic diversity as well. During the last decades millions of immigrants have moved to Europe, turning Europe from emigrating nations into immigration nations. Most immigrants tend to concentrate in backward areas, due to a combination of cheap housing, lack of means for other areas, and where relatives and acquaintances are living. Social-economic and ethnic characteristics coincide on the neighbourhood level.

The neighbourhoods visited in The Hague belong to the country's most segregated areas with over 85% non-Western immigrants, against the national figure of 11%<sup>7</sup>, so re-mixing according to ethnic origins is not an option. In Oslo the ethnically segregated areas are seen as problematic in a socio-economic sense as well as in a cultural one and it is felt that integration is more difficult in these areas. At neighborhood level new immigrants often do not participate in the Norwegian system of *dugnad*, the voluntary work in the area, including active membership of the cooperative housing boards. However, in Porto hardly any immigrants are present, and social mix refers to poor and rich classes. In Preston, as in the UK, ethnicity is measured according to self definition, but here socio-economic

<sup>7</sup> Ethnicity is measured on several ways in Europe. Definitions differ and different criteria are used, such as country of birth, country of birth of parents, nationality, language, citizenship or self-identification. Some administrations gather detailed information, while others don't. See Eurostat figures, and Simon (2007).



classes are considered more important than ethnical backgrounds. In England ethnicity monitoring is part of a general measure for equal opportunities. This involves monitoring access and inclusion in employment and service provision for all minority groups. In Dresden, non-German nationals account for less than 5% of the local residents, with considerably higher shares in more or less deprived areas. Berlin is known for much higher immigration rates, already since the 1960s, obviously in the former West-Berlin part. In areas where immigrants concentrate, youths with an immigrant background often outnumber German nationals without foreign origins. Ethnicity gains much attention when it comes to school achievements, as German children in most cases are obliged to visit the school in their own neighbourhood. The quality of the local school is a key issue for parents when they select a neighbourhood to live in, and an important issue in mixing neighbourhoods.

### Ethnical diversity as promotion for the area

The present multicultural composition can be considered as a problem, but it also can be used as an opportunity for an area. Many deprived areas are ethnically segregated as well, particularly those in Western Europe. In the Transvaal neighbourhood in The Hague, where 85% of the population has non-Dutch origins, the ethnic diversity is propagated. The focus here is at the stimulation of the neighbourhood economy (there are 2500 local businesses in the area). A main shopping street is being relabelled and branded as 'India town', there are plans for a leisure centre ('Bollywood') (both gaining from the relative large share of Hindustanis), local

businesses are stimulated, and the big local market ('the largest open air market in Europe') is being upgraded. In Transvaal there is no policy to achieve another ethnical mix, instead they are making use of the mixed society. There are a lot of restructuring activities, aimed at diversifying the housing stock by demolishing old flats and rebuilding middle class housing. The aim is to prevent social climbers – for example those with successful local businesses – to move out of the area, but to offer them attractive housing within their own (upgraded) area.

### Preparing young immigrants to the Dutch school system

One project visited was the Nova College in the Schilderswijk area in The Hague, a school that introduces immigrants to the Dutch education system. It is a secondary school that prepares newcomers in the country, who do not or hardly speak the language. There are 450 pupils in the age of 12-18 from a range of countries, all recently arrived in the Netherlands.

Children get regularly schooling, with Dutch language courses and Dutch habits, but also other courses (English, ICT, mathematics) and practical job training. Besides, visits are made to nearby sporting clubs, the library, a neighbourhood centre and cultural institutes. Within several months to a maximum of two years all pupils flow through to regular schooling. New entrants can start every day of the year, and leave whenever their competence level is adequate.

There are a couple of these successful schools in the country. Nova College also provides summer schools (200 visitors last year), and schooling for local adults in the evenings and on Saturdays, offering a wide range varying

# Mental mapping in Oslo



individual, and of good and bad spots in their neighbourhood, make drawings, or just mention those. Children did the same thing. This method proved to be very easy and communicative for inhabitants. Results showed that most people just wanted some smaller improvements in the surroundings, like new or nicer paintings, better lightning, flowers etc. The final results actually didn't differ that much from the professional points of view, but the difference was the involvement of the residents, so the support for the measures that were implemented.

Urban practitioners' reaction: "We visited the areas of Furuset and Romsås, where there were schemes such as a man made lake in an area, and where residents near a run down shopping centre were asked about what they want to change in neighbourhoods through a process called "mental mapping". This was a really interesting and transferable tool of community empowerment."



from Dutch and other language courses, digital media, fashion, computers and sports. The school tries to be a kind of community centre for the local population.

### Conclusions about social mixing

- In all cities social mix is an issue. The actual ethnical composition of the area however is often taken for granted, and efforts are focused on a more differentiated housing stock, both to attract outsiders, and to keep social movers within the area. People with ties in the area (who live, have lived, work, or have family) will integrate easier. All cities struggle with involving immigrants into the traditional customs and values of the area.
- In all practices physical and social measures are combined, but priorities and concrete actions are determined by the local context of the moment.
- Social mix can be influenced by improving meeting opportunities, preferably places where people meet for functional reasons, like schools, shops, greens, sports or work. Mixed facilities attract both more inhabitants as well as a mix of inhabitants. In several cities good examples are provided to create concentrated facilities where a broad range of functions is offered. Make facilities multi-purpose and target on different groups.
- Make use of the diversity of an area. Diversity is often called a strength of cities, and global trends point at increasing diversities in society. Use diversity, including ethnical diversity in the neighbourhood.

## Box 5

### Creative Service Centre Pankow, Berlin and ADDICT, Porto

The Creative Service Center of Pankow is active since October 2009 and is a European Project of the District Alliance for Economy and Labour (BWWA). The goal is to build neighbourhood assets by providing support for local creative businesses, to create new jobs and to qualify residents for these businesses. The BWWA is not limited to only the Pankow area, but focuses on what needs to be created and developed in a local economy, so extending the neighbourhood level. The Creative Service Center is a good example of a District Alliance for Economy and Labour. Analysis in Pankow has shown that 17% of all enterprises operate in the cultural industry, but with a low turnover (only 7%), and a precarious earning capacity. Only one third can make a living from their creative activity. The central contact point bundles many services for creative people, such as individual counselling, consulting, training, symposia, workshops and informational events. Structural improvements are realised for the cultural enterprises by facilitating networks, the establishment of value



added chains, joint marketing activities and a district covering management. The creative entrepreneurs often lack competences in networking and marketing. The Center also provides an E-Platform for information, business contact, product presentation, marketing and tenders. Remarkably for the practitioners is that the Center sees its role as temporary. After some years the support structure for the creative sector should be taken up by regular services.

A practitioner's experience:  
*"The Employment and Enterprise Pacts were a very good idea. These partnerships are focused upon the area of tourism and area based networks. The 'new' and growing Berlin is in an excellent position to promote this and to invest at district level in training and support in areas with lots of diversity and high numbers of young people."*

The creative industry as a stimulator for economic growth is recognised as well in Porto. Northern Portugal depended until recently mainly on agricultural and manufacturing industries, but many couldn't stand the world economic shifts. The first creative

initiatives originated from the period that Porto served as the Cultural capital of Europe in 2001. From then on, galleries, artists, designers and retailers were attracted to start their businesses. The event was used as an opportunity to stimulate the creative industry. At present, the organisation ADDICT serves as a platform to develop entrepreneurship and the creative economy. A second development is increasing the link with the university. Porto is with 60.000 students the largest student city in the country, but many of them leave the city after their study. Moreover, there are 60 research centres. Porto Digital is the organisation that focuses on digital infrastructure, and intensifies the link between university and city. One activity is the small office P. Inc., meant to stimulate creative enterprises among students and graduates.

## 5 The pursuit of durable quality

**Urban regeneration should lead to future-proof areas, able to adjust to future changes. Sustainable urban regeneration has two dimensions. The ecological dimension seems to be limited in the work of the urban practitioners. The dimension of durable quality – no cheap solutions, broad popularity, long lasting – is a key issue to the urban practitioners. A durable quality helps to enhance the image of an area, although this is a time consuming process.**

Many urban regeneration areas – not all! – can be found in neighbourhoods that are not very old. In the first decades after WWII urban reconstruction focused on slum clearance programmes, demolishing old housing stock from the late 1800s. Later on, from the 1970s onwards in Western Europe, urban renewal graduated into refurbishment of the same type of houses. In the 2000s however, urban regeneration increasingly has focused on areas that have been built in the 1950s and 1960s, rather recently built housing. These neighbourhoods have been built as a combination of housing needs, functionalistic ideas and modernistic designs. The fact that urban renewal in countries such as the Netherlands, France and Scandinavia focuses on these areas shows that they have not been a durable concept. A durable neighbourhood, estate or dwelling will last for a much longer time, and will be adjustable to changed needs, preferences and attitudes.

### Towards sustainable areas

Sustainability is more than just ecological sustainability. In the widest sense a sustainable urban area is functioning according to needs and expectations, and urban renewal is meant to make such a

good area. An important characteristic is that a sustainable area doesn't need drastic renewal activities, but has an internal vitality and quality to gradually adjust to changing circumstances over time. A sustainable urban area functions well on physical, social, economic and ecological terms and has enough internal vitality and flexibility to adjust to changing circumstances, use and preferences. Sustainable urban regeneration refers to an approach that leads to a sustainable area, an area that functions well at present, and in future times (Wassenberg, 2010). However, many urban areas do not follow the track of gradual adjustments. These areas have been subject to urban renewal processes, defined as policies and strategies that are formulated to alter the area.

### Quality that is durable

Urban practitioners strive to a durable quality. Any approach should have the aim to implement measures that do not need to be redone after a few years. The durable aspect of a sustainable approach focuses on qualitative arguments, that makes a neighbourhood future proof. We have visited some areas where these qualities could be seen. Looking to Prenzlauer Berg in Berlin, Aussere Neustadt in Dresden and the old city in Porto, we can qualify a couple of these durable qualities. These are regenerating neighbourhoods with characteristics that attract a range of people. These have to do with features of the housing stock, such as size (square meters), width of the premises, height of ceilings, details of workmanship, next to tenure and type. And they have to do with the environment: mix of functions, wide streets, appearance, liveability, quality of public spaces (more than just quantity!) and location.

## Box 6

### Neighbourhood mediators help problem families in Berlin-Neukölln

The Berliner district of Neukölln is a social-economically weak area with high unemployment rates and a low average income. The neighbourhood has a large immigrant population, in some parts amounting up to half of the inhabitants. Almost 60 percent of the district's budget is spent on social benefits and half of the children leave school without job qualifications. Many families have multiple problems and are hard to reach by the official institutions. The 'District Mothers' project aims at migrant parents through home visits by women from their own background. The district mothers are of non-German origin and contact families, mainly by reaching out to mothers at schools, playgrounds, doctors, mosques and shops. Once an appointment has been

made, the mothers give information on 10 topics, such as health, language and social competences. The intention is not to intervene in the family, but support families in raising their children and finding their way in German society. A total of 3,000 families have been visited so far. Early 2010, about 166 women have started working as a district mother since the start of the project, and 110 of them are active today in Neukölln. To do this work, the mothers receive a training for half a year and get a small salary. By being a district mother, the women develop skills and get more integrated themselves as well. They are allowed to stay within the project for a three year period, in order to let new people in all the time. The project was initiated

in 2006 by the Deacon and Jobcentre of Neukölln together with the district authority and the Senate Department for Urban Development. As a part of the Neighbourhood Management Programme the District Mothers project started out as a three-year pilot. It was funded by the federal Socially Integrative City programme, the Senate Department for Urban Development and the borough, who each contributed for a third to the total budget of € 900,000. In 2009 the project was continued for another two years.

Urban practitioners react:  
*"The Neighbourhood Mediators are a good idea, particularly training local people from ethnic minority groups to involve and include people from their community more."*

*"I also believe that the investments in local people through area based approaches to urban regeneration are transferable and similar to those approaches in England. However, the areas I would like to develop further through neighbourhood management in England are the Neighbourhood Mediators. We have a Street Representatives Scheme that could be strengthened by this type of activity."*



**The urban practitioners about large scale interventions:** *"We learned that rebuilding a city and its social structures can take decades to complete and see the rewards. The neighbourhood regeneration programmes had a big emphasis on the buildings and physical surroundings. The housing system and political infrastructures were quite confusing but the results in the housing renewal programmes seemed to be very successful."*

### **'Penny wise but pound foolish' investments**

Houses that have been built with low quality materials will give rise to problems one day or another. Shortage of greens, shops, playgrounds or parking spots will cause problems for people who need those. Poorly designed environments, streets and public places will cause problems. Sometimes, original plans have been cut because of savings at that moment, but financial reductions proved to be penny-wise pound-foolish. These plans are visible in things like less lifts than originally designed (resulting in overused remaining lifts), smaller houses (resulting in high turnover rates), less greens and playgrounds (so families move out), less isolated (so CO2 leaking and costs raising), and narrower streets (more parking problems). Does good quality pay in the longer term?

The Hague is a good example where financial 'savings' on environmental quality created problems in the long run. The Schilderswijk neighbourhood was the cities' first urban renewal area in the late 1970s and 1980s. Houses were of a bad quality, and major renewal activities have taken place to demolish most, and refurbish some, and to build inexpensive new housing. As incomes

were low, savings were made on quality and diversity to reduce future rents. The outcome is a renewed area with a physically improved housing stock, but all in a low price range with similar and sober social rented housing. The original Dutch lower class has moved, and has been replaced by a new lower class immigrant population - but with similar social-economic characteristics. The urban practitioners were shown some of the consequences of poorly and cheap solutions, which has resulted in poor design of public spaces, garbage collection and parking facilities, and consequently misuse of these. This creates nuisance, youngsters hanging around, burglaries, safety problems, crime, and consequently unsatisfied residents. The Oslo neighbourhoods can be characterised as qualitatively well constructed from the beginning, where houses and public spaces were easier to adjust to present and future needs. Newly built housing is of a better standard than the older ones, but size of flats rather than quality seems to be the main incentive to move. In Porto as well as Preston and Dresden, physical deterioration has been going on for many years, but the intention is to upgrade both buildings and the environment to high standards.

**An urban practitioner about the need for long term agreements:** *"Experiences of different cities also make it clear that a lasting promotion and development is difficult. Especially the lack of financial resources for projects and for the employment market implies the risk that excellent project ideas cannot be realised. Many projects require a long term financing until the target of the project is met or becomes long-lasting. Missing finances weaken within the project and the commitment of the local project players might fade."*

## Experiencing ecological sustainability

Ecological sustainability focuses on the exhaustibility of our natural resources, energy reduction and waste diminution. Although this issue is of great importance among the international debate, we haven't seen much focus on it in urban regeneration practice so far. New houses and other new or refurbished buildings are of course of a better quality, and more energy proof, but we didn't see many projects explicitly focused on ecological sustainability. This is an illustration of the fact that there might be a major gap between public intentions, and local practice. And that public intentions do not concentrate on existing neighbourhoods.

## Improving the image

A negative stigma and perception undermines the durability of an area. Many, probably all, deprived areas have a negative stigma among outsiders. Perceptions of a deprived area usually differ in practice between insiders (inhabitants, shopkeepers, practitioners) and outsiders (the rest of the city). Involvement of private capital implicates the change of the public image of the area, as most private money will be available among outsiders, so people working within external organisations or firms. An important activity in Dresden is 'to show your successes'. Doing a good job is not enough, you have to speak about it, demonstrate your achievements and promote the area, and the activities, continuously. It is hard to get rid off a negative stigma in a deprived area, once set (see Wacquant, 1993; Dean & Hastings, 2000; Wassenberg, 2004). Outsiders, potential residents, visitors, politicians, and most of all, media maintain

the image over and over again. Television and press brand the regeneration area in a few keywords, which simplifies it for the hasty and superficial consumer. The Furuset area in Oslo was damaged by this continuous negative press. Positive developments were not noticed, and negative issues were routinely highlighted, confirming the stigma over and over again. The urban practitioners started an active involvement of the local media, invited them, showed them what happens and actually changed them from outsiders to insiders. That has helped.

*"In Preston we observed the transformation of the Callon estate from a well-known 'no go' area into an attractive place to live. The estate featured on a national TV programme 10 years ago as a notorious and lawless place, we saw pictures of. But through the combined efforts of community activists, police efforts and investment in the social housing stock the negative images of the area is now relegated to the past and this is a source of pride for local people."*

## Conclusions about the pursuit of durable quality

- Low quality solutions often won't last long, are not durable, and therefore not sustainable. This also counts for the process of regeneration. Cheap solutions will result in expenses at a later date. Durable solutions start with the realisation of a good quality.
- When finances are short (today's crisis!), consider to postpone decisions instead of decreasing quality requirements.
- Ecological sustainability is without any doubt very important. However, it seems not to be a major issue in daily urban practice.



- Deprived areas have a negative image among outsiders, an image that is hard to loose once set. Show successes to both insiders (residents, workers) and outsiders. One way is to involve the media as a part of the renewal process. Take them in, and

make them from outsiders into insiders. Send out your own news and campaigns to the media, or place those on internet yourself. Use residents as ambassadors.

## Box 7

### Porto Vivo urban area management

Porto Vivo, SRU organises the urban rehabilitation process in Porto. Porto Vivo is a joint stock publicly owned company, with a 60% share of the national government and 40% of the city council of Porto. Porto Vivo was partner in JESSICA For Cities (J4C), of the URBACT Network. Porto Vivo was established in 2004 in order to promote and conduct the rehabilitation and reconversion of the deteriorated historic centre of Porto, an UNESCO World Heritage area (by Decree Law 104/2004, of May 7th). The approach has to safeguard the UNESCO classification itself, and to invert the deterioration of the historical inner city. There is surprisingly few interest to live, to work, and to invest in the historical inner city of Porto. Not even many students are interested to live in the centre. Surprising in the eyes of the visiting practitioners. Suburbanisation processes are still continuing, while much of the old housing stock is in a bad condition. Both young people (including students) and middle class families move to the suburbs. Gentrification processes as known in many

European cities are hardly seen. The national rent control system worsens the situation. Since 1974 rents are frozen - sometimes at a few euros per month - which makes it unattractive for owners to



invest in their properties. The result are derelict houses and vacant dwellings all over the place. Investments in a building are done not before the last tenant moves out, often when he or she dies. As a result, voids alternate with refurbished premises. The steps of Porto Vivo to start turning the situation around: physical improvement of the deteriorating stock (per block of buildings or part of a street)

in the actual heritage central zone (7,000 inhabitants and 1,796 building) and in two larger surrounding circular areas (ZIP: 43,000 inhabitants, 10,572 buildings and ACCRU: 81,660 inhabitants, 18,048 buildings);

owners are stimulated to cooperate, are helped, can get subsidies and support. If they want, Porto Vivo buys their property. If they are not cooperative, they can by law be expropriated, which is heavily more expensive for both parties, and takes far more time; the total investments in the ongoing period 2006-2012 are scheduled at 722 million euro, of which 79% is private investment and 21% public money. The experience so far is a total time of 48 months, of which 30 for the preceding process, and 18 for the actual refurbishment. Porto

Vivo started with a Masterplan in 2005. Until 2010, when the practitioners visited Porto, only a few buildings have been refurbished yet. The work focuses on five designated areas with 719 buildings altogether in all stages of the process: 114 rehabilitation agreements were signed, 62 are acquired or expropriated, but 490 were still in the process.

## 6 Collaborate into governance

**There has been a major shift in European urban renewal policies from government to governance. The trend towards partnerships is going on for probably one or two decades. Countries differ in the compositions of partnerships, in the relations between central and local governments and in the way they operate.**

Top down and blueprint plans from central governments are replaced by programmes and processes, and the one actor approach is replaced by a game with multiple players. There is an increasing trend towards public, private and other partnerships, cooperation of different actors, local contracts and the inclusion of citizens in decision-making processes. Policies are not to be imposed on people but developed together. This process can be called 'governance beyond government', or 'governance without the state', or similar sayings. This implicates another role for governments, less expectations from laws and subsidies, and more emphasis on individual (residents) and private (market) involvement. For governments this leads to delegation, mandating, service orientation and process orientation. While it is clear that the almighty role of governments has shrunk, it leaves open the debate which role the other actors in the process take.

### Experiencing partnership approaches

All across Europe there has been a shift in urban planning decisions from governments that plan, organise and control towards collaboration between several partners. The experiences in our six cities mirror this. The main question is how this process of governance is implemented in practice. One clear difference is the presence and contribution of actors. In all our cities

there are more actors involved than one or two decades ago, and these actors do have more and more complicated roles and tasks. Schools (are asked to) open their buildings after school hours, housing associations (are asked to) provide social amenities, policemen (are asked to) socialize youngsters and municipalities (are asked to) drop responsibilities to the lowest possible level. All kinds of NGO's (non-governmental organisations) are in between governments and 'real life', health care's role is widened to quality of life in general. Society is more complex than a generation or so ago, which is visible in less obvious roles, and more divers and complicated, but also more flexible partnerships. Governance means more collaboration, more networking and more flexible arrangements with a changing group of actors.

### Cooperations and housing associations

In the Norwegian situation, the cooperatives play an important role in the management of the neighbourhood. Within these coops residents have an active role in issues about their blocks of flats and about the joint environment. Actually, this major role hasn't changed that much. The role of the national government originally has been limited to the provision of financing via the Husbanken (the 'home bank'), but at present ordinary banks are involved as well.

**The urban practitioners about the coop-system:**  
*"Especially in Oslo ideas of Public Private Partnership have been used to improve disadvantaged areas. Further development of this concept seems to be a good opportunity to achieve long-term and lasting changes. Risks and opportunities resulting out of the involvement of private financing have*

*to be evaluated for every specific project, but the opportunities resulting out of the cooperation form a solid basis for alternative financing and way of working. The ideas of private financial involvement have a chance for sustainability.”*

While in Oslo the social housing sector is limited, this is not the case in Preston, The Hague, Dresden and Berlin. Urban regeneration focuses here on areas with a considerable share of social housing.<sup>8</sup> In former days, in all of these cities local governments have played an important role with the development of the neighbourhoods that now are subject of regeneration. The Gorbitz area in Dresden was the latest Plattenbau area being constructed before the wall came down in 1989; an area completely being developed by the local government, with about one third of the new-built housing stock being owned by the municipality and two thirds by a large housing association. In fact, the large South West district in The Hague has been developed on a similar way during the post war decades, with an important role for the local government as well. However, during the last years the central role of governments, both local and national, has declined. Housing associations in the Netherlands and in the UK have a far more important role than in the last century. The housing associations, as owners of a significant part of the neighbourhood, make future policies for their stock, take decisions about refurbishment, demolition and new construction, and develop strategies for the well being of their inhabitants. These can range from periodical talks with their tenants to job training programmes, and from cleaning the streets to providing the local school; tasks that are in coordination and collaboration with other actors, including the municipality.

In Dresden the housing associations provide local community buildings, in The Hague they organise training programmes for school dropouts and in Preston the housing association secures the streets with camera control.

### Social housing as an investment

In Dresden, a remarkable event took place in 2006: the whole municipal housing stock (48.500 dwellings) has been sold to an American investor. Despite the strict sales conditions, this has caused a lot of controversy. In fact, a large part of Dresden's social housing stock has changed ownership, to a private equity fund, without many apparent changes for old and new tenants during the first years. According to the Dresden practitioners, conflicts linked to supposed negative developments such as the slowing down of maintenance and repairs or the increase of rent levels have considerably increased since 2010.

The 1.75 billion euros, which the sale brought in, is used to pay the debts of the former municipal building company and to balance the municipal budget, also allowing for a range of social, cultural and physical projects that would not have been affordable otherwise. At present Dresden is one of the few large German cities without debts. In The Hague, the dominant positions of the housing associations limit opportunities for

---

8 We do not make difference between forms of social housing, or public housing. There is no single definition of social housing in different countries, relating to ownership, to rent levels, to relevant subsidy system, and who are the targeted groups. See Whitehead and Scanlon (2007) for a European overview.

private developers. These don't have houses nor ground in the regeneration areas, so initiatives have to come from the housing associations. Private developers only are active when they are invited by the housing associations for joint projects.

### Experiencing the working process

Internal factors determine the way the regeneration process operates. Many difficulties within the several approaches have to do with the internal organisation, according to the urban practitioners, both the way of organising as the financing. There is a tension between the long term vision, once made, and the daily or yearly implementation process. New governments will come up, key players will leave, budget restrictions threat in times of downward conjuncture and new insights will occur. Every approach needs a balance between flexibility in the implementation and the reach of the final vision at the end. Plans may change, but not too much, and not too often.

In The Hague and Oslo the large renewal task is split up into a series of smaller projects. Each of these can be handled separately, but they all fit into the larger picture. In the four renewal areas in The Hague in this way 77 business cases are set up for physical and social projects, complete with intended partners and a financial scheme. Neighbourhood Management in Preston is seen as a long term process that is centrally concerned with influencing service sustainable service change rather than short term investments.

### Make use of the best persons

Neighbourhood management is organised in local offices within the area in all our cities.

An area based approach obviously implicates area based settlement. Most employees are delegated from the municipal office or other services such as the labour office or social services. Sometimes housing association employees join as well (like in The Hague and Dresden), and policemen have their office once or twice a week (as in Preston).

It is considered important that the key players, the best persons, actually work in the field, and are not housed at the top floor of some office to write policy documents. These frontline workers need to have all political support and mandatory powers to get things done.

In Preston, some people explicitly from the neighbourhood are employed. The local police officer and the neighbourhood manager both has grown up in the area. Engagement works best when well known locals approach fellow residents. Even former gang leaders are recruited, repented after prison, who know the youth in the neighbourhood, and have influence on them in a positive way. So, the task is to identify the unofficial leaders, the best persons in the area. Moreover, the focus is to stimulate local initiatives, but this is practice in more cities.

**Remarks of two practitioners on the work of key players:** *"Many times inhabitants of these areas welcomed us with open arms and it was clear that the relationship between the inhabitants and these civil servants is strong and based on a true understanding that they are fighting for the same cause. Even in these times of financial and economic crises it is important that our front soldiers in the city districts experience these feelings of inspiration because it would be penny wise and pound foolish not to involve the hard working front servants in these kind of exchange projects."*

*"Projects in Preston and Dresden show the importance of role models in reaching out to*

## Box 8

### Cité des Métiers - fighting unemployment



Unemployment is a major issue in many deprived areas, and Porto is no exception to this. The organisation Cidade das profissões is a place where people can find all the information they need to face the demands of the new labour market. The Cidade das profissões originally is a French initiative, that is spreading out over other (until now most Latin language) countries. In English you could call it City of Jobs. Cité des Métiers focuses on job training, and works supplementary to the local official Labour Offices. A Cité des Métiers is a multi-partner place, open to all the public for researching information for the development of their professional future, respecting the principles of independent access, anonymity, and being free of charge.

The Porto branch is located in a refurbished building in the historical centre, and opened in 2006 as part of the Porto Digital

programme. It is an information and advising centre, where people are trained in finding a job, with writing a decent cv, application training and personal development. People can freely use internet. In Porto, the main clients are between 20-35 years old, and looking for their (first) job. Besides, people are stimulated to start their own businesses. This happens in collaboration with an other organisation in the same building, GAE, inaugurated late 2009, and supported by the European Regional Development Fund (FEDER). This Entrepreneurship Support Programme provides assistance to all who intend to start their own business. There is a special focus on the many students, to show them employment opportunities on their own grasp. Advises are low profile and are about making a business plan, advising about business opportunities and reflection.

Last year, there have been over a thousand participations in the Porto Cidade das profissões, 400 personal advising, 250 students and 11 teachers. It is not measured how many people actually got a job after using the Cidade das profissões. The intensity of the use of the office differs per person; some follow intense courses, others visit only once. GAE operates too short to provide concrete results yet. Cité des Métiers originated in Paris in the 1990s, and is now spread over 27 offices in eight countries. More information can be found at: [www.reseaucitesdesmetiers.com](http://www.reseaucitesdesmetiers.com).



*especially youngsters. Role models can also be former leaders of a (more or less) criminal group of people that caused a lot of troubles in the past."*

### The role of the state differs

The role of central government is different between the six practices. In all cities, national governments set the frames in national renewal schemes, and provide finances and subsidies (in Germany via the Länder). In all six cities, national subsidies were provided for the regeneration areas indeed. In Oslo, at project level the state provides finance on condition of chairing costs with the City or other relevant participants in the project. This enlarges the need to collaborate between separate actors; when they don't cooperate, there will be no subsidies, meaning that in practice there won't be a project.

A remarkable fact is that in some cases national governments play a role in the implementation of policies as well. In most European countries national governments only are involved in the implementation of large projects with a nationwide appearance. In two of our cities the national government is directly involved in implementation of urban regeneration. Grorud Valley is Oslo's largest regeneration area, where the Cooperation Committee is made up of administrative representatives from ministries, government agencies, city departments and the districts. The projects' highest body is the Political Meeting, chaired by the Minister of the Environment. The Portuguese organisation Porto Vivo, SRU is a joint publicly owned company, with 60% of its shares belonging to the National Housing and Urban Renewal Institute and 40% to the City Council of Porto. These both projects show

the involvement of central government in local implementation.

### Public-Private-Partnerships

The role of private actors is growing. At the start, urban regeneration merely has been a government job. Increasingly, governments step back, financing is limited, and the role and position of private actors is increased. Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) are set up for urban renewal projects. PPPs in urban regeneration were prominent in the 1990s, slowed down in interest somewhat later on, but seem to be in a revival mode at present. A retreating government appeals to more responsibilities for the private sector, combined with restrictions to government spending. This opens up the market for PPPs. There has been an increasing number of Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) in urban regeneration programmes. This has caused a drive towards private financing for cities and the development of a complex array of investment vehicles, involving for example local authorities, institutional investors, private developers and bank foundations. The literature shows a variety of Public-Private Partnership concepts that have been developed (Dixon et al, 2007; Renda & Schrefler, 2006; Groetelaers, 2004).

Although the increasing number of public-private partnerships, differences exist from one country to another. The United Kingdom was first to involve massively the private sector into the regeneration of deprived areas since 1980. The level of co-operation between public and private is very important in large projects in cities such as Manchester and Birmingham. At present, the private sector is involved in regeneration projects EU-wide. The

challenge is to set up collaborations where the market sector stays involved in the long run, and that not only the most profitable areas are regenerated, but also the areas with higher risks and less expected profits.

### Collaboration and crises

The trend to work in collaboration within some form of PPP has been intensified by the contemporary economic crisis. In times of economic recession few activities are undertaken, while in economically prosperous times the market is overstressed. Countries that gained from economic prosperity only a couple of years ago (Spain, Ireland, UK, Greece), are hit most by the contemporary economic crisis. Urban renewal that involves major refurbishment or demolitions is slowed down, new investments are limited, and financial positions of governments, housing associations, private developers and residents decrease. These developments bring urban renewal itself into question and raise issues about whether it is better to mitigate intensive upgrading schemes or leave the neighbourhoods as they are. Public-private partnerships are essential to enlarge the scope and to reinforce the efficiency of urban regeneration programmes. To renew economic, social and cultural structures and improve public spaces and housing require massive investments. Retreating governments, a smaller state, cutting public budgets, deregulation and decentralisation of responsibilities increase the role of private investors, including residents themselves. Public money is used as a leverage, or multiplier, to encourage private investments (see Chapter 8).

Next to financial considerations, a clear public

strategy is of importance for investors. This should include an overall vision on an area, inform on the nature of operations and their realization, a straight juridical process, long term financial commitments and stability when political administrations might change. Public implication supposes varied sources of financings and often requires special engineering (to organize the financing from various levels of public authorities, subsidies etc.).<sup>9</sup>

**Urban practitioners about a preventive government role:** *“It is better for the economy to invest in urban regeneration projects than to let some areas slide down into ghettos. Public money is necessary to invest in areas where the risk of little or no profit for private investors exists. If no one moves, the government has to do something.”*

### External factors can hinder or stimulate

Next to any approach, external factors always play a role, determining the local context. There is a range of external factors that cannot be influenced by actors on the local or neighbourhood level, but that are of influence to outcomes on the area level. Those are both global mega trends, such as demographic changes (like ageing), immigration, global competition, increasing economic competition, technological improvements, and probably most important, economic

---

9 See the ARCHIMEDES (Actions to Regenerate Cities and Help Innovative Mediterranean Economic Development Enhancing Sustainability) project 2007-2008. This project was co-financed by the European Commission within the MED-PACT programme.

cycles. We do not go into these.

Another group of external factors concern national policies, made on a higher scale level, with other intentions than to regenerate areas, and with other outcomes. National, or even European, policies influence the process of local urban regeneration. Examples can be found in financial policies, supporting or preventing desired results. In Chapter 8 we go into financing.

An example of contra productive national policy is the freedom of education in the Netherlands. Unlike many other countries, everyone is free to choose any school he likes. This results in practice in a heavy school segregation. In most deprived Dutch neighbourhoods only or mostly 'black schools' exist, with on average weaker results. Policies do exist to improve the quality of education in those schools, and policies exist to regenerate urban neighbourhoods and create more mixed neighbourhoods. In practice however, the middle class parents bring their children to schools in other neighbourhoods. External factors can be of great stimulus for urban regeneration as well. Porto is a fine example. Porto happened to be Cultural Capital of Europe in 2001, and one of the places for the European Football Championship in 2004. Both events created a boost for local developments. One of the positive results was the implementation of the Andante metro, a light rail system, that was opened in 2002, well before the championship. The 2.1 billion costing system transports 5 million passengers a month, over 60 kilometres of rail with 70 stations, passengers travel double as fast as by car and with a direct financial return of 60%, and is widely considered as a major advantage for the city.

## Conclusions about collaboration and governance

- The change from government to governance and collaboration is unmistakable all across Europe. However, in times of economic downfall, other key actors step back, so eyes focus on the government again. The government needs to have an overall vision about future perspectives of cities and their neighbourhoods.
- Be keen on the best workers in the area. These might need other capacities than the ones in the central headquarters. We have seen good practices with workers raised in the area.
- Mortgage systems are intended to buy a house. However, the system can be adjusted to open for improvement schemes in later periods as well. In this way, people are stimulated, and fiscally supported, not only to buy houses, but also to maintain them.
- In many cases the private sector pays for the housing, and local governments for public facilities, like community buildings, parks, schools, care and education. However, we have seen inspiring examples where the market sector is involved in the whole neighbourhood and finances also formerly public tasks.
- There is a tension between the long term vision, once made, and the implementation in practice. New governments will come up, key players will leave, budget restrictions threat in times of downward conjuncture and new insights will occur. Every approach needs a balance between flexibility in the implementation and the reach of the final vision at the end. Plans may change, but not too much, and not too often.

## Box 9

# People in deprived areas live shorter and unhealthier: the international Healthy City Movement

In Preston's best areas men live nine years longer than in the worst areas, for women this figure is seven years. For Preston as a whole the health figures are less favourable than for England as a whole. Overweight is a huge problem (of all 12 year old children in Preston 30% are affected by overweight (13.4%) or obesity (16.5%)), female life expectancy in Preston is the worst of all English cities and male life expectancy is the second worst. St. Matthews ward, one of the areas visited, is on top of the lists in Preston. Some figures: male life expectancy is 8.5 years lower than England's average, teenage pregnancy is three times more, mortality rates from cancer and circulatory disease (heart failures) under 75 are 65-95% higher than on average in England. The task for Preston was clear. Preston is one of the 79 WHO's Healthy Cities in Europe, and strongly supports the 2009 Zagreb Declaration. This declaration expresses the strong commitment of political leaders of cities to strengthen and champion the action on health. In Preston this is being



implemented, in better playing facilities for children, healthier design of environments, air quality and the improvement of open spaces and parks. The international Healthy Cities Movement is about commitment by all stakeholders to health and well being with specific emphasis on health inequalities and equity. Health has a spearhead status in Preston. An example is the development of the Fishwick Nature Reserve near the river Ribble. The Nature Reserve was a leftover area at the river banks, including a major rubbish dump, and surrounded by fences. This is now being converted into a park, offering opportunities for cycling, hiking and recreation, and opened up to the nearby housing area. Moreover, and maybe more important, is the promotion of healthier behaviour. Within Europe, England

is the country with the most overweight people. Interventions are programmes such as Preston on the move, streetwise soccer, smoke free Preston, alcohol harm, mental wellbeing and workplace health. Awareness is raised among inhabitants and training programmes are set up. Health trainers offer inhabitants free sessions to make healthier lifestyle choices, including a better diet, healthier cooking and more movement. One of the aims is to decrease the amount of what is called 'avoidable deaths', people dying too early because of avoidable diseases. The focus on health is quite new in England, but interest in other countries is growing as well. Many concrete measures in the neighbourhood (e.g. greens, parks, cycling opportunities) seem similar to what is being done elsewhere. But in Preston this is done with the explicit focus on health and diminishing health inequalities. This focus on health improvements and diminishing health inequalities could persuade even the most sceptic critics about the urgency of urban regeneration.

## 7 Empowering residents

**One feature of deprived areas is the overrepresentation of underprivileged people, with lower or no jobs, in broken families, in backward mental or physical conditions, without proper qualifications or language deficits. People in less favourable conditions. How can they be helped, or better, how can they be stimulated to help themselves?**

When you look for a definition of empowerment at the internet, you will come across thousands of definitions, an amount that only grows when similar terms in other languages are used. Not all of these definitions refer to the same concept (Pratchett et al., 2009). Common behind most definitions is the activity to make people more powerful to participate better in society.

Going through the definitions, three main aims behind empowerment can be distinguished, aims that in practice are mixed to some extent. These are:

- improving individual skills and competences to enhance social mobility;
- improving communal activities among residents to make better communities;
- as a way to link people more with the representative democracy.

### Individual upgrading

The first aim refers to create opportunities for marginalized people to develop individual skills and competences, so that they can help

themselves. Empowering strengthens self-sufficiency, making people less dependent on charity or welfare. Empowerment activities can focus on better schooling, jobs, but also on someone's pattern of spending, people spending their lives in solitude, or in worse health conditions.

Individual empowerment is part of all neighbourhoods. Often this is part of the 'normal' organisation, so of the local departments of education, employment, sports, welfare, etc. In Porto and Berlin offices in the neighbourhood were settled to support local enterprises. As an addition to more general employment offices, in these neighbourhood buildings people can search on internet for jobs, are helped with solicitation letters and are helped to start their own businesses (see textbox).

The aim of empowerment to increase skills and competences is practiced among the Berlin *Stadtteilmütter* (district mothers). These immigrant women visit newcomers with the same origins, to introduce them into the German society. This serves two functions: helping the newcomers, and to train the mothers (see text box).

### Overweight hinders involvement in society

A relative new issue is overweight among both adults and children. Fat people, some resulting in obesity, are not longer 'just an American phenomenon', but increasingly a major problem among Europeans as well. Just some figures from western countries to illustrate this. In the USA 33.2% of the adults are obese, while the UK is the highest in Europe with 24.0%. Canada (23.2%) and Germany (21.1%) score only slightly less (WHO, 2010)<sup>10</sup>. Figures that have raised

<sup>10</sup> The WHO defines 'overweight' as a Body Mass Index (BMI) equal to or above 25, and 'obesity' as a BMI equal to or above 30. The provided figures in the text are for women. Those for men are: USA: 31.1; UK: 24.0; Canada: 22.9; Germany: 20.5.

by a third in the last ten or fifteen years. Overweight and obesity are not a disease, but for over 95% results from too few exercise and a wrong feeding pattern: too much food, junk food and eating too often.

People in deprived areas have a shorter life expectancy (up to six years), are more often ill, have more chronic diseases and have a worse lifestyle. The health of the inhabitants of the 40 selected most deprived Dutch neighbourhoods is compared with national averages. In general, those inhabitants show less favourable features: 25% score bad or rather bad, against nationally 'only' 17% (Verweij, 2008)<sup>11</sup>. The Preston text box goes into the issue of healthy neighbourhoods.

## Community building

A second main aim is to make better communities by increasing empowerment on group level, including common activities to improve the quality of life in an area. Community building is a keyword and goal in this definition.

Unfortunately, a general blueprint for successful empowerment does not exist as the process is very much dependent on local circumstances. Empowering residents in a community is complex. Different mechanisms may have different effects in relation to community empowerment. Different local contexts, different local elaborations and different behaviour of people result in different empowerment approaches. This means that in practice there are numerous ways to empower residents in a community. Pratchett et al. (2009) mention four steps to make sense of empowerment:

- understanding your community: it is necessary to understand the demographic and socio-economic profile of your

community and how this profile shapes both the capacity of citizens to engage and the demands they may make for particular mechanisms of empowerment;

- understanding the available tools: against an understanding of the community, it is also necessary to understand how the available tools work in different contexts;
- understanding the challenges: even with such an understanding there are still many practical challenges to overcome.

Practice examples of how to address these challenges may help;

understanding your offer: once you understand your community and the tools, the final step is to reflect upon those things which you might do to develop community empowerment. In particular, how can the culture of your organisation be changed to make empowerment a central rather than a marginal goal?

In Oslo the building cooperation system provides and supports housing development as well as community and commercial building projects. The cooperatives are based on individual contributions for general purposes. The cooperative *dugnad* system (see text box) includes voluntary work in the weekends or evenings, such as doing small jobs about the building, cutting the greens, organising youth activities or providing language courses to immigrants. The cooperatives decide about common issues in the living environment, and function by a system of democratic representation, with elections, periodical meetings and voting by majority. This personal involvement makes

<sup>11</sup> Some other results: 24% have a long term disorder (national: 21%), 20% are limited in daily life (NL: 13%) and 52% don't sport (NL: 37%).



the system vulnerable, when new residents do not show interest, do not fulfil their tasks or do not attend the meetings, especially when new groups unaccustomed to this tradition of voluntary communal work are numerous.

### Low level democracy

The third aim focuses on the democratic aspect and can be defined as ‘passing more and more political power to more and more people’. This goal links individuals and communities to decision making processes and seeks to support representative democracy through the use of participative means.

In most western countries governments are retreating within urban developments, including the lowering of responsibilities to the level of individual citizens. However, this doesn’t mean in practice so much for many deprived people in deprived areas, as they often don’t have the capacities and possibilities to participate.

The empowerment strategy in this way is especially important in deprived areas with many immigrants who originate from countries without a democratic tradition, so they have limited experience with democratic processes and society work (see The Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration Affairs (2007).

#### **A practitioner about continuity in**

**participation:** *“Projects in these places also show that when you try to give the residents a voice in the restructuring of the area it is very important to be consistent in achieving this goal. Commercial projects should not be eliminated from the intention of giving the residents a voice in what will happen in their neighbourhood.”*

### Neighbourhood budgets

A way to increase local involvement and local democracy are neighbourhood budgets. Local residents decide about local governments’ spending in their own neighbourhood. The Hague is a good example, where a budget was made available for every neighbourhood within the Southwest district. All residents could deliver their own ideas to improve the area, and had to vote for the best ideas at a general meeting, which was organised as a kind of festival. So, not only a good idea was necessary, but also support from fellow-neighbours. 27 ideas were voted for by 500 residents in 2009; two new rounds will follow in later years. The urban practitioners involved state that the local support is large, and people appreciate the personal approach and the possibility to develop your own ideas. Another example is Berlin, where residents get a fund to spend on concrete actions or activities. The Neighbourhood Management teams act as trustees, managing a total of € 15,000 per year to microprojects. These could include the organisation of a street festival or creating a playground for children and cleaning. The decision process behind the funds, involving residents’ juries, make new residents active in their communities and produce a strong sense of responsibility. Evaluations showed that the residents’ juries were successful in activating local residents and demonstrating that they are capable of determining how to use and allocate their own resources. The funds are to be approved and supervised by Neighbourhood Boards, advisory boards of about 15 and 30 residents who get elected by everyone in the district.

## Box 10

### Social programmes in Dresden – social entrepreneurship with perseverance

Since Omse e.V. took over a Kindergarten from the municipality fifteen years ago, a primary and secondary school have been added as well as a panoply of social and cultural activities. Omse houses in an old block of flats in the Dresden suburb Gorbitz. The social and cultural activities are strongly embedded in the neighbourhood and are carried out with all kind of partners, like housing associations and municipal agencies. There are activities for children and adults, they are trained to acquire new competences and skills, and a series of seminars and workshops are organised. The activities of Omse are financed by public means, contributions and sponsors. The social entrepreneurs who started Omse, created an organisation with a staff of 127 (including the volunteers), a network organisation working with 12 local partners, supporting 500 families and reaching 15,000 residents annually. The motto of Omse is 'to initiate, involve, move and spread out'. The many social and cultural activities and the physical improvements support neighbourhood marketing and help to change



the negative image of the neighbourhood.

Kultur Forum riesa efau is another example of social-cultural entrepreneurship to regenerate a deprived neighbourhood. In Friedrichstadt, an area near the city center, there are many derelict houses, empty lots and a low level of identification with the neighbourhood. Riesa efau is an association that teaches already twenty years about art, realized many art projects in the neighbourhood, composed a round tour through Friedrichstadt with 26 tablets with texts and pictures telling from important, forgotten, interesting and often unexpected places. The projects of riesa efau give international publicity to Friedrichstadt and Dresden. The 'House of Many Generations Dresden-Friedrichstadt' welcomes all kind of people. During the last 20

years 2,000 cultural offers have been made and more than 75,000 visitors a year are being reached. Both Omse and riesa efau can legitimately be addressed as social entrepreneur. The funding of their activities is mainly public, but there is a larger part of subsidiary self-organisation compared with other cities.

Two urban practitioners:

*"The community organisation in Gorbitz was quite unusual. The main 'actors' showed amazing commitment to the local area and often worked for nothing when the funding ran out. This is similar to the voluntary organisations in England that rely upon external funding or charitable status."*

*"Especially impressive is the network of school, informal education for adults and parents with involvement of local enterprises practiced in Gorbitz. All participants are learning by this project. On one hand, the children are supported in education and improving their own interests and on the other, the involvement of adults which are also receiving support in starting up of their own businesses. The approach of this project is promising a successful development."*

## Regeneration takes years

Urban regeneration processes take a long time, up to ten or fifteen years. The process in Oslo is characterised by a long term perspective, carried out by all participants involved. Knowing that any approach for a multiple problem area will take many years, there has to be a long term involvement of all partners, to start with governments. Visions, goals, perspectives and means may not be altered too much during the process, for example by change of administrations. The long term perspectives in Oslo have their advantage, but some disadvantages as well, resulting in much bureaucracy, meetings and paperwork, and the involvement of non-crucial actors during successive stages of the process. Not all participants should be on the table during all phases in the regeneration process.

Moreover, it is hard to keep residents involved during all those years. In Aussere Neustadt in Dresden they have succeeded to do so; despite turnovers, a respective number of residents from the start are still engaged. However, this is not common practice, and maybe long term commitments cannot be asked from residents, as is illustrated by the Friedrichstadt area, also Dresden, where it is hard first to get and then to keep residents involved.

Alternatively, people can be involved at particular moments during the process, instead of a long-standing engagement process. This can be at occasional happenings during the process. One of these we have seen in Oslo, where the method of mental mapping was used in the Furuset area, a method to create maps of experiences of the use of the area by local residents (see Text box). The Furuset mental mapping was used

as an alternative activity for the traditional long term processes. Another one we've seen are the street surveys in Preston, where inhabitants check their street on the base of a short checklist and translate this into concrete actions.

## Conclusions about empowering residents

- Empowerment serves three goals: to improve individual skills; to create social cohesion, and to raise democracy. Goals, policies and interventions differ locally.
- Individual upgrading needs individual attention. In urban practice, there is a wide range of issues (jobs, skills, addictions, health, loneliness, etc), but all of these need active interventions to reach people individually.
- Governments withdraw themselves, market investors are reluctant because of the economic crisis, housing associations and other owners are confronted with higher expenses and lower earnings, so in fact residents are the only actor who is left to invest, with their time, energy and money. Residents should be stimulated to help to regenerate their own areas as much as possible. This can vary from 'classical' participation and community building to people construct their own house or open their own shop or business. Get rid of constraints to do so.
- Joint groups of residents can decide about their own neighbourhood. This can be via cooperatives, where groups of people invest in their own buildings and environment, via area budgets to be decided by residents, or other ways. Create ways to stimulate self organization of residents.

- Governments have to play an active role in deprived areas, both in planning and in implementation. Key players expect an active participation by municipalities, and often deprived areas are very vulnerable and risky for other key actors to invest. Governments have to guarantee and to support positive initiatives from residents and the market sector.
- Regeneration of heavily deprived areas will take up to ten or twenty years easily. It cannot be expected that all actors, residents included, will stay enthusiastic all those years. Residents don't have to be involved all times, it is enough when they just follow the development, and react when they feel so. Besides, inhabitants can be involved at occasional concrete activities during the process.
- While a process may take years, and many very effective interventions may be taken in non visible issues, residents want concrete results as well. Seeing is believing. There should be works carried out in a regeneration area all times, being builders, caretakers, policemen, painters or others doing something.
- The role of central government often can be reduced to set the central framework and jurisdiction. However, in some large cases direct involvement within the implementation proved to be very useful. This can be by a 'classical way of subsidizing', but also by taking financial shares (and risks) in developments, by providing expertise on the spot, by information and providing knowledge. Some regeneration projects go above the local scale, and results radiate on a whole city, region or country.

## 8 Financing urban regeneration

**Financing is an issue in itself. The task of urban regeneration is growing, while government resources increasingly are limited. Traditional ways of national subsidy schemes for local developments will decline. This means that other ways of financing have to be found. These could come from above (Europe), from the private sector, from residents themselves, or from other ways of organising the job.**

The development and implementation of projects often is dependent on the owners of the property and the grounds. In Dresden, the city owns a large share of the ground for historical reasons –the socialist legacy following WWII -, which makes the local authority a prime partner to initiate the process. In The Hague, housing associations have large possessions, so they dominate the process. After the German reunification, property assignment had been pendant for a couple of years in many cases, resulting in passivity. Later on, in Aussere Neustadt in Dresden and Prenzlauer Berg in Berlin private owners initiated and financed a lot of the regeneration activities.

In all countries national urban regeneration schemes exist to stimulate the improvement of deprived areas. Next to those, all kinds of incidental subsidies exist for particular projects, subsidies with particular goals and for a limited time period. We have seen subsidies for various activities, such as training courses for low educated youngsters, projects to prevent school drop out, subsidies for caretakers in the neighbourhoods,

subsidies to improve poor private housing stock and subsidies to run community centres. Subsidies are temporary and many interventions are not continued when subsidies end. Many projects are subsidy based instead of neighbourhood need based. Those projects are not wrong, but wouldn't have been started if priorities had been set on the local neighbourhood level.

### European subsidy programmes

While most Europeans live in cities, there is no specific European policy to approach urban problems and stimulate urban development. Despite significant research within the EU fostering the promotion of the 'acquis urbain', there is no European city policy in particular. Urban affairs are considered to be a national issue.

Policy efforts in Europe address several sectoral issues affecting European cities (unemployment, energy reduction, climate change, lack of social cohesion, et cetera), that do land within cities. EU-interventions dedicated to improve deprived urban areas for a long time are scarce and limited.

Some programmes or projects are financed by the European Union. The EU uses two main structural programmes, that (also) can be used for urban development. These are the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) for mainly physical projects in poor regions, and the European Social Fund (ESF), for social issues. Some cities are part of both programmes (such as Dresden, Berlin, Porto and The Hague), but the others in none (Preston and Oslo<sup>12</sup>).

---

12 Oslo and Norway not being part of the European Union, but part of the European Space.



## Box 11

### Community involvement in Preston



Neighbourhood Management in Preston helps residents to take back control of the area they live in. Local people understand the issues facing the area better than anyone else and are often the best source of solutions and innovations. In mobilising one or two people who are respected in the neighbourhood sometimes the deterioration can be turned around.

Residents are involved in Street Representatives Schemes, Street Audits, Neighbourhood Watches, Community Crime Fighters, Beacon Back Alleys, Community Clean Ups, Britain in Bloom groups, Community Payback, Litter Pick Days. Street Representatives are local residents who want to be involved in improving their local street, road or community. Street Reps monitor the cleanliness and safety of their area and report any issues to the service responsible. Street Reps are empowered through training and information

sessions. By Street Audits local residents and services look and record in a systematic way the good and bad points in a limited area (like cracked roads and pavements, blocked drains, litter, litter bins, the quality of green space). Maps are used and service providers and residents walk in the area, taking photographs and notes along the way. The information is reported and sent to all relevant services. Urgent issues are followed up within weeks. A year later a Street Audit Review looks at the same area again to determine what's improved. Any outstanding issues are included in the Review Report which is sent to services who then chase up the remaining jobs.

All kind of resident groups are stimulated to participate in actions that improve the neighbourhood. A particular example that the practitioners haven't seen elsewhere is the Beacon Back Alley Scheme.

The staff of Neighbourhood Management, Lancashire Wildlife Trust and local residents identify back alleys that are well kept. The publicity of the well kept and attractive alleys where children can play and people can sit away from noise and busy roads should stimulate other residents to improve their back alleys overrun with vermin, flytipped waste and unwanted household items. A schedule of clean ups and 'Alley parties' is in place to help to turn around the negative back alleys. A small grant scheme (maximum £ 500) for environmental improvements, newsletters or Community Fun Day, stimulates existing and new groups to get involved in improving their neighbourhood (Community Involvement Grants).



**An urban practitioner about the use of EU-Funds:** *“European Structural Fund promotion is an important factor for the positive development of critical urban areas. Experiences show that many of the structural fund financed measures have resulted in long-lasting improvements of the district. Therefore we see it as important to secure these funds, also in the future for measures of stabilisation and development of cities and disadvantaged districts. Especially projects and measures following an integrated approach were successful.”*

However, EU-programmes can be improved. These both EU-programmes do not always coincide well. In this respect, the case of Dresden is worth mentioning (see also BMVBS, 2010). Dresden participated in the previous (2000-2006) and participates in the current (2007-2013) ERDF programme, as well in the ESF. Dresden focuses on the ERDF-subdomain ‘Sustainable city development’, which is relevant for urban regeneration in conversion regions such as Dresden. This ERDF-Sustainable City Development programme has proved essential in regions lacking way behind the European average and provides a series of positive effects (varying from renovation projects, local enterprises to social cohesion), but has also generated some dissatisfaction. However, critics state that the funding schemes are too bureaucratic in the sense that expenditures have to be planned with regard to inflexible annual budget breakdowns, time consuming and therefore less effective. In general too many obstacles are hindering the involvement of citizens, who want to start with activities and actions, and not with some paperwork somewhere. The ESF-fund finances social activities, but in practice many activities in deprived neighbourhoods are both physical and

social. A neighbourhood centre is built, partly financed with ERDF subsidies, while the community process is organised in cooperation with residents, including the management after the realisation. However, both EU funds are hardly linked to each other. The urban practitioners’ experiences are that sometimes there is more a competition between both EU programmes, instead of cooperation. It should be better then if there would be only one joint fund for one region, resulting in one decision making actor and one set of criteria within that region.

- The suggestions discussed in Dresden to make the European subsidy schemes more efficient are:
- make the structural funds programmes more flexible;
- extend the city dimension;
- connect the different European funding schemes;
- allow for expanded compensation through private and public co-financing;
- extend the budget periods within the frame of structural funds periods;
- allow for transferring and updating account balances to additional projects and extra periods.

**Practitioners about EU-funding:** *“The variety of problems of the cities visited made it clear that a too detailed EU regulation is unwise. On the contrary, it shows that a too detailed specification for urban development programmes causes further issues when dealing with different regional problems. It is more important to look at expected results and what will be needed in each single situation to reach the results. Every city should be able to decide for itself which are the goals for the disadvantaged areas and how to achieve these goals. Within expenditure control rules, this requires flexible financing options.”*

## Leverage money

Limiting the role of governments doesn't automatically mean that governments are less involved in the deprived areas. The main question is how governments can operate to reach the same goals ('a well functioning area and the well being of the inhabitants') with less government expenditures. Cutting budgets is an obvious way, which results in less expenditure. However, often the practice is that overall activities decrease very much. Another way is to operate in such a way that government spending function as a leverage for a multiple of private expenditures. Dresden is a fine example. In socialist times, all expenditure for urban regeneration had to be paid by the government. The result were some very fine refurbished historical buildings, but on a limited scale. From the 1990s onwards, private investments – yet benefiting from significant tax abatements – speeded up regeneration activities in the central city; in the last fifteen years there have been more production than in the fifty years before. In Aussere Neustadt, one of the areas having survived the war devastations as well as the large-scale demolitions in GDR times, large investments have been made

from the 1990s onwards. In this nowadays popular neighbourhood it is calculated that every public invested euro has been multiplied with eight private euros (a multiplier of 1:8). Ninety percent of all public funding went to facilities and infrastructures, and only 10% to housing refurbishments. Otherwise, only 7% of all derelict houses have received public subsidies<sup>13</sup>. It might be clear that by far not all neighbourhoods will be as attractive as Aussere Neustadt, but it makes sense that a public investment can create a multiple of private investments. The Berlin area of Prenzlauer Berg is another example of an area where government investments have been multiplied substantially by private investments.

Another remarkable feature according to the urban practitioners, is the substantial social programme that is being conducted by private organisations in Dresden. A large association operates in the Gorbitz area, with a yearly budget of over 4.5 million euro, that for a noticeable part is derived from private organisations. Welfare activities are financed by various public subsidies, but also by private capital. The direction considers themselves more as moderators between all actors involved to collect funds from all kinds of organisations.

## A revolving fund to promote private involvement

The more private capital is used, the less government expenditures are needed to reach the same goal. Private capital can be stimulated by leverage money to lower the thresholds for private investments. That money can be provided as a subsidy, but it also can be worked out in a revolving fund.

<sup>13</sup> The total calculation is: the 1:8 ratio applies to the overall investment ratio "public vs. private funding". Specifically, only about 10 % of the total amount of public subsidies have been allocated to housing refurbishment, and 90 % to public facilities and infrastructures. 7% of the housing stock has received subsidies for refurbishment, the remaining 93% has been fully paid with private capital. Yet private owners have benefited from considerable tax abatement.

Such a fund is designed to enable financial support for projects based on public private partnership. Investments can be supported under more profitable conditions such as lower interests, guarantees and repayment conditions. At the end of the term, loans are paid back, creating new capital for other initiatives.

The newly developed EU programme JESSICA initiative aims to facilitate and to increase private investments to regenerate urban areas, using public funds as a leverage to initiate private spending. JESSICA (Joint European Support for Sustainable Investment in City Areas) is a joint initiative of the European Commission and the European Investment bank, based on the idea of revolving urban development funds. The EU-support is no longer only in subsidies, but also in revolving investment capital. The overall advantage is the enlargement of financial capacities. In some of our cities JESSICA-projects are being developed or are just starting to take this approach into consideration (Preston, The Hague, Porto). The main advantage is that the total sum of investments will rise, but the main objections are doubts about the possibilities to gain revenues within the intended deprived areas, revenues that have to come from the sale of land or new or renewed buildings.

**An urban practitioner about the consequences of less government funding:** *“The city visits made me think how we are financing urban regeneration in my country and city. With the reduction and elimination of subsidies we have to find new financing models. The practices in other European cities and the use of European instruments in some urban regeneration areas we visited, are showing the way for me for a turnaround how we are financing*

*our projects until now. I am grateful for the new insights I acquired in the city visits. These are helpful to find solutions for an acute problem we are facing in urban regeneration”.*

### National financial policies may hinder or stimulate

Regeneration policies are not the only type of policies that are of influence on the outcomes of the regeneration activities. First there are external, or global trends, that we do not elaborate on. Besides these ‘things that just happen’, national policies are carried out, outside the scope of urban governments, and sometimes originating of outdated motives. A good example of the last is the national rent policy in Portugal. Rents have been frozen since 1948 in order to keep rents affordable. Moreover, since 1974 until recently, the Portuguese policy was to stimulate owner occupancy instead of renting, generating one of the highest percentage of property ownership in Europe. This policy has originated very limited rents (a couple of Euros per month), and despite fiscal incentives to urban rehabilitation, owners do not afford to maintain their housing stock. This is the main reason why unused and derelict properties are common in Portuguese city centre areas (see textbox). The opposite happened in Berlin, where investments in urban regeneration areas are fiscally stimulated, and where the national court have set rules that rents should be established minimum at cost level. This national policy stimulated private investments.

Another example how national economic policies can hamper neighbourhood improvements is the regulation of the Land

## Box 12

### Conversion Programme 'Stadtumbau Ost'



In 2001, the Federal State launched a new urban renewal programme 'Stadtumbau Ost' for the urban conversion in the eastern part of Germany, with over one million vacant dwellings by that time. It is a major German federal subsidy programme, which triggers physical regeneration, including demolition to consolidate the real estate market. It also intends to landscape environments and generate distinctive features. Later on, 'Stadtumbau West' was assigned for regeneration in West German regions. Initially, half of the funding of the conversion programme should go to the removal of surplus building, and the other half to upgrading. Due to the amount of surplus flats, up to 85% of the subsidies were finally allocated to the removal of unpopular flats.

The urban conversion programme was necessary in Dresden because of high outward migrations, the bad quality of a substantial part of the housing stock, and the many vacancies (20% in 2000, about 59,000 flats). So far, about 7,200

flats have been demolished. Gorbitz is the largest conversion area in Dresden. It was the last suburb of Dresden being built with prefabricated panel flats ('Plattenbau'), and actually just finished before 'die Wende' in 1989. Most of the blocks were six storeys high, the maximum height where no lift was obliged. Yet by now, more than 1,600 flats have been removed in this area. The conversion operates in conjunction with the socially oriented programme 'Soziale Stadt'. The conversion allowed for the complete demolition of a couple of blocks. In other blocks, the unpopular upper two floors have been removed. The visiting practitioners were astonished that such a major intervention could be done within just one week, obviously due to the panel system way of construction. In other blocks the upper floors just were given away to residents on lower floors for storage, dwellings have been joined, or the ground floor has been enlarged. Other blocks are converted for use by the elderly by adding escalators. Public transport has been improved (owing to a specific

transport-related subsidy programme) by speeding up the existing direct tram line to the city, and all around the estate public spaces have been improved, such as playgrounds, greens and parking spots. The urban conversion programme contributed to the stabilization on the housing market (for some flats there are waiting lists again, and demolition is stopped). The image of the neighbourhood has improved.

The practitioners were impressed: *"The physical regeneration of Dresden city was mind-blowing. The sheer scale and magnitude of the programme 'Stadtumbau Ost' in conjunction with other funding programmes was truly inspiring in the way that Dresden is recreating itself. Like Berlin, the historical and political context of the visit made it more fascinating and unique. In the suburban areas, the housing programmes were equally impressive with the regeneration of existing apartment blocks to make them more accessible and energy efficient."*

Berlin, that requires public tendering even for limited investments. A noble gesture for transparent policies, but in practice resulting in much extra bureaucracy, extra costs and many delays, which leads to frustrations for residents' involvement.

External factors can turn out positive as well. The Norwegian mortgage system supports neighbourhood regeneration. Refurbishment costs for both houses and environment can be financed as a mortgage, for which tax reductions are possible. This stimulates investments in property not only in times of construction or purchase, but also in later years when necessary maintenance expenditures have to be made.

### Conclusions about the financing of urban regeneration

- The availability of subsidies regulates for a large part the existence of programmes. Subsidies come and subsidies go, but a neighbourhood often is helped more by long decisions, on the base of needs. This pleads for long term commitments, long term common funds, separate from sector or temporary involvements.
- Some cities participate in European programmes. There are two main structural funds, ERDF for mainly physical issues and ESF for social issues. These programmes do not always coincide well, and sometimes are more competitive than complementary, leading to bureaucracy, delay and frustrated residents. The EU-funds would be more effective when these could operate in a more flexible way, usable for more goals, not strictly limited within time, and allocated for an area for a longer time period.
- Government subsidies should be used more often to create leverage (or multiplier) effects that raise as much private financing as possible, expenses that wouldn't have been spent if the initial governmental investment would not have occurred. Multipliers we have seen may attain 1:8 regarding public to private investments.
- The EU-JESSICA programme offers opportunities to increase leverage effects. It stimulates private investments in urban regeneration not by grants, but by a revolving fund. Yet it should not be qualified as a patent remedy fitting everywhere.
- The neighbourhood might be a central place in someone's life or someone's work, but it is only a tiny spot on earth. There is a range of external factors, varying from global economic and technical developments, to national policies in other sectors. These external trends and policies can help a local regeneration process, or can be contra productive. And some successes could only have been achieved because of coincidental developments. The only lesson can be to have an open eye for such a coincidental piece of luck.





## 9 Conclusions and lessons

### 9.1 Regeneration as an European issue

Urban regeneration is important for Europe's competitiveness. Europe's towns and cities are the primary source of wealth creation, job creation and productivity growth. To enhance these positive elements urban regeneration of deprived areas is a major issue in all European countries, regions and towns.

Regeneration is a social issue, as poor, less educated, jobless, lonely, unhealthy, ethnically different, socially weak and other kinds of deprived people tend to concentrate in the less favourable parts of the city.

Regeneration is an economical issue, as global competition emphasises the need for strong cities, and deprived areas do erode this position.

Regeneration is a physical issue, since most neighbourhoods have been built in a limited time period following WWII and need maintenance and update similarly.

Regeneration is a sustainable issue, as houses, buildings and environments leak high volumes of heat and energy and contribute unintentionally to the global warming.

Regeneration is a demographic issue, as deprived areas are characterized by large moves of groups of people, mainly of people who can afford it move out, and underprivileged newcomers move in.

Regeneration is a financial issue, as renewing activities are costly, but doing nothing will cost far more on the long run.

And regeneration is a collaborative issue, as governments, private investors, owners and residents have to work together.

### 9.2 Six key issues when practicing urban regeneration

Governments as well as other key actors develop policies to regenerate deprived neighbourhoods. These can be radical or incremental. Policies can focus on a single area or the whole city. The focus can be on a combination of physical and non-physical issues. Policies can focus on community building, private sector involvement, or sustainability et cetera. In the policy debate often an area based approach, integrating horizontal policies, with sustainable perspectives, collaborative partnerships and empowering inhabitants, is advocated. How do the policies and advocated ideals work out in practice?

The visits of the urban practitioners of each others cities, areas and projects raised many issues and questions. The experiences can be grouped into six key issues. Firstly, the balances or the focus sought in people, place and organisation area based policies. Secondly, various experiences with social mixing of residents. Thirdly, the search for durable quality preventing the continuous dealing with the same areas and the same people over and over. Fourthly, strengthen partnerships and stimulate governance. Fifthly, the empowerment of residents. And sixthly, the various practices in financing urban regeneration.

### 9.3 Recommendations

To conclude, we provide some lessons that did work, to be kept and transferred to other places. Other lessons are about things that were disappointing. Transferable knowledge hardly ever can be simply duplicated, one size doesn't fit all. However, transferable knowledge can inspire and innovate urban practices according to the local context.

#### *What didn't work well*

First what didn't work well. Not always, but at least several times. Surprisingly, most factors that didn't work well had to do with the internal organisation, such as:

- No clear view of future perspectives, no final goal or target what the neighbourhood could and should be like.
- Too much administration and bureaucracy; time consuming procedures without visible use; complicated rules
- European rules that prescribe tenders and European competition, for limited budgets. A procedure that might be commendable at first sight, but in practice leads to a waste of time, money and energy
- Too many government offices involved, both several departments at different scale levels (horizontal and vertical coordination).
- Too many actors involved without responsibility within the project.
- Too few involvement of local politicians with the area, or contrary, too much involvement resulting in too little mandate at practitioner's level.

#### *What worked well from the practitioner's point of view*

Below we provide some of the lessons we and the urban practitioners have experienced during the process. The list below is by far not complete, these are just some of the most prominent lessons.

#### *Twenty lessons about the issue*

- 1 Start with a clear analysis. Make clear what are the most important problems. Which of the problems mentioned are important, are increasing, are new, etc. It is not only important to be clear about the problem definition, but also to realise whose problems it is. Who is the problem owner? Are these problems of inhabitants? Future inhabitants? Former inhabitants? Businesses? Visitors? Outsiders? Insiders? Workers? Politicians? Investors?
- 2 Set priorities and focus. What are main problems? What are the main goals? You cannot solve 'the whole world's problems'. Start first things first: start with quick solutions for the most obvious problems: secure houses when they fall down, send police to arrest criminals, or clean up the mess on the streets. Be realistic, focus on main problems and try to get progression in one or more ways to improve personal conditions for deprived people living there, and deprived areas.
- 3 Set a goal. Create a vision for the long term for the future prospects of a neighbourhood. Don't stick to available financing, as 'money could follow good plans', but be realistic and don't ask too much as well. Be flexible to adjust the regeneration process to changing

circumstances, but keep the final goal clear. Be aware of external circumstances that can help or hinder to achieve the long term goal.

- 4 Create diversity and variety. One of the main problems in many deprived areas is the uniformity of both housing (unpopular), area (unattractive), people (underprivileged) and image (stigmatised). Creating more variety and diversity in all fields mentioned is a major job. No single approach will help, but changing the housing stock, improving the environment, empowering people do help. A supporting way is to create icons in deprived areas to help improving the image among outsiders.

#### *Lessons about the scale of an area*

- 5 'The' neighbourhood doesn't exist. The understanding, the use and the size of 'the neighbourhood' differ for each individually, varying from a couple of neighbours to half of the town. Generally: poor, elderly and families with children are more locally bound, and more involved in area matters, than youngsters, students, singles and yups. Administrations use local divisions to organise their work, from cleaning the streets to appoint neighbourhood workers. Just as scientists do (to be able to analyse), the media, policy makers and workers. There is no single definition of 'the neighbourhood'.
- 6 The scale of the problems is not always the scale of solutions. In most local development schemes the core is an integrated approach of several issues within a limited area. Where are problems?

Do problems concentrate at a limited number of 'multi-problem-households'? Or are problems widespread among the area? Or is the whole city or region problematic? While problems can be found locally, this doesn't mean that solutions have to be found locally on the same level. Some problems have to be solved on the spot: derelict houses, dirty roads, unsafe spots. So, determine the scale. Taking unemployment as example: most jobs are probably found outside the locality. Solutions can be found on a different scale as the problems are found.

- 7 Be aware of significant spill-over effects. Any local approach will make some problems to move into an adjacent area. Be keen on that, monitor them and take preventive measures. When any approach leads to a significant rise of problems in an adjacent area, the overall view of results will be negative. This means that local approaches have to be integrated into different scale levels when necessary.
- 8 Deprived areas to be regenerated can be top down chosen by calculation of problems, or by local prospects for improvements. The first will concentrate on the most urgent problems, the last on possible successes, using for example private initiatives or an enthusiast resident committee. A combination is wise, where in times of uncertain financing schemes, the last might be advisable as well.

#### *Lessons about conditions*

- 9 Combine long term goals with work on a daily basis. A successful neighbourhood approach may take many years, up to

10, 15 years or more. Local development is improved when financial and legal conditions are set for a number of years, to provide continuity. Continue good practices and successful projects, also after initiating subsidies are being cut. To make improvements sustainable, local organizations must be developed, trained and strengthened in terms of human resources to continue positive development after projects are finished. A long term vision is important, but solving daily inconveniences as well, like dirty streets, the drugs dealer on the corner and people being home all day without a job. Any local approach has to be a mix between long term and short term activities.

**10** Involve residents. Continue local level commitment, try to involve residents as much as possible, and provide them with means where necessary. Support local initiatives and stimulate self organisation of groups of residents and consider local people as assets of an area. Give responsibilities to individuals or preferably groups of residents, that can prove to use them. Help and protect people who take risks and responsibility. Show that 'we care', we don't leave you in the problems.

**11** Mobilise private capital. Use government money as a multiplier for as many private investments as possible. Regenerate Public-Private Partnerships as a way to realize public goals with private financing. Work with tendering to tease the market to be creative, but don't spend too much energy on too small and complicated tenders. All public goals that the market realises, doesn't cost public money.

### *Lessons about organizational performance*

**12** Keep it simple. Start solving problems at the lowest possible scale level with the lowest possible amount of workers. This means that ideally one worker has all contacts with one household, and takes care that all their problems are being approached. This means one contact person for a multi-problem-household, but also one office for a business to arrange all their required licenses.

**13** Put the best people in the front line. Be sure that mandates to arrange things are laid at the lowest possible level. Use as less bureaucracy as possible. This means that people low in the organisation are able to decide about the problems and approaches they face. Put your best workers at the lowest level. Do not focus those best workers on writing heavy policy reports, but let them organise concrete actions. The best people should not reside on the top floor of the office, but in the field.

**14** Collaboration is necessary, but is no guarantee of success. The 'human factor' is important, meaning that important actors have to collaborate. If chemistry fails between those, change positions and start with other (enthusiast) actors.

**15** Be open and transparent in the process: show achievements, celebrate successes, be open in doubts and setbacks, explain delay.

**16** Be flexible and adaptive. Split up large projects into manageable packages, to be flexible for changing circumstances. Keep the overall vision, but change the details when necessary.

### *Lessons for the EU and member states*

17 European Funds are important to develop interventions in deprived urban districts, but there exists hardly any specific EU policy to stimulate urban development. Policy efforts in Europe address several problems such as unemployment, energy reduction, climate change, lack of social cohesion, all issues that play in cities as well. But these efforts are often piecemeal, reactive and limited in vision. EU interventions could be more effective. Local development and urban regeneration are most successful in EU-programmes when the focus is broadened (social topics, environmental topics, innovation, SME's development et cetera), long term agreements are made, and in time, and the combination of funding is possible. Guidelines for funding should not be too detailed, in order to leave possibilities for a local interpretation of policies.

18 Don't hinder citizens' involvement and participation by cumbersome administrative procedures. This implicates to start earlier with the paperwork requests, or to start the project already when only general agreements are made.

19 Stimulate practical transnational exchanges of experiences between city practitioners in regeneration areas; this is the level where regeneration approaches actually are implemented.

20 Target European research and technology development (RTD) programmes on the main problems of cities of tomorrow (sustainable development, integrated transport, social cohesion, information networks, partnerships).

## Annex 1      The Urban Practitioners

### The Hague

- Maili Blauw, project coordinator city of The Hague
- Thijs Bosma, project manager of urban regeneration area The Hague Schilderswijk
- Gertjan Giele, project manager of urban regeneration area The Hague Southwest
- Gerard Kroon, economic policy advisor and technical chair EDF, city of The Hague
- Ted Zwietering, project director urban regeneration areas of the city of The Hague

### Oslo

- Peter Austin, planning advisor city of Oslo
- Per Lund, project coordinator city of Oslo
- Sarah Malling, project coordinator city of Oslo
- Petter Slipher, project leader city of Oslo

### Berlin

- Manja Wanke, Berlin, European Affairs Advisor, Senate Department of Integration, Labour and Social Affairs
- Karin Reichert, Berlin, European Affairs Advisor, Senate Department of Integration, Labour and Social Affairs
- Karin Oster, Head of European Agency
- Andrea Gärtner, District of Pankow, responsible for European affairs

### Porto

- Ana Delgado, Porto Vivo, SRU
- Francisca Ramalhosa, Porto Vivo, SRU

### Dresden

- Bruno Buls, project coordinator, City Planning Office, Dresden
- Hans Martin Pfohl, project coordinator, City Planning Office, Dresden
- Andreas Wurff, Head of City Planning Office, Dresden (until April 2010)

### Preston

- Gordon Benson, European & Community Funding Manager city of Preston
- Jennifer Carthy, neighbourhood management city of Preston
- Annette Stevens, Preston neighbourhood management

With occasional support and encouragement from Martin Eyres, European Affairs city of Liverpool and chairman of the Urban Regeneration Working Group of the Economic Development Forum of Eurocities



## Annex 2 Background information per city

### The Hague

The Hague has a total of over 500.000 inhabitants, which makes it the third city in the country. Although not the capital, The Hague seats the national government, the parliament and the Royal Family, as well as a range of international institutions. The Hague is part of the agglomeration Haaglanden with over one million inhabitants.

The national government has appointed the 40 most deprived areas in the country to focus urban policy. Four of these are situated in the Hague, with 115.000 inhabitants about a quarter of the city's population. Traditionally, the Hague has been of the most segregated cities in the Netherlands, with the better off living in the sandy areas (former dunes) towards the sea, and the less well off on the former boggy peat areas south of the centre.

The visits of the practitioners focused on these four deprived areas, all next to each other (on the former peat ground), but differ rather much. The Schilderswijk neighbourhood is one of the oldest urban renewal areas of the country, where most old 19th century houses have been replaced



by new social housing during the 1980s and 1990s, where the original white working classes have been replaced by immigrants, and where old social problems have been replaced by similar new social problems. The adjacent Transvaal area is mostly populated by immigrants as well, but major parts are



being renewed yet. The third focus area is close to the city centre and between the two main stations, which makes it attractive for processes of city centre enlargement and gentrification, but also city excrescences. The last area, the Southwest district, is the largest, but also the most divergent from the other three. Here, after WWII 30.000 similar dwellings (inexpensive flats) have been built which leads not only to physical, but also social uniformity and a rapid process of decay.

The four visited neighbourhoods in The Hague are all characterized by a number of problems such as unattractive living conditions, income below the average of The Hague, high unemployment and a low educational level. From a Dutch perspective the four neighbourhoods are clearly deprived housing areas, but nevertheless quite different with different problems. Within

the four neighbourhoods tens to probably hundreds of projects are going on. These projects range from socio-economical measures, schooling, job control to physical improvement of the area and diversification of the housing stock. So physical, social and economic measures can be all be distinguished.

The practitioners visited a range of projects in the four deprived areas. The urban renewal programme has a multidisciplinary approach, with both social and physical renewal. A total of 2.7 billion euros will be invested during a period of 10 years, and the housing associations play a very important role in the programme. The plans for the renewal were made involving the inhabitants of the areas. It has to be seen if the economic crisis makes it possible to continue the renewal programme.

#### The practitioners learned in The Hague about:

- Anticipatory demolition and replacement of not really run-down flats, in order to stabilize a neighbourhood and to provide better future prospects for residents and owner;
- Examples of segregated and integrated ethnic economy;
- Highly productive adjustment classes and tuition for immigrant pupils;
- Civic involvement, cooperation and empowerment by granting responsibilities and effective participation in decision making processes;
- Creating high/level facilities to stimulate meeting opportunities of several groups in society, and to attract outsiders to the area;
- The advantages of cycling in urban traffic (without helmets and on unsportsmanlike bicycles).

#### Useful links:

- City of The Hague: [www.denhaag.nl](http://www.denhaag.nl)
- Dutch Ministry of Housing, Planning and the Environment: <http://international.vrom.nl/>
- Nicis institute for the cities: [www.nicis.nl](http://www.nicis.nl)
- EUKN international cooperation of urban knowledge institutes: [www.eukn.org](http://www.eukn.org)
- Kei institute for urban renewal: [www.kei-centrum.nl](http://www.kei-centrum.nl)
- Dutch Statistics: [www.cbs.nl](http://www.cbs.nl)

#### Oslo

Norway's capital with about 600.000 inhabitants is part of the greater Oslo Region with 1.5 million inhabitants, about one third of the country's population. Oslo is a steadily growing city: the Oslo region has risen by 150,000 over the past ten years. About a third of them are non western immigrants, most living in the satellite towns or in the inner city. It is the ambition of the national government to further strengthen the role of Oslo as a centre for business, central administration, transport, cultural events etc. A strong capital region is seen as an advantage for all of Norway since the rest of the country may benefit from the vital research and economic development environment in Oslo.



A policy which supports both economic growth and social cohesion is pursued. In the White Paper on the greater capital region, the Government has given special attention to certain areas in Oslo facing particular challenges. In these cases, the national level



cooperates with the local level to solve special issues. The objective is to ensure long-term competitiveness, social equity and quality of life for the inhabitants and the business in the deprived urban neighbourhoods and in the city as a whole.

One of these deprived areas is the Grorud Valley in the north-east of Oslo. Since the end of the 1990s the Valley has attracted many ethnic minority groups and today they account for 42% of the population. In the same period, social indicators show that while districts with the poorest conditions in the 1990s have improved, conditions in the Grorud Valley have deteriorated. This problem is concentrated in a number of communities in Grorud, like Furuset and Romsås, areas that have been visited by the urban practitioner group.

Moreover, growing environmental awareness in the 1990s led to an increased focus on pollution problems, that were obvious in the former heavily industrialised Grorud Valley.

The valley, polluted by old industry, waste dumps and increasing traffic, had to be cleaned. As a result, the Grorud Valley Eco-Zone was established in 2000. At the same time the decay of the satellite communities and the lack of good and sustainable urban environments became more obvious. In addition to the physical deterioration in some of the satellite communities, the lack of suitable meeting places, local services, recreation areas and cultural and sports facilities have become increasingly observable.

In 2006, the City of Oslo approved a Strategic Development Plan for the physical regeneration of the Grorud valley. The plan drew up four strategies: strengthening of water and recreational structures (the blue-green), reconstructing the road system and improving public transport, rationalising land use through cleaning polluted land, densification and transformation, strengthening the protection of cultural heritage sites and the provision of cultural activities.

One particular feature of Norway is its housing system, a cooperative housing development system based on occupier ownership. Similar to the other Scandinavian countries, housing cooperatives are important



in cities. Most of the dwellings in multifamily housing are organized according to this coop system, characterized by occupier ownership of flats and by common ownership of the buildings, and shared responsibilities for maintenance, for management of the surroundings and for common facilities. One of the text boxes elaborates on this coop system and its consequences for neighbourhood regeneration.

#### The practitioners learned in Oslo about:

- the importance of house ownership in cooperatives, resulting in more commitment and responsibility of inhabitants for their environment;
- the way youngsters and immigrants in the neighbourhood are involved in the community;
- The way that Oslo has good results in reaching out to non-Norwegian inhabitants, by making use of key players in the neighbourhood;
- That areas with a low amount of foreigners, with relative minor problems (unemployment, housing, vandalism) still are considered as depriving and getting stigmatised regionally;
- The early recognizing of problems and preventive interventions;
- Unconventional methods to involve residents;
- The importance that is given to nature and care for the environment in the urban regeneration areas.

#### Useful links:

- <http://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep.html?id=933> (state government web page)
- [http://www.Oslo.kommune.no/the\\_city\\_of\\_Oslo/](http://www.Oslo.kommune.no/the_city_of_Oslo/) (municipality of Oslo web page)
- [www.Oslo.kommune.no/groruddalen](http://www.Oslo.kommune.no/groruddalen)

## Berlin

Berlin is the biggest city in Germany with 3,4 million inhabitants. Berlin's reunification in 1990 raised high expectations and many plans for large projects. The united capital is indeed the centre of culture, politics, media and science, but it also has encountered many socio-economic problems. De-industrialisation, that cut jobs by one third, and the loss of generous government subsidies resulted in a high unemployment rate. For the most of the past 20 years Berlin struggled with a low GDP and high debts, inducing increasing social and spatial segregation. The downward trend seemed to have changed from 2005 onwards.

To fight the social-economic situation and physical consequences, Berlin has both area based policies and strategies directed at employment and integration. The most important is the Neighbourhood Management Programme, started in 1999 as the local implementation of the national Socially Integrative City policy (*Soziale Stadt*). The programme creates a local management structure in selected areas to develop area-related integrated action. Participation of





residents and stakeholders in decision making is a key element of Neighbourhood Management. Today, over ten years on, the programme contains 34 unstable areas, with 5,000 to 25,000 inhabitants each.

Next to the Neighbourhood Management Programme Berlin has several strategies to improve the labour market. Local Pacts for Economy and Employment (*Bezirkliche Bündnisse für Wirtschaft und Arbeit - BBWA*) have stimulated concrete action since 2000. The aim is to create workplaces and training for disadvantaged groups and to strengthen the local economy. The bases of BBWA are networks of various local players and local action plans, called pacts, open for proposals for projects or actions. BBWA exist in all districts of Berlin. Over 70 projects have been funded, mainly in local site management, tourism and business networking.

Whereas BBWA are area based ways to foster employment, the *Öffentlich geförderter Beschäftigungssektor (ÖBS)* or Public Employment Sector focuses on individual residents. Through ÖBS the Senate creates socially useful jobs financed by public funds for long-term unemployed. The requirement is that it is useful work that is not get done, so avoiding displacement of regular jobs.



The 9,900 people currently employed by ÖBS receive a normal wage instead of their former benefits. Most jobs are in neighbourhood work, healthcare, wellbeing, education and culture.

In Berlin three areas were visited: Prenzlauer Berg in the district of Pankow, Neukölln and the area of Soldiner Straße in the district Wedding.

Prenzlauer Berg has undergone intensive



urban renewal in the past fifteen years that has resulted in a strong gentrification. A large part of the original low-class population has been replaced by young middle class families. A lot of the renewal has been done by private owners. Part of the government programme in Prenzlauer Berg is to ensure the renewal is done in a sustainable way, by modernising the existing structure instead of demolishing it and letting residents participate.

The district of Neukölln is a social-economical weak area with many unemployed, low incomes and a large immigrant population, in some parts half of the inhabitants. Almost 60 percent of the district's budget is spent on social benefits and half of the adolescents leave school without job qualifications. The Neighbourhood Management programme in Neukölln, is mainly directed at education and

families with multiple problems (see box). The Soldiner Straße area is located northwest of Berlin's city centre with 15.000 inhabitants. Despite the central location, the socio-economical situation is weak. The area houses many people with migration background, has a high unemployment rate and the average incomes are low. To deal with the social and physical problems Soldiner Straße has been a Neighbourhood Management area since 1999.

#### The practitioners learned in Berlin about:

- The link between employment, schooling and neighbourhood issues and the way it is organized in PACT's;
- The involvement of neighbourhood mediators, training local people from minority groups who can reach their own community easier;
- Successful rehabilitation in central areas with private investments, but also leading to removals of inhabitants;
- A growing segregation between different neighbourhoods. If a united city is desired, integration is a big task;
- Deprived areas do need a long term attention;
- Participation on decisions about neighbourhood budgets increases involvement of inhabitants.

#### Useful links:

- City of Berlin: <http://www.berlin.de/>
- Local Pacts for Economy and Labour (BBWA): [www.bbwa-berlin.de/html/img/pool/Brosch\\_eng.pdf](http://www.bbwa-berlin.de/html/img/pool/Brosch_eng.pdf)
- Senate Department of Integration, Labour and Social Affairs of the City of Berlin: [www.berlin.de/sen/ias](http://www.berlin.de/sen/ias)
- Neighbourhood Management:

[www.quartiersmanagement-berlin.de/English.40.0.html](http://www.quartiersmanagement-berlin.de/English.40.0.html)

- Program Social City by the Senate Department of Urban Development: [www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/soziale.stadt](http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/soziale.stadt)
- Public Employment Sector: [www.oebis-berlin.de](http://www.oebis-berlin.de)
- Integration Officer of the city of Berlin: [www.berlin.de/lb/intmig/index.en.html](http://www.berlin.de/lb/intmig/index.en.html)
- Analysis of the social structure in the city of Berlin: [http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/sen-statistik-gesoz/gesundheitsvortragesozialstrukturatlas\\_2008.pdf?start&ts=1293447467&file=sozialstrukturatlas\\_2008.pdf](http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/sen-statistik-gesoz/gesundheitsvortragesozialstrukturatlas_2008.pdf?start&ts=1293447467&file=sozialstrukturatlas_2008.pdf)

## Porto

Porto is the second city of Portugal and houses about 220.000 inhabitants. Situated on the banks of the river Douro, it is the centre of a larger agglomeration of 1.7 million people. Much employment in the greater Porto region is historically based on industry and agricultural processing (shoes, textile, cork, port), sectors directed at export that are confronted with the changes in the global







economy. Besides, Porto is the seat of the largest university in the country with 29,000 students; together with other institutions, there are some 60,000 students. This combination makes that Porto has a large concentration of a highly skilled labour force, but with unemployment rates that are above the national average.

The city's population is declining. Due to processes of suburbanisation, Porto has lost about a third of its inhabitants, more than 110,000, since 1981. About half of this loss took place from 2001 onwards. This trend is responsible for the ageing of the population, nevertheless the many students.

The historic centre of Porto is classified by UNESCO as a world heritage site in 1996. The de-population is most clear in this historic centre, where the population declined from 28,000 in 1981 to only 13,000 in 2001, more recent figures are not available. The depopulation is easily visible; the estimation is that about 20% of all floors are vacant. Many houses are deteriorating and not maintained at all. To stop this deterioration process, an urban rehabilitation programme has started, focussing on the physical quality of the old centre. The renewal is coordinated by the organisation Porto Vivo, a publicly financed but independent company focused on the strategy

implementation (text box on Porto Vivo, SRU). Porto tries to broaden its economic base, originally traditionally based. Some focus points are distinguished. First is the regeneration of the World heritage Centre, to promote tourism. Other economic sectors are pushed to be less dependent on the traditional economy. Creativity and entrepreneurship are stimulated to make use of the highly skilled labour forces.

#### The practitioners learned in Porto about:

- How a city can deteriorate;
- The use of a strong actor in the renewal process (Porto Vivo, SRU);
- How some antique regulations (fixed rents) can frustrate urban regeneration;
- The combination of physical upgrading with employment fostering, social policies, cultural and educational promotion;
- Creative economy and entrepreneurship;
- How external events can be a motor for the development of a city.

#### Useful links:

- City Council of Porto:  
<http://www.cm-porto.pt>
- Porto Vivo, SRU:  
<http://www.portovivosru.pt>



## Dresden

Urban developments in Dresden, the capital of the German Bundesland Sachsen (Free State of Saxony), speeded up after the wall came down in 1989 and the reunification of Germany in 1990. The East of Germany is dominated by a process of population decline, except for several cities that are doing better. The exodus from people moving from the East (i.e. the former GDR) to the West has resulted, by the turn of the century, in one million empty dwellings that would require comprehensive renovation to become tenable again (13% of the total stock), while housing shortage had dominated before. In contrast to the overall Eastern German pattern, Dresden's population has been growing since 1999 by 7.5% to 517,000 inhabitants today. The 'shrinking cities problems' occur in predominantly industrial towns, like Halle and Magdeburg, and in the more remote areas.

A remarkable feature is the fact that Dresden is one of the few large German cities without debts. This is the result of the sale of the complete municipal housing stock to an American investment company (see Chapter 6). Despite controversies, this sale has generated more financial capacity for the city.

The visits of the urban practitioners concentrated on four areas. The first area is the historical centre. Dresden was heavily bombed during WWII and almost totally destroyed. After the war the socialist regime started to refurbish the main buildings in the centre according to the historical style. So, monuments as the town hall, the Semper Opera house and the Zwinger were rebuilt, carefully, but on a slow speed. After the German reunion developments speeded



up, as private financing got involved as well. The most prominent feature was the restoration of the Frauenkirche, one of the main churches, dominating the New Market square, with the aid of a worldwide financial campaign started in 1993. The main idea of the reconstruction of the Neumarkt area was related to "Leitfaçades" and lead-buildings, meaning that valuable buildings or façades were only rebuilt more or less identically when they were well documented.

The second area visited was 'Aussere Neustadt' (Outer New Town), one of the few areas that survived the war. Most houses date from the Gründerzeit (1870-1914)<sup>14</sup>. This densely built residential area had been totally neglected during socialist times. Even in the 1980s thoroughgoing plans were made for the total demolition of all houses and their replacement by flat buildings in 'Plattenbau'-style, but fortunately these plans have not been executed. Implementation then was considered too difficult: there were simply not enough trucks to carry the demolition waste (50.000

<sup>14</sup> A figure that the influential Lehmann-Grube-Kommission calculated in 2000 in "Wohnungswirtschaftlicher Strukturwandel in den neuen Bundesländern". Despite large demolition programmes this figure has stayed more or less stable since then.

truckloads were calculated), nor construction workers and materials. The result in 1990 after 'die Wende', was a totally neglected area with dilapidated housing. First priority was to maintain whatever was possible. Two thirds of all buildings had to be secured to prevent them from falling down. At present the area is an example of successful recovery marked by a considerable amount of gentrification, where 80% of all buildings is classified as monument.



A third area visited has some similar characteristics as Aussere Neustadt. It is located west of the centre at about the same distance to the centre, but differs totally. This is Friedrichstadt, at present one of the areas with the worst image in Dresden. Some of the old Gründerzeit buildings still remain, surrounded by void interspaces, vacant buildings, old factories, buildings in baroque style as well as prefabricated housing blocks. Unemployment is high, half of the families are on benefit, and rents, mainly related to the private sector, are low. The process of regeneration goes much slower than in Aussere Neustadt, and on a different way. Private investments are scarce in Friedrichstadt. Inhabitants are difficult to activate unless for concrete issues close to

their homes, such as playing grounds. The last area visited, the suburb Gorbitz, is an example of a Plattenbau area, panel blocks housing likewise in most cities in middle and eastern Europe. It actually was the latest large estate built in Dresden in GDR times. In socialist times the new dwellings had been popular, as these provided the amenities that people in the old city failed, but increasingly they turned unpopular from the 1990s onwards. Problems focused particularly in the 5th and 6th floors if not equipped with elevators. A large regeneration programme has been implemented since 2000, where demolition, upgrading and community empowerment are combined (see text box).

#### The practitioners learned in Dresden about:

- Physical regeneration on a large scale in several kinds of neighbourhoods. "Dresden is recreating itself";
- the importance of public-private partnerships in financing activities for the neighbourhood;
- What social entrepreneurship could be in practice;
- The need for a minimum level of attractiveness in a neighbourhood. The city has some beautiful quarters, but other parts are not attractive, with vacant houses and where you do not like to come;
- The role of public transport is vital to the functioning of a (large) city;
- The way community involvement was organised, with an amazing commitment to the local area and creative ways of financing;
- The engagement of different institutions for a long term.

#### Useful links:

- [www.Dresden.de](http://www.Dresden.de)

## Preston

Preston lies at the heart of Lancashire and aspires to become the 'Third City of the North West' (after Manchester and Liverpool). It is an ancient market town and the administrative, commercial, legal, cultural and educational centre of Lancashire. The city has a diverse population of around 134,000. Because of the University of Central Lancashire – the sixth largest in the UK - Preston has an important student population of around 35,000 students coming from 40 countries.

Preston was developing quickly with textile industry and engineering from 1850 to 1880. Many houses, churches and other buildings from the late 1800s are still there in the older neighbourhoods. With the decline of the old industries, Preston is faced with deprived neighbourhoods. The actual economy is still based for a large part on the traditional manufacturing industries.

Of the population of Preston 42% is under 30 years of age, 15% is from a Black and Minority Background (BME) and 15% is on Benefit Claims. The average household income in Preston is around £ 32,000. Of the 53,000 households 69% live in owner occupied houses, with house prices that are about 60% of England's average.

According to the national Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) 2007, Preston is ranked the 48th of 354 districts in England and has become relatively more deprived since 2004 (then: 59th).

Preston City Council is a district council, working alongside Lancashire County Council as part of a two-tier local government system. Preston is divided in 22 administrative wards. During the visit of the practitioners to Preston the situation, neighbourhood management

and regeneration policies in two wards are studied: Fishwick and St. Mathew's.

The two wards are known strategically as 'Inner East Preston'. It is a high priority development area for the local authority and features in the 'Local Development Framework' Core Strategy. This strategy governs the preferred development sites across central Lancashire. The Inner East Preston plan is a supplementary planning document for the core strategy and sets out key principles that must be considered for any future development in the area. These include considerations for public health, safety, economic investment and employment opportunities.

Fishwick (5,400 inhabitants, 1,990 households) is situated southeast of Preston city centre, north of the river Ribble. Terraced housing is the most prevalent type of housing, mainly old houses from the late 1800s, next to a third semi-detached houses, partly recently constructed. About 60% of all housing is owner occupied.

Fishwick has a relatively young population compared to the rest of Preston (49% versus 42% for Preston as a whole). Around 34% of





Fishwick's population is from a Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) background and 23% is on Benefit Claims. Fishwick's average household income is with £ 25,000 the 6th lowest out of Preston's 22 wards.

The Fishwick area is divided into four so called Lower Layer Super Output Areas (LSOAs), as referred to in the IMD 2007. In England there are 32,482 of such LSOAs (see chapter 3). Three of Fishwick's four LSOAs belong to England's 10% most deprived, while the remaining one is only slightly better (top 30%). Three out of Fishwick's four LSOAs have become more deprived, relative to England's other LSOAs, since the previous IMD 2004. Worsening rankings are for housing, living environment, services and income affecting children. There has been a notable improvement in crime rankings across most of the area.

St Matthew's (6,800 inhabitants, 2,670 households) is immediately east of Preston city centre. Most of the area is constructed during the late 1800s as well, but here two third of all housing are terraced homes, next to a mere 20% flats. About 58% of all households own their home. In St Matthew



48% of the population is under 30 years. Around 30% of St Matthew's population is from a Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) background and 28% lives on Benefit Claims. St Matthew's average household income is around £ 23,500 and is the lowest out of all Preston's 22 wards.

St Matthew's ward is split into four LSOAs, all of which belong to England's 10% most deprived areas in IMD 2007. The rate of deprivation has increased in three of the four LSOAs since IMD 2004. Poorer rankings were evident in housing and services; crime, education skills & training; income affecting children and living environment.



To turn the situation around in the most deprived areas, Neighbourhood Management Teams have been set up in four different areas of the city. These encourage local residents to work together with mainstream service providers, the local authority, businesses and the voluntary and community sectors, to make local services more responsive to the needs of the area. Unity FM is the Neighbourhood Management Team for Fishwick and St Matthew's together. The team has no formal authority but is a catalyst to empower residents, to stimulate

partnerships and to keep mainstream service providers accountable for their activities. Neighbourhood Management has proven to be an effective micromanagement way to help tackle neighbourhood problems (see text box). In deprived neighbourhoods citizens need a support structure to turn the situation around.

**The practitioners learned in Preston about:**

- the relation between urban renewal and health; the need to decrease health inequalities in deprived neighbourhoods, regeneration of housing, open spaces, greens, social cohesion et cetera;
- the many ways to get residents involved in their neighbourhood (Street Representatives, involvement in Street Audits, Neighbourhood Watches, Community Crime Fighters, Beacon Back Alleys, Community Clean Ups, Britain in Bloom groups, Community Payback, Litter Pick Days);
- the multi functional use of premises, without a strict segregation between religions and ethnical backgrounds;
- the impressive turnaround of Callon Estate (30% voids in 1999, when it was considered as ‘a neighbourhood from hell’; this changed in ten years to a popular neighbourhood (no voids, waiting list, good image) by a integrated approach, the transfer of housing to Contour Housing Group, Neighbourhood Management and the right people at the right time in the right place;
- the positive effects of camera control (CCTV);
- the success of social measures, but successes are limited when physical interventions stay out;

- the search for and the work of people from the area, who function as a key player to attract kids, youngsters and other inhabitants;
- the Street Representatives and Street Audits (there is a contact person in 18 streets);
- Policy and Communities Together (PACT) (local based policemen work on problem oriented policing).

**Useful links:**

- <http://www.Preston.gov.uk/>
- <http://www.Preston.gov.uk/about/ward-profiles/>
- <http://www.Preston.gov.uk/community-and-living/Preston-information-pack/>



## Annex 3      References

- Beckhoven van, E., G. Bolt & R. van Kempen (2009) Theories of neighbourhood change and decline: their significance for post-WWII large housing estates in European cities. In: *Urban Studies*.
- BMVBS (Ed.) (2010) The urban dimension in German Structural Funds programmes, BMVBS-Online-Publikation 16/2010.
- Cars, G. (2000) Social Exclusion in European Neighbourhoods – Processes, Experiences and Responses. Brussels: European Commission.
- Danish Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration Affairs (2007) *Kvarterloft, Ten years of urban regeneration*.
- Dean, J. & A. Hastings (2000) *Challenging images, Housing Estates, Stigma and Regeneration*, The Policy Press, Bristol.
- Dekker, K. & R. van Kempen (2005) Large housing estates in Europe: a contemporary overview. In: R. van Kempen, K. Dekker, S. Hall, S. & I. Tosics (eds.), *Restructuring Large Housing Estates in Europe*, pp. 19-46. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Dixon, T., A. Colantonio & D. Shiers (2007) Socially Responsible Investment (SRI), Responsible Property Investment (RPI) and Urban Re-generation in the UK and Europe: Partnership Models and Social Impact Assessment, 2007/02: EIBURS Working Paper Series September 2007.
- Droste, C., C. Lelevrier & F. Wassenberg (2008) Urban regeneration in European social housing areas, in: *Social Housing in Europe II*, Scanlon & Whitehead (eds.), London: LSE.
- Eijk, G. van (2010) *Unequal networks. Spatial segregation, relationships and inequality in the city*, Amsterdam: IOS Press.
- EUKN (2010) *Urban Development in Europe; a survey of national approaches to urban policy in 15 EU member states*, European Urban Knowledge Network, The Hague.
- Galster, G. (2007) Neighbourhood social mix as a goal of housing policy: a theoretical analysis, *European Journal of Housing Policy*, Vol. (1), pp. 19-43.
- Glaeser, E.L. (1992) Growth in Cities, in: *The Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 100, no. 6.
- Glatter, J. (2007) Gentrification in Ostdeutschland, untersucht am Beispiel der Dresdner Äußeren Neustadt (Gentrification in Aussere Neustadt in Dresden), Dresden: *Dresdner Geographische Beiträge*, Heft 11.
- Groetelaers, D.A. (2004), *Instrumentarium locatieontwikkeling. Sturingsmogelijkheden voor gemeenten in een veranderde marktsituatie*, proefschrift, Delft: DUP Science.
- Hahn, J. (2010) "Cities need Europe, Europe needs its cities", introductory speech by Commissioner Johannes Hahn, European Metropolitan network Institute Launch event, Brussels, October 26th.
- Hastings, A. (2004) Stigma and Social Housing Estates: Beyond Pathological Explanations, *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19 (3), pp. 233-254.
- Heeger, H. (1993) *Aanpak van naoorlogse probleemcomplexen (Dealing with post-war housing estates)*, Delft: Delftse Universitaire Pers.

Hall, P. (1997) Regeneration policies for peripheral housing estates: inward- and outward-looking approaches. In: *Urban Studies*, 34 (5), pp. 873-890.

Kempen van, R., M. Vermeulen & A. Baan (2005) Urban issues and urban policies in the New EU countries, Introduction, pp. 1-16. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Levy Vroelant C., C. Reinprecht & F. Wassenberg (2008) Learning from history: changes and path dependency in the social housing sector, in: C. Whitehead & K. Scanlon (2008) *Social Housing in Europe Vol. II*, A review of policies and outcomes, LSE, London.

Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities (2007), [www.EU2007.de](http://www.EU2007.de)

Marlet, G. (2009) *De aantrekkelijke stad* (The attractive city), Nijmegen, VOC Uitgevers.

Murie, A., T. Knorr-Siedow & R. van Kempen (2003) *Large Housing Estates in Europe: General Developments and Theoretical Backgrounds*. Utrecht: Urban and Regional research centre Utrecht, Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University.

Musterd S., H. Priemus & R. van Kempen (1999) Towards undivided cities: The potential of economic revitalisation and housing redifferentiation. In: *Housing Studies* 14 (5), pp. 573-584.

Musterd, S. (2009) A resident's view on social mix, in: *Mass housing in Europe, multiple faces of development, change and response*, (Rowlands, R., S. Musterd & R. van Kempen (eds.), Palgrave Macmillan

Nyström, L. (2006) Neighbourhood centres in Europe: Yesterday, today and tomorrow, special issue *Built Environment*, 32 (1), pp. 1-102.

Power A. (1997) *Estates on the Edge: The Social Consequences of Mass Housing in Europe*. London: MacMillan.

Prak, N.L. & H. Priemus (1986) A model for the analysis of the decline of post-war housing, in: *The International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 10, pp. 1-7.

Pratchett et. al. (2009) *Empowering communities to influence local decision making: Evidence-based lessons for policy makers and practitioners*, Department for Communities and Local Government.

Renha, A. & L. Schrefler (2006) *Public-private partnerships, models and trends in the European Union*, DG Internal policies of the union, IP/A/IMCO/NT/2006-02, European Parliament.

Rowlands, R., S. Musterd & R. van Kempen (2009) *Mass Housing in Europe, multiple faces of development, change and response*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Simon, P. (2007) "Ethnic" statistics and data protection in the Council of Europe countries, ERCI, Council of Europe, Strasbourg.

Skifter Andersen, H. (2003) *Urban sores, On the interaction between segregation, urban decay and deprived neighbourhoods*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Social Exclusion Unit (1998) *Neighbourhood renewal*, London: Cabinet Office.

Taylor, M. (1998) Combating the social exclusion of housing estates, in: *Housing Studies*, 13 (6), pp. 819-832.

Tosics, Iván (2009) Dilemmas of Integrated Area-Based Urban Renewal Programmes. In: *URBACT Tribune*.

Turkington, R., R. van Kempen & F. Wassenberg (eds.) (2004) *High-rise Housing in Europe: Current Trends and Future Prospects*. Delft: Delft University Press.

Verweij, A., F. van der Lucht & M. Droomers (2008) *Gezondheid in 40 krachtwijken (Health in 40 deprived areas)*, report 270951001/2008, RIVM, Bilthoven.

Wacquant, L.J.D. (1993) Urban outcasts: Stigma and Division in the Black American Ghetto and the French Urban Periphery, in: *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 17-3, pp. 366-383.

Wacquant, L.J.D. (2008) *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Wassenberg, F. (2004) Large Housing Estates: From Stigma to Demolition?, *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* (19) 3, pp. 223-332.

Wassenberg, F., A. van Meer & R. van Kempen (2007) *Strategies for upgrading the physical environment in deprived urban areas; examples of good practice in Europe*, EUKN, The Hague.

Wassenberg, F. (2010) Towards sustainable renewal in the Netherlands, in: *Open House International*, Vol. 35, No 2, pp. 15-24.

Whitehead, C. & K. Scanlon (2008) *Social Housing in Europe Vol. I*, LSE, London.

Whitehead, C. & K. Scanlon (2008) *Social Housing in Europe Vol. II, A review of policies and outcomes*, LSE, London.

World Bank (2009) *World Development Report 2009 Reshaping Economic Geography*, Washington.

World Health Organization (WHO), *World Health Statistics 2010*.

