Integrated Urban Development –
a Prerequisite for Urban Sustainability
in Europe

Background Study on the „Leipzig Charter on
Sustainable European Cities" of the German EU Council
Presidency

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1. Integrated Urban Development – a Prerequisite for Urban Sustainability in Europe

Since the mid-1990s resolving two issues, both major determinants of the future of European cities, has become a priority in all EU Member States.

1. How can local economic growth, international and interregional economic competitiveness and the closely related goal of creating new employment opportunities as durable pillars of European cities' viability and a means of securing their future be achieved?

2. How can, in the course of this process, population segments and urban neighbourhoods risking isolation from local economic development, the urban labour market and the socio-spatial fabric be involved in the desired development in order to maintain and thus strengthen cities as social and spatial entities?

Since 2000, all EU Council presidencies have emphasized these two points as mainstays of sustainable urban development. This focus is mirrored in decisions of the informal ministerial councils on urban development. The Lille Priorities give equal weight to economic development and overcoming disadvantage and exclusion as major aspects of sustainable urban development (Lille Priorities 2000; EU-COM 2000). They are also at the heart of the *Urban Acquis* (BZK 2005: 2) and are tenets of the 2005 *Bristol Accord*. The same applies to the conclusions of the Finnish council presidency, which stress not only the importance of economically viable cities, particularly in regional contexts, but also social cohesion and participation in governance (MIF 2006).

Thus there is considerable political consensus on the fundamental goals of sustainable urban policy in Europe. Nevertheless, in many places the implementation of corresponding programmes, projects and measures continues to be hampered by uncertainties. One explanation is considered to be that Europe has no standard urban model. Framework conditions, problems and potentialities differ not only from country to country but also from city to city. Moreover, as a study during the Dutch presidency on progress in implementing the Lille agenda in consideration of the Lisbon objectives (BZK 2004a) clearly showed, EU Member States and cities apply a variety of ways and means to promote economic growth and locational development and to redress social and socio-spatial disadvantage (cf. BZK 2004a: 1).
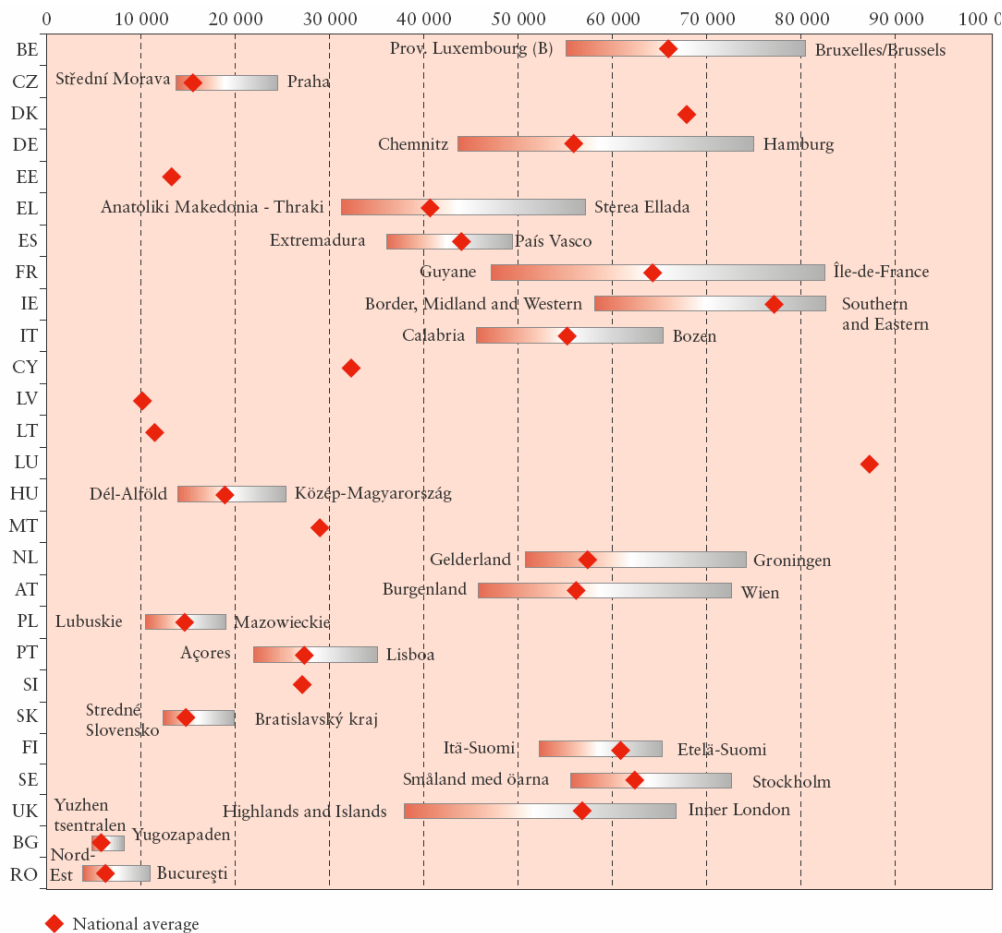
Figure 1: Maxima and minima of labour productivity, EUR per person employed, 2003 – NUTS 2. Source: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities (2006): Regions: Statistical yearbook 2006. Data 2000-2004. Luxembourg, p. 70.

In addition, the weight given to urban policy issues varies among EU member states, and they are not addressed to an equal extent at the national level. During the Dutch presidency a trend had already been observed that policy makers at national and international level were paying more attention to towns and cities, yet only Belgium, France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom had formulated explicit national urban policy guidelines. Less rigorous versions were found in Denmark, Finland, Germany, Italy, Portugal and Sweden. During the Dutch presidency the new EU Member States had no urban development policy guidelines at all which presented the municipal level with special challenges (BZK 2004a: 14 f).

However, comparing these diverse policies suggested certain basic common strategic requirements, which were weighted differently in the agendas of each country or city due to varying framework conditions (political, economic, social, cultural and historical). During the Dutch Council presidency, eight policy challenges confronting all European countries to differing degrees were identified: developing the labour market for all sections of the population, ensuring an adequate income and wealth for all, overcoming educational disadvantage, fostering family cohesion and equal rights for men and women, guaranteeing adequate housing for all, equal rights of access to

services (cf. BZK 2004a: 9). The demand raised at European level over the past ten or more years to develop deprived neighbourhoods by integrating various policy areas into comprehensive strategies retains its central significance. However, such strategies can encompass all the above-mentioned aspects.

In the light of these developments, from Germany's perspective, it is important within the overall urban context to establish more firmly in Europe approaches with an integrated urban development policy, both in general and also with a specific focus on promoting deprived neighbourhoods with particularly severe economic, social and environmental disadvantages. For:

- Cities exhibit large differences within their boundaries, especially with regard to economic and social opportunities in particular districts and neighbourhoods, but also with regard to the quality of the environment (condition of buildings, public space and public infrastructure, pollution levels). Social and economic differences within a city are often more pronounced than those between two different cities. These trends are becoming more pronounced in many European countries and can lead to destabilization in cities.

- The existence of deprived neighbourhoods jeopardizes cities' attractiveness, competitiveness, the forces furthering social integration and security. They, in turn, have a negative impact on sustainable growth in urban regions, particular Member States and the entire European Union.

- Tackling social exclusion in cities is a key component of the European community of values.

- If social problems and economic decline in deprived neighbourhoods continue to grow, more public resources will be needed to stabilize the affected areas; given the scarcity of public funds, these resources will then not be available for other things such as measures to promote competition and research.

- In a development phase of shrinking populations and a growing share of older inhabitants in many European cities, spatial policy must focus on the stable integration of younger generations into the production and knowledge processes as the key players of the future. This applies especially to deprived neighbourhoods with comparatively large proportions of children and adolescents (particularly with an ethnic minority background).

- Disadvantaged population segments and neighbourhoods must not become disconnected from the rest of the city. They must be reintegrated into development processes taking place at the overall urban and regional levels.

Initial experience with integrated approaches could be gathered in EU Member States in which overcoming social and socio-spatial depolarization has been a high priority. Good examples of this are the successful implementation of the Community

Initiatives URBAN I and URBAN II since 1994 and national programmes with similar goals.

Germany's endorsement of greater reliance on integrated urban development approaches in Europe is founded on the comparative review of programmes, projects and measures for the integrated development of deprived neighbourhoods within the context of general urban and also regional trends in the various countries. The comprehensive experience Germany has gathered since 1999 in implementing the federal-*Land* programme "Urban Districts with Special Development Needs – the Socially Integrative City" was also taken into consideration. The German Institute of Urban Affairs (Difu) was commissioned by the Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs, in close collaboration with the Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning, to conduct a comparison of national programmes and/or regional and municipal schemes to promote integrated, area-based development of deprived neighbourhoods in the 27 EU Member States (Appendix).

This report also provides the framework for other expert reports on: "Strategies of urban physical upgrading in deprived urban areas – good Practice Examples in Europe", "Strengthening local economy and local labour market policy in deprived urban areas – good Practice Examples in Europe", "Sustainable Urban Transport and deprived urban areas – good Practice Examples in Europe" and "Proactive education and training policies on children and young people in deprived urban areas – good Practice Examples in Europe", which all play key roles in integrated strategies to develop deprived neighbourhoods.

2.   European Sustainability Strategy as a Basis for Sustainable Urban Development Policy

Sustainable development "is an overarching objective of the European Union set out in the Treaty, governing all the Union's policies and activities. It is about safeguarding the earth's capacity to support life in all its diversity and is based on the principles of democracy, gender equality, solidarity, the rule of law and respect for fundamental rights, including freedom and equal opportunities for all. It aims at the continuous improvement of the quality of life and well-being on Earth for present and future generations. To that end it promotes a dynamic economy with full employment and a high level of education, health protection, social and territorial cohesion and environmental protection in a peaceful and secure world, respecting cultural diversity." (ER 2006: 2). The renewed Sustainable Development Strategy adopted by the European Council on 15/16 June 2006 (cf. ER 2006) with a view to "meeting our international responsibilities" specified the following key objectives: "economic prosperity", "social equity and cohesion", and "environmental protection" (cf. ER 2005a). Sustainable urban de-

velopment policy tackles these objectives as equal priorities and seeks their imple-
mentation in order to contribute to the sustainable development of towns and cities.

The key objective of *economic prosperity* entails promoting an innovative, knowl-
edge-based, competitive and ecologically acceptable economy which provides high
living standards and high levels of high-quality employment throughout the European
Union (cf. ER 2005a und 2006). Cities and conurbations have a special role in fulfill-
ing this objective. They are where most enterprises are located and thus where jobs
and educational institutions, which are instrumental to high skill levels, are found.
European cities and metropolitan areas attract highly educated people, which often
leads to positive impulses for innovation and entrepreneurship. This in turn raises the
appeal of cities in the international competition for locational advantage.

Figure 2: National and city employment rates, 2001 (Urban Audit). Source: European Commission (2006): Cities
and the Lisbon Agenda: Assessing the Performance of Cities. Brussel, p. 17.

Social equity and cohesion measures are designed to promote a "democratic, so-
cially inclusive, cohesive, healthy, safe and just society with respect for fundamental
rights and cultural diversity that creates equal opportunities and combats discrimina-
tion in all its forms". (ER 2006: 4). This is significant because cities and conurbations
are not only the seats of economic innovation and growth. They also amass social
problems such as unemployment, poverty, social exclusion and crime. Cities are the
places where most social and structural integration efforts are made. These are,
however, hampered by unemployment, lack of educational opportunities and social
exclusion, which chiefly affect groups with an ethnic minority background. Deprived
neighbourhoods are the spatial expression of these difficulties, which must be ad-

dressed alongside the promotion of economic prosperity if cities and metropolitan regions are to make a sustainable contribution to growth. Both complementary aspects should form part of overall urban development strategies, but also require separate scrutiny so that goals, projects and measures can be precisely tailored.
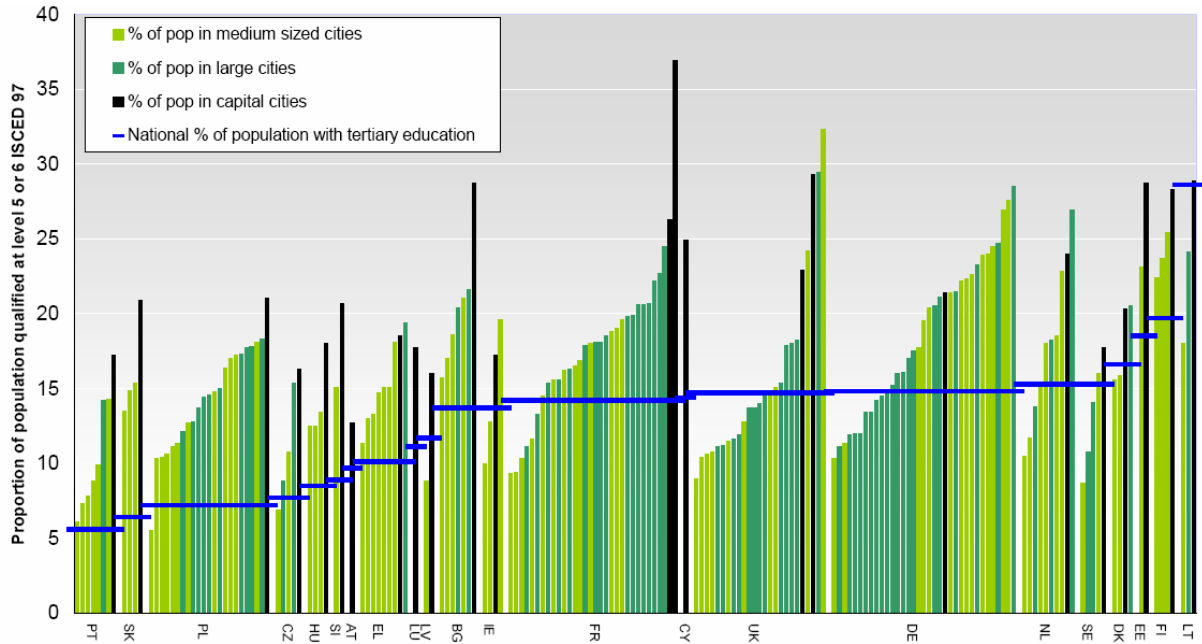
Figure 3: Proportion of the population with tertiary education, 2001 (Urban Audit). Source: European Commission (2006): Cities and the Lisbon Agenda: Assessing the Performance of Cities. Brussel, p. 14.
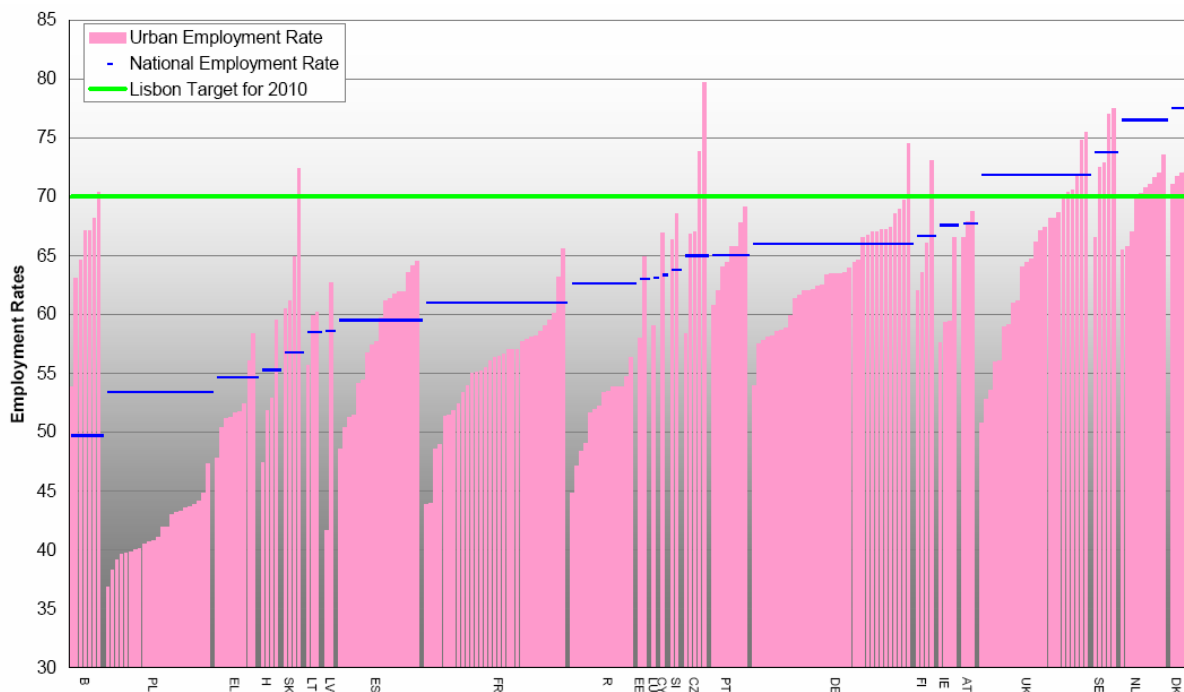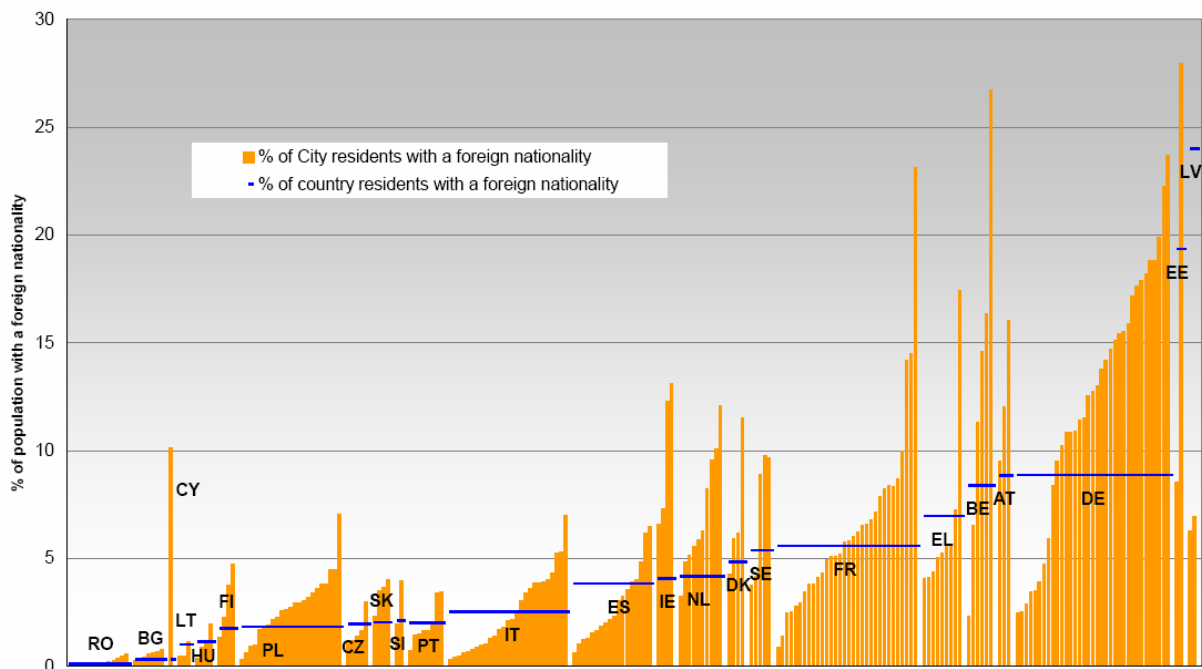

Figure 4: National and city shares of non-nationals, 2001 (Urban Audit). Source: European Commission (2006): Cities and the Lisbon Agenda: Assessing the Performance of Cities. Brussel, p. 20.

A further key objective is to ensure a high level of *environmental protection* and im-provement of the quality of the environment. This involves measures to prevent and reduce environmental pollution and promote sustainable production and consumption patterns to ensure that environmental degradation does not become a by-product of economic growth (cf. ER 2005a und 2006). Cities are where the impact of environ-mental problems is most noticeable. Noise, air pollution and traffic congestion cause health problems and lower the quality of life. These drawbacks drive many people out of city centres and into peripheral areas. Urban sprawl increases traffic and leads to further sealing of undeveloped areas.
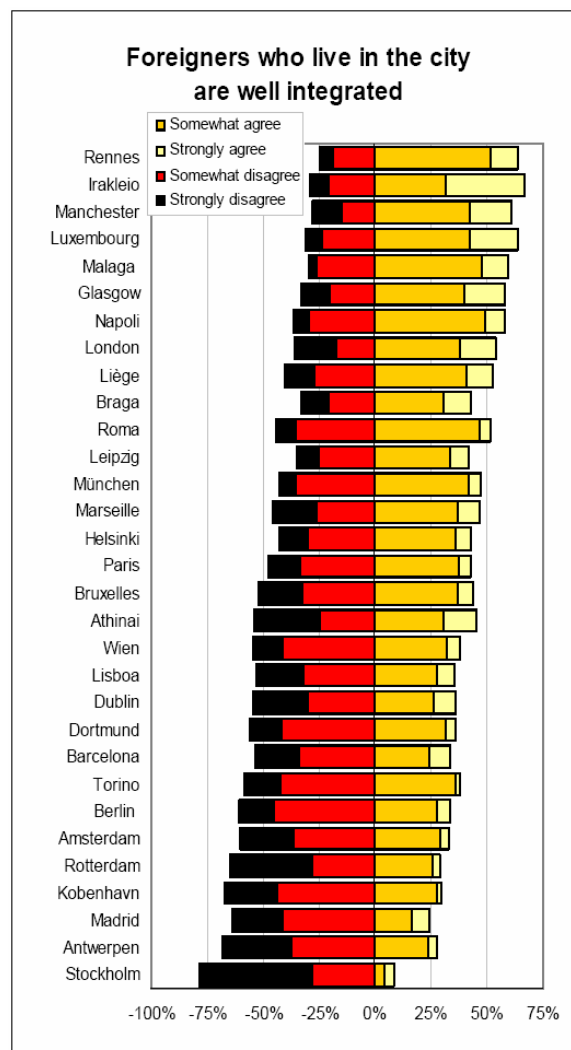
Figure 5: Foreigners who live in the city are well integrated, 2004 (Urban Audit Perception Survey). Source: Euro-pean Commission (2005): Urban Audit Perception Survey. Flash Eurobarometer 156, 07/2005. Brussel, p. 7.

Transport issues feature high in other regional and general urban contexts, because ensuring and improving daily mobility of people, goods and services is a crucial de-terminant of urban economic prosperity and social justice in cities, and ultimately of sustainable viability of cities and regions. While cities and regions serve as metropoli-tan nodes for all modes of transportation, they also have differentiated internal trans-

port networks which enable them to fulfil their specific functions. Thus, ensuring the future of cities entails provision of efficient and above all reliable transport networks, which must be designed more and more in such a way as to reduce environmental impacts such as noise, harmful emissions and greenhouse gases in order to improve the quality of the environment in cities. The same applies to detrimental location features due to accident hazards and to functional and design deficiencies in the traffic and transport areas. These problems can be solved sustainably only with spatially and sectorally integrated concepts, promoting above all multimodal mobility, i.e. an adequate combination of all means of urban transport.

Sustainable urban development requires "sustainable transport". Economic growth and social development must be increasingly decoupled from traffic volume, traffic concentration and traffic impact in order to minimize detrimental effects on society, the economy and the environment. Urban public transport systems in particular are also priorities at the general urban and regional levels, in line with the 2006 European Commission's Thematic Strategy on the Urban Environment (EU COM 2006 b) and the EU White Paper on Transport (2001). The White Paper interim report (22 June 2006) proposes new instruments to improve citizen mobility and European competitiveness while reducing energy consumption and adverse environmental impacts. The European Commission plans to issue a Green Paper on urban transport in 2007. Non-motorized transport is also to be promoted for personal transport for short and medium-range distances because this has the additional benefit of improving public health. Accessibility should be guaranteed for all citizens, not just those with motorized transport. Accessibility is a fundamental service of general interest. Avoidance of undesirable environmental impacts involves further traffic reduction, spatial and modal diversification of transport, and an efficient transport and traffic concept.

An array of European research projects and networks (e.g. CIVITAS, EUROCITIES) enables cities to benefit from an exchange of experience. Concrete activities are being adapted to local conditions and incorporated in integrated urban development schemes.

Looking at the challenges addressed by the European Union agenda for sustainable development, it is apparent that they can only be met if all regions contribute. Cities have major roles as the forces driving regional development. The European Commission therefore emphasizes the significance of a *sustainable urban development policy* as a central contribution to the European Sustainability Strategy. The Commission communication to the Council and the European Parliament of 13 July 2006, "Cohesion Policy and Cities: the Urban Contribution to Growth and Jobs in the Regions", underlines the connection between urban development, growth and employment.
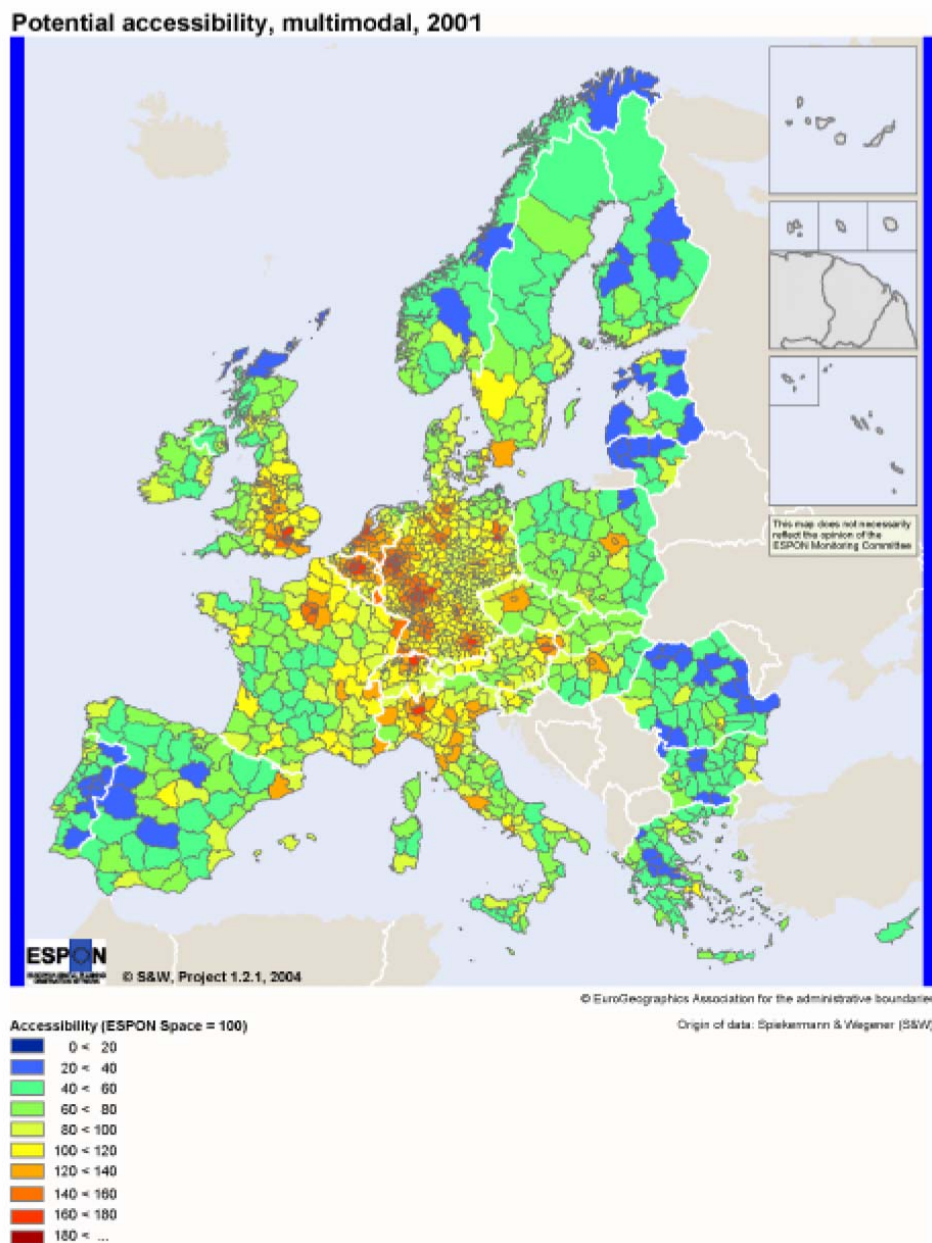
Figure 6: Multimodal potential accessibility, 2001 (ESPON Project 1.2.1.) Source: European Commission (2006): Cities and the Lisbon Agenda: Assessing the Performance of Cities. Brussel, p. 7.

With reference to the implementation of the renewed Sustainability Strategy, the European Council advocates 10 guiding principles as the basis of future policy (cf. ER 2005a und 2006). They include the promotion of stronger *cohesion*, not only of *European Union policies*, but also measures at national, regional and local levels. This is closely related to the goal of *integrating different policy areas* in order to "promote integration of economic, social and environmental considerations so that they are coherent and mutually reinforce each other". (ER 2006: 5). The guiding principle of *the promotion and protection of fundamental rights* includes "combating all forms of discrimination" as well as "the reduction of poverty" and the "elimination of social ex-

clusion" (ER 2006: 4). Greater *citizen participation* in implementing the sustainability strategy is also emphasized.

3.   Integrated Urban Development Policy as an Instrument of Sustainable Urban Development

In numerous European Union countries the integrated urban development strategy has proved to be an effective instrument to achieve sustainable urban development in accordance with the European Sustainability Strategy. Generally speaking, integrated approaches involve spatial, temporal and factual coordination and integration of diverse policy areas and planning resources to achieve defined goals using specified (financial) instruments. Comprehensive and early involvement of all governmental, administrative and non-governmental players relevant to urban development is crucial. Above all, this includes local residents and players from the business world. Inclusion of neighbouring communities is decisive in delivering sustained regional development. These requirements are the focus of *Urban Acquis.* (BZK 2005).

3.1   Integrated Urban Development Concepts

Implementation of integrated urban development is based on an integrated development concept at the overall urban level. The following elements are particularly important:

- Identifying strengths and weaknesses of the city and of particular neighbourhoods. Both strong and deprived neighbourhoods are identified, and their specific problems and potential are analyzed. This is done on the basis of efficient monitoring systems and other instruments.

- Formulating realistic goals (for particular areas). These goals are defined in accordance with the particular situation of each area in order to facilitate a "customized" approach.

- Increasing the effect of public measures through early coordination and pooling of public and private funds at the area or neighbourhood level. Such concerted resource application creates planning and investment security and reduces public and private expenditure. In financing urban development measures, it should always be considered whether it is sensible to involve public and private banks at national and European level.

- Integrating planning for particular areas, sectors and technical support. Such integration not only improves networking of policy areas and different players in government and administration, it also facilitates planning "from one source", which

optimizes resource allocation and is more likely to produce solutions which address the overall local situation.

- Empowering citizens and encouraging corporate social responsibility. Such involvement increases the acceptance of measures, local social cohesion and identification with the neighbourhood. The objective is to establish new partnerships between inhabitants, the private economy and the public sector.

- Supporting intermunicipal coordination to harmonize the development aims of the city with its surrounding areas. This utilizes the partnership between cities and rural areas to the benefit of the region.

An integrated urban development policy understood in this way is a suitable instrument not only for promoting strong urban neighbourhoods. It also curbs socio-spatial exclusion trends and capitalizes on the potential of disadvantaged individuals and neighbourhoods to help achieve social and spatial integration. According to the Lille Priorities, these efforts should not only be brought in line with campaigns to increase the economic competitiveness of cities. They should also interact positively with them in an integrated approach (Lille Priorities 2000; cf. BZK 2004a: 1).

The overall goal must be to increase the international competitiveness of European cities, *inter alia* by erecting modern, cooperative and effective *governance* structures. Improving urban living conditions by upgrading the quality of public spaces, urban cultural scenes and urban architecture in the framework of strategies for upgrading the physical environment also boosts competitiveness. Integrated urban development contributes to containing urban sprawl and promoting the regeneration of city centres. This is an important locational factor for business and tourism. Another objective is modernizing and adapting infrastructure networks in keeping with demographic change, in the interests of sustainability. Finally, active innovation and education policies serve to improve the chances of cities to attract the knowledge industry.
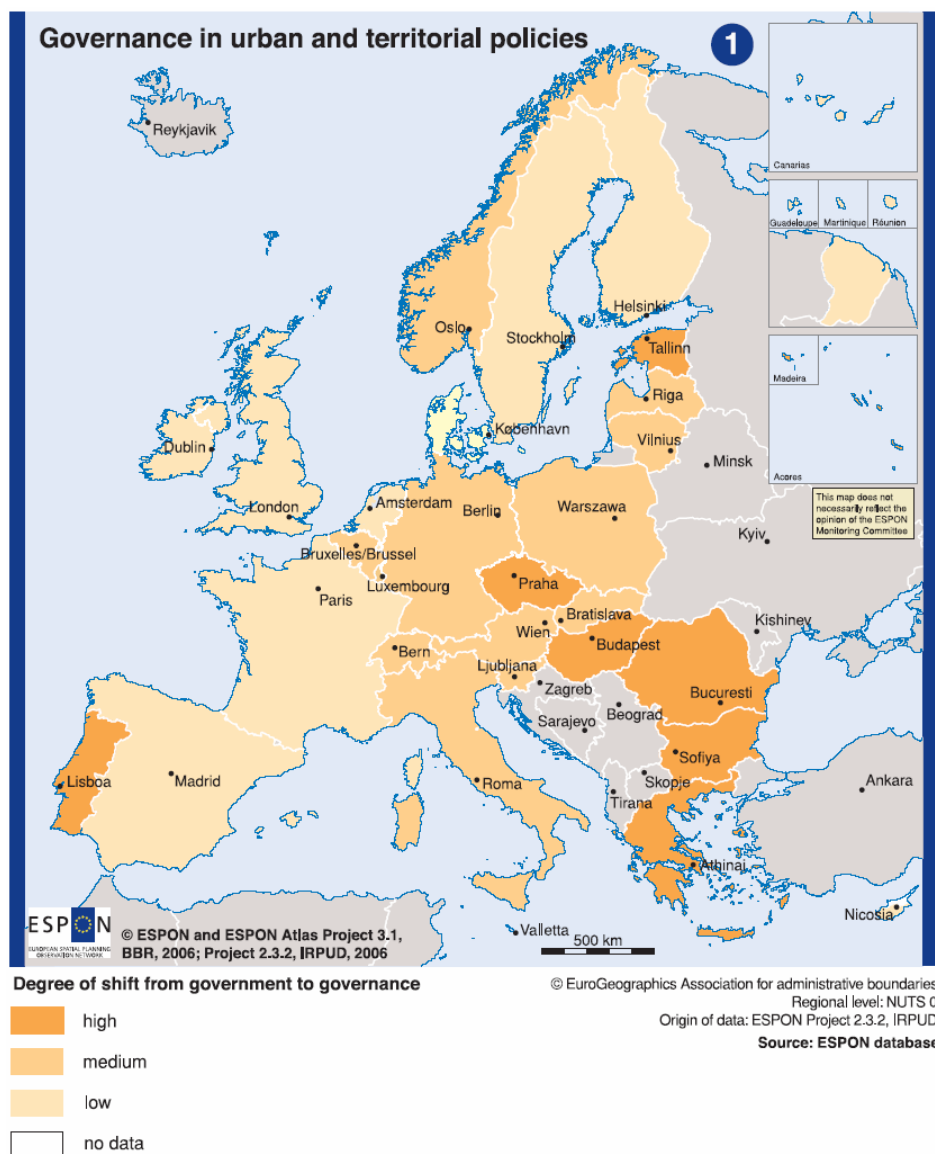
Figure 7: Governance in urban and territorial policies (ESPON Project 2.3.2). Source: BBR – Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung (Hrsg.) (2006): ESPON Atlas. Mapping the structure of the European territory. ESPON Project 3.1. October 2006. Bonn, p. 60.

3.2   Elements of Integrated Urban Development Policy

Integrated urban development is characterized by:

- gradually abandoning strict top-down management in favour of a bottom-up approach, i.e. greater participation of players outside government and administration, in particular the local population,
- orienting goals, strategies, measures and projects to specific neighbourhoods in the context of overall urban and, to a certain extent, regional approaches,

- gearing sectoral policies and political action areas more to the problems and potential to be identified in respective neighbourhoods, for instance the problem of socio-spatial exclusion, which touches on all policy areas.

In practice, integrated approaches to neighbourhood development stress resource pooling, intensive integration of a wide spectrum of players outside government and administration (in particular the local population and entrepreneurs), the development of appropriate management and organization structures in city government and neighbourhoods, and an area-based focus as the lowest common denominator for:

Area-based focus

The area-based focus is more than the basis for the identification of problems and potential of particular neighbourhoods. It is also the foundation of communication and cooperation between all professional and non-professional stakeholders. Thus, it is both the focus and the lowest common denominator of integrated approaches to urban (neighbourhood) development. Only an area-base focus provides the chance to transcend the limits of target-group-related and thus sectorally limited policy approaches.

Resource pooling

A prerequisite for the success of integrated neighbourhood development is interdepartmental cooperation at all involved steering levels (national, regional and local). The task is to coordinate national promotion programmes more efficiently, integrate EU promotion programmes into the national landscape, network municipal departmental resources from educational, social affairs, economic, cultural, urban development and environmental sectors and coordinate them with promotion programmes. The integration of non-governmental resources, especially from private businesses (corporate social responsibility) is becoming more and more important.

In particular, approaches to upgrading urban physical environment and stimulating the local economy should be dovetailed more with labour market, child, youth and educational policies. Pooling also implies improved cooperation among various authorities and administrative departments in addressing issues. Available know-how from diverse fields of political action should be fused to benefit affected neighbourhoods effectively. Avoiding duplication of effort should improve the efficient allocation of scarce resources.

Activation and participation, empowerment

Inclusion of non-administration players in shaping the neighbourhood development process is equally indispensable. In particular, neighbourhood residents and busi-

ness owners are not only experts on the local situation with its problems and potential, they also shape the community in the course of their daily lives. For this reason, they should be given the opportunity to participate intensively in the development of projects, and empowered to contribute autonomously to improving their own situation. Consequently, the instruments to support participatory procedures should be continually refined to fit the needs of children, young people, people with an ethnic minority background and local entrepreneurs. The same applies to strategies and instruments to activate and *empower* residents. Social service providers, associations and initiatives at neighbourhood level should also be fully involved in order to reach the overall goal of strengthening community commitment. Activation and participation of residents and companies in neighbourhoods contributes not only to improving project performance and sustainability, they are also suitable instruments for strengthening the local understanding of democracy.

In some countries, including for example Germany, neighbourhood funds allocated by neighbourhood players have proved successful as instruments for activation and empowerment. Establishing such funds can solve the problem of a lack of decision-making power and policy influence at local level, which, at least in Germany, was long considered a major obstacle to the activation and participation of local residents. Neighbourhood funds are now considered the basis for initiating self-organizational processes because they provide the means to expedite smaller projects and measures fast and unbureaucratically. The amount of funding available appears to play less of a role than the possibility of using this money on the spot without red tape (cf. Difu 2003: 204).

To ensure successful activation and participation, it is not only essential to provide all partners involved (municipalities, citizens, economic players, etc.) with adequate freedom to formulate policies – which, among other things, requires that cities refrain from unilaterally asserting their position of dominance – but also for parties to show mutual understanding for the individual interests and specific situations of other stakeholders. In the framework of such a partnership, all community players are called upon to introduce their ideas and concepts into urban development policy processes and to mutually define goals in terms of a commonly supported implementation strategy. Experience in many EU Member States has already shown that citizens are increasingly prepared to assume such a shared responsibility regarding the development of their cities. Residents are most committed when their immediate local surroundings – i.e. their own neighbourhoods, districts or villages – are affected.

Network-oriented management and organization / neighbourhood management

Management and organization of integrated neighbourhood development should match the complexity of local problems and resources. It is a matter of coordinating interdepartmental cooperation at administrative levels, facilitating communication with

and among neighbourhood residents, networking administrative and neighbourhood levels and involving non-administrative players such as representatives of educational and training facilities and (local) businesses in planning, consulting, decision-making and also implementing projects and measures. Vertical networking at administrative and onsite levels helps integrate deprived neighbourhoods into overall urban strategies. In this context, further training at the administrative and implementing levels of the neighbourhood is essential.

4.   Implementing Integrated Urban Development in Europe: Chances and Challenges

Integrated urban development not only goes a long way towards meeting the requirements of sustainable development in Europe. It is also a fitting instrument with which to meet the challenges that European cities especially are increasingly having to face.

Europe is densely populated and predominately urban. Over 60 percent of its population lives in cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants. For this reason, Europe's cities also form the backbone of the European economy. Their compact structures and historic fabric, their extensive urban social cohesion and spatial unity, and their city-centre-focused lifestyles which are backed up by an appropriate mobility policy give them appreciable locational advantages in international comparisons.
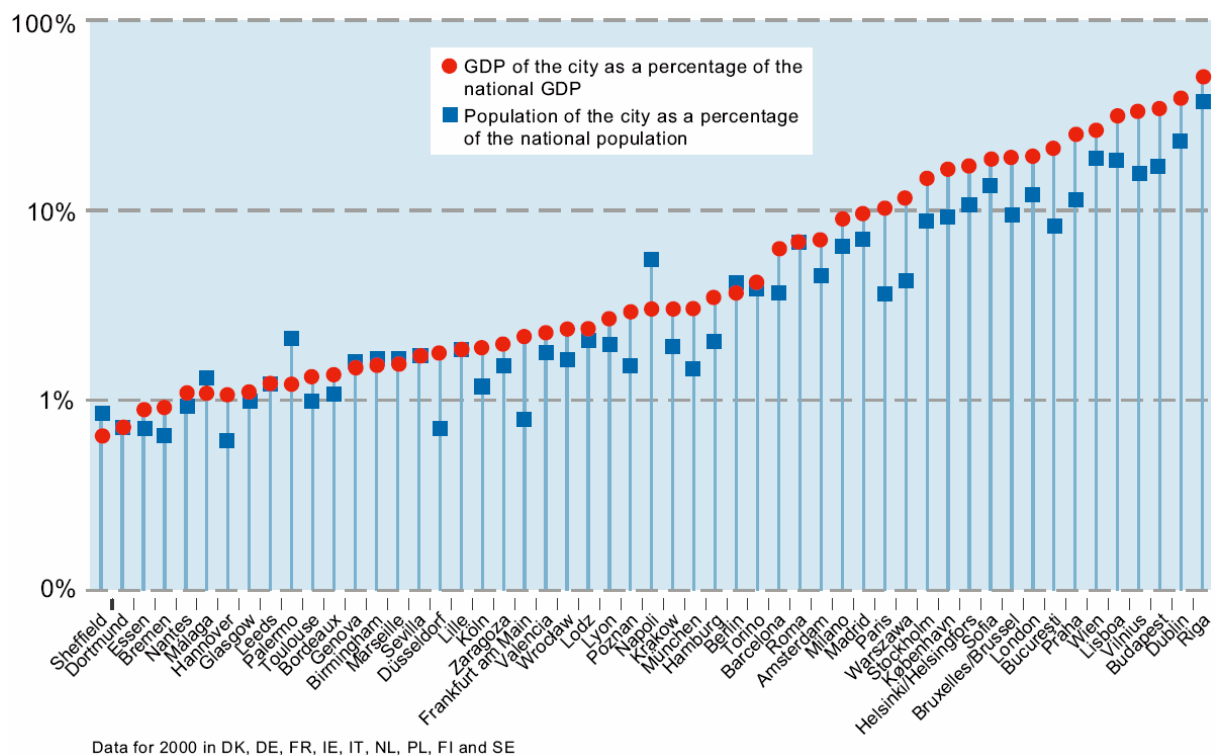
Figure 8: GDP and population share of cities 2001 (Urban Audit). Source: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities (2006): Regions: Statistical yearbook 2006. Data 2000-2004. Luxembourg, p. 81.

To preserve these strengths, European cities must face major challenges. These can roughly be assigned to two overarching processes, which in turn overlap to a great extent. In Western Europe, these are processes of change in the course of globalization, in Central and Eastern Europe they are transformation processes which have been under way since the early 1990s.

Globalization and structural change in Western Europe

Economic structural changes, observed in Western Europe as elsewhere since the 1970s in the course of globalization, have had a growing impact on social and also spatial developments, especially since the 1990s. The biggest impact has been in cities.

The development from a purely industrial society to a knowledge-based service society has brought about an increase in the level of qualifications required of European workers. Technological advance and efficiency measures, coupled with plant relocations and closings, as well as a bigger workforce as baby boomers entered the labour market and the growing share of working women and immigrants pressing onto the labour market in a period of modest economic growth have resulted in steadily high unemployment rates with a large proportion of long-term unemployed, particularly among unskilled and low-skilled workers. Statistics show that populations with an ethnic minority background in many countries (e.g. Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom) have above-average rates of unemployment and work in the low-wage sectors of the labour market. The latter applies over-proportionately to women as well.

These trends open a widening income gap. High incomes are concentrated on the one side, low wages and state transfer payments on the other. This leads among other things to varying consumer possibilities – e.g. on the housing market, which poses a special problem, since in many EU Member States, in the course of deregulation efforts, the subsidization of public housing construction was also withdrawn. A subsequent stronger market-based system in the housing sector leads to a shortage of inexpensive housing, which, moreover, is often concentrated in less attractive neighbourhoods. Low-income households move into these neighbourhoods in search of affordable homes, while higher-income groups move away (Franke/Löhr/Sander 2000). Such segregation processes on a small spatial scale reinforce urban socio-spatial inequality with the areas disadvantaged by structural change risk becoming places of social exclusion, especially if they are no longer included in positive development processes enjoyed by the city or region as a whole. They lose their function as neighbourly communities and tend to become the "gathering place" for disadvantaged, frequently estranged population segments.
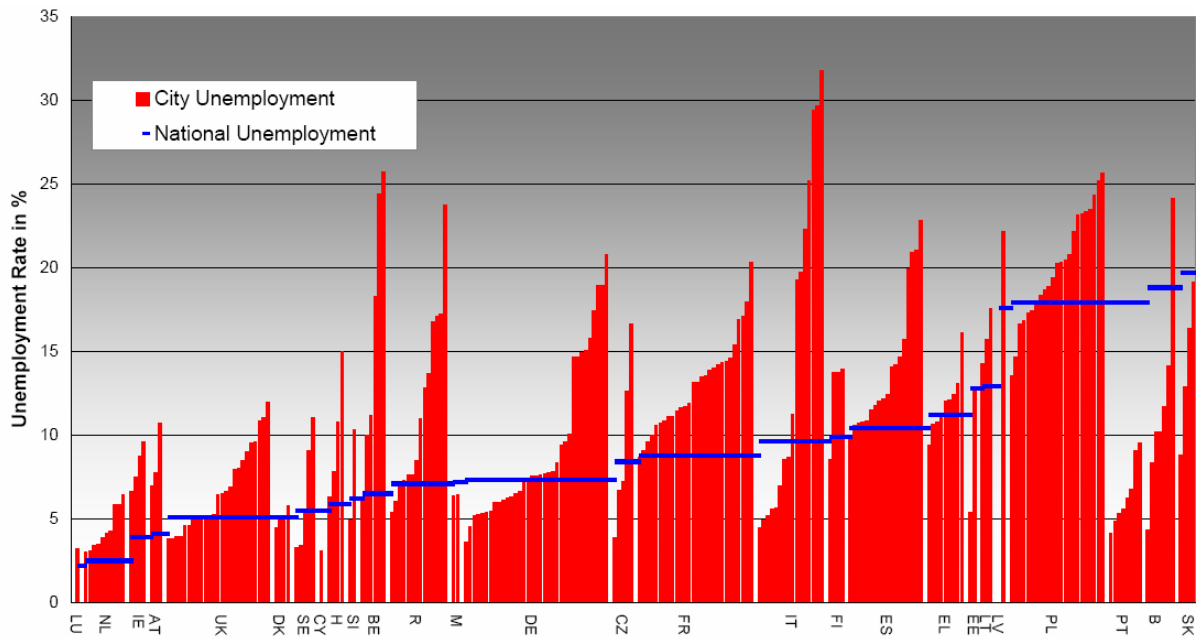
Figure 9: City and national unemployment rates, 2001 (Urban Audit). Source: European Commission (2006): Cities and the Lisbon Agenda: Assessing the Performance of Cities. Brussel, p. 18.

Because of their manifold difficulties, many deprived neighbourhoods are stuck with a negative image and living in them can become a stigma. Their inhabitants are subjected to multiple exclusion: economic exclusion because many of them lack the skills to enter the labour market, cultural exclusion due to loss of self-esteem in the face of stigmatization and discrimination, social exclusion due to isolation from the mainstream society, and finally institutional exclusion because contact between those affected and political and welfare-state institutions wanes (Häußermann 2000). Depending on the situation in the various Western European countries, these difficulties not only differ in degree, they affect different types of areas. Most often the problems are clustered in inner-city, (former) working-class neighbourhoods and large housing estates on the outskirts.

Figure 10: Youth unemployment 2003 (ESPON Project 2.4.2). Source: BBR – Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung (Hrsg.) (2006): ESPON Atlas. Mapping the structure of the European territory. ESPON Project 3.1. October 2006. Bonn, p. 18.

Transformation and globalization in Central and Eastern Europe

The transformation processes taking place in Central and Eastern Europe since the late 1980s are characterized by political reforms, restructuring of the state and, above all, far-reaching changes in economic structures.

The transition from a planned to a market economy chiefly affects the former focuses of industrial production and agriculture. The ensuing deindustrialization has coincided with a growth of the tertiary sector, although the secondary sector - and also farming - often still play a larger role than in many Western European countries. Conse-

quently, in some Central and Eastern European countries, the more pressing problems are considered to be in rural rather than urban areas. Adapting to market economy demands in transformation countries has also meant reforms in the areas of banking, the finance market, the labour market and tax system, financial and tax legislation, price control and competition rules. All in all, these sweeping system changes required restructuring and redevelopment of an adequate administrative system with appropriate institutions at national, regional and municipal levels (cf. IMF 2000: 91 ff).

A central market-liberalization instrument is privatizing enterprises and real estate, which in the past was on the whole in state hands. This applies in particular to former state-owned housing, which to a large extent has been privatized in many Central and Eastern European countries since the mid-1990s, a process that has gone hand in hand with the state withdrawing to a large degree from housing provision.

Central and Eastern European countries have made considerable efforts in the past 15 years to push ahead with development and catch up with Western Europe, particularly. However, the degree to which these countries – partly also at regional level – have achieved these ambitions differs – sometimes greatly. These processes are not over, they are still in progress (cf. IMF 2000). Generally it can be said that the problem of emerging deprived neighbourhoods can be attributed to different factors than in most Western European countries. While transformation has caused income loss, unemployment and poverty in certain sections of the population, socio-economic segregation and consequently socio-spatial fragmentation of urban spaces are less pronounced so far than in most Western European countries. In towns and cities, above all, economic difficulties as well as urban planning problems and housing shortages seem to dominate to such a degree that (other) social problems are considered less important. The problem of integrating inhabitants with an ethnic minority background is not as urgent either as in Western Europe. Nonetheless, large housing estates in particular are increasingly becoming areas of accumulated problems, as for example was ascertained under the Dutch Council Presidency (BZK 2004a: 12).
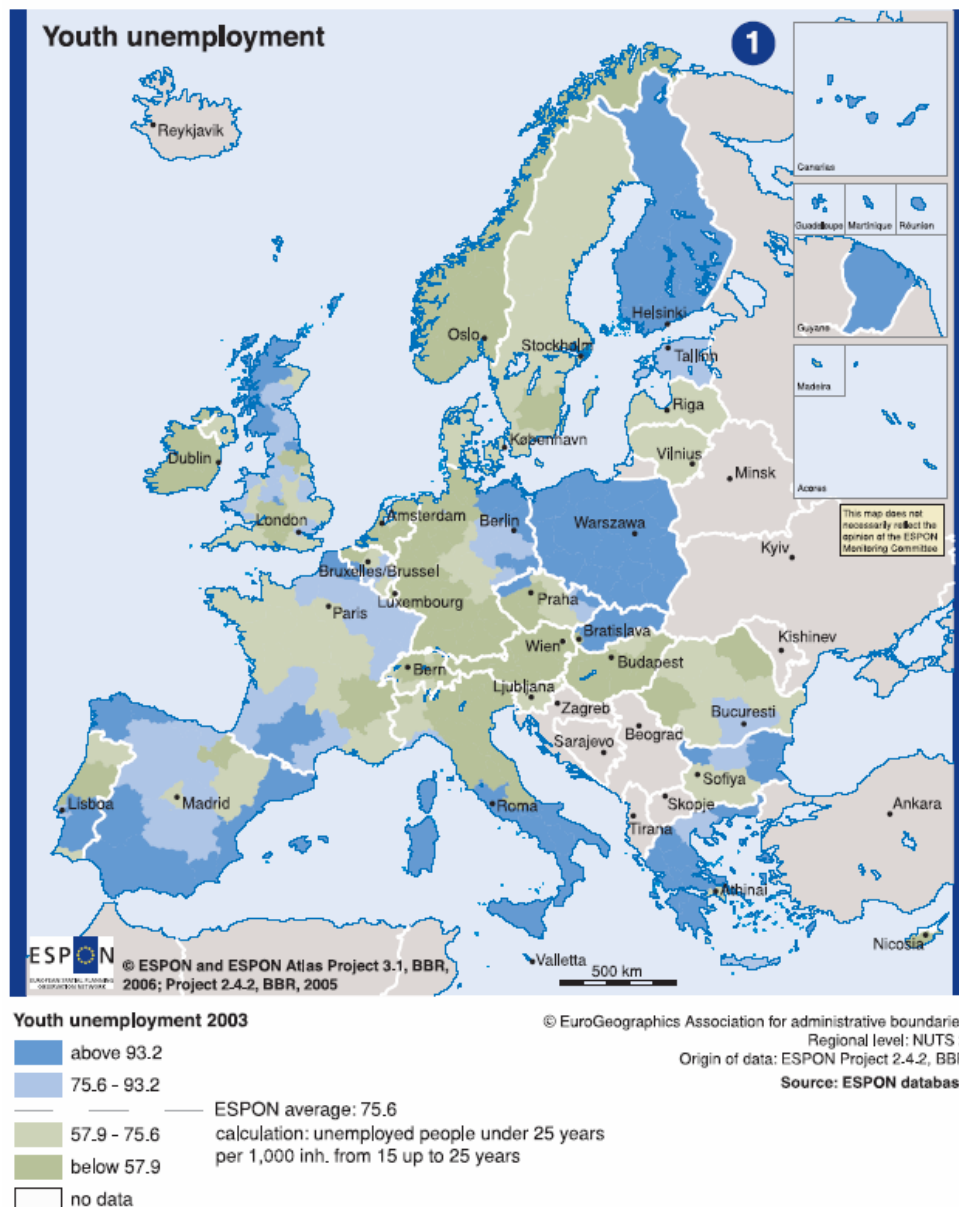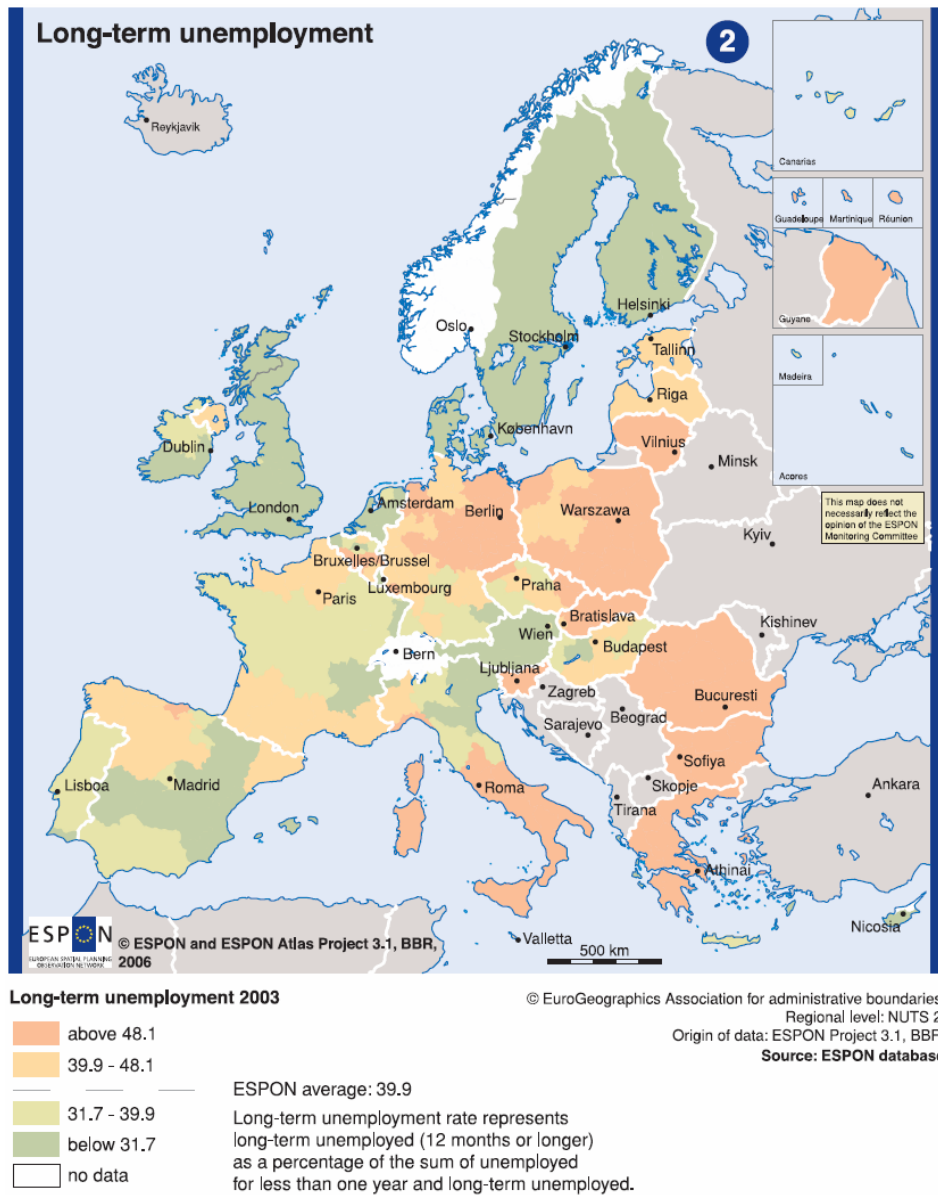
Figure 11: Long-term unemployment 2003 (ESPON Project 3.1). Source: BBR – Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung (Hrsg.) (2006): ESPON Atlas. Mapping the structure of the European territory. ESPON Project 3.1. October 2006. Bonn, p. 19.

Europe's deprived neighbourhoods

As a consequence of globalization, structural change (in Western Europe) and transformation processes in Central and Eastern Europe, cities in all EU Member States have developed deprived neighbourhoods, which are no longer part of general urban and regional development or are on the verge of becoming excluded from such development.

They include:

- neighbourhoods previously characterized by manufacturing industry, which are primarily beset today by economic problems, derelict buildings and brownfields,
- inner cities with stagnating or declining economies and flagging appeal, partly due to competition from greenfield sites,
- residential neighbourhoods whose urban structures, especially in terms of housing and residential surroundings, are perceived as inadequate, and
- residential areas in which social problems are concentrated alongside urban development and economic difficulties, compounding their deprived status.

Especially deprived neighbourhoods with multiple handicaps are usually characterized by a mix of complex, interrelated problems. They include (cf. Franke/Löhr/Sander 2000: 247 f, Ministerio de Vivienda 2006: 1 ff):

- urban development problems: extensive redevelopment needs, disinvestment, vacancy, dereliction, etc.
- problems of local economy: declining retail trade, lack of job opportunities near home, etc.,
- lack of shops and services, social and cultural infrastructure (e.g. lack of places where youth can socialize),
- socio-economic problems: above-average unemployment and dependence on state transfer payments, loss of buying power, poverty, etc.,
- demographic problems: more affluent sections of the population moving away, leaving low-income residents behind, above-average shares of residents with ethnic minority backgrounds, etc.,
- social problems: concentration of low-income households, conflicts between various ethnic groups often related to language barriers, racism, vandalism and crime, low levels of education and training among the neighbourhood inhabitants, unstable family structures, primary and secondary education problems, community breakdown, isolation, hopelessness and lack of perspective, widespread drug and alcohol abuse, lack of social networks, etc.,
- environmental problems: lack of green areas and open spaces; noise and exhaust pollution, etc.

Deprived neighbourhoods can threaten the attractiveness and thus the competitiveness, integration capacity and general security in cities. Besides, children and young people in such neighbourhoods have less-than-equal opportunities to obtain training and access to the (general urban and regional) labour market, which, in the light of demographic trends, causes great concern in many European countries.
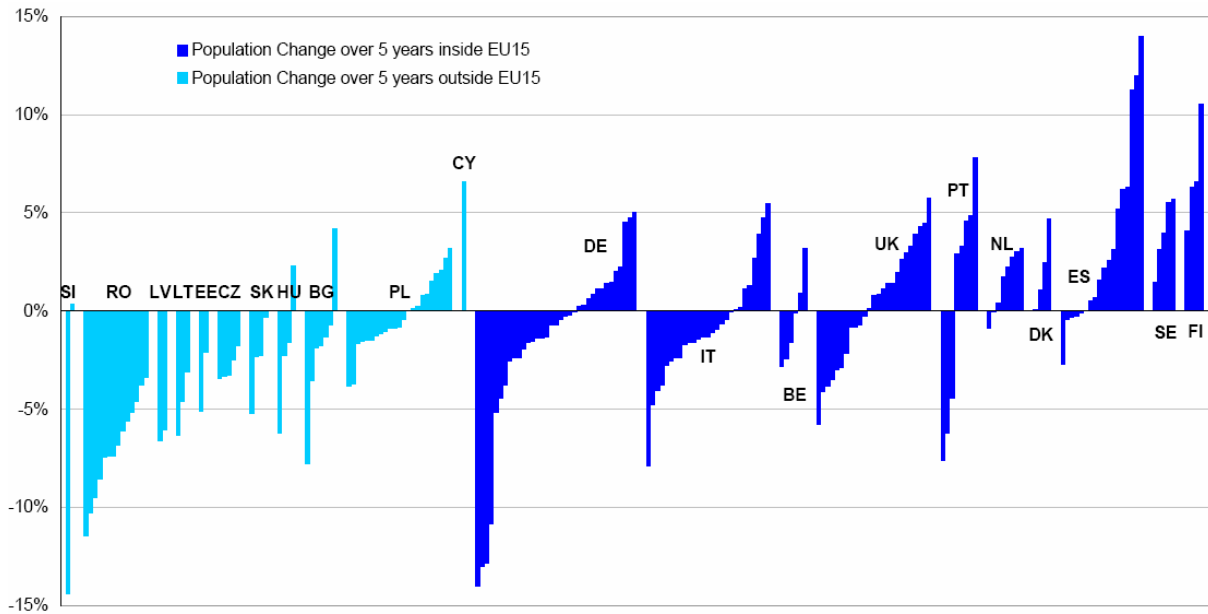
Figure 12: Population change in cities between 1996 and 2001 (Urban Audit). Source: European Commission (2006): Cities and the Lisbon Agenda: Assessing the Performance of Cities. Brussel, p. 5.
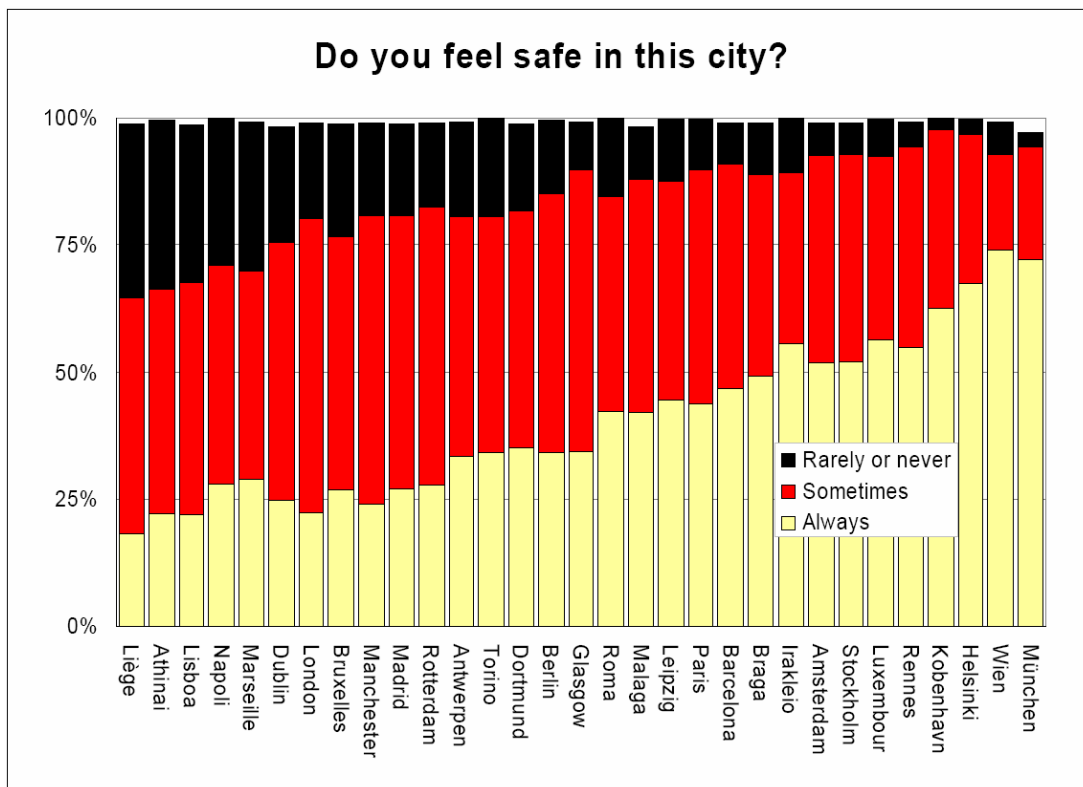
Figure 13: Perception of safety, 2004 (Urban Audit Perception Survey). Source: European Commission (2006): Cities and the Lisbon Agenda: Assessing the Performance of Cities. Brussel, p. 24.

Since the end of the 1990s at the latest, attention has been drawn with growing urgency to the fact that Europe's cities are the places not only where the described economic, social and spatial trends are manifesting themselves most strongly. They also bear the main burden in overcoming social polarization and socio-spatial divi-

sions. Not only has the European Commission emphasized these connections in several key publications since 1999. During the presidencies of France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, in particular, the Council also drew attention to this issue. The Lille Priorities, adopted at the informal November 2000 ministerial conference, drew attention to integrated, outcome-oriented approaches to urban development. The interplay of economic growth, social cohesion and social justice as well as the fight against social segregation as components of sustainable cities was also heralded in the *Urban Acquis*, the defining document of the Dutch Council Presidency, and at the informal gathering of ministers in Bristol (*Bristol Accord*) in late 2005 (ODPM 2005a: 7). Only if it is possible to reverse negative trends consistently can cities and their regions contribute to EU growth on a long-term basis, as the European Council emphasized in the renewed Sustainability Strategy.

All in all, there is now broad consensus in the EU Member States that cities should be assisted by their respective countries and the EU level in overcoming these problems.

This type of equalizing policy follows the tradition of the Treaties of Rome, which turn 50 in 2007. This anniversary stands for continual European integration, cooperation among towns and cities, peaceful co-existence, growing prosperity and security in a common Europe which now after the accession of Bulgaria and Romania totals more than 480 million people. Furthermore, integrated approaches to urban development reflect the core tenets of the "European Year of Equal Opportunities" proclaimed by the Commission for 2007, the year in which discrimination should be fought, diversity promulgated as a positive value and equal opportunities for all furthered.

5.   Integrated Urban Development Policy for Deprived Neighbourhoods

Whether or not they focus on developing deprived neighbourhoods, integrated approaches cover a wide range of themes from the economic, social services, town planning and urban development, cultural and environmental areas. It has become increasingly clear that the fields of activity most relevant to tapping social and economic resources in difficult urban areas are:

- strategies for upgrading the physical environment,
- socially acceptable urban traffic and transport,
- strengthening the "local economy" and local labour market policy,
- proactive education and training policies for children and young people.

5.1   Strategies for Upgrading the Physical Environment

Deprived neighbourhoods are home to less mobile population segments who are particularly reliant on their neighbourhood and its specific qualities. For this reason, strategies for upgrading the physical environment and improving public space in general, within the framework of integrated development approaches, are considered particularly significant. A primary facet is constructing new quality housing, redeveloping and modernizing existing housing – always with a view to energy efficiency – and targeted deconstruction and improvement of the structural and physical residential surroundings including the natural environment (cf. EUKN 2006, Ministerio de Vivienda 2006: 1 ff).

Modernization and redevelopment measures serve not only to improve the living conditions of persons already residing in the neighbourhood and thus help curb fluctuation, vacancies and the migration of more affluent sections of the population away from the neighbourhood. They also increase the general appeal of the area and among other things help achieve the goal of promoting business activities and attracting and retaining socially stronger households. The strategy is designed to restore and strengthen ties to the rest of the city or even the region, without accepting crowding out in exchange (cf. EUKN 2006: 4, Ministerio de Vivienda 2006: 1 ff).

In this context, public space deserves special attention as the central component of residential surroundings in neighbourhoods. Within the framework of strategies for upgrading the physical environment, measures and projects to improve structural and physical residential surroundings and public space are also designed to pursue social stabilization and integration and the objective of revitalizing local economic structures. Spatial units of reference include open spaces, streets, squares, residences and inner courtyards – not only in residential buildings, but also e.g. in schools. Such measures are by no means unusual in urban renewal and urban district development. However, new accents and qualities are to be found in the increased links to employment and training measures and to differentiated approaches to resident activation and participation – both in planning, implementing and maintaining what has already been achieved. In general, improving residential surroundings includes:

- urban planning qualification to improve use and recreational qualities, (e.g. restructuring development, parking, sport and play areas, reorganizing rubbish and waste storage sites, improving pathway networks, strengthening local public transport and environmentally sound traffic routing, drawing up lighting concepts to provide a better feeling of security, calming traffic);
- adding complementary sports, playground, recreation and meeting-place facilities (e.g. graffiti walls, football pitches, garden allotments);

- "stage managing" public spaces, e.g. to open up new ways of looking at the neighbourhood (temporary or permanent (art) installations, signs and orientation aids, etc.);

- improving the microclimate and offsetting ecological deficits (e.g. unsealing and regreening surfaces, making a community event out of planting trees and shrubbery and offering sites for adoption, growing plants on facades and roofs).

Measures to improve public space and residential surroundings can achieve a big impact beyond purely structural and physical regeneration. Benefits may include improving local living conditions, increasing the likelihood that area residents will identify with their neighbourhood, creating positive employment and labour market effects, prompting activation and participation of different population segments, stimulating further neighbourhood, and with it also locational, development in the general urban and regional context.

All measures which form part of strategies for upgrading the physical environment should be based on the *Baukultur* (building culture) of European cities, which is understood as consideration of the value of sustainability, respect for history and local tradition, urban planning and architectural design, the significance of public space and of landscape and open spaces in general, art in, around and on buildings schemes and procedural conventions, including integrated approaches. An environment with a high standard of building culture encourages inhabitants to identify with their community, strengthens their ties to the neighbourhood and serves to project a positive image of the area (cf. Haller/Rietdorf 2003: 6 ff). The 2001 resolution of the Council of the European Union on architectural quality in urban and rural environments expressly emphasizes architecture as a fundamental feature of the history, culture and fabric of life of each EU member state. High quality design of urban environment and architecture, taking into account local history and traditions, "can contribute effectively towards social cohesion and job creation, the promotion of cultural tourism and regional economic development" (Council of the European Union 2001: 1 f).

The EU uses several instruments to support measures for upgrading the physical environment. The 2007-13 European Structural Policy update addresses the regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods. Thus, "the ERDF may, where appropriate, support the development of participative, integrated and sustainable strategies to tackle the high concentration of economic, environmental and social problems affecting urban areas. These strategies shall promote sustainable urban development through activities such as: strengthening economic growth, the rehabilitation of the physical environment, brownfield redevelopment, the preservation and development of natural and cultural heritage, the promotion of entrepreneurship, local employment and community development, and the provision of services to the population taking ac-

count of changing demographic structures." (EU-COM 2006c [Regulation EC 1080/2006]: 6).

Moreover, the European Regional Development Fund regulation states that expenditure on housing construction in Member States which acceded to the European Union on or after 1 May 2004 can be subsidized if they are programmed within the framework of an integrated urban development operation or priority axis for areas experiencing or threatened by physical deterioration and social exclusion (EU-COM 2006c [Regulation EC 1080/2006]: 6).

Another source of funding for sustainable urban development is the Joint European Support for Sustainable Investment in City Areas (JESSICA) initiative. JESSICA is designed to provide aid to municipalities barely able to co-finance sustainable urban development measures during the 2007-2013 Structural Funding period. JESSICA allows funds from the European Investment Bank (EIB), international financial institutions and private backers to be pooled with ERDF allocations into an urban development or investment fund to support urban development projects, including public housing. Thus JESSICA is developing from pure subsidization towards a stronger emphasis on credit subsidies, which is of great significance given shrinking public budgets.

The 2002 EU Directive on the Energy Performance of Buildings is aimed at considerably reducing the continually rising energy consumption for heating, air conditioning, hot water supply and lighting (Directive 2002/91 EC). The directive primarily provides for energy-conscious renovation of existing buildings. This is also an objective of the 2007-2013 Structural Fund which serves above all to support Central and Eastern European EU Member States in their efforts to ensure optimal performance of buildings from an energy point of view. (EU-COM 2006c [Regulation EC 1080/2006] 3 ff). This applies in particular to the large industrially prefabricated estates which used large panels or slabs for the quick creation of housing in these countries over the past four decades. Around 30 million people live in these estates across Europe.

5.2   Socially Acceptable Urban Transport

Traffic problems often doubly affect populations in deprived neighbourhoods. The impact of traffic is extreme in some of these neighbourhoods because they are commonly situated near major road and rail arteries, or "on the other side of" railway tracks and roads. They might also be in the vicinity of large transport facilities with strong emissions such as airports, switchyards, logistics centres and lorry stops. In these areas, traffic emissions lead to lower rental and property prices, but also cause high noise and air pollution levels in particular and other negative impacts.

Because neighbourhoods are central to residents' lives – especially for children, young people, senior citizens and people working in families – attractive, closely meshed local traffic networks such as pedestrian and cycling paths must be created. Designing urban streets as places for recreation, play, communication and interpersonal exchange and as premises for trade, manufacturing and related activities of the local economy is extremely important. Special attention must be paid to avoiding the impact of emissions on the environment and residential surroundings, and to ensuring traffic safety, in order to preserve or establish the value of these public spaces and secure the secondary functions listed above. In spite of budgetary constraints, municipalities must prioritize maintaining infrastructures, keeping urban areas clean and implementing public security measures (design of public spaces, monitoring traffic and public spaces, getting citizens involved in the community as volunteer escorts etc.) so that vulnerable people can participate in social events, also in the evenings.

On the other hand, for economic reasons inhabitants of deprived neighbourhoods are less likely to own vehicles and are more dependent on local public transport services and on the quality of non-motorized traffic (pavements and cycling paths). Inhabitants of these areas must be spatially mobile to secure their livelihoods through work or to participate in training measures and form contacts in order to achieve social integration. High quality transport infrastructures and frequent services must be available at all times (particularly late evenings and early mornings for night shift and restaurant workers). Inadequate mass transit systems or the lack of convenient cycling and pedestrian routes must not prevent residents from accepting work in the evenings, at night or in other, more remote parts of the city. This is the only way to ensure access to attractive, high quality employment, vocational training, education, shopping, services and recreational facilities, which are not available in the neighbourhood itself.
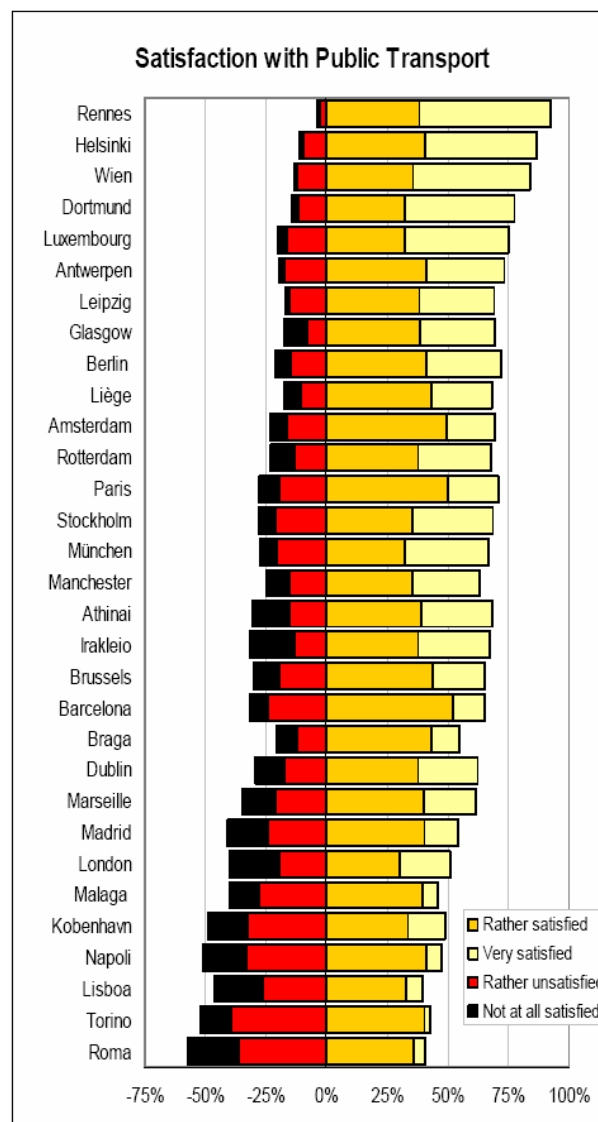
Figure 14: Satisfaction with Public Transport, 2004 (Urban Audit Perception Survey). Source: European Commission (2005): Urban Audit Perception Survey. Flash Eurobarometer 156, 07/2005. Brussel, p. 6.

Potential activities to improve mobility provision encompass various modes of transport (such as minibus shuttles), management-oriented approaches (carpooling), improved cycling infrastructure and more rental bicycles, longer operating hours for public transport and even targeted financial assistance (taxi vouchers, grants to purchase private motor vehicles).

Local economies also rely on high-quality transport services across area borders in order to guarantee flexible, development-oriented supply and delivery chains and to create synergies through commercial networks. Furthermore, this is the only way to compensate locational infrastructural deficits.
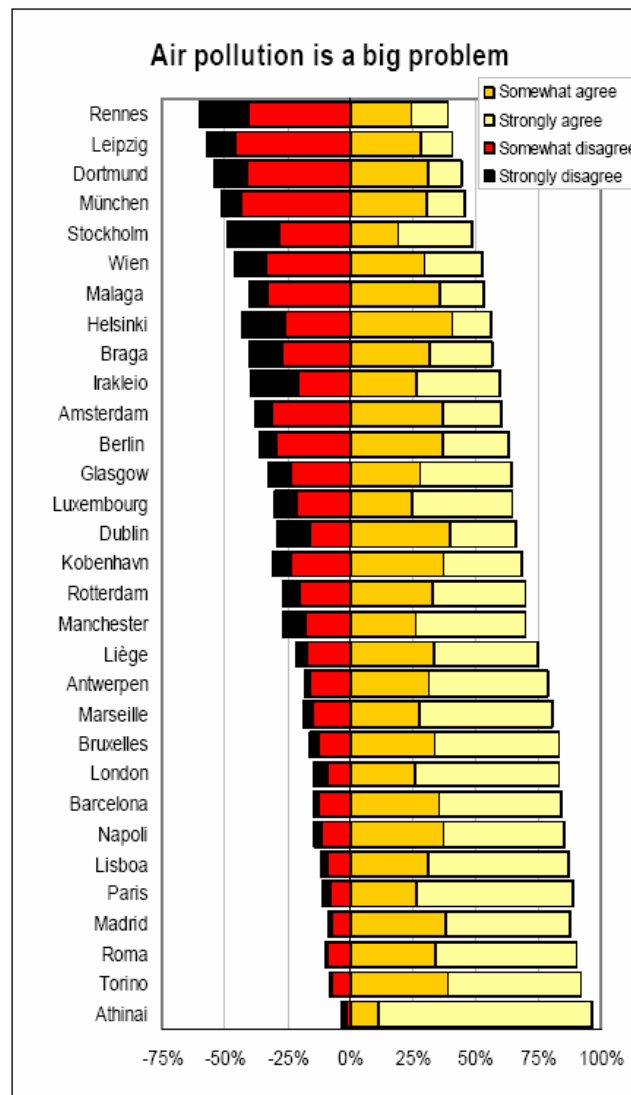
Figure 15: Air pollution is a big problem, 2004 (Urban Audit Perception Survey). Source: European Commission (2005): Urban Audit Perception Survey. Flash Eurobarometer 156, 07/2005. Brussel, p. 6.

Disadvantaged areas which are in danger of being hampered in their development thus require excellent transport networks and links to the outside world – including public transport and non-motorized vehicles – as well as detailed preparation and planning of local streets to provide appealing spaces to citizens. They are, however, exposed to intense negative external traffic-related influences (pollution, physical divisions, e.g. through railway tracks). Addressing transport issues is integral to offsetting any structural deficits in these neighbourhoods, to guaranteeing opportunities for participation, social exchange, personal development, employment and vocational training, and to counteracting stigmatization. These districts therefore must be provided with a wide range of multimodal mobility solutions with fewer drawbacks for citizens and the environment.

5.3   Strengthening the Local Economy and Local Labour Market Policy

Major problems afflicting deprived neighbourhoods include (long-term) unemploy-
ment, dependence on state transfer payments and the – associated – poverty and
social disintegration of usually large parts of the neighbourhood population. Erosion
of local business and trade structures compounds these problems in many areas,
resulting in the decline of goods and services provision and a shrinking supply of em-
ployment and training possibilities close to home (cf. Difu 2006: 3; URBACT 2007). At
the same time, remaining local economic structures and many residents' commitment
to their communities represent significant resources. In this context, ethnic busi-
nesses are particularly important to many deprived neighbourhoods, making indis-
pensable contributions not only to the supply of local goods and services but also to
social integration in the neighbourhood (cf. Schuleri-Hartje et al. 2005).
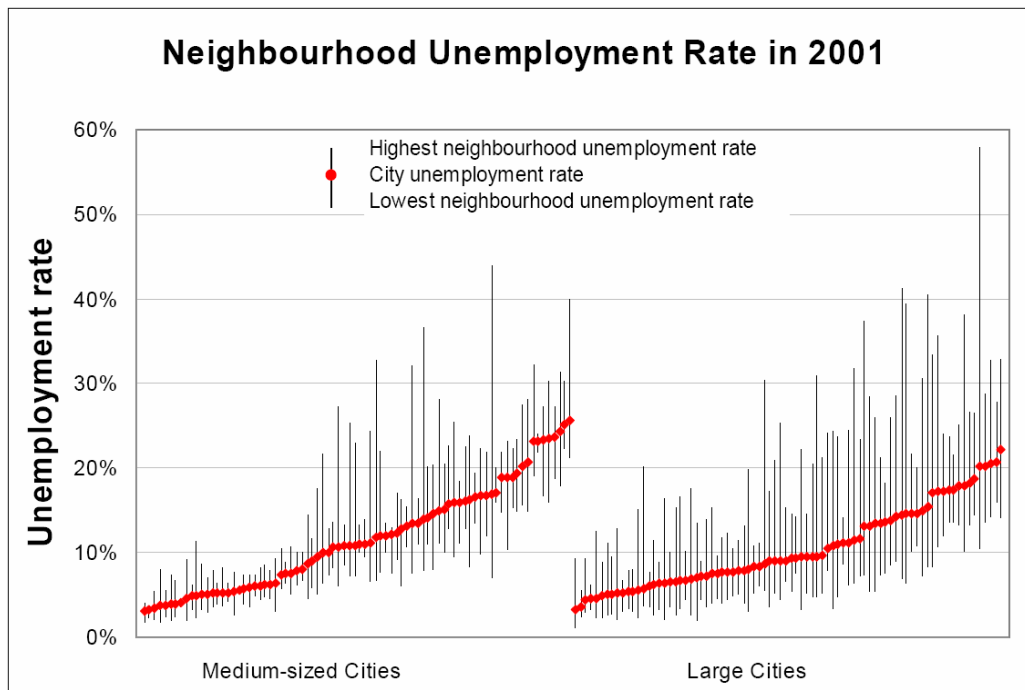
Figure 16: Neighbourhood and City Unemployment Rates, 2001 (Urban Audit). Source: European Commission
(2006): Cities and the Lisbon Agenda: Assessing the Performance of Cities. Brussel, p. 19.

Against this background, activities aimed at economic development, training, skills,
employment and community development play a special role in the integrated devel-
opment of deprived neighbourhoods. They are summarized in concepts to strengthen
the "local economy". At European level, diverse practical lessons with local economic
strategies were learnt as part of EU projects such as ELSES (Evaluation of Local
Socio-economic Strategies in Disadvantaged Urban Areas). Three categories were
identified as components of an integrative "local economy" concept: enterprise devel-

opment and start-ups, employment and training, and the "social economy" (cf. URBACT 2007; Weck 2000: 45 ff.):

- *Enterprise development and start-ups:* focus on promoting local enterprises and start-ups, with ethnic businesses playing an ever-growing role. "Classic" measures and instruments to promote enterprise and start-ups include (outreach) consultation, comprehensive briefing and support for network building among local entrepreneurs (e.g. trade associations, publicity alliances, shopping street management). More must be done in connection with (venture) capital funds (granting microcredits, involving banks).

- *Employment and training:* local economy strategies concentrating on helping local residents overcome disadvantages when applying for training and jobs, e.g. through intensive guidance and job placement services. A distinction can be made between person-related and enterprise-related approaches: the former focus on advancing the skills, talents and ideas of the individuals concerned; the latter tends to concentrate on liaising with local businesses to create detailed job profiles for potential applicants.

- *Social economy:* includes all approaches, measures and instruments which simultaneously address social, economic and local community-oriented objectives. In concrete terms, this refers to companies, associations and projects "which offer welfare and other services not provided by the market or public authorities (e.g. care and health, education and child care, culture, sport and the environment)" (Läpple 2004: 113).

The URBACT network ECO-FIN-NET addresses in detail three approaches to support SMEs and start-ups in deprived neighbourhoods (cf. URBACT 2007: 6 ff.):

- improving access to private financing (e.g. microcredits, loan funds, guarantee funds);
- public funding for SMEs through European and national funding programmes;
- promoting SMEs with "soft" measures (consultation, creating networks).

JEREMIE (Joint European Resources for Micro to Medium Enterprises), an initiative launched in October 2005 by the European Commission, the European Investment Bank (EIB) and the European Investment Fund (EIF), assists in achieving these aims. It allows Member States and regions to use Structural Fund resources to create instruments to support SMEs, including:

- consultation and support,
- loans, equity and venture capital,
- provision of microcredit and loan guarantees.

Although "local economy" strategies focus on specific urban districts and neighbourhoods, the broader spatial contexts of city and region must not be overlooked because the causes and effects of economic processes cannot be limited to small areas. (Läpple 2004: 113 f.). In addition, economic, and, above all, employment policy issues often require the building of bridges which span larger spatial and social spheres. Labour market policy approaches, on the other hand, should have a greater local focus and respond to the specific situation in the neighbourhoods.

In summary, concepts to strengthen "local economy" in the context of developing deprived neighbourhoods can be understood as area-based integrated approaches encompassing both monetary and non-monetary value creation in and for neighbourhoods. They significantly benefit local communities but are also embedded in the wider context of the entire city and region. They are linked to an array of cooperative alliances between players at various administrative and neighbourhood levels, between professionals and residents, between business insiders and people on the fringe of the business world. Because activation, participation and *empowerment* are top priorities, "local economy" should be construed as an integrated management process and not as a catch-all for isolated initiatives (Difu 2006).

A comparison of EU Member States shows that different countries stress different points depending on their specific situations and problems. In Denmark, especially Copenhagen, for example, the main focus is on creating jobs in neighbourhoods. As in other countries, a major challenge in this respect is the chasm between rising qualification demands on the labour market and neighbourhood residents' insufficient training and education levels. In France, initially "traditional" qualification models were stressed, and focus was shifted to employment measures in the local economy context. Today, hopes are placed above all in job growth through tax exemptions to businesses in special urban economic zones. In the United Kingdom, efforts concentrate on the involvement of the private sector in integrated neighbourhood development. In the Netherlands, various strategies, especially qualification and employment promotion, are being tested. Here – as in other countries – policy makers have come to the conclusion that not all (long-term) unemployed can be reintegrated into the regular labour market. Now, it is thought that new perspectives have also to be sought in alternative models of social and material support within neighbourhoods. In Germany, the abundance of different types of "local economy" is particularly noticeable (cf. Difu 2006; URBACT 2007).

Municipalities can use "local economy" concepts to provide specific financial instruments and/or create special economic zones. They can offer far-reaching (local) consultation and support services, combine and accelerate economically related administrative processes, provide market analyses, found their own companies and act as employers, especially for disadvantaged population segments, contract local enterprises in deprived neighbourhoods and promote links between neighbourhood devel-

opment and job creation measures. In addition, municipalities are not only important partners in (re)establishing access to the primary labour market, but also in guaranteeing educational opportunities, particularly in deprived neighbourhoods (cf. URBACT 2007).

5.4 Proactive Education and Training Policies for Children and Young People

High drop-out rates and a lack of language and occupational qualifications – often coupled with difficult biographies – are some of the reasons why people from different sections of the population do not find vocational training or a job. (Young) people with an ethnic minority background are particularly affected. Due to high unemployment levels in many countries, young people – even when they have undergone vocational training – often encounter difficulties in entering the workforce. Proactive training and educational policies for children and young people therefore play a special role in conjunction with integrated neighbourhood development (cf. SPI 2007). This also conforms with the basic premise of the European Youth Pact to promote education and training with an area-based or socio-spatially oriented approach to policies on children and young people and to improve participation opportunities for children and young people especially in disadvantaged areas.

These approaches centre on schools in deprived neighbourhoods or at least with a majority of disadvantaged pupils. Integrated approaches are two-pronged: on the one hand, schools are encouraged to open their doors to the surrounding district and form cooperative alliances with other players to create a wider range of learning opportunities for pupils. In this way, exchanges between schools and (local) tradespeople, for example as part of practical work experience, can enable schools to incorporate more of the skills required by private enterprise into classroom learning. Conversely, practical experience gives pupils a head start in learning which technical and interpersonal skills are important in working life and how they should apply them in the future. Cooperative alliances of this sort also help build bridges which extend into the city as a whole or even the region.

On the other hand, it is important to involve neighbourhood schools in neighbourhood-related networks acting as catalysts for area development. For instance, schools are extremely effective multipliers, reaching parents and, in turn, a large percentage of the neighbourhood population. Moreover, in addition to regular schooling, they can develop and provide education for the local population – particularly for parents – and offer e.g. language courses for migrants. In cooperation with other players they can also spearhead further initiatives such as health promotion and crime prevention. Lastly, schools can serve as (low-threshold) liaison centres in the neighbourhood, providing premises for neighbourhood activities and events. The

overall aim is to supplement formal school education with a variety of more or less informal educational opportunities in the immediate environment and also "into the city", i.e. harmonizing informal and formal education and networking the players involved (administrative offices, child and youth workers, social service providers, parents, pupils, businesses, etc.) more strongly in an area-based focus (cf. SPI 2007).
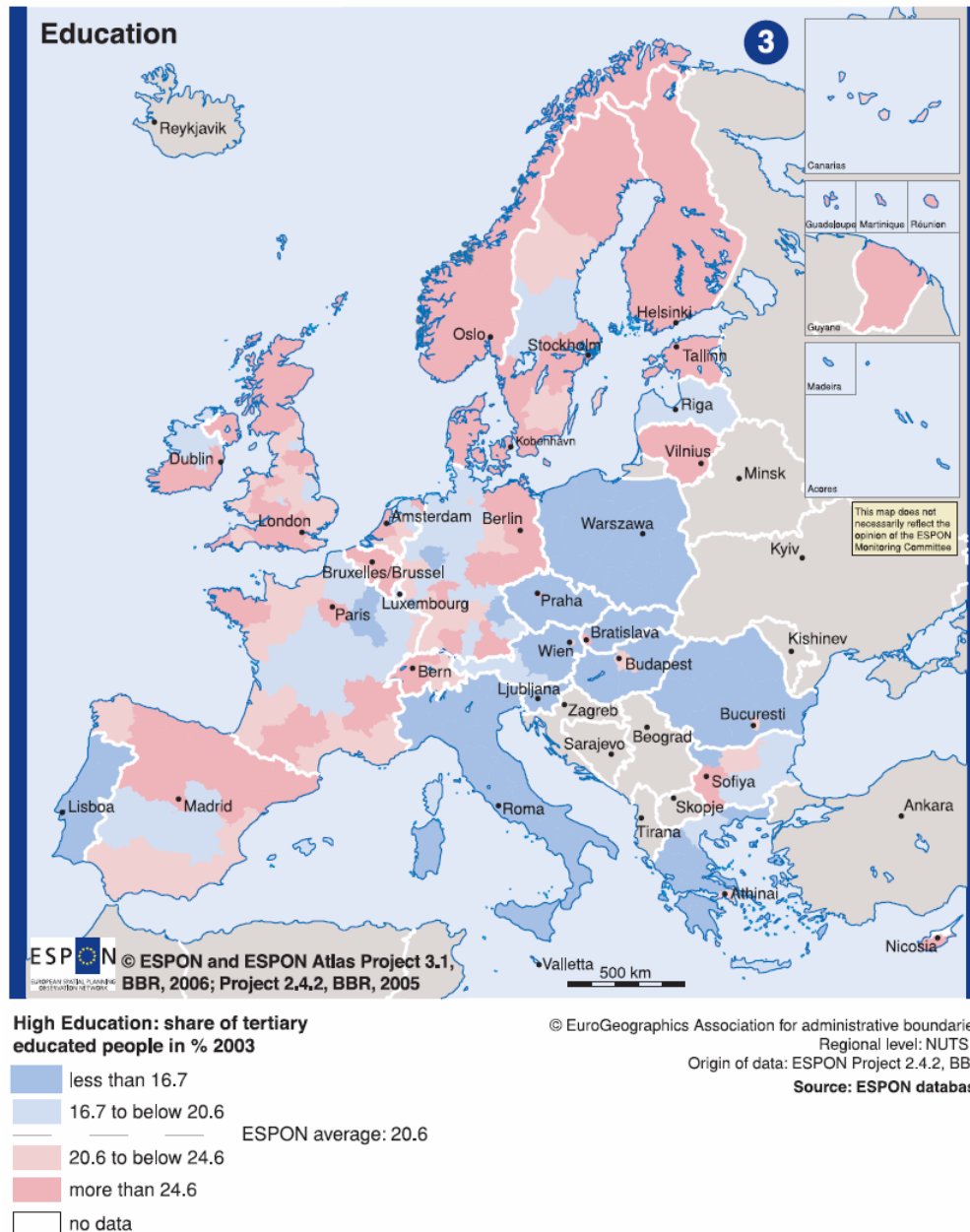
Figure 17: Education (ESPON Project 2.4.2). Source: BBR – Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung (Hrsg.) (2006): ESPON Atlas. Mapping the structure of the European territory. ESPON Project 3.1. October 2006. Bonn, p. 19.

Aside from imparting training and labour-market-related knowledge, neighbourhood-oriented participation projects for disadvantaged children and young people also teach the social skills which they need for entry into working life. They also help pu-

pils explore the opportunities not only of their own neighbourhoods, but of their broader urban surroundings. Here too, a prerequisite for success is often the close collaboration among schools, administrative offices (especially social and youth affairs), local businesses, educational institutions and child and youth social service providers in an integrated approach (cf. SPI 2007).

For the core city of London the data for Inner London (in the Urban Audit terminology the Kernel) - an amalgamation of 13 boroughs - was used
Data for FR - 1999; EE, LV - 2000; IE, NL, PL, SI, RO - 2002;
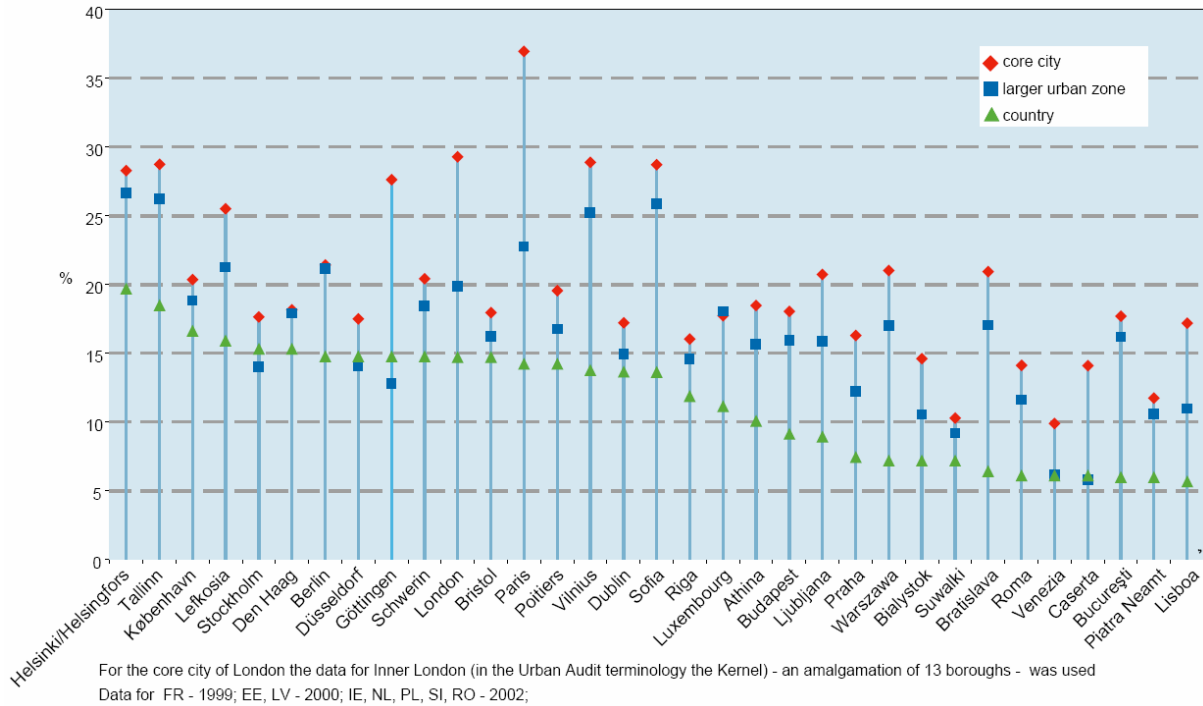
Figure 18: Proportion of population with tertiary education 2001 (Urban Audit). Source: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities (2006): Regions: Statistical yearbook 2006. Data 2000-2004. Luxembourg, p. 92.

6. Summary of the Comparison of National Programmes and/or Regional and Municipal Approaches to the Integrated, Area-based Development of Deprived Neighbourhoods in the 27 EU Member States

Comparison of national programmes and/or regional and municipal approaches to the integrated, area-based development of deprived neighbourhoods in the European Union (see appendix) indicates that in cities of all 27 EU Member States, globalization and transformation processes have led to the emergence of deprived neighbourhoods which are either already, or in danger of being, disconnected from general urban and regional development. This trend is usually driven by micro-spatial socio-economic segregation processes. These districts normally consist of inner-city neighbourhoods with older buildings and/or big housing estates. As a rule, they are characterized by a complex combination of urban planning, economic, social, cultural and ecological problems. How these problems manifest themselves and the extent of their effects on cities and regions varies, depending on their specific situation, and must be considered on a case-by-case basis. However, a number of common trends can be identified:

- In western European countries in particular, the concept of integrated, area-based urban development policy is considered a suitable strategy for developing deprived neighbourhoods. Within the overall European context, a distinction can be made between countries which
  - have adopted corresponding programmes at national level (Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom),
  - employ corresponding approaches at regional or municipal level (Austria, Ireland, Lithuania, Portugal, Spain) or
  - have some projects displaying integrated, area-based approaches (Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Luxembourg, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia).

- These three categories are often in flux, because integrated urban development is gaining importance in many Member States (e.g. in Ireland and Portugal).

- Countries in the first group in particular have demonstrated that the national level is important for stimulating integrated, area-based development in deprived neighbourhoods. They spur development in disadvantaged urban districts not only by formulating a programmatic framework, but also by providing funding (e.g. Denmark, Germany, the United Kingdom).

- For structural reasons, integrated policy approaches for developing deprived neighbourhoods in some countries target major cities (e.g. in Sweden).

- A number of EU Member States, in particular the majority of Central and Eastern European countries, largely concentrate on urban planning measures to develop

deprived neighbourhoods. In addition, large-scale privatization of former state-owned housing and the consequences of this (*inter alia* private disinvestment) have played a central role. Private housing companies are sometimes key partners in urban development processes (e.g. Estonia).

- In Central and Eastern European countries in particular integrated urban development approaches are frequently initiated by linking urban planning measures with programmes to promote the local economy (e.g. Romania).

- In most western EU Member States integrated, area-based approaches to develop deprived neighbourhoods take in social and local economy issues, environmental problems, the integration of ethnic minorities, (training and) education of disadvantaged population segments as well as urban planning aspects.

- The EU initiatives URBAN I and II have increased awareness of deprived neighbourhoods and fostered the explicit identification of an area base for integrated urban development in many countries (e.g. Finland and Greece). This also applies to countries which concentrate on developing metropolitan regions rather than particular neighbourhoods (e.g. Italy).

- Integrated development concepts provide a (formalized) basis and instrument for sustainable urban development policy in many countries (e.g. Austria, Denmark, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Sweden).

- Especially in countries which work with complex integrated approaches, pooling of different sources of funding at national, regional and/or municipal level plays an important role (Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom).

- In most instances, this goes hand in hand with concluding a contract between national or regional and municipal levels.

- Especially in western EU Member States, special management and organizational structures to implement integrated, area-based development approaches for deprived neighbourhoods have been established. The focus is on interdepartmental collaboration at national, regional and municipal level and the networking of these levels (e.g. Denmark, France, Germany, the United Kingdom). Special coordinating committees at national level have been set up e.g. in France and the United Kingdom; this also happens at local level e.g. in Lithuania. At municipal level, cooperation with non-administration players is stressed, primarily with neighbourhood residents, e.g. in partnerships.

- Especially in the western EU Member States, activation and participation of local residents is playing an (increasingly) important role in integrated urban planning. Trends in this direction can be observed in Central and Eastern European countries in the form of approaches which tend to focus on urban planning (e.g. in Estonia and Lithuania).

- The same applies for the decentralization of decision-making powers towards an "activating state" (motivation, participation and empowerment), i.e. a weakening of

traditional top-down processes in favour of governance which includes politicians, administrators, the economy, private service providers and civic society down to democratically legitimized local resource allocation.

- In just a few EU Member States the significance of ongoing approaches (e.g. in Denmark) and monitoring (e.g. in the Netherlands and Sweden) is explicitly spelled out.

7.   Conclusions

Practical experience gathered in the 27 EU Member States demonstrates – even though with varying intensity in the different countries – that integrated urban development policies are suited to achieving the objectives of Europe's renewed Sustainability Strategy. In particular, most countries stress the correlation between economic development and social cohesion, which is why concepts addressing integrated, area-based development approaches for deprived neighbourhoods take on more and more importance in addition to strategies to boost economic growth. This can be summarized in the following points:

- The growth of knowledge-based sectors is currently one of the key areas of economic development in Europe. Not all sections of society benefit from these positive trends; they are accompanied by unemployment, poverty and other disadvantages. This especially affects cities in which economic, social, urban development and environmental deficits are concentrated in certain areas.

- A socio-spatial gap between prosperous and disadvantaged urban areas has developed and continues to widen in many cities. Integrated urban development has proven to be an effective instrument to counter this development.

- Detailed goals, strategies, measures and projects can hope to succeed when they have a defined area base (the concrete definition of deprived neighbourhoods). Monitoring systems are helpful in selecting areas reliably.

- Involving private enterprise (corporate social responsibility) is another way to mobilize additional resources, directly and indirectly reduce costs and use public funds more effectively.

- The success of integrated, area-based urban development policies requires suitable management on the local government and area levels directed towards furthering cooperation and collaboration.

- Involving all important players, including those outside government and administrative circles – most importantly local residents, business representatives and civil organizations – is also extremely important.

- Resident cooperation in developing their neighbourhood (by consulting, supporting decision-making and implementing measures) advances integration, community cohesion and identification with the neighbourhood. The "bottom-up" principle complements "top-down" approaches and promotes acceptance of urban regeneration measures. Many Member States endorse this idea, and some have already put it into action.

- Economic stabilization approaches for deprived neighbourhoods, harnessing economic forces within the area itself, have proven successful in practice. They aim to develop the existing economic structure on site, promote start-ups and provide education, training and employment opportunities. Besides decentralized

area budgets, microcredits are of particular importance. Financing instruments such as JEREMIE open up new opportunities.

- The ethnic economy contributes significantly to vocational training, employment and thus to economic growth and integration in deprived neighbourhoods, but has not yet been fully exploited in the context of integrated urban development concepts.

- In deprived neighbourhoods, integrating population segments with ethnic minority backgrounds is a major challenge and thus a key focus of integrated development concepts if and where they exist.

- (Area-based) policies for children and young people, education and training are increasingly gaining prominence in integrated urban development strategies.

- Schools in deprived neighbourhoods have the potential to build cooperative relationships which provide not only pupils, but also their parents with a broader range of educational opportunities and include them in neighbourhood-related networks. A wide range of more informal training and education opportunities complements formal education in neighbourhoods and creates stronger networks involving all players (municipal offices, child and youth workers, social service providers, parents, pupils, businesses etc.). Generally, however, such approaches often encounter relatively rigid educational systems with little relation to the area.

- In those European countries which have successfully implemented integrated urban development approaches, important impulses were provided at the national level. National integrated urban development programmes for deprived neighbourhoods are particularly productive multipliers.

- Integrated, area-based development of deprived neighbourhoods is not a limited-term, special initiative but a permanent preventive measure which requires financial and staffing security.

- It is a process in which quality can also be assured by evaluation.

- To refine integrated, area-based development approaches for deprived neighbourhoods, cooperation and dialogue between countries, regions and cities is necessary. Existing networks should be strengthened to achieve this goal.

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APPENDIX

Integrated Urban Development
in the 27 EU Member States

Comparative Documentation of Programmes, Projects and Measures for the Area-Based, Integrated Development of Deprived Neighbourhoods in the 27 EU Member States

This paper surveys the extent to which approaches to integrated area-based development of deprived neighbourhoods are being implemented in the 27 EU Member States. Since big differences especially in the range and depth of such approaches can be expected, our first approximation will distinguish between three groups of varying process involvement:

- In Group A, countries are presented which have in place comprehensive national programmes for the integrated development of deprived neighbourhoods (e.g. Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, United Kingdom).
- Group B covers national approaches to integrated neighbourhood development in EU Member States which, although they are not conducting relevant nationwide programmes do, however, have well-developed, integrated approaches at regional and/or municipal levels (e.g. Austria and Spain).
- In Group C, approaches in EU Member States are presented in which integrated neighbourhood development plays a somewhat subordinate role in solving town planning problems. At the same time, individual measures and projects (e.g. urban regeneration) may tend in this direction.

The country profiles were largely based on the following questions to ensure fundamental comparability.

- What policies, national programmes and/or regional or municipal approaches to integrated, area-based development of deprived neighbourhoods are being implemented a) at national level and/or b) at regional level and/or c) in individual cities and towns? To what extent has the national level been instrumental in initiating schemes?
- What are the basic objectives of these policies, national programmes and/or regional or municipal approaches? *(e.g. onsite improvement of living conditions, redevelopment/urban regeneration, empowerment of neighbourhood residents, strengthening and promoting the local economy, etc.)*
- Have forms of interministerial, interagency or interdepartmental cooperation on integrated, area-based development of deprived neighbourhoods been formalized

at national, regional or local level in the process of implementing these approaches?

- What roles have top-down and bottom-up approaches played?

- Have forms of neighbourhood management (*e.g. neighbourhood or district offices*) been instituted in the deprived neighbourhoods?

- To what extent have various areas of political activity been integrated to develop deprived neighbourhoods? *(e.g. labour, qualification and employment, schools, education and training, local economy, social activities and social infrastructure, healthcare, transport and the environment, (neighbourhood) culture, integration of immigrants and socially disadvantaged groups, housing and housing market, urban development, image enhancement and public relations)*

- What is the role played by urban development, support for the local economy and educational policy (particularly for children and adolescents)?

- What is the significance of community work for integrated approaches to the development of deprived neighbourhoods? *(activation and participation, empowerment)*

- What role does neighbourhood/area-based focus play in integrated approaches to the development of deprived neighbourhoods?

A   Countries with Comprehensive National Programmes for the Integrated Development of Deprived Neighbourhoods

Belgium

Socio-spatial disadvantages exist in towns and cities in all three regions of Belgium. They are mainly found in older inner-city neighbourhoods, former working-class districts in deindustrialized steel and mining localities or in neighbourhoods on city outskirts, often major housing developments built during the 1960s and 1970s with a high proportion of public housing. Suburbanization and the exodus of more affluent sections of the population from inner-city areas reinforce the emergence of socio-spatial disadvantage in these localities. Some of the problems in deprived Belgian neighbourhoods are concentrations of (long-term) unemployed, transfer payment recipients, holders of insecure jobs, single parents and immigrants plus increasing poverty, drug and alcohol abuse, vandalism and crime. In addition there is often high resident turnover coupled with significant immobility, particularly of the elderly, considerable potential for conflict through the coexistence of particular (ethnic) groups and an overall negative image which can extend to stigmatization of the district. In urban development and economic fields, problems such as redevelopment backlogs, disinvestment, substandard conditions, shortcomings in residential surroundings, inadequate infrastructure, decline of local retail trade as well as environmental and traffic hazards are found (cf. Vranken et al. 2001: 35 ff).

In particular, the increase in conflicts between various immigrant groups and the indigenous Belgian population gave rightwing parties a boost in the late 1980s. This trend has prompted Belgium to initiate various integrated programmes at national, regional and local levels since the early 1990s to tackle the growing concentration of problems especially in deprived neighbourhoods. The superordinate goals of these approaches were and are the sustainable development of urban regions, promotion of social cohesion, enhancement of public space, improved public safety as well as reversing the drift of population away from inner cities, in other words, strengthening their economic viability (cf. EUKN 2005).

The national *Initiative for the Safety and Partnership Contracts* was launched in 1992. It encouraged municipalities to develop coordinated citywide security strategies which combined the efforts of various relevant players to address the causes of (juvenile) crime, drug abuse and vandalism. The initiative focused on the provision of housing, education and training as well as job creation. Long-term contracts between national and municipal levels served among other things to promote target-group-related community work.

The 1994 *General Report on Poverty* clearly demonstrated the level of impoverishment in Belgian municipalities and led to a number of further initiatives at national, regional and local levels (cf. Vranken et al. 2001: 25 ff). In late 1999, the federal government promotion programme *Grootstedenbeleid/Politique des Grandes Villes (Federal Big City Policy)* was adopted to support the towns and cities most severely affected by deprived neighbourhoods. The programme is founded on partnerships between state, regional and municipal levels on the basis of result-oriented contracts (*contrat de ville)*. In order to benefit, municipalities have to update their development concepts each year. The Belgian Government has made €128 million available within this framework to 15 cities and municipalities for the 2005 to 2007 programme years. Among the aims are area-based integrated development, strengthening the local economy and sustaining employment in the district, social cohesion and improving residential surroundings and environmental conditions as well as better housing provision (cf. EUKN 2005; Vranken et al. 2001: 28). Since 2005 another national government support programme has focused specifically on helping the country's larger cities to provide affordable housing. Around €70 million investment funding has been made available to 17 cities and municipalities from 2005 to 2007 under this scheme (cf. EUKN 2005).

The regional level in Belgium has more comprehensive experience with integrated support programmes. In 1992 Flanders launched the *Vlaams Fonds voor Integratie van Kansarmen VFIK (Flemish Fund for the Integration of the Underprivileged)*. It was launched on the basis of two previous funds aimed at combating poverty *(*the *Van-den-Bossche-Fonds* and the *Lenssens-Fonds)*. VFIK selected municipalities and set aid levels, using a set of socio-economic indicators. Implementation was founded on elaborating an integrated action plan drawn up jointly by the municipalities and other relevant stakeholders. Experience gained with this programme led to the adoption of the 1996-2002 *Sociaal Impulsfonds SIF (Social Impulse Fund*) which aimed to improve quality of life and the environment in deprived neighbourhoods and to fight poverty. *SIF* was a results-driven structural fund for integrated neighbourhood development, which placed more emphasis on localized problems and solutions than the previous programmes. It benefited 30 cities and municipalities selected on the basis of a catalogue of indicators. A special feature of *SIF* was that the Flanders region agreed on a contractual basis to provide municipalities with half of the annual aid in advance so that measures could be implemented immediately. *SIF* pooled and augmented various financing sources. About €110 million was made available to municipalities in 1996 and €185 million in 1999. The programme demanded and funded the inclusion of all action areas relevant to neighbourhood development (concentrating on the fields of welfare, housing, the local economy, planning and neighbourhood development), the broad participation of stakeholders and in particular, the implementation of projects covering several action areas (cf. Vranken et al. 2001: 28 ff). Since smaller municipalities in particular had problems meeting *SIF* participation requirements, a *Stedenfonds* (Urban Fund) was established in 2003 with new framework conditions. The aim of this fund is to provide Flemish cities and municipalities with around €100 million in aid each year to improve the quality of life at overall urban

and local level under the premise of sustainability. The scheme now also sponsors administration modernization approaches at municipal level (cf. EUKN 2005; Vranken et al. 2001: 29 f, Burgers 2004: 92 f; Loopmans et al. 2004: 69).

The greater Brussels region has been running urban regeneration programmes under the name of *Contrat de Quartier (District Contracts)* since 1994. This scheme is directed at deprived neighbourhoods and is based on cooperation between the capital city region and local authorities. Each year new contracts are concluded with four neighbourhoods for a four-year period. The first round of *Contrats de Quartier* was launched in 1994. A second round followed in 1997, and since 1999 new contracts have been concluded each year with neighbourhoods. Aside from structural and urban development focuses such as improving housing supply, public space and the socio-cultural infrastructure, *Contrats de Quartier* stress not only activation and participation of residents but also tailored management and organizational structures (see box). By combining the programmes with the EU Community Initiative *URBAN* or *EU Objective 2* funding, local economy improvement projects can also be financed in neighbourhoods (cf. EUKN 2005; Région de Bruxelles-Capitale; ABE). The *Quartiers d'Initiatives* programme, adopted in 1997 as a reaction to increasing tensions in individual districts for the purpose of short-term redevelopment and to strengthen social cohesion, was fused with the *Contrats de Quartier* in 1999, and the role of participation was again strengthened.

In the Wallonia region, local urban development programmes concentrate chiefly on structural and urban regeneration in clearly defined areas. The *Zones d'Initiatives Privilégiées (ZIP)* scheme, introduced in 1994, is being implemented by more than 400 districts in 80 municipalities of Wallonia. Besides urban core zones, *ZIP* targets areas with structural and urban development problems as well as a concentration of disadvantaged population segments, persistent depopulation and decline of local business structures. The programme emphasizes improvement and integrated development of housing supply, public space, infrastructure and retail trade provision. Alongside the participation of residents, the model features the establishment of public-private partnerships (cf. EUKN 2005; Europaforum 2002: 145; De Brabander 1998: 51; Région Wallonne).

The programme focuses of the various approaches have changed over the years and regional differences have appeared. While in Wallonia the goals have remained largely the same, with a structural and urban development orientation, the programmes in Flanders and Brussels have shifted the emphasis from simply combating poverty to revitalizing areas, upgrading the quality of urban life, improving security, attracting residents with higher incomes and stimulating business investment. Despite the large-scale campaigns of the past decade, persistent suburbanization and the migration of higher-income groups from city centres remains one of the major challenges for Belgian town planning policy-makers (cf. Loopmans et al. 2004: 69).

Commission locale de Développement intégré (*CLDI*): *Intermediate Steering in the District*

In every Brussels district that concludes a *contrat de quartier,* an intermediate steering committee – the *Commission locale de Développement intégré (CLDI)* – is set up. It acts as a consultant for the development and implementation of the project concept and chairs the procedures. The *CLDI* includes representatives of the municipality, the regional administration, residents, housing providers, Brussels welfare services, project sponsors, French and Flemish communities and other players. Since 2000 there have been resident meetings (*assemblées générales)* as well, where all relevant stakeholders and residents convene. This body designates resident delegates to the *CLDI* (cf. Région de Bruxelles-Capitale).

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Denmark

Broadly generalizing, we can identify two types of deprived neighbourhoods in Denmark: public housing estates built from the 1960s to the 1980s with a high percentage of council flats; and older inner-city residential areas (above all in Copenhagen) (Franke/Strauss 2005: 14). In both area types, some of the major problems are the above-average percentage of unemployed and transfer payment recipients. Especially in public housing areas, these problems are compounded by (psycho-)social adversities: alcohol and drug abuse, vandalism, crime and tension between immigrants and Danes. In older sections of town, structural and urban development insufficiencies are more likely to be the problem. Both types of area tend to suffer from a negative image (cf. Munk 2003: 1; Skifter Andersen 2002: 8 f).

The area-based integrated programme *Kvarterløft* was adopted at national level in 1996 as a reaction to the emergence of concentrated problem clusters in certain areas. It presents the latest developments in a number of different Danish urban (neighbourhood) regeneration strategies and reflects a trend away from purely top-down town planning to bottom-up-oriented, integrated neighbourhood regeneration (cf. Leonardsen et al. 2003: 7 f; Skifter Andersen et al. 2000: 8 ff). The programme's core concept is the interdepartmental combination of approaches to support target groups and areas. This integrated strategy strongly emphasizes local community involvement. The focus is no longer solely on conventional (urban) development regeneration. *Kvarterløft* also fosters social and economic change and participation (cf. Skifter Andersen et al. 2000: 12 f). In brief, the programme is founded on three principles: an interdepartmental approach; cooperation between government and non-government players (e.g. local entrepreneurs, residents) and involvement of neighbourhood residents and other local stakeholders (cf. Leonardsen et al. 2003: 8).

The first round of the *Kvarterløft* programme from 1997 to 2001, with an option to extend to the end of 2003 for some areas, involved seven localities in five larger cities (including three localities in Copenhagen), and initially stressed structural regeneration, rent abatement and social activities. The second round, commenced in 2001 (and scheduled to run to 2007), has a broader spectrum of fields of activity such as social affairs (including integration of migrants), culture, industry and commerce (including local job creation), town planning, transport and the environment (cf. Skifter Andersen et al. 2000: 12 f) in five newly selected areas (two of which are in Copenhagen).

The programme is implemented in three phases (cf. Leonardsen et al. 2003: 13 f; Skifter Andersen et al. 2000: 13). It begins with a one-year neighbourhood planning stage which gives local residents, organizations and onsite initiatives the opportunity to make their neighbourhood development ideas and wishes known at public hearings (*neighbourhood planning stage*). This provides input for a *Kvarterplan* (see box) which is drafted jointly by all concerned departments and offices and then deliberated and adopted by the city council. The adopted plan forms part of a programme imple-

mentation agreement concluded by the ministry responsible and the municipality. It must be renegotiated annually with central government and contains among other things statements on planned projects and measures, financing aspects and also (quantifiable) targets. The actual measures and project phase follow *(implementation stage)* from the second to sixth year of the programme. The final year is the anchoring stage, when a decision is reached on whether and how already accomplished projects can be sustained beyond their original expiration date (Leonardsen et al. 2003: 14; cf. København Kommune/By- og Boligministeriet 2001).

Kvarterløft projects are concentrated in the cities of Aalborg, Brøndby, Horsens, Hvidovre, Kolding, Odense, Randers and, above all, Copenhagen where the extreme complexity of the plans required the establishment of intricate organizational structures. At government level an interdepartmental coordination forum was established to strengthen the exchange of information and lines of communication between the various departments and offices. This is intended to ensure that *Kvarterløft* areas gain special attention in each department and that relevant matters are given priority. The city *Kvarterløft* secretariat, which is also located at municipal level, is the interface between the national level, municipal government and area levels. It coordinates Copenhagen's *Kvarterløft* projects, organizes the interdepartmental coordination forum and furnishes the link to the programme initiator at national level (cf. Leonardsen et al. 2003: 10 ff).

Each Copenhagen *Kvarterløft* district has a project secretariat with a local public office accessible to all interested parties, which is the basis for implementing the programme at neighbourhood level. Its duties include among other things networking local players, initiating projects, supporting project ideas contributed by residents as well as activating and ensuring the participation of neighbourhood residents (cf. Leonardsen et al. 2003: 10 ff). The local project secretariat mediates (sectoral) conflicts of interests among the various departments and different local players and between municipal and local levels. It serves as a buffer zone between municipal and neighbourhood levels. The secretariat also has the task of consolidating resources and procuring additional financing (Franke/Strauss 2005: 24).

In each *Kvarterløft* area the intermediary, i.e. mediating, area between the municipality and neighbourhood levels has a local steering group, which reviews project and measure proposals put forward by the people of the neighbourhood. Although this body has no formal powers of decision, municipal policymakers usually adopt its recommendations. In addition, a *Kvarterforum* in each district serves as a public participation, information and discussion platform, where ideas, measures and projects are developed (cf. Franke/Strauss 2005: 26 f).

So far *Kvarterløft* has earmarked approximately €160 million for the 12 areas participating in the first and second programme rounds (Leonardsen et al. 2003: 7). The Copenhagen *Kvarterløft* projects in the first and second rounds have received one-third of their financing from the national government and two-thirds from municipal

funding. The complementary municipal funding is pooled and released prior to programme commencement. The *Kvarterløft* approach foresees the entire itemized budget being made available at the outset of implementation at local level *(fixed budget)*. Most of the resources are earmarked for urban regeneration measures. A smaller budget is available for integrated projects within the non-urban-planning domain and for participation, information work and financing the local project secretariat (cf. Leonardsen et al. 2003: 52; København Kommune/By- og Boligministeriet 2001: 2)*.

The final year of the programme is reserved for reflection on ways and means to extend individual projects *(anchoring stage).* One option is always the adoption of individual projects by a municipal department. Normally the sustainability issue should be addressed at the outset, but sufficient scope for experimentation should be left. Viewed from the sustainability angle, setting up a neighbourhood project office as a physical anchoring point has proved its worth even after the project has come to an end. Experience gained from *Kvarterløft* projects concluded so far has shown that permanent minimal staffing with one to two persons can help maintain local networks in particular (Franke/Strauss 2005: 29).

Concepts from the programme were borrowed to conduct *partnerskabs projekter* (partnership projects) in two additional areas in cooperation with major housing companies (cf. København Kommune 2004).

The mainstreaming of *Kvarterløft* is two-pronged. *Kvarterløft* is a pilot programme and will end in 2007. A permanent programme called "area regeneration" *(Omraadefornyelse)* will replace *Kvarterløft*. The concept is the same as that of *Kvarterløft*, however, it differs in the way subsidies from central government are reduced in order to save financial resources and attract more private investments. It also differs concerning the regeneration of non-profit housing which is not likely to be financed by this programme. Regeneration projects in non-profit housing areas will also follow the *Kvarterløft* concept in the future, but they will be financed and managed by the National Building Fund *(Landsbyggefonden)*. This Programme runs during the period 2006 - 2010.

In Denmark, too, especially in Copenhagen, interdepartmental cooperation at municipal level presents a challenge. A general issue that needs to be examined is whether the set objectives can be achieved when the programme is limited to seven or five years respectively. At the same time, Denmark's built-in anchoring stage can be viewed as exemplary in Europe.

Kvarterplan: residents plan their neighbourhood

Programme implementation begins in each area with the elaboration of an integrated neighbourhood development plan (*Kvarterplan*) which is valid for the entire duration of the project. The local project secretariat initiates this process by organizing open hearings.

Committees on issues tabled at the debates work out project and measure proposals. The local steering group weighs priorities, and final proposals are incorporated in the neighbourhood development plan (*Kvarterplan)* which is forwarded to the municipal *Kvarterløft* secretariat. Thus the planning stage features extensive involvement of residents and the local steering panel in steady dialogue with municipal departments (cf. Leonardsen et al. 2003: 21 f; København Kommune).

Each *Kvarterplan* is normally divided into five topic areas: urban regeneration, recreation and culture, the environment, employment as well as health and social affairs. It contains proposals for concrete measures and projects and gives details on the funding required. The *Kvarterplan* is debated and adopted by the city council (along with the budget for the duration of the scheme) and then has the nature of a contract between the municipality and the local level (Franke/Strauss 2005: 28). The *Kvarterplan* is approved by the central government, which also examines the progress made each year on the basis of a report from the municipality.

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France

In France, social-spatial disadvantage is found foremost in the suburbs of (big) French towns and cities. These districts are characterized by huge housing developments (*grands ensembles)* built in the 1960s and 1970s, displaying architectural uniformity, monofunctionality, anonymity and infrastructural inadequacies among other things. Originally designed as modern commuter dormitories, they are now inhabited by disadvantaged sections of the population, many of them with a migrant background. Some of the problems of the *banlieue* estates are severe town planning shortcomings and the fact that the percentage of public housing and tenancy restrictions can be anything up to 100 percent. There is also above-average (youth) unemployment, below-average household incomes and poverty, an above-average percentage of single parents, above-average dependence on state welfare, an undersupply of public services such as healthcare, a high level of unstable family structures, scholastic failure of children and juveniles, drug abuse and violence. Social blending tendencies are few and far between (Neumann 2006: 2 ff; cf. durch stadt + raum, undated: 26 f).

Since the 1980s the number of these disadvantaged areas has risen from about 150 to around 750. The affected areas have nearly 5 million residents (or approximately 8 percent of the population of France). They are no longer concentrated in the Paris metropolitan area as they were 20 years ago, but located all over the country (Neumann 2006: 3).

State programmes to develop deprived neighbourhoods have operated in France since the 1980s. They have covered diverse aspects – urban development, housing construction, schools, social and cultural infrastructure, labour market policy, economic stimulation, combating crime – and are conducted under the umbrella of *politique de la ville* (Neumann 2006: 7). In the past 25 years various focuses have been evident. They range from structural upgrading to economic and labour market measures to more integrated approaches, in which social aspects in particular have been emphasized (cf. durch stadt + raum, undated: 22).

In the first phase from 1981 to 1990, the focus was on social neighbourhood development policies *(Développement Social des Quartiers – DSQ).* Initially the emphasis was on both the promotion of new housing and personalized residential assistance. Subsequent focuses were redevelopment and social development in the big estates. In addition, in 1982 *zones d'éducation prioritaires* (ZEPs) were established to ad-

dress scholastic, cultural, social and economic issues. Nevertheless, at the end of the 1980s, it had to be admitted that spatial and social disintegration tendencies in French cities had not diminished despite all the innovative, integrated countermeasures. Violent clashes in French suburbs were among the consequences (Neumann 2006: 7; Sackmann 2001: 86).

Urban policy was reoriented by the 1991 legislation *Loi d'Orientation sur la Ville (LOV).* The centrepiece of the act was the new objective of breaking down the spatial concentration of social deprivation to achieve a more functional mix and population diversity in French cities and regions. The agenda featured multi-use of land, housing supply diversification and broader dispersion of public housing construction among more municipalities than had been the case to date. The early-1996 Urban action programme, the Urban Revitalization Pact *(Pacte pour la Relance de la Ville)* constituted a further approach which put more emphasis on labour market and job creation policies in French urban planning. Some of the principal objectives were combating youth unemployment and reintegrating the long-term unemployed and less skilled into the primary labour market. To accomplish these goals, in *banlieue* areas with *grands ensembles,* various special-needs zones were established during the mid-1990s and classified by the urgency of their social and economic problems: "sensitive urban zones" (*zones urbaines sensibles* – ZUSs), "urban revitalization zones" (*zones de redynamisation urbaine* – ZRUs) and "urban free zones" (*zones franches urbaines* – ZFUs) (see box) (cf. Neumann 2006: 9 f).

The "Law on Solidarity and Urban Regeneration" (*Loi relative à la Solidarité et au Renouvellement Urbain* – SRU) renewed the (1991) LOV principles and oriented urban policy especially on better distribution of public housing construction among municipalities. The focus was considerably broadened by the 2003 "Law on Orientation and Programming for Towns and Cities and Urban Regeneration" (*Loi d'Orientation et de Programmation pour la Ville et la Rénovation Urbaine).* This legislation diversified the attention on redevelopment and economic development of deprived neighbourhoods to encompass equal opportunity and social inclusion. Integrated action is stressed. Town planning, the economy and social cohesion are paid equal attention, although investment concentrates in particular on new housing construction, redevelopment, redesigning and demolition (Neumann 2006: 8, 12).

Urban regeneration efforts to develop deprived neighbourhoods have always been accompanied by distinctly socially oriented laws and programmes. The 1998 Law Relating to Combating Exclusion (*Loi d'Orientation relative à la Lutte contre Exclusions*) was enacted to oblige the entire public sector to fight social marginalization. The "Action Plan to Combat Poverty and Social Exclusion" (*Plan National d'Action pour l'Inclusion Sociale* – 2003-05) addressed welfare-state security, public housing construction and job precariousness (cf. durch stadt + raum, undated: 25). The 2004 *Plan de Cohésion Sociale* is clearly area-based. It directly tackles the *banlieue* issues and is geared toward social cohesion and economic development in the sensitive urban zones. Twenty different programmes with more than 100 separate measures

have been launched to accomplish the three main goals: employment, housing construction and equal opportunity. The latter objective is primarily directed at immigration and antidiscrimination policy and schools. A total of €13.000 million is earmarked for these purposes from 2004 to 2009. If urban regeneration is included, the sum totals almost €50,000 million (Neumann 2006: 12 f).

Several trends can be seen as a reaction to the autumn 2005 youth riots: certain aspects of French policy aimed at developing deprived neighbourhoods are currently considered particularly important. These include improving qualification opportunities, discussing concepts to make recruitment procedures anonymous (to overcome the "poor neighbourhood background" stigma), improving school curricula, including new assistance options and a possible resurrection of the priority education zones (*zones d'education prioritaires*) dating back to 1981. (Neumann 2006: 13 f).

French policy programmes have traditionally been essentially central government initiatives. This means not only direct leverage of legislation down to the municipal level but also central government allocation of funding to the municipalities (cf. Sander 2001: 8). In contrast, the socially oriented approaches to urban development subsumed by *Politique de la Ville* exhibit elements of a stronger decentralized procedure involving several levels of government (cf. durch stadt + raum undated: 30 ff). The coordination of programmes to benefit deprived neighbourhoods is the responsibility at national level of the "pooling authority" established in 1988, the *Délégation Interministérielle de la Ville* (previously *Commission Nationale du Développement Social des Quartiers*). It reports to an urban affairs minister without portfolio, the *Ministre Chargé de la Ville*. At the cabinet-level, the *Conseil Interministériel de la Ville* makes all major urban policy decisions and coordinates interministerial collaboration. In 2003, the new Ministry of Employment, Social Cohesion and Housing established the *Comité National d'Evaluation des Politiques de la Ville*, the *Agence Nationale pour la Rénovation Urbaine* (*ANRU*) and the *Observatoire National des Zones Urbaines Sensibles*. ANRU coordinates urban regeneral resource pooling, while the newly created *Agence Nationale de Cohésion Sociale* is in charge of pooling funds for social affairs, education and integration.

Programme implementation until the end of 2006 also involved the municipal level in so-called town and city contracts (*contrats de ville)* between the central government and towns and cities. They have been the most important urban development steering mechanism. The agreements govern among other things pooled funding from different ministries as part of their respective national economic plan for integrated, area-based measures (cf. Neumann 2006: 7; Sander 2001: 8 ff). Critics note that the implementation level of the neighbourhood is scarcely involved in programme design although activation and participation – for instance through aid to clubs and associations – are considered important, and many areas have their own local neighbourhood management.

The *contrats de ville* were replaced by *contrats urbains de cohésion sociale* on 1 January 2007. They consolidate formerly separate programmes, run for three years at most, and are signed annually by the state, the respective region and the municipalities (mayors) concerned. Approaches to remedy the situation in deprived neighbourhoods concentrate on five action areas: improving residential surroundings and the environment, access to jobs and (local) economic development, improving education, preventing crime, and providing better healthcare (cf. *Ministère de l'Emploi, de la Cohésion Sociale et du Logement*).

Overall, France's handling of deprived neighbourhoods is characterized by a variety of promotion programmes. Their downside, however, can be seen in their complexity. Both the negotiation of urban contracts between players at various state and municipal levels – even housing companies have been highly involved – as well as application submission at local level for support from the diverse promotion programmes and instruments often prove to be cumbersome. One result of this can be that the desired neighbourhood activation effects fall short of expectations (cf. Sander 2001: 8 ff).

ZUS, ZRU, ZFU: Establishment of clearly defined area-based approaches

Sensitive urban zones (*zones urbaines sensibles* – ZUS) are deprived neighbourhoods with a lack of employment opportunities. As an incentive, companies in the approximately 750 zones are exempt from paying tax on profits.

Urban revitalization zones (z*ones de redynamisation urbaine* – ZRU) face issues resembling those in the sensitive urban zones, but the problems are more serious and have more social implications. Enterprises in the more than 400 urban revitalization zones are exempted not only from paying taxes on their profits but also from trade tax and corporate income tax as well. They are also favoured in the area of write-offs and social insurance contributions.

Urban free zones (z*ones franches urbaines* – ZFU) are declared in extremely problematic large housing estates. The government fully waives all forms of taxation of all enterprises including the service sector in these free zones for five years and foregoes all insurance contributions up to a certain ceiling. Apart from promoting local economic development, ZFU goals are also improving the social situation and the quality of public services. Presently France has more than 80 ZFUs (Neumann 2006: 10).

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Germany

Structural change in western Germany beginning in the 1970s and transformation processes in eastern Germany since reunification in 1990 have led among other things to significant deindustrialization, high unemployment and substantial socio-economic segregation. As a result, most German cities have spawned deprived neighbourhoods, in which a number of interrelated problems are concentrated: above-average long-term and/or youth unemployment, large sections of the population relying on government transfer payments, the decline of local economies, increased migration away from the area of more affluent sectors of the population, structural and urban development deficits, vacant properties, disinvestment, tensions between social and/or ethnic groups, individual psychosocial problems such as resignation and substance abuse. Some of these areas have all but lost their social networks. Neighbourhoods fitting this description are mostly inner-city (former) working-class neighbourhoods or big housing estates on the outskirts (cf. Difu 2003: 57 ff).

To address these complex problems and to rally still existing resources in the affected neighbourhoods, the federal government and *Länder* launched a programme called *Neighbourhoods with Special Development Needs – the Socially Integrative City* (*Stadtteile mit besonderem Entwicklungsbedarf – die soziale Stadt*, known in short as *Soziale Stadt*). The programme's overriding goal is to improve living conditions in disadvantaged areas comprehensively by implementing upgrading strategies among other things. Since 2004 this has been incorporated in writing into the Building Code which regulates urban regeneration. The basic tenet is adhering to an integrated approach reflecting the conviction that it does not suffice simply to implement measures and projects in the social affairs, cultural, economic, urban development and environmental sectors. On the contrary, it seems necessary to identify the interrelation of these action areas in everyday neighbourhood life and understand them – especially from the perspective of the affected population (cf. ARGEBAU 2005). Con-

sequently, emphasis is placed on intertwining action areas, which *Soziale Stadt* summarizes in three categories (Difu 2003: 99):

- improving physical housing and living conditions (predominantly through investment in construction measures and projects relating to buildings, residential surroundings and public spaces);
- improving individuals' personal opportunities (among other things by imparting knowledge, skills and abilities/empowerment, helping them to help themselves, offers of comprehensive participation);
- integrating and networking (among other things measures and projects to integrate immigrants, place people with special needs in jobs and housing, revive neighbourhood life and the local economy, and promote health.

In Germany, youth and long-term unemployment with its material and psychosocial repercussions is one of the gravest problems in "neighbourhoods with special development needs". For this reason, measures to stimulate employment of low-skilled persons both in the city as a whole and in the targeted neighbourhood are stressed and embedded in local economic strategies. Some of these schemes are neighbourhood-oriented, hence tailored counselling and support services for local enterprises and business startups, training and placement measures specially designed for the jobless and the promotion of the ethnic economy. Alternative civic and socio-economic projects supplement these strategies. An early bridging of the gap between schools and employers is also vital. Programme implementation so far has shown that special attention must be paid to schooling and training of children and adolescents in a neighbourhood context and to integrating immigrants (cf. BBR/IfS 2004: 193 ff).

Germany's integrative *Soziale Stadt* approach is based on resource pooling. For the most part, the programme's funding is furnished in equal amounts by the federal government, the *Land* and the municipality involved. At the moment this is providing more than €300 million annually for the just under 400 areas currently taking part in the programme nationwide. If all the projects and measures necessary are to be implemented, it is necessary, however, and therefore a declared objective of the programme, to raise additional funds from various state and municipality departments and from (EU) promotion programmes. Resource pooling involves more than money. It also means that experts from diverse administrative areas cooperate closely and pool their know-how. Another closely related programme objective is the comprehensive activation and participation of residents from the local neighbourhood as well as other important players such as local entrepreneurs (cf. Difu 2003: 148 ff).

The focus of these intensive participatory schemes is the area-based approach. To gain admission to the *Soziale Stadt* programme, municipalities must define the borders of programme areas. They are the lowest common denominator and thus the basis for discussions among the various players involved, even if each has a different (professional) perspective, priorities or stake with regard to the onsite situation. The

defined area creates a clear framework for identification of shortcomings and poten-
tial, integration of players, local institutions and organizations, allocation of funding,
onsite-related development and implementation of measures and projects, and the
review of developments. Nevertheless, it is also necessary – and is therefore also
stipulated in the *Soziale Stadt* programme – to include the environs of the area
(whole city or region) in neighbourhood development. Labour market sprawl among
other things amply illustrates this requirement.

Integrated development plans, jointly elaborated by municipalities and local players,
are the basis for implementing the programme. In addition to details on planning, pro-
jects and measures, the concepts cover concrete implementation ideas as well as a
summary of costs and funding. They are designed to be extended and are therefore
based on broad participation. Normally, *Soziale Stadt* implementation has shown that
when it comes to activation and participation, as a rule a distinction must be made
between active identification and organization of local interests and tailored, more
project-oriented opportunities to become involved, which tend to have an event char-
acter. In this context, it is not only a matter of clashing "traditions" in planning and
community work, but also each form usually reaches very different groups of players
– disadvantaged, frequently relatively inarticulate population segments on the one
hand, and more middle-class segments and professional players on the other. Ide-
ally, activation and participation complement each other as equal partners. Going
one step further, measures, projects and structures which empower individuals, es-
pecially in overcoming poverty and achieving equal opportunities (for instance in ac-
cessing the labour market), are major areas of activity. In sum, it is evident that ap-
propriate management and organizational structures are a fundamental prerequisite
for successful implementation (see box and Figure 1) (Difu 2003: 192 ff).

The German experience demonstrates that the integrative and cooperative *Soziale
Stadt* approach, its area orientation, stress on participation of non-professional play-
ers and equal and simultaneous consideration of construction investment, social in-
tegration and (local) economic stimulation is the only alternative in being able to
combat the consequences of economic structural change and increasing social po-
larization. At the same time, interdepartmental collaboration at all involved steering
levels, resource pooling and focusing more markedly on local economy, integration of
migrants, and training, education, child and youth policies continue to present chal-
lenges to programme implementers (cf. BBR/IfS 2004).

Neighbourhood management: networking of levels and players

The key to success in implementing the *Soziale Stadt* programme is comprehensive 'area' or
neighbourhood management in municipal government, in the area itself and between both
levels (cf. Figure 1). The German situation appears best addressed by horizontal networking
of the various specialized departments at state and municipal levels. This interfacing must
first of all be institutionalized (by "interdepartmental task forces" as "pooling bodies") and
then coordinated by a high-profile ("area official") position specially created for this task. On-

site offices with adequate staff have proven to be essential at the neighbourhood level in order to demonstrate presence and be approachable in the area. They are instrumental in activating and coordinating neighbourhood people and other local players non-project specifically, and can even carry out such tasks themselves sometimes. Mediation between neighbourhood and municipal government levels and the involving of further players such as chambers of commerce and industry is supposed to be assured by chaired neighbourhood procedures (cf. Franke/Grimm 2006).

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Figure 1

Neighbourhood management
Areas of responsibility and organization

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL

Coordination
Overall project steering
Resource pooling

Departments and agencies

Departments and agencies

Area commissioner

Market

Political sphere

INTERMEDIATE LEVEL

Moderation, mediation, networking

District moderator

District-based coordination (players, project development)

Tertiary sector (non-profit)

Employees in neighbourhood office

NEIGHBOURHOOD LEVEL

Local players

Residents

Organization of interests, initiation and support of activities (activation and involvement)

Franke/Grimm 11/2001

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Italy

Italy is characterized by major differences in development from region to region. The contrast is particularly sharp between north and south. Differences can be found in demographics, the level of economic development and the efficiency of urban-regional structures. The gap between richer and poorer population groups, which was once indicative of the North-South divide, has become increasingly prevalent within individual Italian cities since the 1980s. This was brought about by the intensification of processes such as suburbanization, income segregation, gentrification, polarization and marginalization. As a result, deprived neighbourhoods arise, usually in old inner-city neighbourhoods or parts of the historical centre; former working-class districts cut off from the rest of the city by barriers such as railway lines, ports or industrial sites; monofunctional (large) public housing estates on city outskirts; former industrial estates or ports shaped by deindustrialization. In southern Italy, the list also includes unplanned housing developments constructed without planning permission for property speculation purposes (cf. EUKN, Nuvolati 2002: 2 f).

These deprived neighbourhoods suffer from an accumulation of problems, which can differ considerably in their makeup from place to place. The main problems include unemployment (particularly the youth and long-term variant), concentration of people from socio-economically weaker population groups and of immigrants, drug abuse, crime, residents lacking networks and social connections. In addition, there are often a number of structural and urban development problems such as redevelopment and modernization backlogs, lack of building maintenance, low-quality construction, substandard facilities and installations, inadequate residential surroundings, little or no social and cultural infrastructure, declining local economy, poor environmental conditions and an increasing number of buildings and plots left empty. Many of these areas are stigmatized and have a negative image within the city as a whole (cf. Bevilacqua et al. 2000: 15 ff; Borlini et al. 2005: 3 f; Mezzetti et al. 2003; Nuvolati 2002: 3 f; Sept 2006: 60 f).

The approach of supporting the regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods through integrated programmes and thus addressing their problems was first implemented at national level in Italy by *Cer* (National Housing Committee) and later by the *Dipartimento per il Coordinamento dello Sviluppo del Territorio* (Department for the Coordination of Regional Development of the Ministry of Public Works, now Ministry for Infrastructure). Several consecutive programmes have been initiated and implemented in this way since 1992, because they aim at promoting innovative integrated approaches to urban development and transformation, these programmes are commonly referred to as *Programmi Complessi*. The *Programmi integrati di intervento* (Pi) (1992) focused primarily on the construction of new housing and aimed to combine public and private funding. The *Programmi di recupero urbano* (PRU) followed in 1994. They were set up to combat structural and urban development shortcomings of run-down public housing. The most important tool of the PRUs are public-private partnerships. The same year witnessed the introduction of *Programmi di riqualificazi-*

one urbana (Priu) for structural and urban redevelopment of buildings, infrastructures and public spaces in urban areas affected by deindustrialization and dereliction. The *Contratti di quartiere* (1997) aimed at combating social marginalization and improving living standards in public housing. The *Contratti* were a first attempt to formulate guidelines at national level which explicitly incorporate the need to tackle social and structural problems in the neighbourhood alongside purely urban development improvements. They stress among other things the relevance of social measures, job creation schemes and participation of local residents. The *Programmi di recupero urbano e di sviluppo sostenibile* (PRUSST), which were set up in 1998, promote sustainable economic and social development not so much of neighbourhoods as of entire metropolitan areas and even larger regional contexts. They do this by bringing together and coordinating existing projects and through the strong involvement of private players and investors. In late 2002 the *Contratti di quartiere II* were introduced as a new version of the tried-and-tested funding tool. The new programme incorporates the Italian regions in co-financing to a much greater degree than its predecessor (cf. Mingione et al. 2001: 9 f; Bevilacqua et al. 2000: 28 f; Zajczyk et al. 2005: 19 ff; Sept 2006: 51 f). The programme *Porti & Stazioni*, which was also launched in 2002, focuses primarily on promoting transport infrastructures, but also supports renewal of neighbourhoods near ports and railway stations affected by economic decline, social marginalization and urban development and environmental problems (cf. EUKN). The programme represents a first attempt to strengthen the capacity of these cities to perform as logistic nodes.

Large urban regeneration initiatives funded by national public grants and community initiatives such as URBAN I and II have been managed and promoted at national level. Italy has particularly been able to gather wide experience of integrated area-based approaches to the development of deprived neighbourhoods through the URBAN I initiatives (1994-99), in which sixteen Italian neighbourhoods (mainly in southern Italy) participated, as well as through URBAN II, in which ten neighbourhoods took part (cf. Sept 2006: 59 ff). Interest in participating in URBAN II was very high among Italian cities, but only a few applicants could be included in the programme. The will to combine the successful approach promoted by the CI URBAN with the positive experiences gathered through national programmes, which are still sometimes characterized by a sectoral approach, inspired the Italian Government to set up its own initiative to co-finance the 20 highest ranking urban regeneration programmes which did not receive URBAN II funding. URBAN ITALIA, was set up in 2001 and launched in 2003 and is still running. It aims to achieve sustainable and integrated upgrades for the buildings, infrastructure and social environment of deprived neighbourhoods in order to improve quality of life, social cohesion and integration, the employment situation, the local economy, the cultural scene and environmental conditions. Measures included building redevelopment, construction of new buildings, support for education and training, social and cultural activities and participation of residents. Project focuses adapt to the specific requirements of each target area. URBAN ITALIA differs from URBAN I and II in that it is not merely area-based since much larger areas, sometimes entire towns or cities, can be affected by the

programme as far as the links between the different parts are relevant to improving conditions in the deprived areas. The URBAN ITALIA initiative has triggered investments totalling €360 million, €101 million of which are state grants. The remainder of the financial resources come from private investors and local public institutions (cf. Sept 2006: 104 ff).

A second generation of *Programmi Complessi* is currently underway. It consists of initiatives specifically aimed at promoting innovative urban and regional development practices in line with the new strategic priorities identified at Community level. The national guidelines produced for the set up of these initiatives focus particularly on the role of cities as the catalysts of solid regional networks which strengthen cohesion and competitiveness levels. *Sviluppo integrato sistemi territoriale multi azione* (*SISTeMA*) and *Piano strategico/Piano urbano della mobilità (PS/PUM)*, the most important programmes, were launched by *Direzione Generale Coordinamento Territoriale (Di.Co.Ter.)* with modest financial endowments. Their implementation relies on solid public-private partnerships and, more generally, on their capacity to enhance local resources and attract investments. *SISTeMA* in particular, which involves 11 urban regions in the centre-north and 10 in the south for a total public investment of just over €10 million, has helped local governments produce very convincing regional/spatial development strategies which are now in the process of being implemented.

The main challenges for the area-based integrated development of deprived neighbourhoods in Italy are, besides establishing and organizing a national strategy, the activation, participation and empowerment of neighbourhood residents and all relevant players, as well as encouraging acceptance of bottom-up processes. Resident participation is, however, usually rather limited, as there is no strong tradition of this, no legal basis for involving residents in planning processes and a lack of faith in the success of participation. Nevertheless, there are many examples of deprived neighbourhoods in Italian cities where projects incorporating bottom-up approaches, activation, participation and the activities of local initiatives and volunteer organizations have played a considerable role and where interest in participation is on the increase (cf. Sept 2006: 41 ff; Bevilacqua et al. 2000: 14; Borlini et al. 2005: 5 f; Nuvolati 2002: 5).

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Netherlands

In the Netherlands, structural and urban development, social and economic problems accumulate most often in older inner city residential neighbourhoods built in the late 19th and early 20th century and in the post-World War II large housing estates on city outskirts. These areas have a high share of public housing. The flats are frequently in poor condition with basic amenities. The neighbourhoods show signs of poverty and also economic stagnation. Residents are often unemployed and receive transfer payments. Higher-earning and more mobile households move to more affluent suburbs. The city centres are losing their appeal. As a result, they are also stagnating economically. In recent times, crime and the integration of ethnic minorities have been cited as particular problems in these neighbourhoods (ODPM 2005; Braun et al. 2004: 97 f; Aalbers et al. 2004).

In view of this situation, big cities in particular in the Netherlands have been testing three types of policy since the 1970s. They are explicitly area-based and focus on the stabilization and regeneration of housing, living and working conditions in the deprived neighbourhoods (Burgers et al. 2001: 11). The first policy, *PCG-beleid*, focused primarily on structural and urban development regeneration. Regeneration of the predominantly public housing was intended to improve the living conditions of local, mostly poor, population. The second approach which followed on from the first was a policy of "*Social Regeneration"*, broadening the objectives and scope of the

programme (Froessler 1999). Participation of inhabitants in implementing the policy became more important. Restructuring and upgrading existing housing was intended to attract new tenants with greater purchasing power. In addition, structural and urban development regeneration was combined with stabilizing and promoting the local economy. This linking of different action areas required cooperative work practices among administrative bodies resulting in the political and administrative system itself becoming the object of modernization efforts (pooling resources, overhauling organizational and decision-making structures to make them more flexible and decentralized). In the light of continuing and worsening problem complexes, a third approach and with it a new policy, the Big Cities Policy / BCP (*Grotestedenbeleid*), was launched in 1994. This policy was given more weight especially because it was assigned to a coordinating minister who was responsible for metropolitan and integration policies. The portfolio did not have its own budget but the minister shared financial responsibility for the budget planning of other cabinet members (resource pooling).

The BCP is currently viewed as the most important urban policy in the Netherlands (Dekker/van Kempen 2004: 109). The programme was launched initally in the Netherlands' four largest cities (Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague and Rotterdam). In subsequent years 27 medium-sized towns and cities became eligible.

The BCP is an area-based concept which combines urban development, social and economic objectives and measures. Key instruments in this metropolitan policy are resource pooling, civic participation, decentralization, making organizational structures more flexible (down to resident-run management institutions and professional neighbourhood managements with their own funds), monitoring and area focus. This area approach – the Dutch call it local tailoring – is supported by well-developed, small-scale monitoring systems which are called on for differentiated problem analyses and precise demarcation of areas. Partnerships between central, regional and local authorities develop and customize solutions for individual cities and deprived neighbourhoods (Sander 2001: 10)., On the basis of a holistic approach, the government and municipalities would work together to implement area-based measures which targeted in equal measure social, economic, structural and urban development regeneration and stabilization. For many years the model for this policy was the image of the complete and vital city, a city in balance (Boxtel 1999).

The first BCP phase (1995-99) took up five themes to stabilize deprived neighbourhoods: labour and the economy, health and availability of goods and services, quality of social and physical (living) conditions, and education. The cities were able to implement projects in individual action areas and received funding from the central government. In 1999 this approach was expanded. The second phase of the Big Cities Policy (1999-2004) focused on long-term programme agreements between municipalities and the central government. Cities were required to submit 10-year development plans which had to include three pillars: employment and the economy, urban development and social development. The central government and the respective

cities concluded agreements covering these development plans. This was the basis of central budget allocations of funding. Distribution of funds to the neighbourhoods varied. For example, in Amsterdam all districts received funding in principle, but to different degrees, since neighbourhoods were differentiated according to needs for action into so-called vulnerable, standard and development neighbourhoods. Development neighbourhoods with the most severe problems were given top priority and consequently were granted the most resources. Many neighbourhoods were also supported by EU funds, e.g. *ESF, URBAN II* and *EQUAL*.

Since 2005 – following a change of government – integrated area-based policies have been in flux. The third BCP phase has begun after a major overhaul. Now the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations is responsible for the coordination of the Big City Policy at central government level. The new *Sterke Stad* (strong city) vision is to be implemented from 2005 to 2009 (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations 2004: 4). The themes of security, integration and naturalization of ethnic minorities have been added to the policy contents. *Sterke Stad's* main objectives are pooling resources, reducing bureaucracy and specifying goals and desired outcomes more precisely in agreements between the government and cities. The new policy also gives cities more leeway to customize their own long-term development plans, giving even more significance to area focus. To promote this, the central government has made three five-year *Special Purpose Grants* (see box) available to the cities for the action areas of 1) the economy, 2) structural and urban development / physical aspects and 3) social aspects / integration and security. However, in comparison with earlier phases, substantially less financing is available overall.

Cities can draw up their development plans and on signing the agreement can use the funds as they see fit in five action areas: 1) improving subjective and objective security, 2) improving structural and urban development environmental quality, 3) improving social quality residential surroundings, 4) retaining medium and high-income groups in the town/city, 5) improving the economic strength of the city. Not all five action areas must be given equal attention; the local situation and problems are supposed to be taken into due consideration.

In contrast to earlier phases, more emphasis is put on assessment of results. New guidelines stipulate that the cities' development plans, required for an agreement with the government, must include an analysis of the city. In this section the city refers to various district categories and neighbourhoods in evaluating problems, overarching goals and desired results in the selected action areas – appropriate to the given problems. Results are operationalized. The agreements distinguish between *outcome* (in the sense of general positive impacts in the specified fields of activity), and *output* (in the sense of what is achieved and/or measurable results). It no longer suffices to state general improvement and stabilization of economic conditions as the objective. For instance, to gauge the improvement in economic growth, the contract must state the number of renovated and new industrial sites in the city as a target (in

hectares). This gives the government and the cities a binding yardstick with which to measure the results.

The city and the government meet annually to discuss implementation procedures. Urban policy results are evaluated three times during the course of the contract: when the indicators are chosen, part-way through implementation and a final assessment. In 2009, when the project is over, the city presents a single full account of results in a final analysis. The government then determines the final amount granted to the cities on the basis of these accounting reports. It might happen that funding is cut in retrospect in individual cases.

It is too early to assess the most recent stage of the Big Cities Policy. Criticism of earlier phases focused mainly on failure to define responsibilities with the result that differing decisions were sometimes taken by several offices and these did not always match. Consequently, there were some delays in implementing measures which led to frustration among residents (Dekker/van Kempen 2004: 116). With regard to participation, most of the measures attracted chiefly the same stakeholders with professional interests who were already involved in other projects. In contrast, socially, politically and economically disadvantaged groups were included too little. This led in particular to the exclusion of ethnic minorities with a migrant background and young people.

Broad Special Purpose Grants: financial security for important fields of action

In the third phase of its Big City Policy, the government makes *Broad Special Purpose Grants* (BSPGs) available. This financial aid is for the three theme areas: physical aspects; the economy; and the trio social aspects, integration and security. The government's purpose in providing these grants is to give cities financial security for a five-year period. The city can use the money as it sees fit, provided it takes the stipulated BSGP pillars into account. This leeway is to enable the cities to react more flexibly to local conditions and requirements. Moreover, the grants are intended to reduce red tape by pooling resources.

The grants have budgets of various sizes: physical aspects, €1,091.4 million; the economy, €162.1 million; social aspects, integration and security, €2,577.2 million. Each of these grant budgets is coordinated by a different ministry. The Minister for Government Reform and Kingdom Relations coordinates urban development policy and is thus responsible for the whole process.

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Sweden

Sweden's deprived neighbourhoods are rarely found in inner-city areas. They tend to be on the perimeters of the three big cities, Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö. Mainly in the 1960s and 1970s and partly in the 1980s, municipal housing projects were built in these city outskirts which increasingly became the central living quarters of immigrants. Residents of these neighbourhoods are highly affected by unemployment and the majority receive transfer payments. The jobless rate may be low by European standards, but the percentage of unemployed immigrants, especially women, is above-average.

Alerted by this situation, the Swedish government launched an integrated Big Cities Policy, officially called the *Metropolitan Development Initiative – MDI (storstadspolitiken)* in 1999. It is based on five central principles: area-based focus, bottom-up approach (activation and participation of local players), interdepartmental co-operation at the administrative level, employment assistance and ongoing review of action areas and programme focuses (cf. Ministry of Justice 2006).

The main feature of MDI's area-based approach is that it specifically targets socio-economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods with a predominance of immigrants Thus, for the first time, a high concentration of inhabitants with a migration background is cited as a central criterion for an area-based approach in an urban policy programme. The declared objective of this policy is to support the integration of immigrants and sustainable economic growth. Focusing government funds on deprived neighbourhoods is intended to support projects and measures in the action areas of labour market promotion, language promotion, education, health, security and participation (Euricus 2004: 86). The accent is primarily on social aspects and less on construction. Greater responsibility and autonomy in urban (neighbourhood) development policy has been given to the local level (municipalities and districts). District authorities coordinate themselves among their various departments, steer the process and work in close collaboration with neighbourhood players to implement action plans.

The *Commission on Metropolitan Areas* was set up at central government level to provide ongoing supervision and to develop the new policy further (Andersson/Palander 2001: 21). All seven Swedish ministries are represented in the Commission which was chaired by the Ministry of Culture from 1998-2000, then by the Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communication from 2000 to 2002 and thereafter by the Ministry of Justice (Öresjö et al. 2004: 21).

In the first phase of the MDI from 1999 to 2003, *Local Development Agreements (LDAs)* were concluded between the central government and municipalities (see box) (Eriksson-Bech 2003: 16). The City of Stockholm and the Swedish government signed the first LDA in October 1999. It covered five residential neighbourhoods and focused on seven action areas: security, labour market, language promotion, schools, health, participation and public services. Between 1999 and 2002 the Government of Sweden concluded a total of seven agreements with municipalities in the cities of Stockholm, Göteborg und Malmö, addressing a total of 24 problem-ridden areas (Öresjö et al. 2004: 21).

Since 2004 no further government funds have been granted to the previously supported areas. In this *second phase* of the MDI, successful methods and measures are to be consolidated. Government grants are no longer available to continue the projects. On the contrary, new sources of funding must be tapped. For example, after MDI support expired in 2003, the City of Stockholm adopted its own *City District Regeneration Programme*, borrowing MDI approaches and profiting from the experience gained. The scheme ran from 2003 to 2006 with a budget of €66 million. In addition to the City, several housing construction companies contributed funds. The programme is intended to promote the development of local concepts and strategies. Under this umbrella, a *Periphery Initiative* – adopted by Stockholm City Council in 1995 – was conducted in Stockholm for example. Its objectives were to improve living conditions and promote civic commitment in 13 neighbourhoods which lagged

behind other districts in their social, economic, physical and material development (Andersson/Palander 2001: 34).

Emphasis on results and transferability are two focal points of current policymaking. The Commission on Metropolitan Areas has devised an indicator-based monitoring system to track social change in the 24 areas. It is already evident that in residential districts implementing an LDA, the employment rate has risen, the number of transfer payment recipients has sunk and educational qualification levels of the inhabitants have improved (Ministry of Justice 2006). Moreover, the transferability of the approaches to other districts is being tested. By 2007 another 20 communities will have received the opportunity to sign a local development agreement (Ministry of Justice 2006).

On the whole it is evident that the Swedish central government provides the main impetus for local solutions for area-based integrated development of deprived neighbourhoods, especially as its guidelines shape initiative contents. However, the main implementers of state policy are municipalities and local district authorities which cooperate with state agencies such as local job centres. The central government is not a member of the local empowerment panels set up to implement the programme.

MDI implementation at local level has been assessed positively on the whole. The projects in the 24 residential neighbourhoods help make local living conditions fairer and promote social integration (Lukkarinen 2004: 5). Nevertheless, a critical debate has ensued – not least because of the government's financial constrictions – on whether limiting support to the three largest Swedish cities and strengthening local empowerment, which forms the backbone of Big Cities Policy, really promote the overall goal of nationwide stimulation of sustainable growth (Nilsson 2004: 86 ff).

Local Development Agreements: Government-Municipality Partnerships

Local Development Agreements (LDAs) between the Government of Sweden and individual municipalities were the key tool of the first phase of the Metropolitan Development Initiative (MDI) (1999-2003). These agreements defined topics, objectives and plans of action for integrated redevelopment of disadvantaged residential neighbourhoods for a period of three years. LDAs benefit a total of 24 poor, ethnically diverse urban neighbourhoods in seven municipalities. One local development agreement may cover several residential neighbourhoods. To conclude an LDA, a municipality must apply for government funding and demonstrate that it can raise an equivalent share of funding of its own. Participation and activation (especially of local residents as well as other local players such as the police, housing companies, schools and local businesses) are prerequisites for conclusion of an agreement. Government funds become available to the municipality and the district authorities when an LDA is signed. Central government negotiations were conducted by the *Commission on Metropolitan Areas* which comprises the state secretaries of all seven ministries who lead the commission in rotation. At the time the agreements were concluded, 2,000 million Swedish

kroner, equalling about €220 million were available to the 24 residential neighbourhoods (between 1999 and 2002) for implementation of projects and development of suitable management and organizational structures (Öresjö et al. 2004: 21). Part of this sum had to be used to assess programme performance. Each local development agreement was subject to annual scrutiny (Andersson/Palander 2001: 31).

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United Kingdom

The emergence of deprived neighbourhoods in England is concentrated especially in structurally weak cities in the northern and western parts of the country (including Liverpool, Hull, Newcastle, Birmingham and Manchester), which are hardest hit by deindustrialization. In England's prosperous southeast, London in particular exhibits comparatively high socio-spatial polarization tendencies (ODPM 2006a: 112 ff). In Northern Ireland, deprived neighbourhoods are mainly to be found in Belfast, Derry and Strabane (cf. NISRA 2005). Scotland's principal problem areas are in Glasgow, Lanarkshire, Aberdeen und Edinburgh (cf. Scottish Executive Statistics). In Wales, the worst affected zones are foremost in the southeast, in and around Cardiff (cf. Welsh Assembly Government).

The biggest issues in deprived neighbourhoods in English towns and cities include unemployment and low incomes, dependence on government transfer payments and other handicaps such as insufficient qualifications as the principal causes of poverty and social exclusion. In many deprived neighbourhoods the situation is complicated by (personal) problems such as debt, personal insecurity, chronic illnesses, drug and alcohol abuse, dysfunctional families, crime and, in general, problems in living side-by-side as neighbours. The concentration of ethnic minorities is usually more promi-

nent in the deprived neighbourhoods than in other areas so that these population segments are affected by the above-cited problems more than other groups (ODPM 2006a: 111ff). Finally, it is maintained that public services and infrastructures in deprived neighbourhoods are often inadequate and in many cases not networked or coordinated (HM Treasury 2000: 4 f). One of the main influences on for the emergence of deprived neighbourhoods in England is (school) segregation, which results in more affluent segments of the populations moving away from the affected residential neighbourhoods (ODPM 2006a: 130).

National programmes to combat problems in urban areas have been employed in the UK since the mid-1940s. Until the late 1960s and early 1970s slum clearance measures dominated. Later in the 1970s, social and economic issues were increasingly tackled. During the 1980s, the predominant opinion was that deprived neighbourhoods should be given a chance to benefit from the nation's general economic prosperity by means of suitable state instruments, which would solve the problems in these neighbourhoods. *Urban Development Corporations* and *Enterprise Zones* were key instruments of this policy which facilitated considerable physical regeneration to tackle market failure, but which largely failed to bring economic benefits to local communities in surrounding neighbourhoods. The first half of the 1990s saw a reorientation towards social issues and the role of local authorities. The local population was also to be involved more strongly in urban regeneration processes and better coordination of state schemes was envisaged. The *Single Regeneration Budget (SRB),* an initiative launched in 1994, therefore pooled 18 previously separate programmes operated by five Ministries to finance integrated development approaches for deprived neighbourhoods (Atkinson 2003: 2 ff). The initiative tackled a wide range of issues: employment, education, training and qualification, economic development, housing, integration of ethnic minorities, crime control, the environment and, in general, improvement in local quality of life (ODPM 2006b: 82 f).

An *SRB Challenge Fund* operated through the *Government Offices of the Regions (GORs)* coordinated competitive bidding rounds for SRB funds. At local level, the creation of urban *Regeneration Partnerships* comprising representatives of local councils and municipal departments, the local economy, the third sector and local residents was the prerequisite for competing with other partnerships for SRB resources (Atkinson 2003: 2 ff).

When the Labour government came to power in 1997, the SRB idea was fundamentally shifted towards integrated, area-based programmes and measures to combat socio-spatial exclusion and further the holistic development of deprived neighbourhoods. The government intended to achieve better interdepartmental coordination, greater clarity on programme objectives and targets (area-based or target-group-based), to deal more adequately with complex localized problems and, as a means to this end, intensify cooperation at the various levels involved (the national government, borough and neighbourhood) (ODPM 2006b: 70 ff). Integrated approaches to neighbourhood regeneration became a national priority which were overseen by the

Prime Minister's Office, and subsequently by the Cabinet Office which now coordinates the Government's drive against social exclusion..

Dedicated task forces were established at national government level specifically for the purpose of coordinating these programmes (cf. Sander 2001: 8 ff). The new model was the result of a 1998 report on urban regeneration, *Bringing Britain Together: a National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal,* issued by the government *Social Exclusion Unit* which had been established a year earlier. The report contained a number of criticisms of previous policies, e.g. inefficiency and insufficient integration of national policies, top-down solutions instead of engaging local communities, emphasis on town planning at the expense of social issues. The government's *Urban Task Force,* under Lord Richard Rogers, reached similar conclusions in 1999 (Atkinson 2003: 8).

Among the objectives of the *National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal* are improvements in the five key areas: work/employment, security, education and training, health, and housing/residential surroundings. The government-run *Neighbourhood Renewal Unit* was set up in 2001 as the central coordination unit at national level. Based in the Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions (now Communities and Local Government), it also maintains contact to the local level. At regional level, the GORs work closely with local organizations in deprived neighbourhoods. *Regional Development Agencies (RDAs)* were launched in 1999 to act as strategic leaders of economic development and urban regeneration in the English regions. They network the business, public and civic sectors to combine local economy development with social integration policies through the delivery of regional strategies (Atkinson 2003: 11, ODPM 2006a: 18 ff; ODPM 2006b: 71 ff; Audit Commission 2002: 2 ff and HM Treasury 2000: 2). The RDAs operate a 'single pot' budget which combines the SRB Challenge Fund and other funding streams from several Ministries.

The innovative policy was made more concrete with the launch of the *New Deal for Communities* in 2000. Like the SRB, it focused on establishing partnerships for deprived neighbourhoods. A flanking measure was the *Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (NFR),* set up in 2001 from which improvements of public services in the 88 most disadvantaged local authorities are financed (Atkinson 2003: 10). The participation of community players in *Local Strategic Partnerships* (see box) are subsidized from the *Community Empowerment Fund* and *Community Chests.* A crucial factor is establishing neighbourhood management offices in deprived neighbourhoods to address the specific onsite situation, to activate and network residents and other local players and to establish contact between the neighbourhood level and local authorities (ODPM 2006a: 18 ff; ODPM 2006b: 73 f).

In addition, further national initiatives, programmes and measures play a role in developing deprived neighbourhoods and overcoming socio-spatial polarization. They include the 2003 *Sustainable Communities Plan* and two five-year plans: *Sustainable*

Communities: Homes for All; and *Sustainable Communities: People, Places and Prosperity*, both launched in 2005 (ODPM 2006a: 18 f). The *Sustainable Communities Plan* set five strategic priorities and eight central targets. They include regenerating the most deprived neighbourhoods, reducing social exclusion and supporting society's most disadvantaged groups (*Strategic Priority I*), decentralizing decision-making powers down to the neighbourhood level including clarifying the roles and functions of all the levels involved (*Strategic Priority III*), and, in general, urban regeneration in the physical urban development sense of the word (*Strategic Priority V*) (ODPM 2006a: 21 f).

Overall in the United Kingdom the trend can be observed that although the national government continues to play an important role, especially as the initiator of programmes and measures to develop deprived neighbourhoods, there is increasing scope for planning and decision-making at regional, city and neighbourhood levels and that it is taking a more integrated approach (ODPM 2006a: 16). One outcome is progress in turning the tide of exclusion tendencies in and away from deprived neighbourhoods. Earlier schemes to develop deprived neighbourhoods have been improved by partly reorienting government programmes (area focus, specifying objectives, integrating widely diverse players at the various government levels) (ODPM 2006b: 137 f), even though these innovations have necessitated a proliferation of panels and financing instruments which must be keep in mind at the implementation level. Moreover, Scotland and Wales, which have devolved administrations, have adopted their own approaches to tackling the challenges faced by deprived neighbourhoods in their territories..

Local Strategic Partnerships: Area-based Neighbourhood Governance

Local Strategic Partnerships comprising government offices, local organizations, institutions and enterprises, civic organizations, representatives of borough authorities and the community as central players are initiated by the local authority and are a prerequisite for programme participation. One of their most important tasks is the joint elaboration of a neighbourhood action framework which contains an analysis of local problems and prospects for development as well as objectives and their priority. In addition, to participate in the programme, it must be clearly stated which tasks are to be handled by which partners and that the formulated objectives are actually to be reached using the funds being applied for. The subsidization period is 10 years (ODPM 2006a: 83 ff, Sander 2011: 17 f).

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B   Countries with Integrated Neighbourhood Development Approaches at Regional and/or Municipal Level

Austria

Although Austria has a relatively favourable economic climate and thus fewer problems with youth unemployment and/or long-term unemployment than many other European countries, the cities (particularly in the Vienna region) are starting to display problematic tendencies. Like other countries, Austria is having to deal with the consequences of rapid change in its economic structures and the altered labour market conditions this has provoked. In Vienna and other towns and cities, the extent of social polarization is still relatively mild (cf. Breitfuss et al. 2004: 5). Nevertheless, deprived neighbourhoods are emerging in certain areas as a consequence of socio-spatial segregation and the spatial concentration of disadvantaged sections of the population. In Vienna in particular, accumulation of structural, spatial and functional problems in such neighbourhoods is being reported. These problems are compounded by complex disadvantages among the local inhabitants (inadequate education and qualifications, the problematic income situation of many households, poor opportunities and access to the labour market), on the whole poorly performing local economies, and unsatisfactory living conditions and residential surroundings (Steiner et al. 2003: 4).

In Austria there is as yet no national support programme to foster the integrated development of these deprived neighbourhoods, nor are there any programmes along these lines at the level of the individual states. However, such approaches are being tested at municipal level in the cities of Graz, Linz and particularly Vienna under the EU Structural Fund support programmes *(cf. among others URBAN, Objective 2)*. Whereas in Graz, implementation of URBAN II has primarily addressed the alleviation of problems caused by the mono-structure of trade and industry in the programme areas, in Vienna in particular, the approaches have focused strongly on community development (cf. Franke/Strauss 2005: 34).

This represents a continuation of Vienna's gentle urban regeneration *(Sanfte Stadterneuerung)* which has had over 30 years' experience of area-based decentralized projects offering advice and "social care" in redevelopment areas. In two of the city's assisted areas (Objective 2, 2000-2006 funding period), local neighbourhood management schemes *(Grätzelmanagements)* are serving as pilot projects for "socially oriented urban regeneration" in the sense of integrated neighbourhood development strategies. These – as in Denmark and Germany – can be seen as the latest step in the ongoing development of urban regeneration approaches (Förster 2004a: 12 ff, 24 f; Förster 2004b: 22 ff; cf. Franke/Strauss 2005: 36 f).

The primary goal of this neighbourhood regeneration approach is to combat the social and economic problems in particular in the project area by means of long-term, area-based activation and participation of neighbourhood residents and other relevant local players (especially from the trade and commerce sectors) and by networking of local institutions, organizations and enterprises. This does not mean simply development, but also the realization of suitable projects and measures by neighbourhood stakeholders themselves (cf. GM02 2003: 1 f).

The management and organization of the pilot projects involve three levels of steering and action. The implementation level in the neighbourhoods themselves plays the most important role whereas the district and the overall municipal administration tend to be responsible for the financial (Objective 2, municipal funding) and technical handling of the projects (cf. Franke/Strauss 2005: 40). The benefit of this is that in the neighbourhoods only few strict regulations influence project goals and processes. On the other hand, it has proven to be a problem that the local onsite offices have to bear the entire responsibility for additional acquisition of funds (e.g. from the regular specialized departments), pooling of various resources and keeping the relevant departments and offices informed and involved. There are no interdepartmental working groups with an area-based focus at either the district level or the overall municipal level (cf. Franke/Strauss 2005: 42).

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Ireland

In Ireland, especially in Dublin and its metropolitan area, Greater Dublin, where around 40% of the country's population live, there are many neighbourhoods characterized by dilapidated buildings, poor infrastructure, a lack of investment over a long period of time and impoverishment of the local population. These neighbourhoods are mainly concentrated in inner-city areas and urban outskirts or outer suburbs.

In the mid-eighties, because of lack of and insufficient state subsidization funding, regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods was promoted through tax incentives for private investors in urban regeneration. However, construction measures had little impact on social stabilizing of the affected areas (Adelhof et al.1999). The economic upswing in Ireland's prosperity from the early nineties onwards brought modifications to urban regeneration approaches. These are documented in the programme *Urban Regeneration 2000 – New Approaches.* To professionalize and further develop urban regeneration concepts and to create a framework for private commitment to urban regeneration activities, the Ministry for Housing and Urban Regeneration developed the concept for *Integrated Area Plans* (IAP), an area-based urban regeneration approach. The government passed the law introducing the plans on 1 August 1998, and since then local government is responsible for their concrete implementation (Adelhof et al. 1999; Bannon 2004a; Williams 2006, Entrust 2003). Areas for which an IAP is to be developed must exhibit the following criteria among other requirements: above-average proportion of unemployed persons, concentration of vacant land and buildings, large number of dilapidated buildings, clear infrastructure shortcomings, inadequate residential surroundings and a lack of investment. The IAPs must include details on land use, urban planning, any listed buildings, public housing, public services, transport and public infrastructure, and on participation and implementation (Adelhof et al. 1999).

The development and implementation of IAPs includes consulting local residents and local initiatives. However, no binding procedure is in place for this. Often local partnerships are set up to mobilize local interest groups and stakeholders and, with the knowledge and agreement of the government, to initiate bottom-up processes in the neighbourhood. These local partnerships usually incorporate local residents, representatives of social service providers and institutions, and representatives of local government departments (cf. Entrust 2003: 13).

The ministry has authorized just under 50 IAPs, many of them for neighbourhoods in Dublin's inner city and outskirts (Williams 2006). Nevertheless, it seems meanwhile that despite the wide variety of area-based problems, the IAPs focus mainly on structural and urban development improvements. The IAPs have not yet had a sufficiently positive impact on generating a stable social environment and participation (cf. Adelhof et al. 1999).

A *National Spatial Strategy 2002-2020* devised by the government has aimed in recent times at achieving better and more efficient urban development processes. Attention is again directed towards Greater Dublin. The strategy is intended to improve management structures for urban regeneration processes, heighten the sustainability of approaches and streamline implementation of measures. However, these objectives are not yet fully backed up by binding processes and political legislation (cf. Bannon 2004a; Bannon 2004b: 101).

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Lithuania

Socio-spatial disadvantage in Lithuania is concentrated particularly in the neighbourhoods with old, historic buildings and in estates of industrially manufactured prefabricated buildings in the country's five biggest cities. At the same time, smaller urban centres display some characteristics of disadvantaged areas and experience certain constraints due to the state of development and the influence of social, economic and physical factors. Thus, access to services of public potable water and sewage water treatment networks must be increased from 80-90% in 2007 to 95% by 2015. Currently, access to municipal waste services varies from between 80% and 90%, depending on the population in such cities. This service should be made available in the form of storage/sorting facilities to up to 95% of citizens in the next few years.

The Lithuanian Housing Strategy (2004), which came about following experiences with an almost entirely privatized housing market, contains objectives relevant to integrated neighbourhood development. Its priorities are creating housing options for sections of the population who are disadvantaged on the open housing market (low-

wage earners, the unemployed, young families), providing the appropriate financial support, making subsidized housing available, promoting social cohesion and restoring social diversity in population structures (cf. Government of the Republic of Lithuania 2004: 6 f). The strategy also calls on local authorities to actively back participation of institutions, NGOs and neighbourhood residents in the development and implementation of neighbourhood development strategies and to make municipal funding available for these activities (cf. Government of the Republic of Lithuania 2004: 9, 12).

The main aims of the Lithuanian Housing Strategy for 2004-2020, which was adopted on 21 January 2004 by Government Decree No. 60, and its Implementation Measures Plan, adopted on 8 September 2004 by Government Decree No. 1145, will extend the range of choices to all social groups of citizens, ensure effective use, maintenance, renovation and modernization of the existing housing stock and increase the skills of the actors in the housing sector to participate in the housing market. The implementation of this national strategy will also improve citizens' quality of life and living conditions.

At present up to 30% of the investment needed to finance the renovation of existing multi-flat housing stock can be covered by state funding. At the same time, pursuant to the Joint Decree of the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Environment signed on 22 February 2007 with consent of the Government, this funding may be increased to up to 50% if substantial energy efficiency is achieved – at least 30% of energy or fuel savings due to renovation – thus contributing to combating the threat of climate change.

The modernization programme for multi-flat housing adopted on 23 September 2004 by Government Decree No. 1213 and aimed at implementation of the Lithuanian Housing Strategy for 2004-2020 has revealed that more than 60% of multi-flat housing stock built in the last four decades of the twentieth century consumes energy inefficiently, losing around 20% to 30% of the energy supplied. Part of the expenses for low-income families are met by state social funds. Because a large portion of energy resources must be imported, this is yet another negative factor for the balance of payments. The owners of housing stock are unable to solve the problems of poor energy efficiency alone. Therefore, this programme aims to help housing stock owners as well as low-income families and individuals to modernize multi-flat housing by increasing energy efficiency and decreasing heating costs. It also envisages a credit system in collaboration with commercial banks. This system is currently in operation. The National Housing Agency assists in implementing this programme.

The renewal approaches introduced to date have focused on structural and urban development renewal (redevelopment, improvement of public infrastructures, transport and residential surroundings). However, initial steps have been taken to expand this approach, particularly in the capital city Vilnius, where the national-level strategies formulated in the Lithuanian Housing Strategy have been increasingly used (cf.

Petkevicius 2004: 66; UNECE: 56). The Vilnius City Strategic Plan 2002-2011 was passed in 2002. It is not area-based but does define an integrated framework for urban planning activities. One of its three main aims is to establish social cohesion among all the city's population groups and to sustainably improve their living conditions by 2020 (cf. Vilnius City Municipal Council 2002: 23, 54 ff). Intended social measures include fostering social integration, helping children and young people, combating crime, instituting preventative measures, supporting local partnerships, establishing neighbourhood centres, strengthening civic projects and encouraging participation (cf. Vilnius City Municipal Council 2002: 54 f, 63 f). As far as structural improvements are concerned, the plan envisages redevelopment and improvements in areas with urban redevelopment shortcomings, establishing adequate infrastructures in culture, education, training, health and social welfare and providing funds for measures to improve residential surroundings. The Vilnius City Strategic Plan 2002-2011 also calls for area-based integrated action. It foresees the active development of deprived neighbourhoods through the introduction of neighbourhood-based urban renewal programmes and strategies and the organization of a monitoring and evaluation system to support the programmes (cf. Vilnius City Municipal Council 2002:55, 67 f).

The Comprehensive Plan of the Territory of Vilnius City Municipality up until 2015, (Vilniaus miesto savivaldybės teritorijos bendrasis planas iki 2015m.) adopted on 14 February 2007 by Vilnius City Council Decision No. 1-1519, established several main focuses of the territory's housing policy, such as increasing the housing stock and developing both multi-storey and low-rise housing. The development of housing territories is envisaged by increasing the density in existing residential areas, using available construction sites and new territories, renovating existing residential areas in the city centre, safeguarding the residential function of the old city and other historic city neighbourhoods and creating workplaces in residential areas.

Since 1998 the Vilnius Old Town Renewal Agency (OTRA) has been gathering initial experiences of area-based renewal approaches through the implementation of the Vilnius Old Town Regeneration Strategy (VOTRS) (cf. Standl/Krupickaitė 2004: 44; Rutkauskas et al. 2003: 15, ENSURE 2002: 2). The original urban organization body has now acquired the status of an NGO and sees itself as a mediator between players, residents and the municipal government (cf. Rutkauskas et al. 2003: 23, ENSURE 2002: 6). OTRA is strategically controlled by the OTRA Supervision Council (OTRA SC), a superordinate unit which consists of 16 representatives of national ministries, local government and private and public organizations. The OTRA SC is also responsible for overseeing the VOTRP programme's annual implementation plans, which are jointly developed in cooperation with an interdepartmental working group (cf. Rutkauskas et al. 2003: 15, ENSURE 2002: 5 f). OTRA focuses on structural and urban development renewal approaches such as redevelopment, improvements to residential surroundings and to public infrastructure. In addition, in two deprived neighbourhoods in Vilnius's historical old town, Užupis und Paupys, OTRA is strengthening activation and participation of inhabitants and local players through

public relations activities, regular events and advice sessions and the support of the two local resident-driven activity coordination organizations Užupis Fund and Angelas Club (cf. Rutkauskas et al. 2003: 15, 21; ENSURE 2002: 4 f). These approaches are financed by municipal and private funds (cf. Rutkauskas et al. 2003: 18, 23; ENSURE 2002: 9).

Within the framework of further developing the successfully launched approaches in future, the local economy must be supported (business development, advice for startups, business promotion, creation of a business incubator), empowerment reinforced and further residents and players won for integrated district development (cf. Rutkauskas et al. 2003: 23, 25 ff, 28 f).

Other major Lithuanian cities such as Kaunas and Klaipėda have presented their prospective approaches to developing their respective territories in comprehensive municipal schemes and strategic plans. A new generation Comprehensive Plan for the Territory of Klaipėda City Municipality (Klaipėdos miesto savivaldybės teritorijos bendrasis planas) is currently in preparation. The Šiauliai City strategic plan is complete; a comprehensive plan has been in preparation since 2004 and is expected to be complete in 2007. Panevėžys City is in the same situation. These documents apply national strategies and implementation measures.

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Portugal

In Portugal structural, urban development and social problems are particularly concentrated in old or historic city centres. The populations of such areas are predominantly elderly, poor and have low levels of education. Younger, more mobile sections of the population have moved away to the city outskirts where the housing available is more varied and of better quality. In the wake of this trend, socio-economic disadvantage, structural deterioration and decline in urban development have taken root in specific areas.

For a long time the *Ministry of Public Works* was responsible for urban and housing issues. In the mid-90s the ministry in charge of spatial planning (currently the *Ministry of Environment, Spatial Planning and Regional Development*, created in 2005) was assigned responsibility for urban policy. The *Secretary of State for Spatial Planning and Urban Affairs* has delegated powers over urban policy and relies on the *Directorate-General for Spatial Planning and Urban Development* and the *Institute of Housing and Urban Rehabilitation* for implementation at national level. In the Autonomous Regions of Azores and Madeira, the regional governments are responsible for urban policy. Municipalities are responsible for land-use planning and urban management, local social and cultural issues, urban infrastructure and facilities construction and management.

Although urban policy to date has been highly sectoral and no coherent urban policy exists at national level (EUKN 2005), some key programs not connected to the EU's URBAN initiative interventions have explicitly integrated urban perspectives. Integrated urban programmes designed to tackle urban development and social problems in cities have been implemented in the course of the last 20 years. These programmes of differing time frames, varying levels of political backing, resources and acceptance on the part of local and national authorities produced a range of results.
The *Urban Rehabilitation Programme for Derelict Areas (PRAUD)*, which was launched in 1985, aims at qualifying derelict areas in order to improve quality of life and contributes to enhancing social, cultural and historical urban heritage. Financed by central administration and managed by local authorities, one element supports the creation of local technical offices to prepare and manage urban rehabilitation plans (130 offices have been established) and another provides co-financing for implementation.

The *Urban System Consolidation Programme (PROSIURB)* was created in 1994 and focused on strategically developing medium-sized cities and towns for territorial structuring. The programme introduced new concepts: the Strategic City Plan, involving local administration and civil society, the City Contract and the City Office, charged with project design and management. *PROSIURB* benefited cities and towns in 133 municipalities (out of a total 279) and 38 medium-sized cities (out of a total 40) and prepared the mandatory strategic urban plan and established the City Office.

The *Slum Eradication Programme (PER)* was created in 1993 with the objective of eradicating slum areas in the Lisbon and Oporto Metropolitan Areas. It finances the construction of new social housing areas as well as the renewal of municipal housing estates and the construction of public facilities and amenities.

The *Urban Environmental Requalification Programme (POLIS)* initiated in 2000 aims to provide better quality of life in cities and to render them more attractive and competitive. As a result of EXPO'98 and the associated urban rehabilitation project, the programme is founded on partnership contracts between central government and municipalities. POLIS has financed urban and environmental projects in 40 cities and towns in mainland Portugal.

The *Urban Rehabilitation Societies (SRU)* were created in 2004 with the objective of rehabilitating historic urban areas and regenerating "critical areas" *(ACRRU)* through public-public partnerships. The classification as *ACRRU* and the statutes of the *SRU* are government-approved, granting exceptional powers to complete the rehabilitation process. To date seven *SRU* have been established.

The *Critical Neighbourhoods Initiative* (Working Paper 2006) is a pilot project started in 2006 in three deprived areas of Lisbon and Oporto. It tests new forms of cooperation between administrative levels (local and national) as well as among different players (central administration, municipalities and inhabitants), pooling human, technical, administrative and financial resources to develop an integrated, area-based approach for deprived neighbourhoods with severe social, economic and security problems.

Urban development policy in Portugal is at a turning point. Management of urban development processes in deprived areas is a major priority in the political arena (Working Paper 2006), along with the push towards urban regeneration. A strategic urban policy statement, Policy for Cities, with a broad range of integrated interventions aimed at urban regeneration, urban competitiveness and city-region development is being prepared for implementation, namely in the framework of the *NSRF 2007-2013*.

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Spain

Older residential areas in Spanish cities, particularly Madrid and Barcelona, are populated primarily by immigrants and the elderly. The same applies to public housing estates built in the 1950s, 60s and 70s. Since an above-average proportion of old people and immigrants in Spain is affected by poverty, deprived neighbourhoods emerge. Urban spatial polarization and geographic concentration of poverty have been exacerbated by the suburbanization of the middle classes (Martinez et. al. 2001: 27). Most of the people living in the troubled inner-city neighbourhoods have a low level of education. Unemployment is high, particularly among young people. Social conflict is on the increase, as are drug dealing and drug abuse. Housing, which is mostly privately owned, is of poor quality, and most of it needs to be renovated and modernized. Demand for affordable housing is increasing. Providing suitable living space for economically disadvantaged sections of the population is a key government task, for which the *Housing Ministry*, established in 2004, is responsible (EUKN 2006). It is in charge of policy on land use, urban planning, architecture and investment programmes. With regard to these areas, the Ministry of Housing approved a *State Housing Plan* in 2005 which defined specific measures on integrated rehabilitation areas and historic city centre areas. These measures include building and housing rehabilitation, urbanization and reurbanization, according to the three pillars of sustainable urban development: environmental quality and conservation; equity and social exclusion prevention; and economic efficiency and overall productivity.

Spain has three levels of government: national, regional (autonomous regions) and local (municipalities). The 17 autonomous regions have varying levels of political independence, but they all control their own budgets and have far-reaching decision-making powers, for example on regional planning and on the design and execution of urban development policy, in which local governments also participate (EUKN 2006). Because of the decentralized decision-making structures and levels of government in Spain, some regions and municipalities take specific area-based approaches primarily directed at urban development and housing improvements. Two important examples of area-based, integrated approaches are the *Community Development Plan* (*Pla de Desenvolupament Comunitari*) in Catalonia and the *Investment Plan* (*Plan de Inversiones*) in Madrid (Eastaway 2004: 11 ff).

The *Community Development Plan* (CDP) originated in the *Integral Policy against Poverty and Social Exclusion* (*Pla Integral de Lluita contra la Pobresa i l'Exclusió Social*), which was introduced by the Catalan government in 1995. The CDP, an area-

based tool for cultivating physical, social and economic improvement in small neighbourhoods, was passed by the Catalan government in 1996 under the auspices of the Department for Welfare and Family. The local authority conducts a neighbourhood SWOT analysis, taking social and economic issues into account, to select suitable areas and to implement the CDP in these areas on the basis of action plans. The action plans correspond with the area-based analyses in listing various fields of activity, e.g. education and health, economy and labour market, community life and public spaces. Projects and measures then need to be devised and implemented for these fields. The provincial government is largely responsible for implementing the plans. It coordinates between the various local players (especially administration, politics, tenant/inhabitant groups). Resident participation is a central element of the CDP (Eastaway 2004: 24). As a rule, the cost of implementing the plans is shared fifty-fifty by the Catalan government and the provincial government. However, the CDP has no fixed deadline or pre-determined budget.

The *Investment Plan* in Madrid originated in a popular movement against the north-south divide in the city. In 1997, numerous initiatives and NGOs, the majority of which were area-based, formed a movement to campaign strongly for investment and development in the city's southern neighbourhoods. The regional government subsequently passed *Investment Plans* for deprived neighbourhoods. These were designed to iron out inequalities among the neighbourhoods through area-based support as well as to stimulate collective decision-making processes – involving inhabitants. A voting procedure is initiated before final decisions are made on where exactly to inject the funds made available by the regional government (Eastaway 2004: 30). The first step is to conduct a SWOT analysis on the area in order to identify investment priorities. Such analyses are usually carried out by private firms. On the basis of these, working groups are set up to address various topics such as employment, infrastructure, transport, etc. Working group members include the inhabitants of various neighbourhoods and regions in Madrid as well as representatives of public institutions and facilities. The working groups come up with proposals for concrete projects, which are then discussed with regional and provincial authorities. Results of the negotiations are recorded in an action plan for which a term and budget are agreed. Implementation of the plans is funded by the regional government, the EU and the provincial government. Most of the projects address structural and urban development needs. Social measures take a lower priority (Eastaway 2004).

Further area-based measures are promoted as part of the EU's URBAN Initiative. For example, from 2000 to 2006 URBAN II provided €12.3 million in EU funding for urban renewal in the Catalan municipality of Sant Adrià del Besós. Another €12.3 million of public funding was invested, bringing the total to €24.6 million. Renewal activities focused on improving the business climate, introducing new technologies, integrating disadvantaged sections of the population into the job market and upgrading the urban environment. The lion's share of funding went towards renewing and redeveloping neglected sites in the city according to ecological principles. The national housing

policy was also used for structural and urban development renewal of housing and living spaces. This policy does not take an area-based approach, however.

Despite the existence of several approaches for area-based, integrated urban development, Spain so far does not have a comprehensive national programme or a systematic strategy for developing deprived neighbourhoods. To date, there is no administrative structure to coordinate the very disparate neighbourhood renewal approaches adopted at local level (Eastaway 2004: 75 ff). In this context, on the occasion of the approval of the new Spanish National Strategic Reference Framework 2007-2013, the Ministry of Housing developed specific coordination and monitoring tools aimed at overcoming sectorial and administrative barriers and defining more integrated urban development patterns.

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C Countries Initiating Individual Projects and Measures Promoting Integrated Neighbourhood Development

Bulgaria

Although Bulgaria has become more economically stable since the late 1990s, the level of economic consolidation varies throughout the country and between different areas. By and large, cities benefit more from economic growth than rural areas. Yet, despite an improved standard of living, particularly in urban areas, poverty remains a problem by EU standards. Urban poverty is greatest in areas where ethnic minorities are concentrated. These minorities, predominantly Roma, are disproportionately affected by poverty and unemployment (cf. UNDP 2005). As a result, socio-economically deprived neighbourhoods characterised by poor housing and living conditions have emerged. Some residents of these neighbourhoods live in illegally constructed dwellings and houses which are inadequately equipped, sometimes lacking plumbing or heating of any kind. Public spaces are also run-down. Apart from such neighbourhoods where extensive temporary housing abounds, large housing estates on the outskirts of cities are also frequently in extreme disrepair and are viewed as areas in acute need of development.

To date in Bulgaria there is no comprehensive national urban development policy, but systematic strategies and arrangements are in place and innovative individual projects have been initiated. Currently, concrete urban renewal measures mainly involve constructing large new housing estates. In this context a spatial focus, and thus an area-based approach, are considered as innovative urban development instruments.

The *United Nations Development Programme* (UNDP) is a key proponent of national policy formulation. Good examples of this which represent initial steps towards integrated urban policy are the *National Strategy and Action Plan on Poverty Reduction and Social Inclusion* and the *National Programme for Improving the Living Conditions of Ethnic Minorities in Urban Areas*. Key projects such as *Beautiful Bulgaria* (cf. EU-COM 2006) already integrate various fields of activity relevant to urban development (vocational training and employment funding, structural renewal, resident participation, capacity building for players from local government) and are being implemented on an area basis in various towns and cities (e.g. Sofia), although there is no binding procedure.

In the next few years Bulgaria intends to pave the way for policies which promote social inclusion, stabilization of local economy, poverty reduction, good governance and sustainable development (cf. UNPD 2005: 4). It aims to employ strategies, measures and projects targeting specific areas and groups. Special funding will be

provided for socially and economically deprived neighbourhoods, rural areas and Roma.

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Cyprus

Socio-spatial disadvantage in Cyprus is concentrated particularly in the historic centres of the four large cities Nicosia, Limassol, Larnaca und Paphos. The cause of this is not, as in many other EU Member States, the economic polarization and spatial concentration of considerably disadvantaged groups (the economic situation in Cyprus is stable, and unemployment is marginal; cf. Oktay 2004: 69 f, Pashardes 2003a: 4 f), but a strong tendency towards suburbanization affecting residents and businesses. A mass exodus of socio-economically stronger households and of enterprises to the outskirts can be observed; these areas are considered more attractive, easier to reach and infrastructurally sounder. At the same time socio-economically weaker migrant workers are moving into city centres, leading to considerable changes in demographic makeup and to economic decline. City centres also experience structural and urban development problems like vacant buildings and disinvestment (cf. Oktay 2004: 69; EUKN 2005).

Cyprus has so far not adopted a national programme for the integrated development of deprived city centres. Renewal approaches in cooperation between the national and municipal level focus on structural and urban development renewal (building renovation, improving the transport infrastructure, enhancing residential surroundings, creating parks and recreation areas) but also encompass projects and measures to improve the cultural and social infrastructure (cultural centres, service facilities for children and the elderly) and the housing environment (cf. EUKN 2005, Cyprus Planning Bureau 2003: 50, 54 f). The aim is to make city centres attractive enough to once again be competitive. Various programmes co-financed by the EU (partly from 2004-2006 Objective 2 funding), the national *Development Programme for the period 2004-2006* and municipal budgetary resources fund these approaches (cf. Cyprus Planning Bureau 2003: 50, Demetriou 2004: 255).

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Czech Republic

A number of fundamental trends, mainly affecting cities, can be observed in the course of the Czech Republic's transformation: deindustrialization and job losses in the manufacturing sector, the establishment of a service sector in, among other areas, the cores of city centres, the construction of high-end housing in city centres, comprehensive suburbanization affecting residents and jobs. Engines for the restructuring of Czech cities – which leads to socio-spatial segregation – were and are the deregulation and privatization of the housing market as well as considerable investment in certain sections of cities while neglecting other areas. These latter areas include the large estates constructed between the 1960s and 1980s, which were commonly neglected and are characterized by increasing problems relating to social issues and the physical state of the buildings; disadvantaged groups with hardly any material means – for example to pay their rent – are concentrated in these areas, while higher-earning residents leave. As in Slovakia, these problems are exacerbated by the spatial concentration of Roma as a result of national settlement policies for this ethnic group (cf. Sýkora 2004a: 17 ff und 2004b: 53).

Urban problems have thus far played a subordinate role in the public debate, which is reflected among other things in the absence of a national urban policy. Therefore, specific problems are mainly addressed at the municipal level, often with the support of national programmes on, for example, housing, the environment and transport. Municipal urban development plans (*strategic plans*) devised through collaboration between politicians, businesses and citizens in a process- and consensus-oriented procedure provide the framework for these measures. A basic aim is to set priorities for urban, economic and social development in partnership through top-down and bottom-up processes (cf. Sýkora 2004a: 21 f und 2004b: 58).

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Estonia

Socio-spatial disadvantage is concentrated in particular in neighbourhoods in Estonia's five larger cities. These neighbourhoods consist mainly of areas of old wood-framed buildings or industrially manufactured prefabricated buildings and estates. Although nascent suburbanization (*filtering down*), ethnic segregation and gentrification processes in appealing inner-city residential areas are leading to increased income segregation in Estonia too, many neighbourhoods remain extremely socially diverse. This is largely due to the high rate of ownership on the Estonian housing market (cf. Jauhiainen/Kährik 2004: 51, 53; Ruoppila 2004: 166; Paadam et al. 2002: 11; Kährik 2006).

After regaining independence in 1991, the Estonian government, like governments in many other central and eastern European countries, withdrew almost entirely from housing provision (cf. Ruoppila 2004: 159 f). Housing, which had been predominantly collectively owned, was privatized (often by individual apartments), i.e. it entered into the private property of the inhabitants or was returned to its former owners (cf. Paadam et al. 2002: 11 f). Common problems include insufficient investment, owners' varying disposable income levels, increasing housing costs, inexperience in managing private property and the lack of organizational structures among property owners (cf. Jauhiainen/Kährik 2004: 51 f; Paadam et al. 2002: 5 ff).

Structural and urban development issues in increasingly deprived neighbourhoods include a considerable maintenance backlog and need for renovation, inadequate building material quality and construction techniques, substandard facilities (lack of sanitary installations in pre-war housing), public infrastructure which is nonexistent or must be modernized and inadequate residential surroundings (cf. Paadam et al. 2002: 5 f; Jauhiainen/Kährik 2004: 51). Other factors include a high concentration of unemployment and non-Estonian-speaking residents, less identification with and connection to neighbourhoods as well as crime and vandalism in some neighbourhoods (Jauhiainen/Kährik 51, 53; Paadam et al. 2002: 41 ff; Ruoppila/Kährik 2003: 64 f).

Estonia has so far not adopted a national programme to develop deprived neighbourhoods which addresses these problems. In general urban policy currently tends to play a subordinate role at both national and municipal level (cf. Jauhiai-

nen/Kährik 2004: 53 f). Because it is assumed that the market should solve the problems, the renewal initiatives, which are almost exclusively executed at the level of home and building owners, have so far been directed at structural and urban development renewal (redevelopment, renovation, improvement of residential surroundings) (cf. Paadam et al. 2002: 12, 87; Jauhiainen/Kährik 53 f; Ruoppila 2004: 162).

Nonetheless, the first resident-driven bottom-up approaches towards revitalizing residential areas did already emerge in the 1980s in Tallinn (*Kalamaja Residents' Society* in the Kalamaja district) following an initiative from the neighbourhood. Besides residents, other players such as the neighbourhood school were also involved. Following housing privatization in the 1990s such approaches based on common neighbourhood interests gave way to market-oriented interests (cf. Paadam et al. 2002: 42, 48, 53). In the majority of Estonia's other deprived neighbourhoods participation only takes place within the framework of legally sanctioned homeowners' associations (cf. Paadam et al. 2002: 16, 21). However, this form of participation also fulfils the function of empowering residents, because resident participation was practically nonexistent prior to the transformation process since 1990. It bolsters accountability for residential surroundings and neighbourhoods (cf. Paadam et al. 2002: 29 f, 89).

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Finland

In comparison to other EU states, deprived neighbourhoods are rare in Finland. This is partly due to marginal differences in income between occupational groups and to the small proportion of population groups with a migration background in comparison to other European countries. Development deficiencies are more common in rural areas.

Because most Finnish cities are quite small, urban policy is incorporated in regional or even rural policy initiatives in many parts of the country. Regions which include larger cities are particularly influential regarding these policies. Within the framework of the *Centre of Expertise Programme* and the *Regional Centre Programme*, particular emphasis is placed on safeguarding international economic competitiveness through an integrated policy mix; the state channels investment resources to each urban region on the basis of the respective regional development strategies. In Finland the principal aspects of policy, including urban and regional development, are decided at the national level, which is also largely responsible for funding urban and regional programmes. The regional level coordinates regional development policies and administers national and EU funds. Finnish towns and cities do enjoy a high degree of local self-government, they implement programmes and also contribute funds to finance them (cf. MI 2006, RCP).

These approaches are even more pronounced in Greater Helsinki, where there is direct cooperation on content between the national and regional level. The main focus is on building intraregional partnerships between various municipalities and players, with international economic competitiveness again a key consideration. The *Advisory Committee for the Helsinki Region*, established at the national level, has assumed responsibility for monitoring and evaluating pertinent developments (cf. MI 2006).

Most policies relevant to municipalities focus primarily on improving economic competitiveness. In addition, programmatic approaches to improving housing and residential surroundings in suburban areas (predominantly those dominated by low-income residents), increasing civic participation and bolstering social cohesion have been tested, particularly in the course of implementing the EU Community Initiatives URBAN I and II in the Helsinki-Vantaa region.

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Greece

Deprived neighbourhoods in Greek cities were long overlooked, partly because they are less distinct than in other European countries. Socio-economic inequalities among different groups do exist in Greece too – mainly as a result of the deindustrialization processes observed since the 1990s and of immigration from abroad. However, in Greece these processes less frequently lead to distinct spatial concentrations than in other European countries (cf. EUKN). Only with the implementation of the EU Community Initiative URBAN I and subsequent programmes was awareness of socio-spatial disadvantages increased, including job losses and economic decline in Ermoupolis and Volos, socio-spatial disadvantage of neighbourhoods in Keratsini and Thessaloniki, economic decline in the port area of Patras and spatial concentration of immigrants in Athens (EU-COM).

Until the mid-1990s no national urban policies were formulated in Greece – either in general or explicitly to combat social and economic problems. The main focus of sectoral administrative initiatives was structural and urban development renewal (cf. EUKN). In Greece, the regional and municipal levels have a traditionally weak position in comparison to the national level, which means that few impulses towards integrated urban development have emerged from them. The same can be said regarding participative and bottom-up approaches (cf. Koutalakis 2001: 7 ff). The EU Community Initiative URBAN I (1994 to 1999), which was implemented in six neighbourhoods, was the first programme to include socio-economic objectives in Greece. Experiences gathered in the course of URBAN I and URBAN II are now being incorporated in approximately 100 national projects on integrated development of deprived estates which also encompass Greece's rural areas (cf. EUKN).

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Hungary

Socio-spatial disadvantage in Hungary is concentrated in particular in municipalities in the structurally weak southeast, the once industrial northeast and parts of the country's nine larger cities. As a rule, deprived neighbourhoods are prefabricated housing estates as well as, mainly in Budapest, areas which are home to old buildings originating from the pre-war period. Aided by, among other factors, a trend towards suburbanization, social, and in some cases ethnic segregation can increasingly be found in these neighbourhoods, as can a concentration of the unemployed, transfer payment recipients and single parents as well as rising poverty, vandalism and crime. In addition, there is frequently a high concentration of population groups which are poorly integrated due to their special linguistic or cultural status (in particular Sinti and Roma). The often considerable structural and urban development problems in these neighbourhoods include maintenance backlogs and buildings in need of renovation, substandard facilities, poor public infrastructure and inadequacies in residential surroundings. Like many other central and eastern European countries, Hungary transferred public, predominantly municipally owned housing to inhabitants on a massive scale in the mid-1990s. Investment in existing buildings is often lacking due to the varying financial situations of inhabitants, inexperience with property management and nonexistent organisational structures (property owner associations). Among other things, this can lead to a rise in living costs (energy costs) and an additional deterioration of framework conditions in many neighbourhoods (cf. Dővényi/Kovács 2004: 84; Erdősi et al. 2003: 21, 33; Szemző/Tosics 2004a: 24 ff; 2004b: 12 f; Tosics et al. 2001:16 f).

Hungary has so far not adopted a programme on developing deprived neighbourhoods to counter these tendencies. Following the transformation of 1989, the national government withdrew almost entirely from the urban development process and in the meantime also relinquished having this process under the auspices of a ministry. However, since 2006 there is a Ministry for Municipal and Regional Development, which pools the basic powers of spatial planning, urban development und building policy as well as municipal supervision (cf. ÖTM 2006). The self-government guarantees which have been granted to municipalities since 1990 are not proportionate to their actual ability to perform these tasks (cf. Brenner 1991). The opportunities afforded by the astonishing continuity of the planning law in effect since 1937, despite politically necessitated amendments, with its bi-level municipal construction planning and preliminary urban development policy, have been insufficiently realized since Hungary's transformation (cf. Brenner 1998, Brenner 2006). A horizontally and sectorally diversified management structure and unresolved questions regarding admin-

istrative structures between the national level and the municipal level make this more difficult. The renewal approaches in deprived neighbourhoods which have been financed to date from municipal and modest national resources have focused almost solely on structural and urban development renewal (modernizing utilities, improving traffic and public infrastructures, enhancing residential surroundings). Given that the need has been recognised but that municipalities have so far gathered little experience with urban renewal, it will be a challenge for them to develop coherent strategies in future which foster integrated, area-based development of deprived neighbourhoods (cf. Burger/Vranken 2004: 104; Dővényi/Kovács 2004: 71 ff; Erdősi et al. 2003: 39; Tosics/Gerőházi/Szemző 2005b: 32, 47; Szemző/Tosics 2004a: 28 f, 2004b: 16 ff; Tosics et al. 2001: 14 ff).

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Latvia

Socio-spatial disadvantage in Latvia is concentrated in particular in neighbourhoods in its seven larger cities. Most of these neighbourhoods are located between the periphery of city centres and the city limits and usually consist of areas of (historic) wood buildings or dense prefabricated housing estates (cf. Hughes 2004: 5; Urbanbaltic). As in other Baltic states, these neighbourhoods are increasingly affected by income segregation due to nascent suburbanization (filtering down) and ethnic segregation (cf. Tsenkova 2004: 58 f; Marana 2004: 183). In addition, there is a high concentration of mainly non-Latvian-speaking inhabitants, poorly qualified (long-term) unemployed and residents with psychosocial problems (alcoholism) and health problems (cf. Hughes 2004: 16; Tsenkova 2004: 58 f). Structural and urban development issues in these neighbourhoods include significant maintenance backlogs, buildings in need of renovation, social and cultural infrastructures which are absent or must be modernized, a local economy which is nonexistent or is restricted in its (spatial) development possibilities, and inadequate residential surroundings (cf. Hughes 2004: 16, Urbanbaltic; Tsenkova 2004: 58). The quality of life in these districts is generally considered low (cf. Hughes 2004: 16).

Latvia has so far not adopted a national programme to develop deprived neighbourhoods. Renewal initiatives, which are almost exclusively at municipal level, have so far concentrated on structural and urban development renewal (redevelopment, transport and public infrastructure improvement, enhancement of residential surroundings). Isolated local pilot projects have endeavoured to broaden the scope of these initiatives to include other fields of activity. For example, in order to improve social conditions, with the support of EU funds (*PHARE*) attempts were made in Daugavpils and Rezekne (Latgale region) to foster local economic growth, business startups, SMEs and job creation within the framework of urban renewal (cf. Hughes 2004: 14 ff). A redevelopment project in the capital Riga tested widespread resident participation in an area of wooden homes (cf. Urbanbaltic).

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Luxembourg

Due to Luxembourg's geographical location, socio-spatial disadvantage is concentrated almost exclusively in its four larger cities, in particular the densely populated areas (of older buildings) in the centre of the capital city, Luxembourg. Here, considerable suburbanization trends which tend to affect the middle-class population groups are increasingly resulting in social and ethnic segregation (*filtering down*), concentration of residents with psychosocial problems, and also problems with prostitution, drug trafficking and crime. In addition there are considerable structural and urban development deficiencies as well as unoccupied housing, while residents are being increasingly displaced as a result of misappropriation of housing space (service industry businesses) (cf. Ville de Luxembourg 2005a: 14 ff; Ville de Luxembourg 2005b; Ville de Luxembourg 2003: p. 11, 15).

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg has so far not adopted a national programme for the integrated development of these deprived neighbourhoods. Only the municipal level of the City of Luxembourg has commenced initial deliberations on integrated renewal approaches for deprived neighbourhoods. Given the considerable developmental pressure caused by dynamic economic growth as well as the sizeable immigration connected with it and the resultant steering requirements, a mid-term *Integrated Urban Development Concept Luxembourg 2020* was established in 2005 after a process which lasted several years (cf. Ville de Luxembourg 2005a: 5 f). The urban planning concept included individual district development schemes devised with the assistance of local residents which propose concrete measures at neighbourhood level to develop neighbourhoods (cf. Ville de Luxembourg 2003: 91 ff; Ville de Luxembourg [a]: 1 f). Alongside measures aimed at structural and urban renewal (redevelopment, filling of unoccupied buildings, upgrading of urban areas, improving residential surroundings, creating parks and recreation areas), the proposals for deprived neighbourhoods also included establishing district bureaus and neighbourhood management, creating meeting places, strengthening community and social work and bolstering perceived security (cf. Ville de Luxembourg 2005a: 131, 138 f; Ville de Luxembourg [a]: 1 ff). The aim is to make these neighbourhoods appealing again as residential areas while preserving the potential their social and ethnic diversity and multi-functional infrastructures offer. The initiatives, which are still in the preliminary planning stage, will be financed primarily from municipal budgets.

Although no programme explicitly aimed at *integrated* urban (neighbourhood) development exists at national level in Luxembourg, the *Programme Directeur*, adopted in 2003, nonetheless constitutes a reference framework – at least with regards to spatial planning in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg – which encompasses the three fields of activity "urban and rural development", "transport and telecommunications" and "environment and natural resources". Measures in the field of activity "urban and rural development" emphasize the political aim of "creating cities and villages which meet social demands, offer a high quality of life and facilitate policies of social integration". This requires, *inter alia*, providing equal access to public services and re-

sources, combating social problems, strengthening social cohesion and improved identification of local residents with their neighbourhoods. In this regard, activation and participation are considered essential (MI 2005a: 12). The integrated concept for traffic and regional development (IVL – Integratives Verkehrs- und Landesentwicklungskonzept für Luxemburg) describes an implementation strategy for the *Programme Directeur* (MI 2005b).

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Malta

Deprived neighbourhoods in Malta are mainly concentrated in historical areas with old buildings, and neighbourhoods in the centres of incorporated municipalities in Greater Valletta, in particular those surrounding the port. The micro-environment of the harbour hub has in the post-war period developed contrasting situations in the realm of urban development. Around the harbour area the effects of WW II are still visible in the urban fabric and texture. Although the vacant sites can still be referred to in physical terms, the incisive effects are more evident in localities and communi-

ties. In many instances in areas around Valletta, Floriana and Cottonera, the reconstructed city is interspersed with war-torn communities. The long-term effects of postwar reconstruction, slum clearance and migration have left an indelible mark on communities in these neighbourhoods (Borg).

Due to its comparatively low unemployment rate and flourishing economy (e.g. building industry and tourism), problems characteristic to other European Cities such as social polarization, marginalization and inequality, have yet to affect Malta. This unfortunately has not kept poverty at bay and 2002 statistics quote Malta with 15% with the risk of poverty which is comparatively high when gauged with the EU 15 average (18%). The risks may not be the same as in other European neighbourhoods, but in the local context deprived areas may be connected to sub-standard housing, socioeconomically weaker households (single parents, low-income households, those working in insecure jobs and threatened by impoverishment) and the 'new poor' (cf. Cassar 2004: 73 ff; Thake 2004: 201 f; ENTRUST 2004b). Due to insufficient urban transport and limited mobility, communities within the harbour area are predominantly elderly (60+) and characterized by high unemployment rates. When compared to the local average of (7.8%) two of the localities feature high in the list with Bormla 5.4% (second) and Valletta 4.9% (third).

A key element of strategic steering in Malta is the Structure Plan for the Maltese Islands, a 20-year national spatial structure plan initiated in 1992 as part of a development approach combining different fields of activity and intended to coordinate further land use while considering social, economic and environmentally pertinent issues. It is the basis for detailed planning schemes at local level (cf. Cassar 2004: 77). Beyond this, Malta has so far not established a national programme for integrated urban development. Revitalization initiatives in deprived neighbourhoods focus on the structural and urban redevelopment of existing buildings and ultimately aim at upgrading the area in order to stem continuing population loss. For example, in 2002 the Grand Harbour Local Plan was approved; this urban replanning scheme aims to economically and socially rehabilitate the area by renovating buildings and funding socially viable and economically sustainable use concepts. Within this framework initial approaches are being tested for an integrated urban development strategy combining different fields of activity – among other things by including partnerships between the private and public sector (cf. Thake 2004: 202 f; ENTRUST 2004a: 28 f ENTRUST 2004b: 20 ff).

The political direction in 2004 further sustained integrated planning through the formulation of the Ministry for Urban Development and Roads. This portfolio enhanced regeneration through its mission "To transform the living environment in the Maltese Islands through economically, socially and environmentally sustainable urban development and sustainable, safe, efficient and cost-effective land transportation." The Ministry therefore had the political and social responsibility to develop a policy to respond to these pressing situations. The main driving force behind the policy is to cre-

ate an intelligent and efficient City which does not only encapsulate innovative transport means but grafting these in a historic regenerated and rehabilitated ambiance.

The central issue with regard to inequality in mobility and accessibility to the city is the right to individual access to the city, which represents a set of social, cultural, economic, market/non-market, and institutional resources. The inequality in mobility and access to the city may create fissures in socialization and directly affects the immediate availability of goods and services. Social inclusion within these parameters is construed as the keystone of social justice and equality may be achieved through public transportation measures.

The policy and planning for the Harbour hub is founded on five basic concepts which are integrated through a Transit Orientated Strategy (MUDR 2004a, b) linking multi-speed regeneration projects and linked through new transit and modal systems. The Projects Development and Coordination Unit in December 2006 has been developed to implement this strategy. Between 2004-2007 private-public projects have been launched following the criteria of this strategy.

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*   Large sections of this text were written by the Maltese Ministry for Urban Development and Roads.

Poland

In the course of the evolution of a market economy, a contrast can increasingly be observed in Polish cities, especially Warsaw, between newly erected (luxury) residential areas (some of which are gated communities) and neighbourhoods in acute need of redevelopment. These deprived neighbourhoods are found both in districts with considerably neglected buildings constructed in the late 19th century and in neighbourhoods consisting of large housing estates constructed during the socialist era. In particular the latter – although once very popular neighbourhoods – are strongly affected by segregation processes owing, among other reasons, to the small and unfavourable dimensions of apartments and inadequate residential surroundings. Socio-economically more mobile inhabitants move to new neighbourhoods, resulting in the loss of social heterogeneity and the concentration of disadvantaged households (Werth 2005: 155 ff).

Poland has so far not launched specific programmes to develop deprived neighbourhoods. Moreover, the political and programmatic approaches to urban development here focus largely on "classic" (spatial) development. Responsibility in particular for establishing a superordinate regulatory framework (e.g. for public security, building, environmental and health standards) lies with the national level. At the centre is, among other things, the *Concept of National Spatial Development,* which is used in the sense of open strategic planning to inform municipal and other players about general planning trends at the national level and involve them in further elaboration. As a result of decentralization of political powers, Poland's 16 voivodships are now responsible for, among other things, formulating the concrete contents and strategic and spatial aspects of planning within their territories. They formulate precise (spatial) planning programmes in conjunction with the national level. In addition, specific regional plans including physical, social and economic elements are to be devised at the regional level through the involvement of public administrators and players from civil society (cf. EUKN).

At the local level, Poland's 68 cities possess far-reaching municipal independence, which applies among other things to urban planning issues. They are required to conceive local development strategies based on potential and on overarching objectives including aspects of sustainable spatial development, economic growth, infrastructures and monitoring. They must also identify areas in which revitalization measures and/or national programmes should be implemented. Finally, *Local Physi-*

cal Development Plans are drafted for individual urban spaces. The plans stipulate, among other things, details on land use, the construction of infrastructures and building standards (cf. EUKN).

With regard to participative aspects of planning issues, the approach to handling conflicts of interest between citizens, municipalities and the state is regulated by the *Spatial Planning and Spatial Management Act* of 2003, and (civic) participation is also envisaged at regional and local level when formulating corresponding plans. Admittedly, so far general trends towards genuine bottom-up integrated planning are scarcely recognizable (cf. EUKN). At the same time, intensive participation processes can be observed at the level of individual projects (cf. Bierzynski 2005: 7 ff).

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Romania

Economic consolidation of many Romanian cities has only just begun. Long periods of structural and urban development neglect, a lack of investment and economic stagnation characterize these cities, leaving housing, infrastructures, public spaces and a local economy in residential neighbourhoods in serious need of renewal and development.

This combination of problems, which is becoming spatially apparent across the country, should be combated by merging urban development and renewal and local economy measures. The *Urban Planning and Local Economic Development Program* (UPLED) created by Harvard Graduate School of Design's Center for Urban Development Studies pursues this aim. It is being implemented in three Romanian cities, Orada, Iasi and Focsani. It focuses on four themes:

- planning strategies focusing on economic development,
- strengthening local government financial management practices,
- improving the effectiveness of local government practices,
- preparing and informing about urban planning/urban development resolutions and legislation.

The programme is designed as a one-year *Capacity Building Program*. It is primarily directed at local administrators and policymakers, who should be sensitized and enabled to relate social, economic, financial and environmental aspects of urban development to each other (cf. Center for Urban Development Studies 2002).

Apart from UPLED, a particular effort to redevelop historic city centres should be emphasized which was able to be advanced through transnational relationships. Commissioned by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the GTZ (German Technical Cooperation Corporation) has been assisting Sibiu, the European City of Culture in 2007, since the late 1990s in redeveloping its historic centre. GTZ channelled half of a €1.5 million Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW) grant to the renovation of residential buildings and social institutions and half to redeveloping public space. Sibiu exemplifies successful historic centre redevelopment which considers local economic as well as structural and urban development aspects.

Similar programmes to UPLED should be implemented in the future, not least in order to fulfil the prerequisites in Romania for the award of EU funding for integrated urban development.

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Slovakia

Consequences in Slovakia of the deindustrialization effected by transformation and the simultaneous orientation of the (local) economy on services include (long-term) unemployment and – generally – the polarization of income levels and lifestyles. This is most noticeable in cities where primarily older neighbourhoods and large housing estates are deteriorating into deprived neighbourhoods while new (luxury) districts are constructed next door. Low construction standards (e.g. high energy consumption), the need to restore buildings, inadequate residential surroundings (e.g. a lack of parks) and poor transport connections to the capital afflict large housing estates in many cases. These mainly house low-income groups, and many residents are no longer able to pay their rent (Bucek 2004: 39 f). In particularly isolated areas the state has been designating housing for Roma since the 1990s, while spatial exclusion has complicated the already difficult societal integration of this ethnic group (Hurrle 2004: 89).

Although there is thus far no coherent urban policy in Slovakia at national level to resolve these problems, various sectoral policies do address urban issues. This applies on the one hand to the entire sphere of urban planning, including the applicable

regulations (e.g. part of the *Slovakia Territorial Development Plan*), and on the other hand to individual fields of activity like housing, infrastructure, social issues and economic development. Sustainable urban development and approaches towards urban renewal, preserving monuments and historic buildings and developing infrastructures are laid down in the *National Strategy of Sustainable Life in the Slovak Republic*. Of greater importance, particularly for the deprived neighbourhoods and disadvantaged population groups, are urban policies in the framework of regional schemes (cf. Bucek 2005: 41 f).

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Slovenia

Socio-spatial disadvantage in Slovenia is concentrated in particular in neighbourhoods in the country's eight larger towns and cities. The deprived neighbourhoods are mostly industrially constructed estates and former working-class districts in inner cities. Suburbanization and income segregation are still relatively rare in Slovenia in comparison to western European countries, although some neighbourhoods have a high concentration of unemployed, transfer payment recipients and single parents as well as increasing poverty, vandalism and crime (cf. Sendi et al. 2004: 43 ff, Pichler-Milanovic 2003: 6 ff, MOP 2004: 15; Ploštajner et al. 2004: 59). This often goes hand in hand with growing social and spatial polarization and stigmatization of these areas (cf. Andrews 2004: 134 f, Pichler-Milanovic 2003: 45 f; Černič Mali et al. 2003: 36 f). The quality, particularly of those buildings on industrially constructed estates, is considerably higher than in other central and eastern European countries, on the one hand because of the higher demands of building codes, which since 1963 are state-supported in view of the earthquake risk, and on the other hand owing frequently to the young age of the buildings (cf. Andrews/Sendi 2001; Ploštajner et al. 2004: 17).

Nonetheless, structural and urban development problems such as maintenance backlogs, need for restoration, insufficient public infrastructure, inadequacies in residential surroundings, the decline of local retailing, vacancies and high transience rates are becoming more acute in these neighbourhoods. Older neighbourhoods generally also have further problems like substandard facilities (cf. Andrews/Sendi 2001; Černič Mali et al. 2003: 45 ff; Pichler-Milanovic 2003: 52). As with other central

and eastern European countries, Slovenia transferred public, predominantly municipally owned housing to inhabitants on a massive scale between the early and mid-1990s. Although this transfer was not quite as extensive as in most other eastern European countries, around 92% of residents now own their dwellings, which is one of the highest homeownership rates in Europe (cf. Pichler-Milanovic 2003: 36 ff; Černič Mali et al. 2003: 24 ff, Andrews 2004: 125). Homeowners' limited ability and willingness to invest and practically nonexistent condominium management structures has led to a drop in investment in existing buildings. In many areas there is a lack of accountability regarding communally owned open spaces in residential surroundings, so they often end up poorly tended and neglected (cf. Černič Mali et al. 2003: 28, 43; Sendi et al. 2004: 47).

Slovenia has so far not adopted an integrated national development programme for deprived neighbourhoods to address these issues; however, the state has established a series of sectorally oriented, departmental approaches, strategies and programmes which are fundamental to integrated urban development. They are anchored in state spatial planning, housing, employment, economic, educational, training, health and social policies (e.g. the *National Development Programme 2001-2006*, the *Programme to Combat Poverty and Social Marginalization*, *the National Housing Programme*, the *Equal Opportunities and Social Cohesion Programme*, the *Programme for Employment and Lifelong Learning*), and react in part directly to the growing problems in towns and cities (cf. Sendi et al. 2004: 46; Andrews 2004: 131 f). The implementation of the various policies lies in part with the national level and in part with the municipal level, whereby programmes and strategies to combat specifically urban problems are drafted at municipal level. Municipalities are expected to contribute their own funds to support implementation of state initiatives (cf. Andrews 2004: 127; Sendi et al. 2004: 47).

The government fundamentally defines the urban planning framework in the 2003 Slovenian *Spatial Planning Act*, the 2003 *Law on Buildings and Facilities* and the Slovenian *Spatial Development Strategy* adopted in 2004. The spatial development strategy in particular prioritizes the renewal of residential areas, rehabilitating and stabilizing deprived neighbourhoods and redeveloping derelict land and brownfields in inner cities to improve the quality of life and surroundings in neighbourhoods. Besides concentrating on structural and urban renewal, the focus should be on sufficient social and cultural infrastructures as well as parks and open spaces, proximity to workplaces and good accessibility of the areas. Deteriorated and deprived neighbourhoods with restricted development and use potentials should be defined and spatially delineated.

Municipalities are responsible for revitalizing these areas through area-based (urban) planning concepts and harmonized programmes and measures which take into account the interests of participants and relevant players (in particular property owners, investors, planners, local governments, NGOs, residents) (cf. MOP 2004: 33 ff; Andrews 2004: 128 f, Sendi et al. 2004: 47 f). The *Spatial Planning Act* requires formal

public participation as part of the planning procedure, but inhabitants do not have enough faith in the importance of participation owing to a lack of a tradition of participation (cf. MOP 2003: 9; Černič Mali et al. 2005: 11). Initial approaches towards district planning schemes which extend beyond the structural and urban development renewal of neighbourhoods have been implemented for example in Ljubljana. Implementing national specifications and linking sectoral programmes, improving interdepartmental cooperation at national and municipal level, establishing monitoring systems, allocating the necessary financial means and bolstering activation, participation and empowerment are still seen as particular challenges in the development of deprived neighbourhoods (cf. MOP 2003: 13; Andrews 2004: 138, Černič Mali et al. 2005: 10 ff).

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