Regional development studies

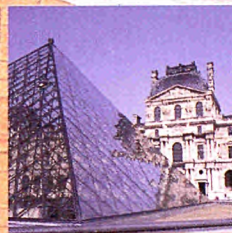# Community involvement in urban regeneration: added value and changing values

European Union

Regional policy
and cohesion

Regional development studies

Community involvement in urban regeneration: added value and changing values

European Commission

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The Community Development Foundation's mission is to strengthen communities by ensuring the effective participation of people in determining the conditions which affect their lives. CDF does this through:

providing support for community initiatives

promoting best practice in the field of community development

informing policy makers at local, regional, national and European levels.

Contents

Summary

1. Introduction

Community involvement, for the purposes of this report, is the active participation of local inhabitants in schemes to regenerate disadvantaged or declining areas.

This study is concerned with urban areas. Urban regeneration usually consists of schemes to create new employment, improve housing stock and overcome social problems in localities where multiple disadvantages are concentrated. At this level community involvement is critical.

It has become widely accepted in recent years that community involvement plays an important part in local public affairs. However, it has not been clear to most people:

what community involvement is

what its effects are

how common it is and

how it can be planned into regeneration schemes.

In order to answer these questions the Community Development Foundation undertook the present study in 1994-5 with support from the European Commission (Directorate General XVI).

A European-wide network of researchers provided a case-study from each of the (then) 12 member states, together with background information on the relevant national and regional policies. An extra case-study was undertaken in former East Germany, with support from the Anglo-German Foundation.

Eight of the case studies concern community involvement as one aspect of a larger scheme intended to revive an area by significant investment in such aspects as housing improvement, job opportunities, training, social amenities and health. Five case-studies concern small free-standing community involvement projects.

An innovative programme of research by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions between 1987 and 1992 had established the nature of local community action. The present study examined how such action took place in the context of official regeneration schemes and community projects.

Examined in a comparative framework, our case-studies provided a basis for thematic conclusions about the aims, methods and effects of community involvement. From the beginning we focused on practical methods and concrete results, with the intention that our findings would be useful both to policy-makers at all levels and to practitioners on local schemes.

2. What community involvement is and how it works

Community involvement can take a number of different forms and has several different levels of intensity.

At the bottom end of an imaginary scale, involvement means, for a local resident, simply being a beneficiary of actions taken by the regeneration scheme: for example, benefiting from new job opportunities, improved housing or improved local amenities.

More intensive forms of involvement range from being informed of plans, through being consulted about them to taking part as a volunteer in a group activity, taking part in controlling a local project or taking part in overall control of developments, as a representative of the community.

For most people involvement naturally tends to be carried out through group activities. Activities by independent, resident-led organisations are particularly important for the inner development of local society. Other projects may be initiated or supported by professional workers specifically to foster active involvement, and are run by workers and residents together.

In cases where decision-making remains in the hands of the professional workers, this is little different from social work, and the level of community involvement is not high. Community involvement increases to the degree that residents take part in decision-making, or initiate their own activities, or represent some part of the local community in negotiating with authorities.

Even within resident-led local associations there are varying levels of involvement. At the core there are usually a small number people intensively involved in organising and decision-making; around them are a circle of occasional helpers; and beyond these a wider circle of users and beneficiaries. Many such associations are based on a mutual aid and co-operative ethos whereby the organisers

and helpers are also among the beneficiaries, but many of the beneficiaries may not be active in helping or decision-making.

Examples of different types of groups from the case studies, are:

- 'Jeunesse Active de la Bastide' in La Bastide, near Beaubreuil, France: an organisation set up autonomously by local young people from migrant families to assist in the integration of migrants into French society, the improvement of inter-ethnic relations and the provision of sports activities and training.

- The 'Citizens' Club' and 'Work Club' in Perama, Athens, Greece, supported by professionals working alongside the residents, organising housing improvement, childcare, social and medical advice, home help for the elderly and disabled, training and help in finding jobs amongst disadvantaged people.

- The 'Inner City Organisations Network' in Dublin, Ireland: a federation of 38 autonomous community groups concerned with youth, childcare and family support, training, women, employment, culture, sport, elderly, welfare rights, and with ensuring that the views of residents are influential in the overall planning of the official regeneration programme.

Local community initiatives are sometimes created autonomously by residents 'from the bottom up', sometimes implanted in the locality by public agencies or national voluntary organisations 'from the top down'. They all involve voluntary (unpaid) effort by local people. Many involve a high degree of initiative and control by a core of local residents, and a more passive role for a wider circle.

Previous research has established the value of looking at local participative projects not as isolated initiatives but as a local community sector: a stratum of group activity with a permanent existence, primarily driven by citizens' independent efforts, partially dependent on official support, often very atomised and

therefore largely overlooked by policy, but of fundamental importance as a channel for local people's participation in regeneration.

However, unless it has been consciously developed, this sector may involve only a minority of the local population, or may be poorly co-ordinated, with many of the groups being barely aware of each others' existence.

3. Results

Active involvement by local residents in urban regeneration schemes has two major results. First, it increases the effectiveness of the schemes on existing criteria in a variety of ways. Secondly it brings new issues onto the agenda which were previously not visible in the regeneration debate and which may point to different needs and solutions.

The case studies give extensive evidence of positive outcomes:

'The services supplied by the programme reached some of the least privileged... Among women of poorer households, traditionally confined to the home, there was a significant increase in initiatives and organisation (eg committees, a co-operative). There was successful promotion of self-help work amongst the poorer cases targeted by the housing programme. Local citizens' organisations took an increasingly strong part on the administrative committee of the programme' (Greek case-study).

'The community involvement aspect of the project achieved:

- better information on local issues and problems

- better connection with people's daily problems

- increasing self-confidence of the population with regard to both personal and collective potential

- better co-operation between formal agencies and informal organisations

- suggestions for new activities, especially for women, youngsters and the elderly' (Portuguese case study).

'Specific initiative groups often focused on a particular tower block, as a channel for residents' involvement in both physical and social regeneration. These were particularly effective as a channel for architecture and planning initiatives... Residents also developed self-administered resources including:

- a tenants' meeting place

- a purpose-built mothers' centre

- conversion of buildings into a youth cafe and cultural centre

- a tenants' participation structure for the manage ment of the social housing in the area' (west German case-study).

4. Hidden economic value

Much community activity has economic as well as social value, but this is rarely quantified. The activities are often seen only within a social-work or welfare framework. Revealing their economic value suggests that the prevailing definition of 'economic' activity is too narrow.

Four main types of economic value were identified through the case-studies:

(i) 'Free' public services

In many cases, community initiatives were comparable to small businesses except for the fact that their services were free or cheap, and most or all the labour was given voluntarily:

- in 'Punt 50' (Netherlands case-study) a group of 20 women on low incomes ran a centre for training, advice, mutual aid and

social activities used by over 200 women and children

- in Osterholz-Tenever (west German case-study) residents created and ran a mothers' centre, tenants' meeting place, youth cafe and young people's cultural centre.

- in 'Wotepa' (Belgian case-study) residents converted a disused school into a furniture renovation and redistribution service.

(ii) Self-help on housing

This is an activity much more prominent in some countries than others, but potentially of interest everywhere through 'self-build' schemes.

- In Aeussere Neustadt (east German case-study) before the collapse of the GDR, residents were adding value to state property by putting in their own labour in return for reduction of rents (which were already low). The cash value of that labour must have far exceeded the cost to the state.

- In Tor Bella Monica (Italian case-study), as elsewhere in Italy, residents built their own houses illegally. The fact that this was tolerated by the authorities, and 'recuperated' with infrastructure post hoc, indicated a de facto recognition of its economic value by the authorities, who might otherwise have had to provide public housing at much greater expense. The same appears to be true in Perama (Greek case-study).

(iii) Improving official public services by monitoring, pressure and negotiation

Community activity added value to services by better monitoring, targeting and adaptation to local conditions:

- in Bremen (west German case-study) the neighbourhood committee played a major role in re-designing the estate to make it easier and pleasanter to live in

- in Barcelona (Spanish case-study) residents' groups improved conservation planning and obtained subsidies to ensure that poorer residents could stay in the locality as property values rose due to renovation

- in the 'BIK' project (Danish case-study) the re-invigorated neighbourhood council obtained a new local bus service, making life cheaper and easier for residents

- In Glasgow (UK case-study) tenants on the Greater Easterhouse estate carried out a long campaign which persuaded the local council to install a more efficient heating system throughout the damp, unhealthy flats. Their success saved tenants thousands of pounds a year in heating bills, more than paid for its cost to the Council in savings on repairs, and saved the health authorities a lot of expense as well.

(iv) 'Community businesses'

Community businesses are a more obvious form of economic activity. They usually combine some form of job creation with a product or service which has a social purpose. In many cases they carry out contracts for public authorities, and in this sense are a mixture of public service and private enterprise. In Drumchapel (UK case study) these were some of the activities under this heading:

- Law and money advice: a service of advice and representation with 13 staff, which dealt with over 1300 cases in 1993

- 'Furnishaid': a project collecting and distributing furniture to people who could not get help from the benefits system

- Care in the community: 32 staff providing a range of services to adults with varying degrees of disability

- Mercat Theatre: a performing arts and film venue

- Food Cooperatives Development Project: support for local people forming co-operatives to purchase and distribute low-cost high-quality food.

5. Policies towards communities

Most regeneration schemes are funded from some combination of local, regional, national and European sources. The case studies show that it makes a major difference to planning and practice if one or more of the funding agencies or official partners has a stated commitment to community involvement.

Our studies were chosen for their community involvement content, and it seems certain that there are many other schemes where community involvement is not given direct attention. The background information suggests that most regeneration schemes do not have explicit policies on this factor or incorporate it into their strategic planning. The case-studies also reveal a number of lost opportunities, and sometimes the decline of involvement due to new policies which failed to appreciate it.

Overall, the impression is that community involvement is often assumed to be taking place, and is approved of in principle, but is marginal in practice, with much loss of value and effectiveness in regeneration schemes. A more statistical study would be required to show the full picture.

Women play a central role in much of the unpaid work in the locality as well as the home. The most active people are not necessarily those with most time, but often those who combine part-time and low-paid work with caring responsibilities. The role of the community sector is therefore closely related to gender issues.

Many of our case studies took place in multi-racial areas, and the character of community activity reflected this. However, background information suggests that much community activity by minority ethnic groups is even less visible than community activity in general, and

there is a strong likelihood that it is under-represented in our case studies. Since minority ethnic communities are often disproportionately clustered in disadvantaged areas, it is important to look more deeply into the role of community involvement in creating a harmonious mutiracial society.

Critiques of economic convention from environmentalist, feminist and global development sources suggest that failure to recognise the economic value of unpaid work disfranchises women and distorts policy-making. Regeneration policy is oriented to increasing the GDP and paid employment, but a great deal of community activity has an economic (life-support) value outside the GDP and without paid employment, and nearly always through activities that take little or no toll on the environment. A stronger community sector also means better monitoring of services amd more amenities and activities close at hand, at low cost, hence reducing pressures to travel.

Community involvement can sometimes create jobs. But apart from this it often saves costs, minimises waste and adds uncounted value. This suggests that more effective regeneration could be achieved by a more central role for community involvement and a more holistic approach to the local economy. This could be described as a shift of emphasis from economic GROWTH to ECONOMIC growth.

Economic GROWTH emphasises

- growth in jobs and earnings

- growth in GDP

- growth in spending and consumption.

ECONOMIC growth emphasises

- growth in being economic - ie saving costs

- growth in doing, making and mutual aid

- growth in innovative economic schemes, building up the assets of local residents' organisations, and keeping money circulat-

ing within the local economy for as long as possible.

In facilitating multifaceted forms of value, community involvement enables regeneration schemes to move towards a more holistic approach to the management of localities, integrating social, economic and environmental aims.

A widening of the definition of 'work' and 'economic activity' to include all forms of life support work would allow regeneration policies to facilitate more effective improvements in the situation of disadvantaged people based on their own strategies for maximising different forms of value.

6. Methods

The report draws together key points of strategy for maximising community involvement in a regeneration scheme. Many methods are possible. The study proposes a universal 'skeleton' which can be adapted to specific schemes.

Community involvement should both inform the general ethos of a scheme and constitute a specific package of work on behalf of the scheme. A team of specialist workers should be identified or appointed for this purpose. The work of the Community Involvement Team should take place 'at an arm's length' from official control, in order to prevent any tendencies for official bodies to try and control the community sector and thus alienate voluntary effort and independent views.

The work of the team should cover five interconnecting areas:

- monitoring the concerns of local inhabitants and the activities of the local community sector

- support and development for individual community organisations

- support and development for local community organisation networks and umbrella organisations

- technical support for community representatives on the regeneration partnership

- working with professional agencies and with the regeneration partnership itself to improve its understanding of, co-operation with and policies towards community involvement and the community sector.

The community sector should be represented on the partnership itself, and should have some part in 'ownership' of the work of the Community Involvement Team. As the community sector grows in strength, its representation will grow in effectiveness. The scheme must allow for and facilitate this growth. The extent and effectiveness of the community sector should be profiled at the start, and targets should be set for increasing the strength of the sector and the adequacy of policies towards it.

The programme of work on community involvement may be guided by resolving the functions of the community in regeneration initiatives into five separate roles:

- beneficiaries of the programme and users of services

- consultees, and representatives of local opinion

- sources of general community activity

- sources of specialist activity which can help to deliver planned parts of the regeneration programme

- potential long-term partners in regeneration.

Targets for strengthening the community sector might be in terms of:

- numbers of community organisations in the locality

- effectiveness of the organisations

- range of social issues covered by the organisations

- access to organisations by the most excluded

- local population's awareness of the organisations

- networking and coordination between the organisations

- population's capacity for creating new organisations

- resources and assets held by the organisations

- a coordinated voice for the organisations in relation to public policies and services.

7. Conclusion

The significance of community involvement can, in conclusion, be summarised in seven key points:

(i) Pulling together, not pulling apart

Some local residents are pursuing their own agendas for improvement irrespective of any official regeneration scheme. A proportion of inhabitants will always be trying to make their life better through self-help groups, voluntary projects and putting pressure on authorities to deliver better services. A regeneration scheme which is aware of and builds on this underlying energy is much more likely to succeed. Supporting pre-existing community groups and initiatives helps to link up scattered efforts into a combined force.

(ii) Added economic value

Community activity adds economic value both directly and indirectly. Community businesses create a certain number of jobs, and other community initiatives create free services, in-crease mutual aid, reduce living costs or help to make public services more efficient. Through such activities disadvantaged people are also brought back into the world of social inclusion.

(iii) Maximising volunteering

Community involvement is a natural force for mobilising volunteering. This is another way to look at the added value. Although much volunteering and community activity is spontaneous, more potential remains unrealised. A scheme which nurtures community involvement can add thousands of hours of people's freely-given efforts to local development. It can thereby increase the proportion of the local population involved in community groups, whether as helpers or beneficiaries, and enable community groups to be better at achieving their own objectives, whether self help, campaigning or service delivery.

(iv) Monitoring and feedback

Members of the local community are in the best position to say what a scheme's effects are. Community involvement brings user feedback, enabling services to be better targeted and more effective. It also enables disadvantaged sections of the community to achieve their own 'voice', either through creating new groups of their own, or through better access to existing groups.

(v) Changing professional methods

Community involvement influences the orientation of official and professional agencies working in the community so that they are more aware of how to consult with local residents, understand their priorities and relate services more closely to their needs.

(vi) Long-term capacity

When an official regeneration scheme ends, many of its initiatives are at risk of disappear-

ing. A scheme which has built up community involvement is more likely to be able to hand some of its projects on to be maintained by local organisations, whilst those initiatives which should be maintained by public authorities are more likely to be maintained if the community has been involved in them and presses the authorities to follow them through.

(vii) Reinterpreting the agenda

Community involvement introduces a naturally holistic perspective into the debate about regeneration. Local community experience illuminates, for example, the relation between paid and unpaid work, changing gender roles, ethnic relations and the relationship between the local environment and quality of life.

Regeneration policies and practices are not static but are continually developing and facing new challenges. Bringing community involvement into a central position in regeneration strategy would help to modify regeneration practice to meet these challenges and move towards an integration of social, economic and environmental factors.

8. Short summary of the case studies

The case-studies were as follows:

Belgium. 'Wotepa' housing and employment project, Antwerpen district, north east Antwerp. Antwerpen has a high density of population, poor housing, no open green space, high unemployment and a high number of people dependent on subsistence benefits. Wotepa is a small-scale project which engages the most marginalised residents in a programme of training, social skills, and the conversion of an old school into housing and a furniture renovation centre and shop. Antwerp is an 'Urban Pilot' area of the EU, and the project was started in 1990 with help from the EU Poverty 3 programme.

Denmark. The 'BIK' project, Aalborg East, Aalborg. Aalborg East was built in the early 70s as a development area, but is divided from the rest of the city by several main roads and has become a low-status area with many social problems. The BIK project ran from 1989-94, helping to develop and co-ordinate residents' organisations and to train and motivate long-term unemployed people to work as volunteers. The work with organisations led to reinvigoration of the town council and a number of improvements in local conditions. The project was supported by SUM, a national programme promoting participation and social change, and by the Poverty 3 programme of the EU.

France. 'JAB' youth organisation, La Bastide, Limoges. La Bastide is a peripheral area of the city with a high proportion of young people and a mixed ethnic population. There is high unemployment, economic hardship and a high level of fear of crime. The organisation was set up autonomously by young people, initially for sporting activities, but rapidly developed into a general community organisation facilitating social activities, information, better ethnic relations and dialogue between residents and authorities. The organisation eventually obtained official recognition and support from the city authority, regional authority and the Urban Social Fund.

Germany, west. Osterholz-Tenever Regeneration Programme, Bremen. Osterholz-Tenever is a peripheral residential district consisting of high-rise blocks built in the early 80s. It is a very multiracial area and has a high percentage of young people and a low proportion of elderly. There is much unemployment and poverty. The regeneration programme was launched by the city in 1989, combining economic and social aims. Community involvement was built into the plan at two levels, one concerned with overall planning and development, the other concerned with individual tower blocks. Residents had a good deal of influence on improvements in the design of the estate and the creation of a variety of new amenities. In addition to support from the city and the region, the initiative (which also covers five other peripheral estates in the city) be-

came part of an EU Urban Pilot Programme linked to the Quartiers en Crise network.

Germany, east. Auessere-Neustadt regeneration initiative, Dresden. The area is an old part of the city with dilapidated housing which survived the bombing of World War II. After reunification in 1990, the severe housing problems were compounded by new insecurity of jobs and income. The population has been dropping sharply for a decade. The former East German authorities had begun plans to demolish and replace much of the housing. Residents created an umbrella organisation to argue for, and assist, a more conservationist approach to renewal, and this group was influential in the emergence of the regeneration initiative created by the new authorities. However, in the implementation of the scheme community involvement has been marginalised, and a lot of momentum seems to have been lost. Support for the initiative is from central government, the state of Saxony and the city.

Greece. Regeneration scheme, Perama, Athens. Perama is the port and shipbuilding area of the city. There are problems of housing, employment, health and environment. Incomes are low but the population is fairly stable. There have been a series of regeneration schemes over the past ten years. These at first concentrated on improvements in housing, working conditions and training, and gradually widened out to social issues, including a bigger role for community involvement. Community organisations have contributed improvements in housing, childcare, medical advice, help for elderly and disabled people, information and training. In addition to the municipality, there was support from government and the church, and the EU Poverty 3 programme.

Ireland. The Inner City Renewal Group (ICRG), north inner city area of Dublin. The gradual running-down of work in the docks and related manufacturing created a huge gap in traditional forms of employment in this area. The population fell by 39% between 1971 and 1986 and many of the remaining population are dependent on benefits. In the late 80s the government started a major renewal scheme. Based on a long history of local activism, the main residents' group has represented residents' in pressing for, and assisting in delivering, a social dimension in the renewal process. The group works for a sense of common purpose amongst residents' associations, improved income, better housing, better access to education, and a trust fund to support residents' initiatives. ICRG has received funding support from government and the EC's Community Act Programme.

Italy. The 'AM18' project, Tor Bella Monaca, Rome. Tor Bella Monaca is a peripheral development consisting of tower blocks built in the 1980s to replace illegal housing. Facilities are poor, the design of the area is alienating and there is a high incidence of unemployment and social problems. Three autonomous residents' organisations formed an agency and designed the project, which provides training, cultural activities and advice on a large scale for young people, facilities for people with disabilities and some job creation for women and young people. Funding has been received from the EU Poverty 3 programme and NOW.

Luxembourg. Regeneration of the Quartier Grund, Luxembourg City. There are significant pockets of deprivation in Luxembourg although the standard of living of most people is high. A professional agency, Interaction Faubourg, worked jointly with local inhabitants in an area of severe housing problems, organising training, education and social development for children and young people from low income groups and marginalised sections of the community. The initiative was supported by the government.

Netherlands. 'Punt 50' community involvement initiative, Feijenoord district of Rotterdam. Feijenoord, is isolated from the rest of the city by the river Maas, the port area and a railway line. Access is difficult, facilities are few, and there is a high degree of unemployment, drug abuse and ill health. 'Punt 50' is an initiative of 20 local women, originally assisted by a community worker, later wholly independent. It started as a mutual aid group providing social development, health advice, adult education and

training, which gradually grew into a facility with its own premises, used by several hundred women and children. There is support from the local authority, central government and the World Health Organisation.

Portugal. Foundation for the Development of the Historical Zone of Oporto, Oporto. The historical zone, in particular the two parishes of Se and S. Nicolau, suffers from extensive housing decay and a concentration of social and economic problems. Attempts at regeneration have been taking place since the advent of democracy in Portugal in 1974. An initial upsurge of community activity subsided when the initiative passed to the new local authorities, but has been somewhat revived since 1989 with the creation of this new partnership, which has fostered job creation, welfare services, work with children and young people, housing improvements and revitalising local associations. National and municipal funding has been supplemented by Poverty 3, Euroform, Now and Horizon, and Urban Pilot Programme status.

Spain. Municipal Programme for Regeneration, Ciutat Vella district of Barcelona. Ciutat Vella is the old city quarter of Barcelona, with a declining population and many social, economic and housing problems. There is a high proportion of elderly people and a high rate of unemployment. The municipal authority launched the regeneration scheme in 1987, improving housing and welfare and to decentralise public services. Community involvement was also a declared aim but has had limited success. Perhaps due to lack of involvement in the basic planning, community responses have been mainly defensive, preventing displacement from the area and helping to resist crime, drugs and prostitution. In addition to the city's backing, the programme has EU support through the LIFE and PERIFRA programmes.

UK. Drumchapel Initiative, Glasgow. Drumchapel is a peripheral estate built in the 1950's to rehouse people moved out of slums that were being demolished. Unemployment is high, health is poor and a large proportion of the population is dependent on state benefits. The regeneration scheme was launched by the city in 1986, to improve housing, employment, education and health. A central role for community involvement was built in from the start, and this took the form of support for a community sector umbrella body representing 80 local resident organisations and developing a variety of community businesses. This structure achieved a high degree of popular support and generated significant improvements in the area before getting into financial difficulties which forced it to abandon its role at the end of 1994.

Chapter one
Introduction

1. Urban regeneration and the question of involvement

Urban regeneration is one of the most fundamental issues affecting the future of Europe. Both the great and the lesser cities of Europe have played, and continue to play, a central part in the history and development of the continent. Whether looking at strengths or weaknesses, threats or opportunities, what happens to the cities will in large measure be what happens to Europe as a whole.

This is not to deny the importance of other areas; on the contrary, the relationship of the city to the rural and other areas is a key feature of the role of cities, and may change significantly over the next twenty years, for environmental as well as economic reasons. But many of the problems of contemporary society, as well as its potential, are naturally concentrated in cities; and within the cities, they are concentrated in particular areas. Industrial decline or potential development, unemployment, physical deterioration, social malaise are all most evident in particular parts of particular cities.

The social and economic regeneration of those areas is therefore a central concern for national and local governments. There are urban regeneration schemes in progress in virtually all European countries, and some countries have major national programmes under this heading. Whilst European policy on specifically urban issues is relatively recent in development, inevitably much regional and social aid has been deployed in urban areas, and in effect European policy already plays a major part in urban regeneration through the Structural Funds and other programmes.

The question addressed by this report is what part does the active involvement of the local population play in such initiatives? What does such involvement consist of? What difference does it make? Is it the same as the involvement of the local authority? What are its benefits and costs? What factors facilitate or impede it? Above all, what enables it to work well?

2. What is community involvement?

Community involvement, for the purposes of this report, is the active involvement of local inhabitants in schemes to regenerate disadvantaged or declining areas.

As the next chapter shows, urban regeneration generally consists of schemes to create new employment, improve housing stock and overcome social problems in areas where multiple problems are concentrated.

These kinds of aims form an integral, indeed central, part of the aims of regional development and the Structural Funds as a whole. At the level of macro planning, the question of community involvement is often invisible, and might even be thought irrelevant. In reality all macro plans ultimately depend on detailed implementation at local level, and at this level community involvement is critical.

We do not take the involvement of the local authority as automatically covering community involvement. Whilst the local authority role is crucial, both in its own right and as a facilitator of community involvement, to accept it as constituting community involvement would merely mask the question of whether there are other ways in which local inhabitants can get directly, personally and actively involved. Community involvement would always be in addition to, not instead of, the representative democratic and official administrative role of the local authority and other public bodies.

For clarity, then, we define local authorities and official agencies as being outside the local community; we reserve the term '(local) community' for the inhabitants and workforce.

Nevertheless, the official and professional bodies are of course involved in taking action in the community, including sometimes undertaking projects jointly with the community, as in some of our examples below.

Community involvement, or 'participation', can take a number of different forms and levels of intensity.

At the bottom end of an imaginary 'ladder of involvement', involvement means, for an individual resident, simply being a beneficiary of actions taken by the regeneration scheme: for example, benefiting from new job opportunities, improved housing or extended amenities.

At the next rung up, involvement means being informed of the plans and their implementation.

Slightly more intensive is being consulted about the process, with therefore some possibility of influencing it.

So far, all these are mild forms of involvement, hardly meriting description as active involvement. From this point onwards up the ladder, involvement becomes more active:

The next rung, for example, might be taking part as a volunteer in a group activity contributing to some part of the regeneration programme.

Another might be taking part as an employee in an initiative in the regeneration scheme.

Higher yet would be taking part in controlling a local project.

Very high on the ladder - and rare - would be taking part in controlling major policies and services in the locality. This role would mainly be taken by residents who are in the position of representing a local organisation or network which draws on the involvement of many more residents at a lower level.

None of these levels of involvement can be taken for granted. Even being a passive beneficiary of actions is not guaranteed. For example regeneration sometimes has the effect of raising the status and house prices of an area, such that the indigenous population is displaced or made even poorer.

Involvement of the whole local population even at a moderate level is an ideal rarely if ever achieved. But the case studies include some sophisticated examples, whereby at least a substantial section of the local population are actively and influentially involved in the regeneration endeavour through a chain of local organisations and processes.

The next chapter analyses the evidence of the case-studies thematically and Appendix A presents a summary of each case study. The full case-studies are held by CDF and the contributing researchers, who are listed on pp. 65-66.

3. Local groups and organisations

So far, we have described levels of involvement as experienced by individuals. In reality, beyond the minimal levels, involvement naturally tends to be carried out through group activities.

We have defined the community as the whole local population (including those who work in the locality). In a more active sense, the community crystallises in a variety of social projects and voluntary groups and organisations.

Whilst we must not reduce the definition of the community only to its groups and organisations, since many members of the local population will not be involved in these, we do have to pay particular attention to groups and organisations as being the most active and sustained forms of involvement by local people.

Examples of such groups, from our case studies, are:

- 'Punt 50' in the Feijenoord district of Rotterdam, Holland: a group of 20 women on low incomes organising mutual aid amongst several hundred women regarding care of children, education, health and combating social exclusion.

- The 'Wotepa' project in Antwerp, Belgium, providing training, renovation of housing and local business development for severely disadvantaged people in the locality.

- 'Jeunesse Active de la Bastide' in La Bastide, near Beaubreuil, France: an organisation set up autonomously by local young people from migrant families to assist in the integration of migrants into French society, the improvement of inter-ethnic relations and the provision of sports activities and training.

- The 'Citizens' Club' and 'Work Club' in Perama, Athens, Greece, which organise

housing improvement, childcare, social and medical advice, home help for the elderly and disabled, training and help in finding jobs amongst disadvantaged people.

- The 'Inner City Organisations Network' in Dublin, Ireland: a forum to co-ordinate the policies of 38 smaller community groups concerned with youth, childcare and family support, training, women, employment, culture, sport, elderly, welfare rights and community development.

Such initiatives are sometimes created autonomously by local residents 'from the bottom up', sometimes implanted in the locality by public agencies or national voluntary organisations 'from the top down'. They all involve voluntary (unpaid) effort by local people. The extent of voluntary input and the degree of control by local people varies according to how far the group is resourced and directed by an outside agency.

Whilst the examples we have studied are naturally amongst the most prominent in their respective localities, the phenomenon of local voluntary group activity is much more widespread than is generally understood. A previous study for the European Union (Chanan, EFILWC, 1992) found an average of three voluntary or community organisations per thousand population in case studies in seven countries. Thus a district of 100,000 people could be expected to harbour around 300 community groups or voluntary organisations.

Many such groups are small and isolated but in aggregate they form a considerable local facility. About 10% of the population might be actively involved in one or more of them, with about another 40% making use of the services of at least one or two of them. In the EFILWC study, out of 300 local community groups in seven localities, 55% were run independently by local residents, 22% were run by official agencies or national bodies and 23% were run jointly by official or national bodies and local residents (ibid, p70). Some of the groups, particularly the autonomous ones, were of long duration, sometimes between five and ten years, outlasting most official regeneration ini-

tiatives. In some cases their existence was important in knitting together a succession of such initiatives - they formed the 'regeneration memory' of the locality.

The EFILWC study concluded that local participative projects should not be looked at as isolated initiatives but as a local community sector: a stratum of group activity with a permanent existence, primarily driven by citizens' independent efforts, partially dependent on official support, often very atomised and therefore largely overlooked by policy, but of fundamental importance as a channel for local people's participation in regeneration.

4. Results

Active involvement by local residents in urban regeneration schemes has two major results, according to the evidence of this report. First, it increases the effectiveness of the schemes on existing criteria in a variety of ways. Secondly it brings new issues onto the agenda which were previously not visible in the regeneration debate and which may point to different needs and solutions.

Our case studies (Appendix A) show that the benefits of community involvement, in terms of existing criteria, can include some or all of the following:

- providing job training for disadvantaged people

- assisting local small business development

- assisting with the renovation of housing

- providing skills and personal support for socially excluded people

- assisting in the socialisation of young people

- creating or acquiring new local amenities and assets

- helping to protect or enhance the local environment

- helping community groups to become more co-ordinated and achieve a 'voice' in public policy

- improving relations between different ethnic groups

- improving the situation of women

- improving local people's health and education

- changing the style of public services and official agencies to make them more consultative and 'human'.

5. The changing agenda

What new issues are brought onto the agenda by community involvement? Part of the value of community involvement is not only that it can show added value in relation to existing indicators, but that it has a 'meta' value in that it can query those indicators and contribute to finding better ones. Additional issues which arise from community involvement experience include:

- strengthening local democracy

- widening the concept of work: recognising the importance of unpaid work in the local economy

- questioning the way local economic growth is measured

- pioneering new lifestyles which reconcile economic, environmental and social aims

- pioneering new kinds of relationship between public services and users.

Local community experience has important insights to convey about the nature of the local economy and the integration of social, economic and environmental aims. Whilst regen-

eration schemes often speak of combining economic, social and environmental aims, the main thrust is usually about the economic or physical conditions (housing etc).

In relation to dominant physical or economic aims, community involvement may at first sight seem marginal. In reality, our evidence suggests this is a misperception due to three causes:

(a) Community involvement is often introduced in the form of a small experimental project. Its aggregate effects and strategic potential is not usually assessed.

(b) The prevailing notion of what is 'economic' rests on certain assumptions that are increasingly questioned as being too narrow. Much community activity has an unrecognised economic function.

(c) The supposed integration of social, economic and environmental criteria in regeneration plans is as yet only an aspiration. As social and environmental criteria come to be applied more seriously, the aims and language of regeneration schemes are beginning to change, in ways which make community involvement more crucial.

These questions are taken up in chapter three.

6. Strategy and evaluation

Can community involvement be deliberately fostered? Much of our evidence suggests that it can be, and is, successfully fostered by a variety of methods developed over the past 25 years. Many of the methods have been pioneered by the field known in some countries as community development. Community development has flourished in particular periods and places over this time. It has mainly reflected a localised, project-centred and therefore fragmented ethos. It has therefore not adequately developed a common European language or systematic methods of evaluation.

The present time, and the condition of contemporary society, point to a need for community development method to become a more recognised part of the portfolio of regeneration schemes, and therefore that objective indicators should be found to establish its results.

Recent work by the Community Development Foundation and others shows that relevant objective indicators can be developed. The question of strategy, methods and evaluation is discussed in the concluding chapter.

Chapter two
Community involvement — What it does
and how it works

1. Introduction

What kinds of achievement in regeneration schemes can be traced to community involvement? How do these achievements actually come about? Are they common or exceptional? What factors seem to favour them or stand in their way? This chapter addresses these questions with close reference to our case-studies.

The full case-study reports are held by the Community Development Foundation. A summary of each report is presented in Appendix A. In this chapter we pick out key material from the reports showing what community involvement consists of and how it works. Quotations are mostly from the full case-studies rather than the summaries.

Regeneration schemes are, by definition, nearly always located in areas of disadvantage. The features of disadvantage vary from one area to another but their main components are well known. The main features are often common: high unemployment, poor housing quality and a concentration of social problems. The cases we are discussing nearly all exhibit features of this kind. There are many reports showing the problems of disadvantaged areas. Here we concentrate on potential

solutions through community involvement. Greater detail on the problems will be found in the summaries.

2. How common is community involvement?

As far as we know there is no statistical information on how widespread community involvement is in regeneration schemes. This in itself indicates how little attention has yet been devoted to the subject. To carry out a survey would first require some conceptual clarification. From the range of experience we have assembled, it quickly becomes clear that in order to estimate the extent of community involvement we have to distinguish between two meanings or levels of this phenomenon:

The first, more passive, meaning concerns how the local population are affected by the regeneration scheme. In this minimal sense all schemes must engender some degree of community involvement: any improvement of homes, creation of jobs, provision of new amenities must engender some sort of response in the local population, if only as passive users or beneficiaries.

The second meaning concerns whether local people become actively involved, for example responding to consultations, negotiating with the authorities, taking initiatives of their own, contributing voluntary labour, or being represented in the partnership which is running the scheme.

In many schemes it appears that there is little or no explicit attention to how the local population is affected. No doubt the practitioners on the ground observe the impact they are making but the notion of monitoring the community response does not enter into the planning and the criteria of the scheme. Results show numbers of buildings improved, jobs created, roads built and so forth but not what local people thought of all this or how their lives changed.

Lack of explicit information on community involvement makes it difficult to judge achievement: for example jobs may increase but be mainly taken by people travelling in from other areas. Housing may be improved but go up in value, with poorer families being forced to move out to other areas. Social problems may also be 'exported' to other areas as poorer families move out.

The information we have about the achievements of community involvement therefore comes from schemes where there was some explicit recognition of its importance. It would be valuable to know how these experiences compare with cases where community involvement was left unspecified. Until such a comparison is carried out we have to deduce what we can from background information. Looking at the problems faced by community involvement initiatives, and particularly at examples of lost opportunities (discussed below), it is reasonable to deduce that community involvement is at a low level in most schemes; furthermore that the neglect of this factor is likely to be limiting the effectiveness of the schemes.

One form of community involvement that is much underestimated is involvement in local economic development. This is partly because many of the achievements of community in-volvement - illustrated below - are not assessed economically. Towards the end of this chapter we review the question of the economic value of community activity, and in the next chapter we discuss a new approach to the local economy arising from the perspective of community involvement.

3. Achievements

In our case studies, selected for having some explicit community involvement, the researchers were able to make some categorical judgements of outcome, though few of these had been quantified:

'The services supplied by the programme reached nearly 10% of the local population, mainly amongst the least privileged. There was a fast take-up rate of the activities of the programme and in most cases demand exceeded capacity. Among women of poorer households, traditionally confined to the home, there was a significant increase in initiatives and organisation (eg committees, a co-operative). There was successful promotion of self-help work amongst the poorer cases targeted by the housing programme. Local citizens' organisations took an increasingly strong part on the administrative committee of the programme' (Greek case-study).

'The community involvement aspect of the project achieved:

- better information on local issues and problems

- the approach of the regeneration scheme was better connected to people's daily living problems

- increasing self-confidence of the population with regard to both personal and collective potential

- better co-operation between formal agencies and informal organisations

- suggestions for new activities, especially for women, youngsters and the elderly' (Portuguese case study).

'Specific initiative groups often focused on a particular tower block, as a channel for residents' involvement in both physical and social regeneration. These were particularly effective as a channel for architecture and planning initiatives... Residents also developed self-administered resources including:

- a tenants' meeting place

- a purpose-built mothers' centre

- conversion of buildings into a youth cafe and cultural centre

- a tenants' participation structure for the management of the social housing in the area.

These facilities also helped develop better communication and organisation among the residents' (west German case-study).

'Some seven years on from the establishment of the Drumchapel initiative much had changed in the area. There was an extensive programme of investment in housing and the environment, and the creation of four community-led housing management co-operatives. Drumchapel Opportunities (job creation scheme) was successful in extending the skills of residents and in placing people in jobs. There was something of a cultural renaissance in the area, and a network of projects which tackled individual and collective community needs... There is now a diverse and active infrastructure of projects and activities in Drumchapel which work to serve the needs of particular groups, which provide opportunities that would otherwise not be available, and which raise concerns and issues with public authorities' (UK case-study).

Shortly after the completion of this case study the main community organisation in Drumchapel ran into financial difficulties. The City council withdrew support and the organisation had to cease operating. Many of the compo-

nent organisations survived but this turn of events illustrates the fact that even an accomplished and community-led local umbrella body may be vulnerable without the support of public authorities. We discuss the special role of umbrella bodies later in this chapter.

Other examples of the achievements of community involvement appear in the course of the discussion below.

4. The main vehicle: inhabitants' independent groups and associations

How did community involvement lead to such achievements? Most of the achievements were carried out by some form of community association or project, either wholly or largely run by local inhabitants. Sometimes these were facilitated by paid community workers, sometimes they were wholly voluntary. In most cases the major effort was that of the inhabitants themselves.

Earlier EU research (carried out by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions) showed that one of the most important forms of community activity consists of local community associations, under residents' control. Though many of the associations are small and informal, in aggregate they are a major vehicle both for mutual aid and micro social cohesion amongst residents, and for dialogue between inhabitants and authorities:

'Local community action is voluntary activity by local residents to meet their collective needs, overcome disadvantages and improve conditions and opportunities in that locality. By voluntary is meant unpaid, freely-given work in the public interest (including mutual aid). But voluntary organisations may also have paid staff, perhaps one, two or three, working alongside residents. In its most stable and continuous form local community action takes the form of local groups and organisations. But it also includes individual actions, informal networks and short-life groups. The groups are an ex-

pression of a ferment which is continually bubbling away, connected to the daily needs of personal and household life.' (Chanan, 1994)

The first additional value of schemes which have some explicit commitment to community involvement is that they enable us to know more about the profile of local community activity. In some of our cases, for example, we know how many small community groups and associations were operating, independent of the regeneration scheme itself:

At least 80 in Drumchapel (UK case study, population 19,000; four groups per thousand people)

Between 35 and 50 at any one time in Perama (Greek case study, population 24,000; one to two groups per thousand people)

Over 100 in Aalborg East (Danish case study, population 15,000; six to seven groups per thousand people)

200 in Ciutat Vella, Barcelona (Spanish case study, population 90,000; two groups per thousand people).

Participation in associations is only one form of community activity but it is by its nature the most sustained. The numbers of associations, and the number of inhabitants involved in associations, is something that can be extensively increased by a sophisticated regeneration scheme. People who are active in associations are also more active on local issues in general, and increased group activity spreads information and stimulus amongst individuals as well. Thus cultivating group activity helps to obtain a more active response from citizens both collectively and individually.

Study of these groups and how they fluctuate can give some indication of what proportion of the population are active on local issues either occasionally or intensively:

'The number of neighbourhood groups and organisations in Perama varies between 35 and 50 at any one time, ie 1.5 to 2.0 per

thousand people. About half can be said to be actively involved in community affairs and efforts to solve local problems. 35% of local people participate in some way in local groups, particularly those concerned with local problems such as neighbourhood improvement and parents' associations. There is a relatively active and influential group of about 10% of the population. A small group of leaders and activists in autonomous associations or acting through local agencies is involved in affairs and has strong influence over a significant section of the population. Moreover there is a local history of mass mobilisations that from time to time involve large numbers in informal ways' (Greek case study).

Study of the local groups sector also allows a judgement to be made on its general condition and potential. Perama's two groups per thousand people may have been a more effective vehicle for popular involvement than Aalborg East's six per thousand:

'Denmark is often referred to as a country of private and voluntary associations. A large number of such associations can be identified in Aalborg East but they have not been as active as one would expect - certainly not enough to put up a solid resistance to the deprivation of the suburb... The organisations and associations present in the area were fairly exclusive. Each was directed towards a specific target group or issue (parents of kindergarten children, football-playing, youth, stamp collecting etc) and did not pay much attention to what was happening in the area as a whole'(Danish case study).

This awareness of the extent and condition of local groups, and an understanding of their potential, can feed into the planning of the regeneration scheme:

'During the initial months the project managers made personal contact with all the voluntary associations in the area and established a database to maintain regular contact. The personal contact gave the project managers a profound knowledge of the human as well as organisational resources present. The 'talk-

round' also revealed some tasks that were too big for any one organisation to carry out. The project brought organisations together for joint effort' (Danish case-study).

5. Umbrella and co-ordinating bodies

The question of the number and condition of groups naturally leads to the question of whether they form networks of co-operation, and whether they have an effective local umbrella body or representative forum. Many regeneration schemes claim to involve 'the local community' simply by involving two or three of the better-known local organisations, without examining their relationships with other groups and the population as a whole. Some form of federation or voluntary co-ordination is necessary for the local groups sector as a whole to be a significant partner in a regeneration scheme. Yet any attempt to direct groups centrally would undoubtedly be counter-productive since it is precisely in their voluntary and autonomous nature that their value lies. The co-ordinating body or bodies therefore need to be democratic in structure and style.

The creation of a viable collective voice for the local community sector is likely to be a long process. But it is also a process which may have been developing for some time before the commencement of a regeneration scheme. To a new scheme it may not be obvious that local people have been struggling for a long time to create their own forms of regeneration. Any 'top-down' initiative is more likely to succeed if it looks for these roots to link with.

The Irish case study captures a long historical perspective leading to the development of a local representative organisation rooted in autonomous local groups. This development had three main phases:

1: PROTEST

1970s - Protest against the economic and social decline of the area

- A search for recognition for the role of the community

2: PROJECTS

1980s - Concern about area dereliction

- Focus on specific problems and issues

- Development of local community projects and services

3: RENEWAL

1990s - Development of area-wide networks

- Creation of a residents' forum

- Focus on partnership and planning for regeneration. (Irish case-study)

Local community groups and networks in the Dublin north inner city came together in 1990 to set up a co-ordinating body under their own control. This in turn led to the setting up of a formal umbrella organisation, the Inner City Organisations Network (ICON), recognised by the authorities as a representative partner in planning for the future of the area:

'After 20 years of community organisation and development the area now has a single network of organisations which has recognition and legitimacy both from within and without. From the original 22 founding groups to its subsequent membership of 38 community groups, ICON attracted membership from across the spectrum of community organisations and projects, including tenants' and residents' associations, training projects, youth projects, child care centres and social services. There are statutory, voluntary and community workers involved in its operations and structures. ICON is recognised by the Dublin Inner City Partnership as the networking organising group for the north east inner city. This recognition provides ICON with access to information from statutory agencies, and ICON deals with a number of state agencies in relation to local matters. The launch of ICON in 1993 was performed by the President of Ireland, Mary Robinson' (Irish case-study).

In many regeneration schemes that we are aware of (going far beyond our case studies) the profile of existing local groups and activities is not recorded. Without such a picture it is of course also impossible to see whether there is any viable local umbrella group or co-ordinating body. These primary facts appear to be absent from the basic framework in which many regeneration plans are made. In such cases it seems unlikely that these factors have been properly taken into account in the planning and operation of programmes.

The prior existence of local co-ordinating or representative bodies for the community sector makes it much easier for a regeneration scheme to enter into co-operation with the sector. In few member states, however, are such bodies common and recognised. More often two or three of the larger community associations in a locality will have developed some of the functions of an umbrella body in an organic but incomplete way; for example providing meeting space, information, advice or loan of equipment to smaller groups.

6. Recognising and building on inhabitants' autonomous action

Even where umbrella bodies can be identified they do not necessarily reflect or represent the whole of the sector. A regeneration scheme can help such bodies to set themselves up or become more effective. But this is not a substitute for relating to other community activity. The French case-study shows how important it is for a scheme to recognise and build upon citizens' autonomous initiative, even if it arises in an unexpected way, and in the absence of a representative body for the community sector. This is also an interesting illustration of the fact that support for community involvement can stand or fall by the interest of one or two key individuals in positions of influence.

There was an official regeneration scheme in the district of Beaubreuil, Limoges, but one of the most vigorous social initiatives in the area arose outside the designated boundary of the scheme. The initiative was taken entirely inde-

pendently by young local people in a rather isolated multicultural area, La Bastide (population 4,300). The young people started by organising football teams but soon their activities extended to general social integration, training for employment, and promoting better dialogue between local people and authorities.

'The founders of JAB (Jeunesse Active de La Bastide) were mainly young people from families of ethnic minorities. They wanted to retain control of their enterprise and whilst they needed official support, they were anxious to avoid any form of support which might threaten their autonomy, or any funding that might lack continuity. In this they expressed criticism of the working practices which they believed applied in the DSQ (Developpement Social des Quartiers) scheme in the neighbouring district of Beaubreuil' (French case-study).

The Deputy Mayor of La Bastide responded positively and it was through him that they eventually accessed support from the authorities and became a general community organisation for the locality:

'Young people's football teams worked well, and other activity groups were formed for adolescents. One of the most important points was the promotion of ethnic mixing, notably the setting up of a theatre group organised by young women from North Africa... Numerous socials, organised around entertainments or discussions, took place on the initiative of inhabitants. The dynamism of communication with residents was one of the strong points of JAB. This was due to the fact that the members had grown up amongst families of the neighbourhood, and had spread information throughout the flats. A new wave of activists then emerged, committed to the JAB activities. The founding members began to stand back and a new group of users became involved in the association' (French case-study).

The French researchers' review of national policy makes clear that they see this as an exceptional example, where the authorities were able to take on board and support an initiative not arising from their own planning.

The researchers' essay contains an illuminating discussion of the question of why authorities and professionals tend to resist popular involvement even when it is in principle highly valued. The discussion reflects French historical conditions, but the underlying dynamic is universal, and we judged that it would be valuable to include a part of the text in this report (Appendix D).

7. Funders' and authorities' policies on community involvement

The case studies show that it makes a major difference to the operation if at least one of the funding agencies or official partners has a stated concern with community involvement.

Most schemes are funded from a combination of regional, national and European sources. Several researchers commented on the fact that, had it not been for the specific concern of one of the funders, community involvement might not have been part of the scheme they were studying. Our studies were chosen for their community involvement content, and it seems certain that there are many other schemes where community involvement is not given direct attention.

In Drumchapel (UK) the local authority was highly committed to community involvement. This was also the case in Osterholz-Tenever, Bremen (west German case-study). In Feije-noord (Netherlands case-study), the government's 'Social Renewal' policy included the principle of community involvement, and this was reinforced by the fact that another of the funding partners was the Healthy Cities programme (based on the World Health Organisation's 'Health for All' programme), which considers that health can only be achieved by active citizen involvement.

In other cases, however, particularly in Southern Europe, it was only the European funding, especially where the Third Poverty programme was a partner, which introduced community involvement:

'The anti-poverty project (1989-94) provided the stimulus for the setting up of a Foundation for the Development of the Historical Zone of Oporto. Co-operation with local associations and organisations was an explicit aim. This is unusual in Portuguese initiatives... To situate at the municipal level the responsibility to enliven urban regeneration is an important improvement in a country with a highly centralised concept of running public issues... The recognition and creation of spaces to facilitate citizen participation at various levels, to be able to intervene in local problems, is one of the crucial achievements in the orientation towards a democratic atmosphere at the local level, with a special significance in countries where democracy has become only recently a collective form of life' (Portuguese case study).

The Greek report makes a similar point:

'The Poverty 3 programme in Perama did a lot to promote partnership among major local actors, the participation of groups and individuals in its activities, the involvement and self-organisation of residents in the provision of services that concern them and in processes for reaching and integrating excluded categories such as women confined to the home. The programme had a positive effect on self-help, the mobilisation and integration of marginal groups and the better take-up of services... Such actions, though modest, constitute significant positive innovations in the Greek context. The laudable influence of the Perama project is to a great extent a result of the brief and design of the Poverty 3 programme. There is a simple but valuable lesson, that innovations in the field of citizen involvement, promoted by a general programme backed with the prestige of European agencies, have tangible and significant results in a country such as Greece with a "deficit" in these matters' (Greek case study).

The Greek researcher goes on to comment that only a small section of the community was affected by these changes, and the gains would most probably be short-lived. This was partly because the project was small and partly because the processes of citizen involvement had not been embodied in perma-

nent structures. The promotion of citizen involvement was based on the goodwill, openness and accessibility of the professionals running the programme and their encouragement of self-help and self-assertion:

'These are positive practices but also come from paternalistic traditions of social work and charitable activities and should have been complemented with structures for more autonomous action and participation. No permanent structures were introduced, even simple ones such as regular statutory meetings, nor objective mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation of participation. This problem has been recognised by those running the programme' (Greek case study).

Amongst European programmes, the Poverty Programme was one of the most committed to local community involvement. It was a relatively small programme, and there is some doubt as to whether the lessons of this experience were fully conveyed in evaluation. The freezing of the Poverty Programme highlights the question of whether community involvement can and should become a widespread component of the mainstream regeneration programmes supported by EU funds. With subsidiarity, this will vary from one country and one region to another, but it is also influenced by the discourse and negotiations at European level. Certain other EU programmes, notably the 'URBAN' projects, provide considerable scope for community involvement, but the issue is relevant to all regeneration schemes. The need to involve local inhabitants is an issue as fundamental as the need to overcome unemployment, protect the environment and reduce social tensions.

8. Lost opportunities: failing to capitalise on community involvement

Failure to value community involvement can not only make it difficult to develop but can lead to its decline where it has already arisen. This pattern is evident particularly in our east Germany study, where the dramatic political events of 1989 led to an upsurge in community involvement. This was dampened down, however, as a result of being marginalised by the authorities over the next few years.

The renewal scheme in Aeussere-Neustadt, near the city centre of Dresden, started in 1993 in the framework of the Bund-Laender-Programm but its roots went back before unification in 1989.

Housing in the former GDR was insufficient, hard to get and of poor quality, but once you got it, it was very cheap to rent. In the 1960s, as in the west, there had been slum clearance and the start of new building programmes, but these only made a partial impact on the locality, which consisted of badly deteriorating 19th century buildings. In the 1980s there was a shift of emphasis towards preservation and renovation, but resources were limited and dilapidation continued. The population of the area declined from 16,500 inhabitants in 1983 to 12,000 in 1989 and 9000 in 1993.

At the time of reunification there was in place a plan to demolish 50% of the existing buildings and replace them with prefabricated units which could be put up cheaply and quickly. In the unstable atmosphere of 1989 existing local people's groups formed a coalition to press for a different concept of development: the Aeussere Neustadt Group for Renewal through Conservation (IGAN).

In the period of political upheaval this major local citizens' umbrella group acquired growing importance. It constituted itself legally whilst the GDR was still in existence, and pressed the authorities to co-operate with residents and involve them in the search for solutions. The group embodied the continuity of residents' interests during the transition to unification, and had an influence in attracting major new investment in the area. In 1993 this materialised as a 15-year renewal plan, with substantial funding. But in the very process of responding to the need articulated by the residents, the new authorities pushed the citizens' group back into the shadows. IGAN was treated as an unconstituted group, on the grounds that its legal form was established

under the GDR, and its influence was marginalised. It came to be treated by the authorities as an advisory group rather than a full partner in planning.

This marginalisation of the leading residents' coalition was a contributory factor to a decline in citizen participation following the upsurge of interest at the turn of the decade.

This case contains added interest because it also illustrates the loss of certain forms of resident involvement which operated under the former regime. Prior to unification there had been a limited but widespread form of public support for self-help, in the form of rent reductions and loan of equipment for residents to repair their own dwellings. Whilst this was insufficient to prevent the gradual deterioration of the housing stock, it left a legacy of self-help and co-operation, which could have been built upon in the transition. In 1990, just after reunification, a survey showed a widespread willingness for participation:

- 84% of residents were willing to improve their own dwelling

- 78% were prepared to take part in the improvement of common spaces like playgrounds and green space

- 46% were willing to take part in activities for the improvement of the whole neighbourhood.

Shortly afterwards, however, there was apparently a steep decline in these attitudes, which observers traced to these factors:

- it became unclear who owned the dwellings

- the old system of rent reductions in return for improving your dwelling was abolished

- many residents expected that the new authorities would modernise the area professionally

- general increase of insecurity due to new unemployment and poverty.

The researchers say:

'The radical changes after the fall of the totalitarian system set free a great potential of enthusiasm and activity on the part of the residents, who spontaneously took over responsibility for their neighbourhood and its development... But a period of disillusionment followed, and gradually the political and administrative system of West Germany was instituted, carrying with it the entrenched assumption that the business of development is in the hands of politicians and professionals.... At a time when there was a unique accumulation of problems, the value of residents' activities were not appreciated, so that a lot of commitment was lost' (east German case study).

The experience of the east German case is echoed in the longer historical perspective of the Portuguese study. This took place in the two parishes of Se and S. Nicolau in the historical district of Oporto, combined population 10,300.

'Community involvement was part of a mass movement in the few years following the political changes of 1974 (transition from dictatorship to democracy); community involvement was then the local expression of a broader social movement encompassing the whole dimension of living and working worlds. It was concerned particularly with housing, and supported a decentralised state policy of housing improvement and new building. In our case study area, local tenants' and recreational associations were involved in a population survey, debating solutions for the area's problems and participating in the management of moving and rehousing the local population. Between 1974-76 local community involvement found strong support in the general social movement. This was superseded, however, by a climate of institutionalisation, and from 1980 onwards City authorities reinforced their central position, and local community involvement declined. From then until the instituting of the Anti-Poverty projects, community involvement was only spasmodic. It was the Poverty 3 project which reintroduced the idea

of support for it for the first time' (Portuguese case-study).

Other case studies illustrate less dramatic forms of missed opportunity, for example where there is some apparent failure of co-operation or joint vision between residents' organisations and official schemes. The Spanish study shows a case where the community response to the regeneration scheme was anxious and defensive, perhaps because of lack of involvement at an early stage:

'The Ciutat Vella programme tended to be a centralised top-down initiative. It emphasised decentralisation of urban management and tried to incorporate community involvement. However, the involvement of the local community in the regeneration of its own district was poor. The number of severely disadvantaged people made it difficult to enlist participation... It is noticeable that the local community had relatively little input into the original aims for the regeneration programme, and only became involved later... The greatest community response was generated defensively against the perceived threat of displacement from the area. The two largest residents' associations, though recognising the great improvement being carried out, warned the local population, and not without reason, of the danger that the cost of living would rise, and demanded official guarantees that the local people would be enabled to continue living there... The community also mobilised at times regarding public safety, crime, drugs and prostitution, but it was much more difficult to involve people in the overall process of regeneration' (Spanish case study).

Similarly, in the Italian study, there was tension between the professionally-run scheme and the citizens' own representative organisation, though both were successful in their own terms.

'The (professional) project established: a youth information office providing courses and seminars for 3,000 young people; liaison with a network of small firms providing a number of young people with jobs; a young people's cultural association, employing six young peo-
ple; activities for children; training and play for disabled children; a women's co-operative manufacturing women's clothes; and an advice centre for disabled people and one-parent families.

Several citizens' organisations were active in providing services for residents with little help from the municipal authorities. One of the most significant organisations was the Neighbourhood Committee which was elected by residents and developed a number of local services... The Neighbourhood Committee was a vehicle for community consultation and involvement but there were difficulties and tensions between the project and the committee. The project's apparent inability to integrate into its action the most relevant community organisation in the area hampered its effectiveness' (Italian case study).

The tendency of authorities to be unable or unwilling to share power with residents is a common obstacle to participation. The positive lesson to be drawn from this is the need for a specific change in attitudes and perhaps education amongst the professionals and institutions. As the French policy review states:

'To see local people as full players in the political life of the city necessitates a new mind-set on both sides and at each stage of development... public administration should be committed to a stance of listening and dialogue with the community that it claims to serve... There is no shortage of citizen initiatives, contrary to what people wish to believe if they see in society only the rise of individualism. The stumbling block for these initiatives is due to ignorance or to their containment by the institutional environment'.

9. Community activity in well-off areas

Although regeneration, and community involvement, are discussed almost exclusively in relation to disadvantaged areas, it is important to note that they are equally relevant to well-off areas. This is for two reasons: firstly, the ad-

vantages of well-off areas are often connected with networks of highly effective community action carried out without any official support. Where people have good conditions, leisure and money they turn to middle-class forms of community action as the need or desire arises. This becomes visible very quickly when a well-off area is threatened, for example, by the routeing of a motorway or railway line.

The second reason is that even in well-off areas there are always pockets of disadvantage, or disadvantaged individuals, whose problems can often be overlooked because they are a minority in that locality. These problems can be severe precisely because the costs of living in such areas are high. This is illustrated in our Luxembourg case-study, which found that even in a country with only 2% unemployment, there were severe problems for a minority of residents:

'We can speak of a real crisis in the housing situation, especially for lower income groups, for whom it has become difficult to afford rent or buy a home. The social housing sector offers only a limited number of homes. Lower income groups either spend more than 50% of their income on rent or they are excluded from the housing market'.

At one time Luxembourg had a measure geared to resident initiative, the '50 inhabitants rule' under which residents of an area could petition the local authority to undertake a process of urban regeneration, but this was barely used and was later withdrawn. The sparsity of visible local community action in Luxembourg may illustrate not only the prosperity of the majority but the difficulty for disadvantaged residents to act together when they are in a minority.

It is important to study 'middle class' forms of community activity in order to show the part played by community activity in a full sense of citizenship. There would also be value in examining the potential for alliances, networks and intertrading between richer and poorer localities, rather than necessarily expecting poorer areas to become richer in isolation. Concern for the environment is likely to be a

linking issue, of concern to both rich and poor, and environmental imperatives would suggest the need for greater regional economic self-sufficiency of basic commodities such as food. Some of these ideas are further explored in the next chapter.

10. The ladder of participation - missing rungs?

The experiences of the case studies present a challenge to the notion of the 'ladder' of involvement which we introduced into this study, adapted from classic community development literature. The examples of involvement tend to fall into two types: at the 'top' end, the involvement of a number of well-informed and well-organised residents associations in influencing the planning and implementing of local development; at the 'bottom' end, the involvement of a number of disadvantaged and excluded residents in projects of personal and group development to give them more confidence, skills and social contacts. We have examples of success at both ends of the spectrum but it is often difficult to see where they join up in the middle. In practice it may often be necessary to treat them as separate but equally necessary issues.

In the Drumchapel case, much of the success of the initiative as a whole could be attributed to community involvement. There was a clear chain of representation from community groups, through an umbrella group, to an influential position in the partnership as a whole. It is rare to be able to show this degree of continuity in involvement. Even here however (Drumchapel) there was little information about involvement at the lowest level - participation of the most deprived people in the locality. Clearly some of the actions of the scheme were addressing the needs of the most deprived, but whether these people were involved in any decision-making remained obscure.

In the Belgian case, by contrast, the practitioners had made a firm priority of working with the most deprived individuals, whilst accepting

that these individuals could not at the same time be expected to participate in 'higher' forums:

'The Wotepa project is a small-scale initiative designed to engage with the most socially excluded people in the neighbourhood. It is targeted on the "generation poor", described as people who have experienced three generations of poverty... It is estimated that the "generation poor" account for between 2 and 3% of the population, but in the Wotepa area they are 50%. ... But in order to avoid creating a ghetto effect, the number involved in the project is limited to 40%' (Belgian case-study).

Supported by Poverty 3, the project provided a mixture of activities including training, housing renovation, and a furniture renovation and rental service. There was plenty of participation in the activities themselves but participation in decision making was low:

'The project felt it was unrealistic to seek to integrate the residents into the normal employment market. The approach had to be more gradual and supportive... It was also felt that it was unrealistic to expect the "generation poor" to be capable of engaging in the management and control of the project' (Belgian case-study).

The Netherlands case-study comes closest to illustrating the elusive 'point of transition' between overcoming social exclusion at the personal level and making an impact on the development of the locality. The case-study concentrates on a project involving disadvantaged women, but their need for personal development did in this case lead them, in time, to create a major new facility for the neighbourhood as a whole. It seems clear that the residents at the centre of this experience would have gained the sort of skill and confidence to enable them to operate in wider arenas thereafter:

'Feijenoord is what is often called a deprived area, a neighbourhood full of problems: a high percentage of criminality, drug addicts, much insecurity, many unemployed, people with little education, many single mothers with young children... The Feijenoord community centre provides, among other things, activities for women from the neighbourhood. In a process that took eight years, some of these women developed a stable relationship to the centre and to each other and started many of their own activities. The community centre was heavily overburdened, and with the emergence of a group identity came the need for a place of their own, a meeting place for women of the neighbourhood' (Netherlands case-study).

Initially with the help of professional community workers, the women set up their own centre, 'Punt 50', and then took over its management:

'The women volunteers went on developing themselves. They took on a growing part of the representative tasks, thereby replacing the professional worker. A "Punt 50" council was formed, taking over a lot of co-ordinating and policy-making. The women showed an increasing interest in schooling, education and eventually paid jobs' (Netherlands case-study).

The Netherlands researcher stresses that in practice there is a choice to be made between quick results with the less disadvantaged people in a disadvantaged neighbourhood, or slower results with the most disadvantaged:

'The attempt to gain maximal results at minimal cost may well result in a "skimming" policy. If you only help "likely candidates" get a job, you will achieve quick and cheap results. But then you ignore the hard core of the problem. In some cases it is better not to lay down too rigid a definition of the goals of a certain project and to leave room for unexpected results. This gives the inhabitants the opportunity to do what they think is meaningful, and enhances their enthusiasm for goals which will, more often than not, be close to the goals you had in mind in the first place' (Netherlands case-study).

One regeneration scheme, the Danish, took up this problem by developing a dual method, which it called 'direct and indirect': the 'BIK'

project in Aalborg East decided that different methods were required for overcoming the social exclusion of individuals and, on the other hand, for overcoming the social exclusion of the whole area.

Aalborg East was a district of planned growth during the 1960's, intended to expand from a few villages to a new part of the city with 20,000 inhabitants. The district was planned during the years of economic boom, and the original plans included service-centres, public institutions and shopping facilities. The recession of the 70's and 80's however meant that substantial parts of the facilities never materialised. Conditions in Aalborg East became worse than in any other part of the city.

The practitioners judged that it would be impossible to overcome the social exclusion of the area directly by working only with the most excluded individuals within it. The strategy had two components: an indirect method, where the aim was to create or support a forum for local activity that would secure improvements for the district as a whole; and a direct method consisting of specific activities carried out with and for the target group.

For changing the image and possibilities of the area, the strongest individuals within that area had to be mobilised. Working with the stronger elements, a range of new opportunities could be created within the area. Subsequently the more disadvantaged individuals could benefit from this improved range of opportunities.

Reinvigoration of local democracy was the key to general improvement in this case. The project managers saw a particularly low level of voting in elections as both a symptom and an added cause of the weakness of the collective culture in the district. 'Till 1993 none of the 31 city councillors of Aalborg was elected in Aalborg East, thereby depriving the people there of a direct voice in the City Council'.

The main focus of the early work was reinvigoration of a moribund neighbourhood council which was supposed to represent the district to the City authorities.

'The Local council consisted mainly of self-appointed members and was not representative. Only two or three people took part in the meetings on a regular basis. The project spent eight months building up the new Aalborg East Joint Council (AJEC), consisting of 26 members: eight representing the eight geographical zones, 12 representing local organisations and six elected at the annual general assembly' (Danish case-study).

In addition numerous subcommittees were formed, open to any citizen of the district, dealing with such issues as:

- courses for the long-term unemployed

- the functioning of the local library

- sport and leisure

- the annual fair for commerce and local organisations

- public transport

- local recreational space.

This part of the strategy was notably successful:

'The AEJC today is widely respected and is recognised as the voice of the neighbourhood. This process is, however, never-ending. The AEJC has to continue to justify its existence through action where the benefits are clear to the people in the area... Nowadays the AEJC is well-known outside the district as well. It has become a symbol of renewal, especially since its successful lobbying for a new local bus route' (Danish case-study).

The most disadvantaged people in the district were rarely directly involved in this activity. 'When it comes to deprived groups a more direct approach is necessary'. The project put on 16-week educational courses and a variety of sporting and cultural activities aimed at unemployed people, benefit recipients, single parents and old age pensioners. These had variable success. By the end of the project the conclusion was that such activities aimed di-

rectly at deprived groups were an essential complement to improvements in the area as a whole but needed to be of higher quality and have more commitment from the networks of existing organisations and professional agencies. 16-week courses and occasional activities were insufficient to lift weak groups in society to a point where they could participate in the more collective and long-term forms of renewal.

Some form of 'dual approach' was evident in many case-studies, though few had articulated it in the explicit manner of the Danish project. In Bremen a neighbourhood committee participated in overall planning whilst the more detailed problems of single tower-blocks were dealt with by smaller groups. In Rome the needs of the most disadvantaged were addressed by the professionally-staffed project whilst the residents' committee articulated general public-service needs. In Glasgow and Dublin community sector umbrella bodies dealt with strategic issues and negotiated with the authorities, whilst member associations dealt with the needs of specific sub-groups in the population.

11. The psychology of participation: don't pull up the ladder!

The problem of combining work with the most disadvantaged with work to improve the neighbourhood as a whole suggests that we have to be aware that our interest in participation combines several different types of participation for people in different positions. The French researchers quote Castel as follows:

'The groups which are likely to be on the receiving end of social intervention are not only threatened by the inadequacy of their material resources but also undermined by the fragility of their personal relationships: they are not only undergoing a process of pauperization but also a loss of connectedness, the destruction of social bonds' (Castel, 1991).

This, say the researchers, leads the professional workers who are dealing with them into having to give a high priority to individual rehabilitation at the expense of working on innovative social policies, which are too remote from these people's immediate problems.

What this highlights is that the initial 'ladder of participation' with which we started our investigation is too crude. It does not distinguish between who can be expected to be on a given rung at a particular time. Only a small number of individuals will reach the level of participating in control of local organisations. The question then is, what are the different types of participation, and what is the relation between them?

Although participation means different things to different people in different situations, there is a basic connection between the different levels. The connection is autonomy. The highly dependent individual needs greater personal independence, and may first need to achieve it in a small and personal context. Ultimately participation in meaningful collective activity has a major therapeutic value because it increases the autonomy of the whole group. In carrying out some task useful to the collectivity, the individual validates him/herself as an individual, acquires public approval, improves social skills and acquires reinforcement for her or his identity. Individuals who are not at this extreme of isolation in the first place may be able to subsume their personal needs more quickly in collective needs.

12. The economic value of community activity

One reason for the general neglect of community involvement in regeneration may be that its economic value is not apparent. We would not want to reduce its many-sided value solely to economic terms, but to ignore its economic value must severely limit our understanding of how the local economy really works.

The neglect of community involvement from an economic perspective does not show that community activity is 'uneconomic' but that 'economics' is too narrow. Conventional 'economics' only recognises cash-value, not life-support activity. In coming to this conclusion, the analysis of community involvement finds itself making common cause with the environmental movement, environment being another form of value ignored in the calculation of GDP. This analysis is explained more fully in the next chapter.

There is no reason why the achievements of community involvement should not be assessed in economic as well as social terms. It would be useful to produce models for doing so. Analysing development in the Third World, Amartya Sen makes points of equal relevance to Europe: 'It is crucial to avoid the mistake of taking the growth rate of GNP to be the ultimate test of success, and of treating the removal of illiteracy, ill health and social deprivation only as possible means to that hallowed end. (But) something of "intrinsic" importance can, in addition, be "instrumentally" momentous, without compromising its value. Many of the ingredients of a good quality of life - including basic education and secure health care - clearly have instrumental roles in making people more productive and in generating the capability to respond to economic opportunities' (Sen, 1995).

There is an evident (though uncosted) economic value to most community activities, not only in equipping people to take economic opportunities but in the substance of the activity itself. It is important to see the continuity between the more obvious economic activities, such as creating a small business, and the less obvious ones, such as providing a free amenity through voluntary labour, reducing individual costs by improving your own housing or reducing collective costs by negotiating for a new bus service.

We can illustrate this range and continuity by glancing again at some of the achievements of our case-studies, but this time under 'economic' headings:

(i) 'Community businesses'

The UK case study furnishes a particularly wide range of examples. A summary of activities going on in 1993 shows the breadth of what had been achieved:

• Law and money advice: a service of advice and representation with 13 staff, which dealt with over 1300 cases in 1993

• 'Furnishaid': a project collecting and distributing furniture to people who could not get help from the benefits system

• Care in the community: 32 staff providing a range of services to adults with varying degrees of disability

• Mercat Theatre: a venue for performing arts and film

• The Argo centre: a venue for arts workshops, including recording studio, radio room, photography and cafe

• Centre Print: a design and print service for local organisations and shops

• Architecture and property department: advice to local organisations on the acquisition and design of premises.

• Food Cooperatives Development Project: support for local people forming co-operatives to purchase and distribute low-cost high-quality food.

• Community College: training courses for community groups.

Drumchapel Community Organisations Council, the umbrella body for 80 local resident groups, tried to take charge of as many services and resources in the area as possible. The local authority supported this aspiration not only with small grants but by contracting out a number of its services to the community organisations. This may amount more to a form of job redistribution than job creation, but it did contribute to a reduction of unemployment on the estate by 24% in three years. It also

amounted to a form of co-operation between voluntary and paid labour, enhancing the local value of the services by self-help.

Two other features of the Drumchapel case study are notable from an economic point of view.

Firstly, many of the services run on contract or with grants from the local authority not only brought a certain number of jobs into the locality but provided non-job-related economic assistance to other residents: care assistance, free furniture, co-operation on purchasing food, advice on law and money.

Secondly, DCOC believed that in order to establish community activity on a long-term basis, community organisations needed to acquire assets, mainly property, that could generate further revenue in the future, through rents and fees. DCOC was well on the way to building up a base of this kind before it ran into financial difficulties at the end of 1994. A number of initiatives elsewhere in the UK are developing strategies of this kind either through property or through endowment trusts.

(ii) 'Free' public services

In many cases, voluntary activities were quite comparable to community businesses except for the fact that services were free or cheap, and most or all the labour was given voluntarily:

- in 'Punt 50' (Netherlands case-study) 20 women ran a centre for training, advice and social activities used by over 200 women and children

- in the 'JAB' in La Bastide (French case-study) a group of young people ran sports, training, advice and social activities used by many people on the estate

- in Osterholz-Tenever (west German case-study) residents created and ran a mothers' centre, tenants' meeting place, youth cafe and young people's cultural centre

- in 'Wotepa' (Belgian case-study) residents converted a disused school into a furniture renovation and redistribution service.

(iii) Self-help on housing

This is an activity much more prominent in some countries than others, but potentially of interest everywhere through 'self-build' schemes.

- In Aeussere Neustadt (east German case-study) before the collapse of the GDR, residents were adding value to state property by putting in their own labour in return for reduction of rents (which were already low). The cash value of that labour must have far exceeded the cost to the state.

- In Tor Bella Monica (Italian case-study), as elsewhere in Italy, residents built their own houses illegally. The fact that this was tolerated by the authorities, and 'recuperated' with infrastructure post hoc, indicated a de facto recognition of its economic value by the authorities, who might otherwise have had to provide public housing at much greater expense. The same appears to be true in Perama (Greek case-study).

(iv) Improving official public services by monitoring, pressure and negotiation

This effect is perhaps the most difficult for conventional economics to take on board, because it challenges the deeply-held economic assumption that people can be neatly divided into producers and consumers in a given transaction. Negotiating more effective public service delivery from the 'receiving' end is actually a vital component of effective services. The interaction of 'producing' and 'consuming' is essential to maximise value. To put it another way, services require efficient consumption as well as efficient production, and community activity is a prime means of adding value to services by better monitoring, targeting and adaptation to local conditions. Examples are:

- in Dresden (east German case-study) the residents' co-ordinating group helped to

conserve the area and attract substantial state funding to renovate it without major demolition

- in Bremen (west German case-study) the neighbourhood committee played a major role in re-designing the estate to make it easier and pleasanter to live in

- in Barcelona (Spanish case-study) residents' groups improved conservation planning and obtained subsidies to ensure that poorer residents could stay in the locality as property values rose due to renovation

- in Glasgow (UK case-study) the residents' umbrella organisation ran a campaign advising residents on how to obtain the full benefits they were entitled to, which resulted in an extra 650,000 ecu coming into the estate in the first year

- in the 'BIK' project (Danish case-study) the re-invigorated neighbourhood council obtained a new local bus service, making life cheaper and easier for residents.

Because such activities are usually regarded as 'social' and not 'economic', there have been very few studies of their economic value, and this way of looking at community activity rarely comes into regeneration planning. But the value is by no means necessarily limited to more effective redistribution of public resources. It can also result in significant saving of resources, for both 'producers' and 'consumers'.

The clearest example we have is from another Glasgow estate, Greater Easterhouse, near our case-study area. Council tenants regularly found themselves suffering from damp conditions affecting their own and their children's health, and forcing them to spend a large proportion of their already inadequate income on heating. Working together, they identified the main problem as being the highly inefficient heating system in the flats. They had to campaigning for ten years before the Council would install a more efficient heating system.

After the success of the residents' campaign, average heating bills went down from 25 ecu a week per household to 10 ecu a week, and health improved throughout the estate, saving both the residents and the housing and health authorities vastly more than the cost of the new system. Whereas authorities generally assume that residents' campaigns always require more expenditure, the campaign saved money for the authorities as well as themselves. The residents estimated that before the change they had been spending between them 1.25 mecu a year 'heating the air above Glasgow'.

This example, which is by no means exceptional, is particularly important for new forms of economic analysis because it shows that saving costs is just as much an economic activity as producing new income. Few regeneration schemes adopt cost-saving as an objective alongside wealth-creation, yet it is a frequent objective of community action, and often affects much larger numbers of people. A regeneration scheme which relies solely on job creation as its economic element is likely to miss many opportunities to reduce the costs of living in the locality. Job creation comes in small trickles affecting clusters of individuals, but measures to save costs can affect the whole population.

A full concept of the 'social economy' would need to take account of all these kinds of value, and not limit itself only to commercial activities. In the next chapter we address the question of whether 'alternative' economic analyses being developed by the environmental movement offer better or supplementary models for understanding the economic value of community activity.

At all events, the examples furnished by our case-studies not only justify us in affirming that community involvement has economic value, but lead to the conclusion that regeneration programmes which do not include active community involvement must be continually 'leaking' economic value. The total loss of value to regeneration schemes through the neglect of community involvement potential is probably quite vast. The question of added value should therefore also be posed the other way round: what is lost in regeneration schemes if they do not maximise community involvement?

Chapter three
Analysis — From added value
to changing values

In seeking to analyse how regeneration schemes are affected by community involvement, we find we are aiming at a moving target. The concept and practice of regeneration, like development in general, is changing in response to experience and debate.

Confronted, in particular, by environmentalist, feminist and global development critiques, regeneration and development policy are striving to integrate social, environmental and economic concerns.

The case for community involvement would be strong even if regeneration were a static concept. The case is even stronger in the light of the search for a more integrated concept.

In this chapter we firstly summarise the value of community involvement demonstrated by the case studies in the preceding chapter. Then we look briefly at some of the most important critiques of regeneration policy, and show how a greater role for community involvement would help to meet those critiques.

Finally we look at the question of whether the concept of the social economy offers a bridge to more integrated local practice.

1. The benefits of community involvement

This report has shown that there are substantial benefits from the active involvement of local inhabitants in urban regeneration. These benefits can be summarised in seven key points:

(i) Pulling together, not pulling apart

Some local residents are pursuing their own agendas for improvement irrespective of any official regeneration scheme. A proportion of inhabitants will always be trying to make their life better through self-help groups, voluntary projects and putting pressure on authorities to deliver better services. A regeneration scheme which is aware of and builds on this underlying energy is much more likely to succeed. Supporting pre-existing community groups and initiatives helps to link up scattered efforts into a combined force.

(ii) Added economic value

Community activity adds economic value both directly and indirectly. Community businesses create a certain number of jobs, and other

community initiatives create free services, increase mutual aid, reduce living costs or help to make public services more efficient. Through such activities disadvantaged people are also brought back into the world of social inclusion.

(iii) Maximising volunteering

Community involvement is a natural force for mobilising volunteering. This is another way to look at the added value. Although much volunteering and community activity is spontaneous, more potential remains unrealised. A scheme which nurtures community involvement can add thousands of hours of people's freely-given efforts to local development. It can thereby increase the proportion of the local population involved in community groups, whether as helpers or beneficiaries, and enable community groups to be better at achieving their own objectives, whether self help, campaigning or service delivery.

(iv) Monitoring and feedback

Members of the local community are in the best position to say what a scheme's effects are. Community involvement brings user feedback, enabling services to be better targeted and more effective. It also enables disadvantaged sections of the community to achieve their own 'voice', either through creating new groups of their own, or through better access to existing groups.

(v) Changing professional methods

Community involvement influences the orientation of official and professional agencies working in the community so that they are more aware of how to consult with local residents, understand their priorities and relate services more closely to their needs.

(vi) Long-term capacity

When an official regeneration scheme ends, many of its initiatives are at risk of disappearing. A scheme which has built up community involvement is more likely to be able to hand some of its projects on to be maintained by local organisations, whilst those initiatives which should be maintained by public authorities are more likely to be maintained if the community has been involved in them and presses the authorities to follow them through.

(vii) Reinterpreting the agenda

Community involvement introduces a common-sense perspective into the debate about regeneration. Local community experience illuminates, for example the relation between paid and unpaid work, changing gender roles and the relationship between the local environment and quality of life.

2. Towards cost-benefit analysis?

At the end of the last chapter we showed how community activity provides extra economic value. Ideally it would have been desirable to examine this in more detail through cost-benefit analysis. This has not been possible in the present study. To carry out such an analysis it would be necessary to engage with three problems:

(i) Community involvement is an aspect of regeneration initiatives in general. It is not clear that such initiatives as a whole usually carry out a cost-benefit analysis, to which the community involvement aspect could be related.

(ii) Community involvement has traditionally been carried out within a welfare ethos, centred on need and provision rather than targets and results. Records of financial cost for local projects are not easy to obtain without more detailed research, and methods of objective evaluation of community involvement are in their infancy.

(iii) The economic criteria for regeneration, and for the Structural Funds in general, are in a state of some dispute. It is possible that they are in a state of transition, a 'paradigm shift', from conventional economic analysis to a new integration of economic, social and environmental criteria.

Clear evaluation requires clear objectives. In the context of the Structural Funds the word 'objectives' has always been loosely used. The famous five (now six) Objectives are not objectives in the sense that they tell you what the intended results are. They are designations of types of area, characterised by certain types of general need. The type of area implies certain general types of objective; for example in an 'area of industrial decline' the objective is presumably to arrest and reverse the decline. The specification of objectives takes place in increasing detail at subsidiary levels, national, regional and local, but at the level of concrete detail it is not always clear that most regeneration initiatives provide sufficient of a framework to judge whether the locality is being successfully regenerated.

What counts as regeneration - what are the criteria? We find throughout this field of activity a focus on what is being done rather more prominently than what the results are. Evaluative measures do exist but the possibility of getting a clear picture of results often seems to be lost in the complex process of getting the programme implemented. Whilst the intrinsic value of community involvement is manifest at local level, it may be difficult to quantify until the schemes to which it contributes themselves have clearer evaluation frameworks. These in turn may depend on the development of more sophisticated models of the local economy.

These problems are not prohibitive. It would be timely to search for a sophisticated new paradigm of local economic-social-environmental aims, as part of which one could establish cost-benefit analysis for community involvement.

3. Four critiques

The main critiques of regeneration practice, both in the European Union and worldwide, come from environmentalist, feminist and global development movements. The debate has been developing for many years and we will limit our reference points to recent expressions. The environmentalist critique is applied to European regeneration policy in a report produced for the World Wide Fund for Nature (Karas, 1995). The global development critique crystallised at the United Nations World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen (March 1995) where the main declaration and programme of action endorsed by 120 governments was parallelled by an NGO 'alternative declaration' asserting that the goals of social development which the governments had espoused were contradicted by their adherence to a divisive economic framework.

To these positions we would add here a community-based critique. This needs to be seen as a distinct position because the environmentalist and globalist positions still tend to treat local communities as a background factor, however important, rather than as an objective component of local social and economic life which needs specific cultivation and assessment.

The remainder of this chapter reviews these critiques and then addresses the question of whether the notion of the 'social economy' offers a new way forward. In the final chapter which follows, we return to questions of immediate practice, and propose a strategy for helping to meet these critiques by maximising community activity in current and future regeneration schemes.

4. The environmentalist and feminist critiques: towards new indicators

Environmentalists take issue with reliance on the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) as a main criterion of the prosperity or poverty of regions

and a criterion for their economic development. Researchers criticise the way that GDP is used by policy-makers as if it were an indicator of a country's or region's general wellbeing. In fact it indicates only the level of buying and selling taking place (Waring, 1988).

In summary, critics point out that GDP:

- takes no account of environment

- gives an absolute value to cash transactions irrespective of whether they are productive or destructive

- places no value on assets, natural or otherwise, unless they are bought and sold

- tells us nothing about distribution of wealth, only an arithmetical average

- in contrast with GNP, with which it is often confused, includes profits brought into or taken out of a country (or region). Thus the GDP of a region can be going up while the disposable wealth is going down, and vice-versa

- places no value on unpaid or voluntary work, whether in the home or community, whether subsistence farming in rural areas or caring everywhere

- is therefore, in addition to the other points, a heavily gender-biased measure, since women play a particularly prominent role in the neglected areas.

Reliance on GDP is extensively criticised at international level, for example its use in Structural Adjustment Policies towards Third World countries. GDP has evidently been applied with devastating effect on subsistence economies without necessarily any resulting improvement in the cash economy (Mies and Shiva, 1993).

Localities even in the first world are a living system combining both subsistence (eg caring) with cash elements in a delicate balance. Interventions need balanced objectives for both the cash and non-cash parts of the local

economy. This does not mean that we should abolish GDP but that we should be aware that for policy purposes it has very limited use.

Because women play a central role in much of the unpaid work in the home and locality, these issues are closely related to the question of women's experience in society. If 'women's' work is unrecognised in economic calculation, and 'economics' is the dominant discipline in policy, the experience, the position and the views of women are disfranchised. It is necessary to examine the feminist and environmentalist critiques of conventional economics, and to pursue additional or alternative economic indicators, as for example in the UN Human Development Index (United Nations Development Programme, 1992). Of course, indicators are only one of the factors determining the course of events but they are a much more influential one than is generally realised.

It is not being suggested here that measures of cash flow and trade should be dissolved into some comprehensive measure of wellbeing. This might have the danger that we lose sight of the specific monetary element in human affairs, and its importance as an instrument of exchange and redistribution. Monetary analysis should be maintained, indeed improved, especially for our purposes at local level, but it should be placed within a larger policy-informing framework which includes other ways of measuring human value:

'GDP and GNP have been used worldwide as proxies for a country's progress towards prosperity. (This) leads to distortions in the decision-making process... There has been growing international recognition of the need to improve national accounting systems. There remain technical difficulties, in particular how values should be assigned to physical environmental assets, to environmental degradation, and to social issues such as individual wellbeing and quality of life... The long-term objective remains the integration of economic, environmental and social factors into a common accounting framework. Such accounts would not replace GDP or GNP with a single measure of progress but would provide a series of key measures of a country's progress... Govern-

ment should now give higher priority to the promotion and development of new comprehensive systems of national accounts which bring together the three aspects of sustainable development, namely economic, environmental and social change. (Tickell, 1996)

It may be some years before national accounting systems achieve the desired degree of integration. Progress can however be pursued immediately at regional and local level by encouraging regeneration schemes to develop new, integrated models of their own. Local experience, after all, is a concrete demonstration of the integration of these issues in lived experience. A locally-developed 'triangular' model of economy-environment-society could contribute 'from the bottom-up' to national and international reform. However, the scope for such innovation would need to be encouraged by the funding frameworks.

In any such new forms of accounting, the level of local community activity should figure as an indicator. A great deal of community sector activity has an economic (ie life-support) value outside the GDP, and nearly always through activities that take little or no toll on the environment. A stronger community sector also means more amenities and activities close at hand, at low cost, hence reducing pressures to travel.

In the concluding chapter on method we suggest what form such indicators might take.

5. The global development critique

The Declaration produced by the UN World Summit on Social Development (UN, 1995) is perhaps the most comprehensive and widely-endorsed statement of contemporary policy on development. Highly compatible with European regeneration policies, it forms a useful focus for the development debate.

The Declaration (and accompanying Programme of Action) includes a number of principles and ideas about local development.

There is acknowledgement of the importance of local communities at the beginning of the Declaration (para 3) and at a number of other points. In particular one must value the inclusion of commitments 'to strengthen the abilities and opportunities of civil society and local communities to develop their own organisations, resources and activities' [Commitment 1c], and in the Programme of Action, an intention to 'strengthen the capacities and opportunities of all people, especially those who are disadvantaged or vulnerable, to enhance their own economic and social development, to establish and maintain organisations representing their interests and to be involved in the planning and implementation of government policies and programmes' (paragraph 14). (See Appendix D).

However, the Declaration and Programme remain set within a framework of maximising conventional economic growth. In their present form, the dominant economic practices undermine local control and self sufficiency. GATT and the World Trade Organisation are apparently detached from social and environmental criteria. Said to promote 'free trade', they are evidently a complex set of international economic rules, which have the effect of extending property rights in ways which favour multinational companies over local community ownership. Taken to their logical conclusion, these rules would deprive nations, regions and localities of the right to control their own terms of trade: no-one would be free not to trade or to protect and nurture local industry (Lang and Hines, 1993).

The Social Summit documents are permeated by an assumption that the problems which the world needs to address are problems of the poor, the vulnerable, the excluded, and not of relatively well-to-do countries and people. Whilst of course one endorses the need for urgent measures to relieve the distress of the most vulnerable, the aim of social development cannot be simply for the 'poorer' countries and peoples to 'catch up' with the level of consumption, aggression, pollution and cultural malaise of the so-called advanced countries. We need a new vision of what a genuinely sustainable society would be like. We cannot

expect local and regional social cohesion without re-establishing a large degree of economic self-sufficiency (Mies and Shiva, 1994; Mies 1995).

The Social Summit documents rely too heavily on 'social development' as a symbol of aims. Social development, which is only a process, is cited throughout as if it were the end in itself. It is implied that if a society has not been 'developed' it must be inferior and must model itself on 'developed' ones. Yet we know that when 'development' is imposed on indigenous peoples whose traditional systems are in balance with nature they find themselves impoverished and lose control over their conditions. They are drawn too far into the global economy and lose their self-sufficiency. Equally, 'development' imposed on industrial or post-industrial societies often means more unwanted roads, transport, pollution and social disruption. Both types of communities become ever more vulnerable to the volatility of the global economy.

The concept of social development in the documents is primarily a realm of official policy, not people's own actions. Furthermore it is implied that these policies can only be implemented if they are paid for by 'the economy'. Yet 'the economy' is seen as a wholly separate realm, not subject to social objectives. Thus all improvements are made dependent on uncritical acceptance of economic orthodoxy. Yet an economic system which is separated from social and environmental criteria is itself a source of social and environmental damage.

One must look to the local community level to understand the true interdependence between macro and micro economics and therefore how to reduce poverty, create employment and enhance self-determination. Whether in rural or urban areas, whether in the South or North, whether in so-called 'advanced' or so-called 'developing' economies, local community activity in the home, in independent voluntary groups, in the village, farms, towns and cities is a fundamental human self-support system on which the rest of the social structure ultimately rests. The experience of people,

especially women, in creating and supporting life through both paid and unpaid work is fundamental to understanding social reality.

One frequently cited objective of regeneration is for a locality to compete better in the global economy. This is somewhat remote from the manifest needs of disadvantaged neighbourhoods. It would correspond better to common sense to say firstly that these localities need to compete better in their own economy: to meet their own needs more fully, and thereby to be less dependent on the global economy.

Disadvantaged localities rarely 'catch up' with the advantaged ones. Realistic targets must look also to protecting themselves from overexposure to the global market, by ensuring that the locality is as self-sufficient as it can be, and is making maximum use of its assets to meet its own needs. Maximising local self-sufficiency also helps protect the environment by reducing the need for transportation.

In their present form the WTO principles would maximise countries' dependence on the global market at all costs. This can result in exposing the livelihood of disadvantaged communities to ruthless international competition, and thus destabilising local communities and undermining independence and democracy. The importance of maximising local self-sufficiency - what might be called 'economic subsidiarity' - needs to be brought into the national and international trading framework. We may need to change the international rules so as to protect and improve the conditions of local community activity under the control of inhabitants and their elected representatives.

However, there should be no illusion that localism alone can solve problems which have been generated at macro levels. To strengthen active citizenship at the local level is a good thing, but not to reduce citizenship to the local level. The local level is set within larger systems which control its room for manoeuvre, so to guarantee the flourishing of the local level you have to have the right policies at regional, national and international levels. If there is only local power, there is no basis for redistribution between localities nor for joint control over the

rules that govern macro trading and international relations.

We are now readier to recognise the inherent potential power of joint action on a local basis. On the other hand we have to recognise that isolated local power will always lose out against centralised power. There is therefore the need for a strategy to commit centralised power to supporting appropriate forms of local power. Since local communities are also inevitably part of the wider society, the state and ultimately the global economy, it is essential that local, national and global policies understand and support the role of local communities. But local communities can also be oppressive to their own minorities or exclusive and aggressive towards other communities. We therefore also need macro policies which guarantee equal rights for all communities and members of communities.

We should therefore think of the active citizen role not as a role confined to the locality but as a multi-level activity: working directly in the local communities on the one hand, and on the other hand using representative democracy and participation in larger social movements in order to ensure the national and international policies that support universal rights.

6. The community-based critique

In regeneration initiatives, the local population is often regarded as a background factor rather than an active partner. Every locality is a living system. It may have unclear boundaries and fluid structures but there is always a variety of crucial life-support activity taking place within the field wrongly described by economists as 'inactivity'. On the quality and condition of this life-support system depends the potential for further development.

The local population is a partner with a different nature from the other partners. It contains in itself a range of 'mini-agencies', groups and organisations in differing stages of development. In this hidden landscape of formal and informal groups there are major gaps of awareness, access and involvement, particularly among the most disadvantaged people. But there is also a huge reservoir of invisible activity at household and personal level, with the potential for generating new mutual aid and collective action.

What are the methods that most truly involve the local community and what does the involvement of the local community actually mean since by no means the whole population can be directly involved?

Increasing the so-called 'activity rate' (the proportion of people in the labour market) is only part of the solution. Other measures can create direct improvements which do not necessarily pass through the labour market. Reducing waste, reducing crime, protecting assets, making better use of amenities, enhancing the environment, increasing benefit take-up rates, improving transport, creating more community groups - these are all measures which have a beneficial economic effect even if they do not create new jobs or necessarily involve cash transactions at all.

Even the ability to get state benefits which are supposed to be standardised is heavily influenced by the strength of local networks of information and support. However standardised and impersonal a system is supposed to be, it still requires human interaction in order to work at its best. The actions of authorities are influenced by the ability of local citizens' groups to put pressure on them to deliver effective services and carry out favourable policies. Local amenities, for example, are nearly always attributed to authorities, but it is clear from many examples that health centres, community centres, sports centres, even street lighting and policing, quite often owe their existence or protection to local residents' ability to exert independent pressure.

Although authorities are in theory permanent, their programmes, particularly in disadvantaged areas, are often short-term, superseded by policy fashions, career changes or political shifts. The long term 'memory' of the locality is more often to be found among residents and their organisations.

Attention to community activity reveals the existence of a 'hidden half' of the economy consisting of unpaid labour, informal networks of support and information, local amenities etc. (We do not mean here illegal paid work without formal contracts or tax, but work which is not paid at all.) This half is no substitute for the cash economy of commerce, industry and enterprise but it is complementary to it and vital to its functioning. It is an area of activity on which society has always relied but which is not usually counted.

Whilst exclusion from the cash economy is the main source of poverty and disadvantage, the functioning of the non-cash economy also has effects of its own, which can make that disadvantage either better or worse. It also has effects on people's ability to re-enter or regenerate the cash economy.

Economic growth is an illusion if the non-cash economy is not nurtured at the same time. To ignore the care of assets, mutual aid patterns and self-sufficiency makes the locality even more vulnerable if the growth gamble does not pay off. A responsible strategy will not only seek to maximise sustainable growth but will be sure not to weaken the fall-back position if economic growth is not achieved or if the economic and social cost is too high. In any case people need techniques for optimising their position immediately, such as getting all their benefits, maximising effective use of local amenities, minimising waste. These are at the same time immediate benefits, preconditions for successful enterprise and partial insurance against unsuccessful enterprise.

The concept of the local economy as used in many local regeneration initiatives is too narrow. The economic growth of a locality can be going up while socioeconomic wellbeing is going down (Waring, 1988). Money can be flowing out of the locality both as profits and jobs.

From the point of view of community involvement, prevailing practice in regeneration initiatives often exhibits certain weaknesses:

(i) Invisibility of the community sector in partnerships.

Project designers often focus on achieving partnership between the different authorities and professional agents. They may assume, but not specify, the involvement of the local community itself. If they do specify community involvement, the community is often treated as if it were simply an agency amongst others. Effective partnership must be based on an understanding of the special strengths and weaknesses of the different parties.

(ii) The local community is sometimes assumed to be passive until animated by the incoming initiative. This leads to a neglect of what the residents have already been trying to do and a failure to understand residents' reluctance to be mobilised from the 'outside', especially if they already have experience of the non-completion of past initiatives.

(iii) Evaluation is often focused on the intervention itself instead of on the situation of the local people. Objectives are therefore stated in impressionistic and provider-centred ways instead of in terms of concrete targets against a baseline.

In the area of the community sector itself the aim should be to maximise participation, effectiveness and community control, and the targets might be in terms of these features:

numbers of groups

effectiveness of groups

range of social issues covered by groups

access to groups by the most excluded

general population's awareness of groups

population's awareness of the option to start their own group

networking and coordination between groups

a coordinated voice for groups in relation to policymakers.

There are many economic aspects hidden from view. What, for example, is the economic value of ensuring that people have useful and purposeful work to do even if it is not paid employment? What is the economic value of the voluntary work mobilised by community involvement?

Activities of these kinds at least prevent a neighbourhood from sinking into a worse condition, and are therefore some form of defence against the despair and hopelessness which provide such ready ground for the spread of crime, drugs, vandalism etc., which in turn make a locality less able to attract inward investment, whilst also causing such skilled labour as remains to leave.

It is not clear what the criteria are for whether a locality is competing effectively in the global economy. For disadvantaged localities there could and should be clearer measures of the success of their own economy. These should take account of all the material factors, ie not only GDP and level of unemployment but conditions of care, conditions of housing, level of public services, assets and amenities and the condition of community activity itself.

One frequently neglected area is the level of welfare benefits being received, as a proportion of those to which local people are entitled. Even with maximum participation in the labour market, at least 30-50% of the population - children, elderly, sick, carers - must exist outside it at any one time. All over Europe there appear to be shortfalls in take-up: substantial proportions of welfare benefit remain unclaimed for a variety of reasons. Yet benefit campaigns rarely figure in regeneration strategies. Increased benefit take-up means more money circulating in the local economy.

7. The social economy: new paradigm or dead end?

Does the concept of the social economy provide a better starting-point for the development of a framework that could encompass the multi-faceted aims of local economic, environmental and social improvement?

The social economy debate in Europe is at a crossroads. The dominant paradigm identifies the social economy as consisting of those institutions which carry out business for the mutual benefit of their members rather than for profit. National economies have always had this element within them but it is less recognised in some countries than others. In the adoption of the term social economy by the European Union, the main areas indicated are cooperatives, mutual aid organisations, associations and foundations. This includes the voluntary and local community sectors.

The aim of furthering the social economy has been presented as being to maximise the efficiency and market share of these types of business. An alternative approach, put forward here, proposes raising the recognition and influence of the social economy as an innovative approach to the economy as a whole.

The economic value of unpaid activity in the home, the field and the local community has never been properly recognised, even in the social economy. Even theorists of the voluntary sector have often underestimated the role of autonomous local community activity which forms the major part of this sector.

The social economy is sometimes estimated as constituting a certain proportion of GDP, in order to illustrate its importance. What this fails to convey is that most social economy activity does not register in the GDP at all, because it is not paid.

A full concept of the social economy therefore needs to be broader than GDP. Non GDP activity such as subsistence farming, caring, mutual aid, is conventionally called 'economic inactivity'. This is extremely misleading. Some theorists call it subsistence (Mies, 1995). It could also be called direct productivity. The economy is larger than the market, and the social economy encompasses all of the non-market economy as well as some of the market economy. Thus the aim of an enhanced social

economy would not merely, and not necessarily, be to increase its market share but to change the emphasis in the way society is managed: from running society to serve the economy to running the economy to serve society.

Some profit-based companies have also, particularly in the last few years, been developing 'social responsibility' policies or employee volunteering schemes; and for many years past some large companies have endowed charitable trusts for particular causes. All these have an important part to play in a new approach to wealth-creation and distribution.

A viewpoint based in local community experience can bring common sense and human values to bear on the economy. It can show that the economy is not separate from society, does not have rules wholly of its own, which it mysteriously appears to have at the moment, but that it is subject to the same ordinary social and moral values which we know personally at community level.

The local economy could be looked at on the model of a household. In a household, decisions are always based on a balance of earning on the one hand, saving on the other, buying on the one hand, doing, making and mutual aid on the other. This sense of balance should come into regeneration policy.

One might sum up the difference in the way we want to look at the local economy as shifting the emphasis from economic GROWTH to ECONOMIC growth.

If the aim is seen as economic GROWTH, then the emphasis is on

- growth in jobs and earnings

- growth in GDP

- growth in spending and consumption.

If the aim is ECONOMIC growth, then the emphasis is on

- growth in being economic - ie saving costs

- growth in doing, making and mutual aid

- growth in keeping money circulating within the local economy for as long as possible.

The aim of ECONOMIC growth cannot be summed up as increasing the GDP because although more earning and spending will increase the GDP, more doing, making and saving will reduce the GDP. Thus a highly successful campaign in both areas might leave the GDP as it was, or even reduce it.

We would still be left with the dilemma of how to generate enough money and enough jobs. But we could look at this problem afresh as being a question of the relationship between the two sides of the economy: what forms of activity and conditions on the direct productivity side create the best conditions on the jobs and money side? What types of jobs and sources of money create in turn the best conditions on the direct productivity side?

Chapter four
Strategy and methods

1. Introduction: commitment to community involvement

This chapter presents conclusions about how to create and implement a plan for maximising community involvement in a regeneration scheme. What we present here is an approach synthesised from methods used in the case studies and other relevant sources. However, it is not put forward as the only correct way to achieve such an objective. Other approaches may be viable. It is a brief outline which may be adapted to local aims and circumstances.

Our concern is primarily with all-round regeneration schemes rather than small social projects. In this discussion we assume a scheme which addresses the need for regeneration of a whole locality or district, and which is therefore likely to be confronted with all the major interconnected issues: housing, employment, health, education, amenities, transport etc.

Community involvement, we would suggest, should have two roles in such a scheme: it should inform the strategy of the scheme as a whole, and it should also deliver a specific package of work on behalf of the scheme.

Regeneration schemes are usually oriented, in the first place, to the material and economic conditions of the locality. They may aim to improve the physical fabric, the labour market, the environment and the amenities. Social aims, such as improved health, education and welfare are often also part of the plan.

Community participation is sometimes specified as a further aim, sometimes ignored. It is often assumed to be covered implicitly in the combination of material and social aims. Experience shows, however, that this is not enough. Treating the local population simply as passive recipients of material and social benefits minimises the energy that local people can put in, may conflict with their own efforts, and risks alienating them. The process works best if there is a purposeful strategy to engage the inhabitants as consultees, active participants, and partners as well as beneficiaries.

Involvement (or 'participation') should therefore be adopted as a binding factor for the scheme as a whole; and to ensure implementation there should be targets for levels of community involvement as there are for jobs created, houses renovated or health improved.

The outcomes of regeneration schemes are in reality decided by the interaction of material, social and participative factors. So it may be fruitful to look at regeneration strategy as having three interacting components:

material: for example jobs, houses, amenities
social: for example health, education, welfare
community: for example associative life, collective development and representation.

Participation should be built into the scheme both as a concept and a process. Adequate resources should be allocated for its implementation, through a specific part of the work programme, carried out by a suitably skilled professional team, placed in a clear position within the structure of the scheme.

Basic planning would therefore include these three steps:

(i) Concept and commitment

Ensure that the principle of maximising community involvement is built into the stated aims.

Ensure that the key players in the scheme are aware of the issue of community involvement and have some clear ideas on what may be expected of it.

(ii) Resourcing

Ensure that the budget for the scheme includes specific resources for the community involvement element. These might include:

- a budget to employ a team of workers or a suitable agency with special skills of facilitating community involvement

- a budget to assist the development of community organisations

- a budget to assist the creation or enhancement of long-term endowment trusts or assets held by the community sector.

(iii) Structure

The specialist workers should be formed into a team reporting at a high level, and community involvement should be a regular part of the planning agenda. In this report we call these workers the Community Involvement Team.

The structure of the partnership should also provide for separate representation of the local community sector on its controlling body. How to obtain adequate representation is dealt with later in this chapter.

2. The Community Involvement Team

The work of developing community involvement is more effective if carried out by a team (see Bell, 1992). Much of the impact of community work is dissipated by the isolation of such workers. The skills of developing community involvement are not recognised as belonging to a single profession across Europe, yet many local workers employ some part of these skills in the context of 'the helping professions', such as teaching, social work, cultural development, or as employees of community and voluntary organisations. A team can be built up by recruitment or secondment from relevant professions, and bound together by clear community involvement targets.

The positioning of the Community Involvement Team in relation to the partnership is important. It is essential that the ethos of the Team is to serve the community sector, not direct and control it. It must always be remembered that the effort put into community activity by residents is voluntary, ie given freely in the sense of being both unpaid and unforced. Any attempt to coerce this energy would alienate and hence reduce it. Additionally, co-option would destroy the main purpose of community involvement, namely the building up of the independent strength of the local community.

Consequently the Team will not be able to carry out its work effectively if it is seen simply as an instrument of the authorities. It needs to be in the joint 'ownership' of the local community as well as the official and professional partners.

We have stressed earlier that community involvement has an economic value. In terms of

a regeneration partnership, therefore, the work of community organisations is a subsidy to the scheme directly from local inhabitants, just as the official inputs are a subsidy from government. Not only as residents, therefore, but also as funders, the local people have a right to some influence over the content and process of the scheme. Participation in control of the Community Involvement Team is an appropriate part of such influence.

The Team should therefore be positioned 'at an arm's-length' from the central direction of the partnership. This means that whilst it is ultimately accountable to the partnership, it must have a degree of independence and room for manoevre in its daily work. There will be times when the community sector wishes to take up positions or develop activities that are different from those of the official agencies. There may at times be conflict between the community and the authorities. This is a necessary part of growth and empowerment. If the local community experiences the Team as agents of the authorities, the Team will not be able to meet its objective of strengthening the independence of the sector.

This reflection introduces an inevitable paradox, in that the local community cannot, at the beginning of the process, exercise its proper degree of control because it is not yet fully conscious of its role. The Team has to 'educate its masters' as the community sector grows in strength. It would be equally counterproductive if control of the Team were to be 'captured' by a narrow sectional interest amongst the community, thus preventing it from serving the community as a whole. There should therefore be balanced control, and the use of objective targets, discussed below, to ensure that the nature and results of the work are visible to all stakeholders.

The skills required by a Community Involvement Team are therefore of a high level of sophistication, in order to service and balance the needs and viewpoints of different stakeholders. Experience for the work of such a team may exist in a specialist agency such as a community development organisation; or in a mature local umbrella organisation in the community sector itself; or the team may need to be built up from scratch. The organisations which have contributed to this research may be useful starting points for finding out about community development networks in the individual member states, as may the Combined European Bureau for Social Development (see List of Researchers and Organisations, p. 65).

Implementing the community involvement plan would form the major part of the work of the Team. In the remainder of this chapter we discuss key elements of the work as follows:

Section 3: informing the strategy by ensuring that all partners in the scheme have a basic and then a growing understanding of community activity, what motivates it, how it crystallises into the community sector, and how important it is to ensure that the community sector grows stronger

Section 4: focusing on particular growth points in the dynamic of local community activity, so as to know how to intervene to achieve this growth

Section 5: addressing the problem of how to get effective representation of the community sector on the partnership

Section 6: setting targets for community involvement and resolving its various aspects into a number of distinct roles.

3. Informing the strategy: understanding community activity

The main work of the Community Involvement Team with the partnership and the individual professional agencies would consist of developing their awareness of the local community dynamics, and would foster an understanding of what motivates community activity and how it forms the community sector.

Participation in community activity is a contribution of unpaid effort by local inhabitants. This is not merely a charitable impulse; it may

be partly so. It is also an investment in order to achieve certain benefits, though these are not usually calculated.

Within every locality there is a rich variety of personal and voluntary effort, by people who are in paid work and those who are not. Even in prosperous localities up to 50% of the population - including carers as well as children and retired people - are not in the labour market at any one time. These members of the community, and employed people in their spare time, carry out an enormous amount of unpaid activity for themselves, for their households and sometimes for the wider community.

People can participate in local affairs as individuals, for example by going to public meetings, by responding to surveys, by writing to the local papers or contacting local councillors. However, the main vehicle for the participation of local people is the community sector - the aggregate of resident-led organisations, however small they may be individually. Regeneration schemes should strengthen this sector and increase the proportion of local people active in it. Previous research (Chanan, 1992) suggests that the proportion of local people actively involved in the community sector at a given time can vary from below 10% to over 50%. Ensuring good conditions, support and encouragement to participate in the sector can make a substantial difference to the amount and effectiveness of activity.

Any group of local inhabitants who become active on an issue of public interest are part of the community sector

- even without knowing it. The community sector is not a formal body to which one has to apply for membership. It is the spontaneous or organised forms of joint activity among the local population. Many of these activities are automatically relevant to regeneration because they arise directly out of the needs of the neighbourhood. Sports clubs, women's health groups, parents' associations, cultural societies, tenants' associations, religious or ethnic associations, youth clubs, activities for the elderly - all these and many more spontaneously address in one

way or another at least one, and often several, of the key regeneration issues. However, they often do so only on a small scale and in a limited way. More participation and development would greatly increase their impact.

Some of this talent and energy is channelled through professional charities. Even more takes place in community groups and networks, which are also voluntary but are often overlooked. Community groups are important because they involve people in issues of direct concern to them. These groups often spontaneously take up issues that are also important in regeneration plans, such as health, housing, transport, amenities, welfare and training.

Members of partnerships need to grasp this picture, and to have some idea of what a well-functioning local community sector would look like, as in figure 4.1 (p. 64).

This work cannot take the place of paid employment, and mostly there is no expectation that it could or should be paid for. What people are entitled to expect from it, however, are:

that they and their families, neighbours or friends benefit in some way from the product of their efforts

good conditions for carrying out the work

greater degree of joint control over their lives and conditions

that people can sometimes gain skills, information, confidence and experience in this activity that may increase their ability to find paid work

that the public services deliver with maximum effectiveness their part of local life, not relying on voluntary effort to make up deficiencies

that authorities and professional agencies pay heed to what the inhabitants themselves are doing, learn lessons from it and shape their services to support and complement it.

Many people — often the majority of the local population — are not involved either in community groups or other volunteering. This is often because of unawareness, obstacles and difficulties, rather than unwillingness.

At the same time, many community groups are not reaching their full potential, whilst others cannot set themselves up at all, or collapse after a certain period. On average there are three community groups or voluntary organisations per 1,000 population. So for example, a 100,000 population is likely to have approximately 300 groups and organisations. Most of these are likely to be community groups, and many will be small, weak and isolated.

Skilled community involvement support can increase the effectiveness of community groups, the proportion of the population involved, and the cohesiveness and influence of the community sector. Studies in Britain and Netherlands suggest that one hour of skilled support can mobilise around fifteen hours of volunteering in community groups. Stronger community groups are a significant help in ensuring that improvements on other criteria such as job creation, housing, health or other issues will be supported and sustained by the local population.

If the achievements of urban regeneration initiatives are to be maintained and built upon in the long term, the local community sector needs to be in good shape by the end of the initiative.

A vigorous community sector means:

many opportunities for people to join active groups

a good flow of informal information, personal support and stimulus to activity amongst the local population

extensive feedback to authorities and agencies on the effects of their policies and services

articulation of local opinions and needs

an increasing number of individuals with skill and experience in local organising

a strong basis for responding positively to changing conditions.

A good regeneration scheme would also provide opportunities for community organisations to build up long-term resources, thus enabling local people to continue with the regeneration process on a permanent basis. Consideration should be given to setting up suitable mechanisms such as development trusts, endowments or property to build up and channel funds for long-term support. The aim should be to leave the community with assets that can produce revenue for permanent use.

4. Addressing the growth points

Involvement by means of the community sector can be thought of as a combination of three levels. The first level of involvement concerns how far local people participate in community organisations. The next level concerns how far the local organisations participate in networks or co-ordinating bodies in their sector. It will often be found that there is such a network, either formal or informal, but that many groups remain outside it. The final level of involvement concerns how far the local organisation networks participate in the formal affairs of the locality, including the regeneration scheme, whether through a representative body or directly by the individual organisation.

The interaction of these factors should be seen as follows. The community sector is a force within the local population, with the population participating in it to varying degrees. The actions of the regeneration scheme impact directly on the local population, but also on the community sector itself. The community sector is represented in the regeneration scheme, which also has representation and input from official and professional agencies.

A strategy to maximise participation by local people should address five potential 'growth points' in the dynamic:

(1) delivering benefits to the local population

(2) facilitating the participation of local people in the community sector

(3) improving the cohesion and effectiveness of the community sector

(4) fostering and improving the representation of the community sector on the regeneration scheme

(5) improving the orientation of authorities and professional agencies towards community involvement.

The scheme needs to have objectives for all the component parts of the dynamism. To have representation from the community sector is not effective if the community sector itself is unrepresentative. To make an impact on the local population but ignore the community sector could produce illusory benefits and alienation. To have vigorous community activity but little response or support from authorities and professional agencies could lead to mistrust and conflict, and block progress on both sides.

Delivering benefits direct to the local population is a standard part of the subject matter of most local regeneration schemes, and is not the subject of this report. However, the impact of the benefits, and whether they are reaching those in need, is unlikely to be known unless there is good feedback and co-operation from the community sector.

Facilitating people's participation in community organisations is the stock-in-trade of the practice known variously as community work, community development, cultural animation or social development. These terms from different countries have some common core elements. They range from helping a group of neighbours to start a new association to facilitating management change in a mature local voluntary organisation. Where they have been

extensively practised, which varies from country to country and from one time to another, they have built up substantial professional cultures. These are too complex to summarise here, other than to acknowledge that the methods advocated here are largely drawn from them. Present needs demand additional development of inherited methods, and this is discussed further in the section which follows.

5. Representation of the community sector - a developmental process

It is important for partnerships to have representation from the community sector but this is usually not a simple matter to achieve. Unless there is a mature representative structure for the sector in existence at the start of the scheme, representation has to progress by stages. It should be possible to move a long way towards a credible representative structure in the course of three years, though improvements could continue for many more years.

The principle problems are firstly that the community sector may involve only a limited proportion of the local population; secondly that there may be little co-ordination amongst voluntary and community organisations; and thirdly that many of the organisations have little experience in, or resources for, participation in strategy-level forums. Those organisations which do have experience and capacity for strategic participation may be highly professional organisations and rather untypical of the community sector. The next subsection discusses the relationship between professional voluntary organisations and community organisations.

These problems should not be regarded as unfortunate obstacles in the way of representation. They indicate precisely some of the tasks that need to be carried out in order to regenerate disadvantaged localities. The process of strengthening representative structures in the community and voluntary sector is part

of the process of strengthening the community itself.

Therefore a partnership should begin with the best representation it can get from the sector at the starting point, but at the same time plan and resource the development of stronger representative structures by stages. The initial representation should be set up with a 'transparent' status, ie the initial representatives are not necessarily seen as long-term, and they should expect to build up their constituency in association with the Community Involvement Team, and then hand over to a larger forum the question of how representation should be continued.

The role of the Community Involvement Team in helping to build up the constituency is crucial here. Since some member states have extensive traditions in this field and others do not, it is important to clarify what is new in this approach.

In the past, terms such as 'community development' have been used variably to indicate four phenomena:

(a) the general crystallising of a sense of common interest amongst the local population

(b) the functions of local residents' groups and organisations

(c) the role of specialist workers intervening to assist residents' organisations

(d) certain policies of public authorities towards communities.

It has often proved difficult to operationalise this complex, many-sided concept in policy. The concept does not easily lend itself to being understood by policy-makers or to specifying results by which the effectiveness of the work can be judged. It is therefore difficult to build it into strategic planning. Evaluations in this field have tended to dissolve the role of the professional worker in that of the residents' organisations, and the role of the residents' organisations in that of the community.

'Unpacking' the concept overcomes these difficulties. The steps are as follows:

(a) separate clearly the four components:

  1. the community

  2. community organisations

  3. specialist intervention to support community organisations

  4. the orientation of public authorities towards communities

(b) treat the aggregate of community organisations (and the informal activity underlying them) as a sector which can be in a better or worse condition

(c) establish the present extent and effectiveness of the sector by surveying the organisations, the level of involvement in them and use of them by the local population, and the level of success achieved by the organisations in terms of their own objectives

(d) review the degree of support for the sector from the public authorities and professional agencies, and assess how satisfactory the practices of these bodies are towards the local community

(e) set targets in terms of improvements in the effectiveness of the community sector and the policies and practices of the authorities

(f) devise and carry out a programme of work as in sections 3 and 4 above

(g) monitor progress by measuring changes against the targets (see section 5 below).

The nature and role of community organisations is mainly mutual aid and improving common conditions from within the community affected; the role of professional voluntary organisations is usually the mobilisation of assistance to people in particular need from others with a surplus capacity.

These two kinds of organisation are linked in a spectrum containing many variations and combinations of the two types of function, so it is operationally sensible to try to deal with them as a single sector at local level. However, the difference between the two ends of the spectrum can be very marked. Some voluntary organisations (or charities) are professional service providers with little base in the local community, distinguished from private sector organisations only by the fact that they are non-profit-making. Some community groups are entirely voluntary, providing mutual aid with no paid workers or organisational resources.

For the regeneration of a disadvantaged area it is desirable to adopt a strategy which recognises these differences and organises equitable co-operation and alliances between the two types of organisation.

On the whole it is the community organisations which have the least material resources and policy recognition but which are most crucial for the inner cohesion and creativity of the local community, and which are most representative of local opinion. Their development must therefore be a priority. On the other hand, professional voluntary organisations are more likely to have the expertise to deliver specialist services and deal with professional agencies.

Professional voluntary organisations therefore have the option of becoming completely professional and aligning themselves with the private sector, or strengthening their community base (in many cases turning back to their roots) and devolving more control to their users and local staff. As wholly professional agencies they may have an important role on delivering specialist services. As community-oriented organisations they would have the added value of strengthening the community sector and contributing to it some of the professional expertise which community groups may lack. However, if the choice is left unclear there can be conflict with community organisations, who may feel that their role is being masked.

6. Setting targets

Many regeneration schemes invoke community involvement as a desirable background feature. Few have progressed to specifying community involvement as a requirement or a target. It is sometimes said that community involvement cannot be made concrete or evaluated in an objective way. However, this is a myth. If community involvement is to have the same status as other regeneration objectives it should adopt similarly visible indicators. The usefulness of indicators is limited, but this applies equally in other fields.

In order to set baselines for targets, a good regeneration plan will firstly profile the condition of the local community and voluntary sector, that is list all known community groups and voluntary organisations, with a brief description of their functions and users, and an estimate of which sections of the population, both geographically and socially, are most and least involved.

To create a comprehensive profile of community activity, including all the informal and short-term activity, is not feasible in the timescale of an imminent regeneration plan. What is feasible is to assess the visible layer of this activity, as expressed in the relatively stable and measurable form of community groups and organisations.

At the same time we must be aware that the visible layer of the community sector does not necessarily reflect the activities and views of the whole community. There should be periodic assessment of the relationship between the community sector and the local population: how many people participate, how many make use of the services, how many are aware of and have access to the sector.

The profile would address such questions as:

What groups and organisations are there and what do they do?

What proportion of the local population are involved?

How strong are the networks between organisations?

How representative and credible are any umbrella groups and support bodies?

Are there representative forums for the sector?

How far do the most disadvantaged sections of the population participate in the sector?

The profile would then be used to establish targets.

Targets might therefore include such things as:

- increasing the number of functioning community groups, for example from three per thousand population to four per thousand

- increasing the proportion of the population regularly involved in at least one community group (whether using or helping) from, say, 10% to 20%

- increasing the number of community economic development initiatives such as co-operatives, community businesses and trading community organisations

- increasing the assets held by community groups, in the form of buildings, equipment, endowments, which can help to generate income for future activity - for instance that five appropriate community organisations will acquire permanent premises

- increasing the effectiveness of community groups, in such terms as

  - the group's own estimate of whether it is achieving its goals

  - the numbers of local people using or helping

  - increase in usage/ participation by people in disadvantaged situations

- increasing the range of issues addressed by community groups, and/or professional voluntary organisations, for example that addi-

tional groups will be created in a locality, catering for health, environment, training, youth, crime, disability

- increasing the effectiveness of the community sector as a whole, in such terms as:

  - level of co-operation and networking amongst groups

  - level of awareness of groups amongst the local population

  - ability of the sector to make co-ordinated input to local policy

- increasing the availability and effectiveness of umbrella groups and support bodies, in such terms as:

  - greater responsiveness to community groups

  - greater access for disadvantaged sections of the population

  - better co-ordination and credibility in articulating the views and needs of the community.

Professional voluntary organisations are particularly important for delivering services in specialist fields. Targets here would therefore reflect the specific outputs of the scheme in such fields as housing, employment and education, and might also include aspects to encourage such organisations to turn more towards the community such as:

- improved responsiveness to community need

- improved access for disadvantaged people to services and volunteering

- improved role of volunteering within the organisation

- improved links with community groups - for example that 250 volunteers from local community groups would be offered training places in 10 professional voluntary organisations.

7. Summing up: five roles for the community

In conclusion we can sum up the relationship between the community and the regeneration scheme in the form of five roles:

beneficiaries of the programme and users of services

consultees and representatives of local opinion

a source of general community activity

a source of organisations which can help to deliver parts of the regeneration programme

potential long-term partners in regeneration.

Each of these is discussed below, and further analysis will be found in Community Development Foundation (1997).

(i) The Community as beneficiaries and users

For regeneration schemes to succeed on the ground, local communities must benefit. Measures to improve the competitiveness of the local economy must take account of the existing economic, social and environmental context. Where jobs are to be created or housing improved, it should be clear that the existing population will be the main beneficiaries.

Benefits to local people apply through all the criteria of a scheme irrespective of the extent to which the community are actively involved in deciding or delivering the programme. However, community involvement is much more likely to ensure that benefits are tailored to their needs, and link effectively with their own general community activities.

A good scheme will therefore:

ensure that the programme relates to the existing community in order to improve the standard of living and the quality of life of those within the locality.

(ii) The Community as consultees and representatives of local opinion

Local people's views ideally should inform both the initial planning and the way the scheme develops. In reality most people will not be in a position to respond until the process is under way and begins to affect them. People in communities have detailed knowledge of their own needs. However, people's ideas are not necessarily consistent. There are naturally many competing voices, and many more voices are not heard at all because they are not aware of the process.

Consultation should therefore develop by stages. At the earliest stage there should be consultation with those parts of the community that are well enough organised to respond, as well as the opportunity for any local resident to respond as an individual. At subsequent stages there should be a progressively widening circle of organised consultation. Community representatives should become more skilled in understanding and expressing the strategic importance of their sector.

A good scheme will therefore:

use a current profile of the community sector to reach the maximum number of existing groups and identify gaps and weaknesses in the sector

make efforts to reach individual residents and minority and disadvantaged groups

ensure that consultation extends its reach during the regeneration process to new groups and sections of the population

create or enhance mechanisms for co-ordinating the views of an increasing proportion of the local population and its active groups and organisations over time.

(iii) The Community as a source of general community activity

All community activity is of benefit in some way otherwise it would not be undertaken. Much of it, however, may not appear at first sight to be relevant to regeneration. Are sports clubs, social clubs, mother-and-toddler groups, youth clubs, neighbourhood carnivals, health improvement groups relevant? They all help to provide personal support, social networks and skill development. Whilst not so obviously relevant as, say, community businesses, training schemes or job creation projects, they provide the basic social texture from which those more targeted initiatives are built.

It is also important not to overlook the economic importance of seemingly 'non-economic' activity. Much community activity is both valuable in itself and interacts in multiple ways with the formal economy. Preventing unnecessary expenditure is an important part of local economic improvement. Improving your own house can save money. Running a sports club or youth activity improves health and social opportunities at low or no cost. Negotiating for more effective local services, benefits, transport or amenities makes it easier and cheaper to support daily life in the locality.

Non-monetary improvements also increase people's capacity to generate monetary improvements. Reciprocal child care releases people to take on part-time work. Volunteering can lead to a new job. Self-help activities can lead to ideas for new community business. General community activity is the basis of the confidence, skill and social networks which underlie people's capacity to participate in more formal initiatives and the monetary economy.

Support organisations will have a key role to play. These include official local umbrella groups, if they exist; unofficial umbrella groups, ie local organisations providing a support role to a variety of community groups; community development projects; representative groups such as community forums; and community trusts, which collect and distribute grant income to build community capacity on a long-term basis.

A good programme will therefore:

ensure optimum conditions for general community activity to flourish

set targets for enhancement of the sector

enhance the role and effectiveness of umbrella groups, support bodies and community development projects.

(iv) The Community as deliverers of parts of the programme

Those local organisations most geared initially to delivering parts of the programme are likely to be professional voluntary organisations. On the whole these will be non-profit organisations specialising in a particular service. They may or may not have a strong basis in the local community. They may include community development projects, bridging organisations, local umbrella bodies and support organisations.

There is a particular value in using organisations which have a strong basis in the local community. Indications of such a basis would include:

created by local residents

a substantial element of volunteering

volunteers have high status and influence in the organisation

access to use and volunteering by people in disadvantaged situations

users have influence in management

helps other community groups.

Organisations which both have these kinds of attribute and a professional service-delivery capacity are particularly valuable. They are able to deliver the service in question compe-

tently, and at the same time build up community strengths and volunteering capacity.

Such organisations may not always have originated in the community. They may sometimes be professional voluntary organisations which have turned to the community, inviting participation, raising the status of volunteers, fostering autonomy and extending access.

Not all community groups, however, would want to take on a direct service delivery role. Many are better placed to improve general community activity, including representing the voice of users and beneficiaries about a service rather than seeking to deliver it. These should be assisted within the preceding role, general community activity.

Whilst we have asserted the economic relevance of all community activity, there is a distinct service-providing role for voluntary and community organisations with an explicit economic remit, such as community businesses, trading community organisations, housing associations, training and job creation initiatives. These organisations may originate either in the community or as professional voluntary organisations.

A good programme will:

include community-based organisations as members of the partnership and deliverers of its programme wherever possible

ensure that community groups and organisations have the opportunity to be strengthened over time to take on increased delivery roles

give a key delivery role to community economic initiatives.

(v) The Community as long-term partners

Provision for the long-term sustainability of successful schemes needs to be incorporated within a strategy. The community itself is one of the key resources for achieving this. Community organisations should be strengthened as part of the regeneration process, so that they can continue to sustain the initiatives after the regeneration scheme ends. This should include building up assets by community organisations, such as premises, equipment or endowments, so that they can continue their activities at low cost or generate income to support themselves.

A community sector which is stronger by the end of the regeneration scheme will be in the best position both to provide some services of its own and to influence and partner public services and new initiatives.

The role of umbrella and support organisations is crucial for long-term capacity. These are the organisations which have the nearest thing to an overview of the community sector and its relations with public authorities, and an awareness of the history of local developments from the inhabitants' viewpoint.

A good programme will:

develop structures in the community and voluntary sector to continue the work of regeneration through to the long term

help community organisations build up assets as ongoing sources of revenue

have a forward strategy designed to strengthen and sustain community participation.

Figure 4.1: A Community sector vision

A well-developed community sector may be expected to have these sorts of characteristics:

- a wide spread of community groups
- a variety of mature community organisations
- a wide spread of professional voluntary organisations
- effective umbrella/support/intermediary organisations
- a variety of economic initiatives led by local residents
- effective alliances between the above types of organisation
- popular awareness of the community sector
- good networking in the sector
- good facilities to assist new/small groups
- good feedback from the sector to the authorities/ public services
- good access to the sector for the disadvantaged
- good inter-ethnic relations in the sector
- a good proportion of the population actively involved in volunteering/community activity.
- long-term endowments or assets held by the community sector

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Appendix A: Case-study summaries

Belgium

Wotepa: A Housing And Employment Project In Antwerp

Researcher: Jimmy Eeckhout, VIBOSO, Brussels

The area

Antwerp is the second city of Belgium with 480,000 population (1985 figures). The Wotepa Project is in the Antwerpen district in the north east of the city, and has the highest population density. Antwerp relies on port and service industries and has the highest percentage of foreigners after Brussels, with a figure of 10%, 4 out of 10 of whom are from non EC countries. The Antwerpen district has a high number of single people and single parents, who together account for 40% of the population.

Old Antwerp is now officially classed as a 'low opportunity region'(LOR), the characteristics of which are as follows:

- while in other regions unemployment reaches an average of 40% male/60% female, the low opportunity regions reach 55% male and 45% female

- while in other regions the percentage of unemployed persons with poor qualifications is no more than 44%, this percentage

rises in the LOR to an average of 62% with peaks of 70%

- while in other regions the percentage of unemployed people who get no subsistence benefit is about 6%, this percentage rises to more than 10% in the LOR.

- the LOR's cover an area which occupies 10% of the land containing more than 16% of the population

- 35% of people in LOR's are dependent on staff welfare (the figure is 16% for the population as a whole)

- all LOR's have a high population density and an extreme percentage of empty, disused houses. 45% of the house fronts are in a bad state

- almost all of the Turks, Maghrebians and South-Europeans live in or within the immediate neighbourhood of the LOR's.

So, all LOR's have a high population density, poor housing, and no green open space. Large groups of their inhabitants are unemployed and/or live of on subsistence. 60% of all the people who get subsistence money in the province of Antwerp, are living in the city of Antwerp itself.

The cities are confronted with:

- a reduction in the well-off population, so also less revenue for the city budget.

- a growing number of poor people, partly attracted by the better welfare services, which means more expense for the latter.

- an enormous housing problem in the 19th century housing 'belt' and a growing concentration of deprived people in these slummy city areas, which means again more expense.

The initiative

The Wotepa Project is a small-scale initiative designed to engage with the most socially excluded people within the neighbourhood. It is particularly targeted on the 'generation poor', described as people who have experienced three generations of poverty. This is seen as a distinctive and most excluded grouping within the poor population. It is estimated that the 'generation poor' account for between 2% and 3% of the Belgian population, whereas in the Wotepa area the 'generation poor' account for 50%. Whilst targeting the 'generation poor' the Wotepa Project was concerned to avoid creating a ghetto effect, has therefore limited the numbers of "generation poor" involved in the project to 40%. The aim has been to create a process of social integration through the experience of being engaged in useful activities.

The philosophy behind the project is a view that some sections of the population, particularly the 'generation poor' require considerable support and social development before they can integrate into mainstream society and economic activity. Project staff think it is unrealistic to seek to integrate them into the regular employment market, and that therefore the approach must be more gradual and supportive. This also has implications for the structure and management of the project, in that it is felt to be unrealistic to expect the 'generation poor' to be capable of engaging in the management and control of the project, and that therefore the project's work and management should be mediated by the paid community workers.

Part of the project is a scheme to convert a former school building into housing units and an employment and training centre. This was a four year project commencing in 1990.

1st Objective was the establishment of a working group which would involve the socially excluded and undertake building conversion work. This consisted of approximately 25 households.

2nd Objective was the conversion of part of the building into a furniture renovation service and more local housing.

3rd Objective was the establishment of the furniture removal and renovation service linked to a shop renting furniture to local people.

4th Objective was extending the activity into maintenance contracts and regular commercial work.

The project was aimed at long term unemployed. It succeeded in providing housing accommodation in the former school buildings, life skill training, and occupational training and employment in the furniture project.

It provides employment for 24 people and some members of their families. The idea for the project came from local community workers, who then proceeded to build interest amongst local people, especially using existing contacts with the 'generation poor'. The approach required a considerable input of time and development to a relatively small network of people, as the task of overcoming lack of confidence and social functioning was considerable.

Links with EC programmes

Poverty 3 provided project start-up money. Antwerp is a DG16 priority area.

Links with Government programmes

The Flemish Government provided funding for one worker. Financial support for anti-poverty work was received from the Municipality of Antwerp.

Regional community development institutes supported the project - one of these is based in Antwerp.

Comment

The project's perspective was that it was unrealistic to expect the 'generation poor' to move into opportunities for employment and engagement in social networks, and that a long support and development phase was required to build confidence. This perspective opens a debate about what can and should be expected from the most deprived people, and the extent to which a period of personal rebuilding is necessary before greater degrees of community involvement can be considered. References to Belgian national policies indicate that this has been an important strand of thinking in the design of social programmes. The researcher makes the following observation:

'As long as our society is of a competitive nature, some people will always be unable reach the required level. Regardless of the question of whether competitiveness is essential, society has the obligation to realize alternative initiatives for these people. They are able to perform and produce, but on a lower level than normally expected. It is no use simply trying to 'insert' them into the rest of the society. Some people have need of an alternative, supported, system.'

The Wotepa Project succeeded in engaging successfully with the most deprived and excluded people in the neighbourhood, and in encouraging a small number of those people in long-term development and training experience which has created visible concrete outcomes in terms of rehabilitated housing, a training centre and new local services. The Project successfully combined a mixture of activities covering training, housing renovation, service development, local community business development and building renovation. It demonstrates how a wide-range of activities and approaches can be incorporated within even a small programme, and how this mix can achieve a cumulative and reinforcing ef-

fect. Wotepa now faces the challenge of linking to the wider agenda of regeneration in the neighbourhood. This is a common challenge facing projects as they seek to have a wider impact and to build on success.

Luxembourg

Luxembourg

Researcher: Hilde Maelstaf, AEIDL, Brussels

The area

The population of Luxembourg is 328,000, of which two thirds live in Luxembourg City and Esch, which form the main urban agglomeration. The unemployment rate in Luxembourg is low, at 2%.

Housing is probably one of the most important factors of social exclusion in Luxembourg. We can speak of a real crisis in the housing situation, especially for the lower income groups for whom it has become difficult to afford to rent or to buy a home. The social housing sector offers only a limited number of homes. Lower income groups face two possibilities - either they spend more than 50% of their income on rent, or they are excluded from the housing market.

There has been only limited experience of participative urban development in Luxembourg, and the most relevant example we could find took place a long time ago.

The particular programme examined in this case study took place in the Quartier du Grund in Luxembourg City. This was a neighbourhood of 1,000 people, in a residential area where there was a mixture of income groups and nationalities, partly attracted and supported by the availability of social housing. 65% of the population were foreigners. The housing tended to be dilapidated as it dated from the 17th and 18th centuries and was expensive to maintain and improve. Local people had been concerned about possible displacement ef-

fects arising from housing improvement and consequent increases in rent levels.

The initiative

The programme in Grund is one of the few examples of the use of the Luxembourg '50 inhabitants rule' under which residents of an area used to be able to petition for the local authority to undertake a process of urban regeneration. This rule was introduced in 1979 but was very little used and has now been withdrawn.

The Grund programme began in 1977 when local trainee student community workers began to practice in the area. Later they worked with residents to apply the '50 inhabitants rule' as a way of overcoming the displacement effect that was of increasing concern to residents. Whilst housing was the starting point of the project, bad housing conditions were only one aspect of many other problems. This was a population with no tradition of organisation and without real power.

Interaction Faubourg took the initial work in Grund forward commencing in 1979. It considered urban regeneration as a tool for community involvement and empowerment of the local people. Community involvement focused on the establishment of a Community Committee (CISG) formally recognised by the City of Luxembourg and by the Fonds du Logement as a partner in the regeneration programme. The CISG has continued its work since the completion of the regeneration programme. It has been successful in reaching the more marginalised residents, including immigrants and lower income groups.

The Community Committee (CISG) was established in 1980 and has continued to operate since. For the first four years a permanent community worker was supporting the Committee, but since then the Committee has worked without permanent professional support.

Interaction Faubourg developed further initiatives in the area, particularly projects for dis-

advantaged young unemployed people. These have featured:

- training and workshop enterprise experience

- a community centre, youth centre, children's playgroup and a 'foyer de jour' which provides services and a visible focus for local people

- initiatives to build contacts with adults through work with their children

- collaboration between professionals and community volunteers.

The most important aim was assisting young people to realise the value of democracy. Interaction Faubourg worked with 214 young people over a four-year period. Of these 50% were successfully integrated into the labour market, but the other 50% went back to unemployment. Partly as a result of the successful demonstration of community development methods in the Grund and Interaction Faubourg programmes, community work was accepted officially as a professional method by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Housing in 1993.

Comment

The Grund Study demonstrates the role of the 'change agent' in a neighbourhood. An interview with the Housing Officer highlighted the following:

'You need an organisation covering the needs of the population and a body which is able to contact local inhabitants. This is exactly what Interaction Faubourg did in the Grund, but in other areas no such structure was available and you cannot create one completely artificially'.

Luxembourg does not have a regeneration policy nor are many aspects of social policy directly linked to issues of social exclusion and poverty. Social policy in Luxembourg is very progressive, but is not directly linked with urban problems, nor in general with territorial

problems, and is characterised by a sectoral approach. Policies seek to improve individual living conditions by increasing financial resources or through the creation of social infrastructure and social services.

The Interaction Faubourg approach made a particular point of trying to make contact and work with adults through programmes that engaged children. The needs of children are not always directly addressed in urban regeneration programmes. Children's needs differ from those of adults, yet they are not usually in a position to make them known. Approaches which give greater prominence to children's needs and place children more centrally in the strategy and methods are to be welcomed.

It would appear that Interaction Faubourg is the only agency involved with community involvement to receive official funding in Luxembourg.

Ireland

From Protest to Partnership - The Emergence Of The Inner City Renewal Group In Dublin.

Researchers: Barry Cullen and Helen Johnston, Combat Poverty Agency, Dublin

The area

This project is located in and services the north inner city area of Dublin, population 23,000, including the north docks area and parts of the commercial centre of the city. The area suffers from long decline and neglect in social, economic and environmental terms. A large number of people - 56% of all households - occupy residential units in Dublin Corporation walk-up flat complexes. The lack of investment in private housing, coupled with the local authority housing policy which favoured green field development in the outer suburbs, have combined to create physical decline in the area. The population of the area fell by 39% between 1971 and 1986 and the remaining population is highly dependent. The gradual

running down of port-related work and associated manufacturing industry has created a huge gap in the traditional forms of employment for the remaining community.

The rapidity of the economic changes in the North inner city during the 1970s had an overwhelming impact on the area's social and community fabric, giving rise to major social problems and community breakdown.

McKeown's (1993) overview of the socio-economic characteristics of the inner city of Dublin highlights that its population differs from Greater Dublin and Ireland in that it has:

- a higher average age

- a higher proportion of persons who are separated or widowed

- a higher proportion of persons living in flats/bedsits

- a higher proportion of persons who rent rather than own their own home

- a lower average household size

- a higher proportion of births outside marriage

- a higher proportion of persons classified as unskilled and semi-skilled

- a higher proportion of persons who left school before the age of 15

- a higher mortality rate

- a higher rate of admissions to psychiatric hospitals

- a higher incidence of drug use

- a higher crime rate.

The economic decline of the North East inner city is directly related to the rationalisation of the Dublin docks area. The introduction of containers in Dublin port in the 1970s forced

a contraction in employment opportunities for unskilled workers. The area's manufacturing base also declined as many companies moved to the more spacious and better-equipped factory units in suburban industrial estates. By the late 1970s a stretch of publicly-owned land in the Customs House Docks area, that was previously a hive of port-related activities, had become derelict. Alongside this visible evidence of urban neglect and decay, during the late 1970s and early 1980s there were increases in school drop-out, a growing youth problem, crime, drug problems and an escalation in income and family problems.

The Urban Renewal Act (1986) made provision for the establishment of the Customs House Docks Development Authority (CHDDA). CHDDA is essentially a planning authority with power to acquire, hold and manage land in the Customs House Docks area for redevelopment by itself or by others. The authority's original remit was a 27-acre site which has since been extended twice to total 60 acres.

The initiative

Inner City Renewal Group (ICRG), in the Dublin north inner city area. This is monitored and supported by the Combat Poverty Agency.

Focus of ICRG: Broadly, the role of ICRG is to facilitate participation by local people in the development of a new local economy and the development of a social dimension in the renewal process. Secondary to this, the group is working for improved income, better quality housing and easier access to education for local people; developing links between the different sectors operating locally; working to create a sense of common purpose in the community organisations; and developing a trust fund to support local initiatives. ICRG also provides a Welfare Rights Service from its office. IRCG has been particularly involved in influencing the Custom House Docks Development Authority regeneration programme.

ICRG is involved in co-ordinating the work of a variety of local groups and community projects

and assisting them in developing a broader policy dimension to their work. It was also instrumental in setting in 1992 up the Inner City Organisations Network (ICON) which is an area-based community forum with 38 affiliated group members. ICON's primary aim is to develop a 'cohesive approach to local and national policy affecting the community, business developments in the area and changes taking place in the local economy'. ICON also has a key role in compiling an area action plan. It is envisaged that this plan, which is being compiled in the context of the government's National Development Plan 1994-99, will be utilised to draw down EU and national resources in the areas of community development, employment training, education, social development and urban renewal.

ICON's emergence needs to be understood in the context of a 20-year history of community development. Many community activists in the North East inner city view the last 20 years as a struggle to impress on policy-makers the need to involve those communities who are most affected by decline and deprivation in the search for solutions.

Involvement in local schemes: ICRG is an essential element in a highly developed network of community based organisations and groups. It has a discrete role within this context, co-ordinating policy and research and acting as a lobbying body representing the interests of these groups, in particular the Alliance for Work Forum and ICON. ICRG works closely with the various groups which make up ICON and sees facilitating these groups as a major part of its work.

Involvement in national schemes: ICRG is involved in the Dublin Inner City Partnership, an area-based partnership programme to address the issue of long term unemployment, which was set up under the government's Programme for Economic and Social Progress. ICRG is funded by the Community Development Fund of the Department of Social Welfare.

Links with EC programmes

- EC's Community Act Programme provided funding for ICRG.

Links with Government and local programmes

- ICRG is funded by the Community Development Fund of the Department of Social Welfare.

- ICRG is involved in the Dublin Inner City Partnership established under the government's Programme for Economic and Social Progress.

Comment

This study details the learning and development curve experienced by community organisations in coming to terms with the limitations of a local project and issue focused approach and its competition for resources. The community organisations needed to come to terms with the need for a wider area-based response to the challenge of regeneration and the agenda being set by official bodies such as the Customs House Dock Development Scheme.

The long history of community activity leading to the establishment of ICRG and ICON was a progression from protest to participation. But it should not be assumed that the adoption of partnership means a permanent rejection of protest. National Development Plan proposals have heightened expectations of improvements in disadvantaged communities throughout Ireland. If these expectations are disappointed there is likely to be anger and discontentment on a wide scale. For community activists, such as many who are involved in ICON, new forms of partnership are the current method for advancing community issues, because they suit the current political and economic climate. If they fail to deliver, new methods, or reconstituted old methods, will then have to be found. Protest and partnership are not so much mutually exclusive as occupying different spaces in a process that may be cyclical.

A major lesson which has been learned in relation to this renewal process is the necessity for the community to have a united voice at the planning level. In the 1970's the escalation of serious local problems associated with community breakdown contributed to the formation of a range of community projects, many of which had tense relationships both with each other and with their funding agencies who were perceived as unable to comprehend the problems which had emerged and were unwilling to fund projects other than short term.

After 20 years of community organisation and development the area now has a single network of organisations which has recognition and legitimacy both from within and without. From the original 22 founding groups to its current membership of 38 community groups, ICON has attracted membership from across the spectrum of community organisations and projects, including tenants' and residents' associations, training projects, youth projects, child care centres and social services.

The adoption of a partnership approach and a recognition by the community organisations of the need to move away from a purely community project focus in turn opened up the possibility of a structure whereby local groups could form relationships with external, private and state interests for the purposes of ensuring that local people obtained benefits from the redevelopment and renewal process.

For most of the 1980s there was no central government commitment to supporting community development. Although the 'Gregory Deal' included the setting up of a National Community Development Agency in 1982, this agency was abandoned in the following year by the new government. Until quite recently, there has been a real weakness - related to the absence of funding - in the capacity of community groups to effectively express local development demands.

This lack of legal requirement for community involvement in turn led to a vacuum in terms of

the setting of objectives for community involvement in CHDDA's programmes. Community interests were not represented on CHDDA and, although there was quite a lot of political rhetoric in relation to CHDDA's potential community benefits, these were not binding and certainly no mechanism was ever agreed to ensure they were monitored and adhered to.

Many of the community groups who witnessed these processes hold that community involvement needs to be stated as a policy requirement and community objectives and benefits should be an explicit element of regeneration programmes.

Central government funding of community development projects began to emerge in 1990. In that year the government set up the Community Development Fund for the purpose of supporting the work of community-based resource centres in local strategies for tackling poverty. There are now over 40 such resource centres nationwide, one of which is the Inner City Renewal Group (ICRG). Also in 1990 the government agreed a Programme for Economic and Social Progress (PESP), 1990-93, with the national representatives of employer and trade union bodies. This programme included a commitment to set up 12 pilot area based community-led partnership companies of statutory, voluntary, business and trade union interests, for the purposes of tackling long-term unemployment on a community basis. The Dublin Inner City Partnership (DICP) was set up under this commitment. Although its area covers the whole of the inner city there is a very pronounced input from personnel and projects in the north-east area.

The government's National Development Plan (1994-9) includes a commitment to extending these area-based partnership companies to areas of need in the whole of Ireland. Through the operation of these companies various funding packages will be made available under both EU and national exchequer sources for supporting programmes such as community capacity building, community resource centres, personal development, job placement and training. Initiatives such as NOW, HORIZON, LEADER AND EUROFORM and other EU

support measures for particular groups affected by poverty and social exclusion will also be made available through these local partnership structures. The plan also makes a commitment to physical environment improvements in each designated area. These latter programmes will be operated by the local authorities but it is envisaged that they will be undertaken in co-ordination with the partnership companies.

The Netherlands

'Punt 50' Community Involvement Initiative, Feijenoord District Of Rotterdam.

Researcher: Kees Fortuin, Verwey Jonker Instituut

The area

Feijenoord district of Rotterdam, with 10,000 population (1988 figures), is on the South bank of the River Maas, isolated from the rest of the city by the river, the port area and a railway line. Access into and out of the area is difficult. This is aggravated by the fact that the district has few facilities so people have to leave the area for essential services.

The area suffers severely from social exclusion. There is a high percentage of crime, drug use, unemployment. The number of single mothers with young children is well above the city average. A survey of health statistics produced alarming results and has led to initiatives on health issues. Feijenoord is a multiracial area in which 60% of the people are of foreign descent, from a total of 53 different nationalities. There is no marked racial tension in the area but at the last election for Deelgemeenterand 20% voted for racist parties, a figure well above the national average.

There is a well established multi-agency approach in the area with a good record of collaboration between professionals.

The initiative

The main focus of our study is the Punt 50 project which is run by a group of 20 women, some of them illiterate, all poorly educated and on low income. It is related to the Rotterdam-wide programme of social innovation aimed at revitalising urban relations and the national programme of social renewal (Sociale Vernieuwing). Punt 50 is also closely related to the World Health Organisation Healthy Cities Movement and Health for All by the Year 2000 programme.

Punt 50 is not a project with fixed aims. The issues it focuses on change constantly. At the outset of the project the conversations of the participating women predominantly were about children. As their social scope broadened, as they educated themselves, and as they developed their interests, schooling and employment became more prominent. One of the findings of this study is that focusing projects too much upon pre-fixed aims is counterproductive if you want to release 'social energy'.

The project centres around the following issues:

- job creation and employment

- training

- combatting social exclusion and isolation

- community involvement

- health promotion

- educational information

- a toy library and various other services for neighbourhood women.

Community involvement

The heart of the project is a group of some 20 women volunteers. The project serves several hundred unemployed young women with children. The group is supported by workers from the community centre, the educational service, a neighbourhood worker from the Area Health Authority, and several migrant workers. The project has become increasingly 'embedded' in the professional network. As it is a neighbourhood women's project with a considerable impact on the Feijenoord population, there is a successful link between the professional network and the neighbourhood community in this project. In addition the Verwey Jonker Instituut is carrying out an 'action research strategy' for deprived unemployed in Feijenoord.

Links with EC programmes

There are no direct links with EC programmes. There is an indirect link with the European Social Fund which supports a 'social return on investments' project recruiting Feijenoord unemployed residents into the nearby prestigious Kop van Zuid project, and provides finance for two local centres. Punt 50 collaborates with the Social Return on Investment project.

Links to Government and local programmes

Local Government - Social Innovation Programme

Central Government - Social Renewal Programme

World Health Organisation - Healthy Cities Programme

Comment

The process of involving people in community regeneration is often overlooked. This tends not to be a linear path from A to B but rather a more complex series of interactions and transactions, leading to a chain of actions and reactions. The lesson is that regeneration programmes need to recognise that issues important to residents change and develop over time, and that regeneration programmes should be flexible enough to respond.

The case study concerns the development of the women's self confidence and understanding of issues, and how the agenda was broadened and developed in step with their own development. The result was that the women began to make themselves heard in public debates about social innovation. For Feijenoord this was an important development.

Urban regeneration programmes tend to be dominated by a product and output related view of the world. Plans tends to specify a fixed set of contributors, aims, means and time path. This tends to overlook the importance of the process of implementation and the interactions which take place between the main actors as a programme develops.

In every phase the project reflected the perspective of the women themselves. It could not have been designed without this particular group. The volunteers took on a growing part of the representative tasks within the project, eventually replacing the professional worker. A Punt 50 Council was formed, taking over a lot of co-ordinating and policy-making. The women showed a growing interest in schooling, education and finally paid jobs.

In Punt 50 groups of women were activated and integrated in a constellation of neighbourhood services. This gave them opportunities to develop a career within the neighbourhood, bridging the gap between the isolated home and professional status or maybe status as spokeswomen for the neighbourhood.

The work built up from immediate issues of concern to the women to wider neighbourhood issues and then to policy issues. In this way the process led through to increased involvement in the labour market and in policy-making issues through representative councils. These examples reflect the feminist perspective of 'the personal is political'. There is a need for urban regeneration to focus more centrally on the experience of women and their views about the nature of development and regeneration.

The encounter between professionals and the community is not a one-way process. The professional participants in Punt 50 played an important part in weaving the threads between citizens and policy. These threads bind both sides. Policy-making is changed if you systematically involve communities, and citizens themselves are also changed in the process.

Denmark

The BIK-project

Researcher: Jesper Fisker, Rodovre Kommune, Copenhagen

The area

Aalborg East is approximately 8 km from the centre of Aalborg - the fifth largest city in Denmark. Approximately 15,000 people live in Aalborg East, about 10% of the total population of the city. Aalborg East is divided from the rest of Aalborg by several main roads and freeways.

Aalborg East was built 25 years ago in a farmland setting. The area is now a complex suburb with three-storey blocks, low-rise housing, small villages, villas, large industrial areas and several recreational spaces.

During the 1960s - the decade of planning and expansion - it was intended that the entire growth of Aalborg would take place in Aalborg East. The recession of the 1970s and 1980s, however, meant that many of the planned facilities were never built. In both private and public services, Aalborg East fell behind the rest of Aalborg.

Aalborg East is different from the rest of Aalborg in almost every respect:

• The social housing associations represent 61% of the total number of households in Aalborg East (Aalborg as a whole: 26%).

• 55% of the inhabitants of Aalborg East are under 30 years of age and there are relatively few middle-aged and elderly people.

- 36% of the expenditure of The Social Department on aid programmes for children and young people is spent in Aalborg East (the population is 10% of the total).

- 6% of the inhabitants of Aalborg East receive cash social benefit (Aalborg as a whole: 2.8%).

- The average level of income is substantially lower in Aalborg East than in the rest of the municipality.

- 9% of the inhabitants of Aalborg East hold a foreign passport (Aalborg as a whole: 3%).

The houses in Aalborg East suffer from most of the problems familiar from other areas built in the 1970s and 1980s, and the repairs have been very expensive. Since the social housing associations represent more than 60% of the entire number of households and since in social housing this type of expenditure is added to the rent, one of the consequences of these problems has been that the level of rent has been ever increasing during the past 10-20 years.

The high rents meant that Aalborg East steadily became a more unpopular place to live even though the apartments themselves are quite attractive. This caused a high rate of turnover. However, the turnover rate fell from 38% in 1979 to 19% in 1992. Despite problems including the poor physical environment and high vandalism and crime rates, a majority of the inhabitants express satisfaction with living in the area. Recently rent subsidies have been introduced and there has been a tendency towards a higher degree of satisfaction.

The initiative

The BIK-project (full title, 'The Citizens' Involvement and Co-ordination Project') in Aalborg East was active from 1989 to 1994. The annual budget was approximately DK 1 million. The overall aim of the project was to find new methods of preventing the exclusion of the least privileged and to promote solidarity in the local community. This general aim was broken down into four elements:

- To raise the profile of community organisations

- To make it easier for local people to participate in the different communities

- To establish and support co-operation and co-ordination between local organisations in order to make the local decision-making process more open and available to residents

- To establish courses to motivate and train the long-term unemployed to work as volunteers in local organisations

Links to EC programmes

Poverty 3 Programme

Links to Government and local programmes

The SUM-programme (a central government programme promoting community participation and social change)

Outcome

The strategy of the BIK-project had two components:

'indirect' and 'direct'. The direct method consisted of activities with and for disadvantaged people. This included 16-week courses for unemployed people. The objective of the course was to provide long term unemployed, benefit recipients, single parents, old age pensioners - with a real possibility of making choices. The aims were also to reinvigorate local organisations. The project has found several local organisations and associations that did not have the cultural background nor sufficient manpower to play an active and integrative role in the development of Aalborg East. It was intended that the FONET-courses

would provide these local organisations with skilled volunteers and spark them into new action. The success of the course was limited - it did not attract enough participants to become a force for change. Analysis of the reasons for limited success provided useful lessons. Conclusions were:

- There was insufficient preparation for the 'on the job training', and it was often of low quality.

- Co-operation with the municipality did not work well, which affected the recruitment of participants.

- Local organisations and associations did not put specific demands forward so were never a driving force behind the courses.

- The courses were most relevant to groups with some initial resources, not to the deprived and excluded.

Other schemes initiated or co-ordinated by BIK include:

- A film project about identity problems experienced by unemployed people.

- 'Active Vacation', offering positive experiences to children during the school holidays.

- The 'Pathfinder-race', a bicycle-race introducing participants to their area in a fresh manner.

- Public Relations for Aalborg East through media coverage, newsletters, guests, conferences etc.

- Co-operation between Schools, the Department of Social Affairs and the Police Department).

Under the indirect method, the aim was to expand the role of the public institutions and the private and voluntary organisations such as tenants' associations. During the initial months of the project, the managers made

contact with all the relevant organisations and set up a database.

These meetings revealed some tasks that were too big for any one organisation to carry out. The BIK-project was able to bring potential stakeholders together and give such initiatives more chance of success.

One of the project's main objectives was to put new life into the local council and to seek to make it function in a more representative manner. The Aalborg East local council was intended to represent local views to the City Council and the municipal administration. However, the Council was too inactive to represent the developmental needs of Aalborg East.

The project managers hoped that a revitalised local council would play a more dynamic and integrative role in Aalborg East and that it would continue to function after the BIK-project was closed down. They worked with local people to create a forum to discuss local issues and to present views to the municipality and the City Council.

The renewed local council was called 'The Aalborg East Joint Council'. The AEJC today is widely respected and is recognized as the 'voice of the neighbourhood'. The AEJC consists of one directly elected chairman and 26 representatives. Of the 26, eight represent the different geographic zones of Aalborg East, 12 represent the local public and private organisations, and six are directly elected at the annual general assembly. Numerous sub-committees have been formed to deal with, for example, the library, sport, public transport etc. These sub-committees are open to all local residents.

The AEJC is now well-known outside Aalborg East. It has become a symbol of renewal and stands as an example of a suburb that has become well functioning again. Particularly since the AEJC succeeded in its lobbying for a new local bus-route, it has been clear that the local council has made a difference.

BIK initiatives under the indirect method have made a major difference to the people of Aalborg East, especially to people who were already active or were on the threshold of getting involved in some of the activities. People who could be described as economically, culturally and politically excluded, however, had not yet benefit from the indirect method, at the time of this research.

It could be argued that these results are according to plan since the indirect method is intended to benefit the stronger groups first and then secondly to benefit the weaker groups through the rising level of activity by the stronger groups. It remains to be seen whether this second level will materialise. This 'trickle down effect' is very difficult to identify, and for work with deprived groups the BIK-project shows that a direct approach is more effective.

France

Youth and Community Involvement in La Bastide (Beaubreuil)

Researchers: Thierry Dernoncourt and Jean-Louise Laville, with special assistance by Marie Chevrant-Breton

The area

La Bastide is a peripheral residential district located in the outer area of Limoges. La Bastide is separated from the inner city by a zone of private estates and is situated close to the more important district of Beaubreuil in which a 'Developpement Social des Quartiers' (DSQ) scheme is currently being implemented. The population is approximately 4,300, with a higher than average proportion under 20 (30%). It is a multi-ethnic area. Most people live in dwellings and estates that were built in the 60s. Although the area has never suffered from a bad image, a report stressed the existence of several problems. On the socio-economic side:

- unemployment is high, especially for under-30s

- a large number of people in the neighbourhood experience social and economic hardship

- there are wide inequalities in educational attainment

- there is a problem of juvenile delinquency. Fears of further incidents are widespread

- recreational facilities are limited and there is a general lack of amenities.

The initiative

The case study deals with the experience of JAB (Jeunesse Active de la Bastide) a voluntary organisation set up and run by young people: JAB is a self-created group whose story appears to be quite unusual in the mainstream experience of French urban politics. However, the development of the organisation is a reflection of key national concerns about youth in the politics of the late 80s (sport, culture, and combating drugs).

The history of JAB is best presented in three phases:

1. A spontaneous organisation based on cultural, educational and sports events

In February 1989, a few teenage immigrants' children decided to express their willingness to bring about change in the neighbourhood. They concentrated their efforts on overcoming the difficulties that were most strongly felt both by the youth and by the overall population. Informally at first and with limited external subsidies, the group set up social and sporting events. Soon they started a welcoming, information and advice service for newcomers to the district, and helped local people deal with the complicated formal and administrative procedures required. By doing so, they encouraged solidarity in the neighbourhood and

managed to bring together different age groups. The group collaborated with the existing local voluntary sector.

2. Work towards credibility and recognition

By October 1990 the initiative had been welcomed by local and national bodies and had gained their backing. They received financial help from a regional structure for employment (FRILE). Within this broader institutional framework the league reaffirmed its target group as local teenagers and the neighbourhood as a whole. The aims continued to focus on sport and leisure, including travel, holidays and cultural and educational activities. The emphasis was on giving advice and facilitating self-help.

One of the local university research units used the voluntary group as a partner in carrying out a study on AIDS, interviewing 70 inhabitants over a period of four months. This further acknowledged the strength of the group within the locality and proved how far they had achieved credibility in the district.

3. Institutional development and recognition

The next stage started in May 1991. JAB had come to work closely with the local CCAS (Centre of Social Action) and the local branch of the national ADSP (Voluntary Group For the Development of 'Proximity' Services). JAB was now having regular contact with different partners through committees, seminars and workshops at several levels:

- local level: the Deputy Mayor, the Accommodation Office and the CAF (dealing with family benefits)

- county level: Youth and Sports Department, Social Action and Solidarity Department, Employment

- the national level: ADSP.

JAB's own main problem was the need for premises. This was eventually solved by the local police station being handed over to the JAB, since the police were moving offices, and the process of renovating the offices was taken as an opportunity to employ local youth via national employment schemes. At the same time the group obtained funding with the help of the CCAS. In May 1992 the premises were ready. The JAB became more training and employment oriented and broadened its range of activities. It organised professional training to run the various local activities especially in the areas of animation and education, and developed general education and training schemes and careers information and workshops in collaboration with several specialised agencies.

4. Prospects

Local people's views have always been welcomed and the organisation has been keen on voicing them. This contribution directs the group's activities towards a wider range of concerns such as general maintenance, local servicing, elderly and child care, and dealing with the isolation of single people. This reflects to some extent a role in youth prevention, community involvement and better information access. Through such activities JAB has helped to establish an identity for the population of the estates. JAB has evolved from a youth/leisure group to a training scheme involving residents' participation.

Links to Government and local programmes

The Fonds Social Urbain is the main source of financial resources of the JAB at the national level.

The following structures have been involved at various levels in supporting the JAB.

- Regional council, AFIL, The University

- County Council, DDJS, OPHLM

- City of Limoges, its CCAS (Technical and financial partnership)

Comments

1. The group has responded to inadequacies in public services and a gap in existing programmes

This case-study reflects widespread criticism of the administrative system amongst the district inhabitants, due to its perceived remoteness from local people. In the view of many, the public services are a bureaucracy characterised by red tape and difficulty of access.

The JAB therefore finds itself in the role of an intermediary or link between the population and the institutions especially when it comes to filling in forms, settling newcomers, taxes, entitlements to benefits, and eventually finding a job or training.

2. The initiative is atypical

The JAB appears to be an atypical group, maybe first because it was solely formed by young people, and because they wished to remain autonomous. Secondly the financial process was unusual. The group's acceptance by officialdom was initially dependent on a single individual, the Deputy Mayor of the city of Limoges who decided to back the group leaders. As well as being an asset, this could also be seen as a weakness for JAB, whose existence is constantly threatened. Lastly, it can be argued that the procedure is atypical because it claims autonomy, in contrast with the national system of DSQ implemented in the nearby district of Beaubreuil.

3. Recognition by the French administrative system is essential in order to be granted resources

This seems contradictory to what has just been said above, yet the story of the JAB is evidence that little can be implemented outside the existing system. The implementation of change to give the community an active role is highly dependent on resources, as shown for example in the time and energy-consuming search for premises. Only when the office was found could the group activity really grow. The JAB experience highlights the need for new structures within the legal framework to facilitate independent groups.

4. Success needs partnership

Partnership is the most efficient way to bring about a change in the existing system. The establishment of partnership was rapid within the group's history. Partnership with local traders was a good incentive against shoplifting and potential delinquency.

The monitoring of the group by the CCAS and the ADSP led to a better definition of the group's aims and programmes. This was of paramount importance given that it would influence the finance and subsidies that were granted to the group by authorities in the future.

5. Youth: a link for integration

The French political view of immigration emphasises the aim of the integration of immigrants within French society. French nationality is given to immigrants' children as a start in this process. Initiatives aiming at integration are welcomed and backed. This could explain why particular attention has been paid to JAB, because the leaders are the first generation to be born in France from immigrant parents, and the chief target of the structure is youth. The group's commitment is a sign that they are in search of jobs and political recognition on the one hand and of an identity for the place where they have grown up on the other.

Italy

Combatting Social Exclusion Through Job Creation: the Tor Bella Monaca experience, Rome

Researcher: Francesco Ambrogetti, CERFE, Rome

The area

Tor Bella Monaca on the Eastern periphery of Rome is a 1980s estate providing 3,362 units of accommodation for approximately 20,000 people, primarily in tower blocks of 12-15 storeys. The housing was built to replace illegal housing settlements. Tor Bella Monaca was built without public facilities and suffers from both physical and social exclusion, further aggravated by the design and architecture of the tower blocks and the estate.

Compared to the rest of Rome, Tor Bella Monaca has:

- more young people

- more unemployed (90% unemployment)

- less educationally qualified (only 24% have educational qualifications)

- a school failure rate of 18%, double the Rome average

- more young people convicted of criminal offenses

- a high percentage of residents who have come from unsettled accommodation (ie evictions, illegal housing) and have been resettled by the authorities. More than 3,000 families have experienced relocation.

The area is seen as having a bad image in the eyes of employers and the general public in Rome. Newspapers regularly label Tor Bella Monaca a 'risk neighbourhood'.

The initiative

Progetto AM18 commenced in 1988 as part of the European Commission Poverty 3 Programme to combat social exclusion. The project was designed and implemented by CIS (Centro Integrazione Sociale) which is itself composed of three grass roots organisations, namely:

- Comunita di Capodarco (a voluntary association providing help for disabled people)

- ISKRA Co-operative (providing health and social services)

- Handicap e Noi

Over the preceding ten years several other citizens' organisations had also become active in providing social services for Tor Bella Monaca residents with little help or assistance from the municipal authorities. The study identified 13 such associations currently active. One of the most significant organisations is the Neighbourhood Committee which is elected by residents and which has developed a number of local services. The Neighbourhood Committee has been a focus for consultation and involvement, although there have been tensions between Progetto AM18 and the Committee.

The overall budget for progetto AM18 to June 1994 was more than 3 billion Italian Lire of which 50% came from the European Commission and 50% from local authorities. A team of 27 people worked on the project, which aimed at reducing social exclusion amongst people with disabilities, to women, youth and unemployed. The aim was above all that of demonstrating the possibility of creating a participative and flexible social service, not having the traditional characteristics of a public service or of a voluntary group, but able to analyse the need of an area at risk and produce effective social policies.

Working through three sub-groups - youth, handicap and women - the project has produced these initiatives:

- A youth information office providing courses and seminars for 3,000 young people.

- Liaison with a network of small local firms which have provided a number of young people with jobs. The project has had an annual 10% success rate in finding young people jobs.

- Establishment of a young peoples cultural association (REM), also employing six young people.

- Activities for children (7-13 years).

- Two children's play groups.

- Training and play for disabled children.

- A women's programme 'Spazio Donne' which has established a co-operative employment venture manufacturing womens clothes.

- An advice centre for disabled people and one-parent families which is managed by CARITAS.

Links with EC programmes

- Progetto AM18 is a Poverty 3 Programme.

- The NOW Programme has provided funding.

Comment

1. Illegal housing and 'recuperation'

The building of Tor Bella Monaca arose out of the Italian policy of responding to 'Abusivismo' (illegal housing development) by the policy of 'recupero' (retrospective regularization). Abusivismo accounts for a large part of Italy's housing provision. In the period 1970-80 official housing provision in Rome was 120,000 units, whilst illegal provision was 100,000 units. Response to illegal housing is therefore a major social policy issue. It should be noted that abusivismo is not only practised by the poor but also by comparatively well-off people.

However, the design and layout of Tor Bella Monaca, with its 15-storey tower blocks and lack of social facilities, is a reinforcement of social exclusion rather than an answer to it. Redesign by means of community social architecture had apparently not been considered.

2. The complexities of relationships between the professional project and local residents' organisations

The AM18 Project was apparently not able to integrate into its action the most relevant community organisation active in the area, the Neighbourhood Committee. Such a lack of co-ordination would inevitably hamper the effectiveness of the project in controlling social risks.

This raises the question of the distinction between the professional change agent (Progetto AM18) and local residents' organisations. It highlights the case for clarity in understanding differing purposes and roles between the organisations, and the need for collaboration.

3. Use of social risk analysis

The project made use of a method developed by the research organisation CERFE to assess social risk factors and evaluate interventions. A set of indicators was used to calculate the following:

range: the goals of handling social risks

penetration: the capacity of the project to set up, for each selected social risk, an action or set of actions aimed at controlling it

inclusion: the breath and effectiveness of actors involved in the action (citizens' organisations, local NGOs, self-help associations, peasant groups and co-operatives, local authorities)

integration: the degree of cohesion among the actors.

This analysis showed that Project AM18 mainly dealt with those social risks linked to poverty, school attendance, unemployment, women's discrimination and disability, which affect mostly 'prone-to-risk' people, whilst other social risks such as problems with health services, transport, crime, social security, also affecting the comparatively well-off, were those that the Neighbourhood Committee was trying to get under control or reduce.

Germany (West)

Urban Regeneration in Osterholz-Tenever, Bremen

Researcher: Rolf Froessler, URBANO, Dortmund

The area

The Osterholz-Tenever district of Bremen is a peripheral residential district located nearly 12 kilometres from the city centre and is known as 'Little Manhattan' on account of the high-rise five to 22 storey tower blocks built in the early 1980s. The population is approximately 7,300 of which there is an above average number of 12-18 year olds and a below average number of elderly. Immigrants with a foreign nationality make up 33% of the population, while a further 20-25% are Aussiedler (people of German origin from the former Eastern Europe). Altogether 60 different nationalities are represented in the area. 20% of the population is unemployed, with 33% on social benefits and 90% living in social housing.

The main problems of this estate are the social and economic situation of its residents. They are excluded from mainstream society by unemployment and poverty, and they live in an environment which is further excluding and stigmatising.

The initiative

The Osterholz-Tenever Regeneration Programme was launched in 1989 by the Senate of Bremen as part of the 'Nachbesserungskonzept' ('Post-Improvement Concept'), which was to be applied to six peripheral estates in Bremen as part of the Senate's 'Living Together In Solidarity' programme. The programme was originally planned as a five year programme costing 7.2 million Dm.

The programme set four main general aims:

• to make the neighbourhood a more pleasant environment in which to live through im-provements to the design of the accommodation, local facilities and environment

• to increase the co-operation and involvement of local residents in the regeneration

• to improve communication in the neighbourhood so as to overcome isolation

• to develop and support co-operative forms of self-organisation among the residents.

Community involvement was planned into the regeneration initiative from the beginning.

In 1989 the Osterholz-Tenever initiative became part of the DG16 Urban Pilot Project Programme linked into the Quartiers en Crise Network in close collaboration with the Netherlands Urban Pilot Project in Groningen. The Urban Pilot Project led to the establishment of the Tenever Regional Partnership Agency with an emphasis on job creation, training and economic development. Main activities included the following:

• targeted assistance for small and medium-sized enterprises

• consulting and networking of co-ordinators of employment and training

• involving social welfare recipients in small and medium-sized enterprises

• local service and business schemes such as a local delivery service, a concierge project and an information and counselling service for women.

The Urban Pilot Project had a budget of 3.2 million Ecu of which 1.5 million Ecu is from the ERDF.

Links to EC programmes

• DG16 Pilot Urban Projects

• Quartiers en Crise Network

Links to Government and local programmes

- Bremen City Authority Tenever Regeneration Scheme

- Regional Partnership Agency for Tenever

- Special collaboration programme with Groningen DG16 Urban Pilot Project

Outcomes

1. Amenities and planning

The project developed locally-based and self-administered resources for residents including:

- a tenants' meeting place

- a purpose built mothers' centre

- conversion of buildings into a youth caf— and cultural office for young people

- a tenant participation structure for the management of the social housing in the area

In addition to meeting social needs in the area these facilities also helped develop communication and organisation among the residents, and played an important part in building effective community involvement.

The mobilisation of residents' groups around physical planing and design tasks was a general feature of renewal initiatives in the peripheral estates in Bremen. Here residents were brought together to participate in the planning process, and had a professional planner to advise and support them in articulating and developing their ideas. This gave residents a direct influence on the planning and design of their surroundings.

2. Structure of resident representation

The project created a dual system of community involvement featuring:

(a) Stadtteilgruppe - the Neighbourhood forum, being the local co-operation forum between residents and authorities which discusses all relevant matters of the renewal initiative.

(b) Specific initiative groups which often focus on one particular tower block acting as the channel for involvement in the physical and social regeneration of the building and local services. This has been particularly effective as a channel for community architecture and planning initiatives.

This dual approach to community involvement was felt to have been particularly effective.

A further distinctive feature was the agreement that residents should have a right of veto on all decisions on the use of financial resources. The authorities committed themselves to the principle that all decisions on the use of money from the regeneration programme should be taken in the Neighbourhood Forum on the basis of consensus. Thus the resident representatives have a de facto right of veto, as do all the other actors represented in this group. This has been an important element in developing credibility among residents and in achieving a process of empowerment. It is a very unusual feature in Germany and, indeed, elsewhere. The influence of residents led to an efficient and well- controlled use of public resources, closely related to concrete and useable improvements for the neighbourhood.

3. Flexible implementation and the 'construction kit' of methods

An element which might offer important lessons to other projects is the structure of implementation chosen in Osterholz-Tenever. There was no such thing as a fixed 'big plan' for the implementation period as is so often the case. Instead there were periodic joint decisions on common targets and principles. Project ideas were listed as part of a 'construction kit' but it was decided on a case-by-case basis which tool should be used and financed at a certain stage. This provided new opportunities for

participation, which again was very motivating and activating for local residents.

4. Support and representativeness

Residents were meant to be equal partners in the regeneration process, but they needed support to compensate for their lack of experience and qualifications. They were the most experienced actors as regards the situation, the problems and the potential of the neighbourhood. But they were not experienced in bringing their views into official committees. A neighbourhood-based team of experts that supported residents and was available as discussion partners in their daily life was established and was an important element in making resident participation effective.

Young people and migrants and foreign families of German origin - the so called 'Aussiedler' - were clearly under-represented. They had a right to attend the neighbourhood forum and use the residents' meeting point, but no special efforts were made to activate and motivate them. The field seemed to be rather dominated by the project team who tended to act and speak for those residents, and by experienced volunteers who took the lead.

An example of the problems arising in the neighbourhood were the tensions and fights between young people. Young people from Aussiedler families who regard themselves as Germans, even though they did not speak very much German in most cases, started racial harassment against Turkish young people who had been born in Osterholz-Tenever, gone to school there, spoke fluent German and had an entire German socialisation, but were now becoming the victims of racial harassment by these young people who themselves had only recently come to Germany.

Germany (East)

Community involvement in regeneration in Aeussere Neustadt, Dresden

Researchers: Rolf Froessler & Frank Laubenburg, URBANO, Dortmund

The area

The project area, Aeussere Neustadt is in central Dresden. Much of the housing survived the bombing of World War II and dates from the second half of the 19th century. Its central location and attractive, but decaying, architecture could make the area attractive to investors, but urban regeneration is needed on a massive scale.

As a result of the housing policy of the former GDR, the existing housing stock needs extensive modernisation and repairs:

- 7,400 dwellings are occupied, and 1,600 (or 20%) are empty

- 3% have no kitchen

- 4% have no water

- 67% have no inside toilet

- 90% have no central heating.

The lack of central heating means that coal-burning stoves are used by virtually the whole neighbourhood, creating significant levels of air pollution.

The population dropped from 16,500 in 1983 to 9,000 in 1993. One of the reasons for the sharp decline was the condition of the housing - an increasing number of dwellings were simply not fit for human habitation. But it appears that this decline has now halted and the statistics are starting to rise again.

The area has a high proportion of young adults (38% of adults are between 21 and 30 years old), of single people (27.6%) and of households without children (64%). Over 50% of adults do not have permanent employment. Their situation is as follows:

- 13% are in education or training programmes

- 17% are pensioners

- 6% have retired early

- 14% are unemployed or in short-term·employment.

The initiative

The regeneration initiative begun in Aeussere Neustadt in 1993 is part of the Bund-Laender-Programm. The programme is a joint initiative by the Federal Government, the state of Saxony and the city of Dresden. Its main aims are:

- repair and modernisation of the most run-down buildings

- an accompanying 'social plan' to protect the residents from the effects of gentrification

- improvements to infrastructure facilities, especially shops and services

- stabilising commercial activities

- improving air quality by reducing through traffic and introducing more environmentally-acceptable heating systems

- upgrading the environment and increasing the public and private green spaces

- creating better social services, training and employment initiatives.

Links to EC programmes

- EC Urban Pilot Project

Links to Government
and local programmes

- Bund-Laender-Programm (a joint grant scheme of the federal government, the state of Saxony and the city of Dresden)

Background

Before unification, the residents of Aeussere Neustadt, as in all other areas of the former GDR, had to take action themselves to prevent their houses becoming totally dilapidated. Their self-help activities were rewarded by the public authorities with rent reductions, and supported with the loan of tools. The residents did not limit themselves to refurbishing their own homes; there was also collective action on maintaining whole buildings and refurbishing backyards.

The neglect of the area was highlighted by the closure of a public bath house in 1975. This building was important not only because most of the houses did not have a bath, but also as a focal point for communication and meeting in the neighbourhood. The closure of the bath house made it obvious to everybody that the decay and dilapidation of the area was largely accepted by the GDR authorities without any measures being offered to work against these tendencies. The bath house is now being renovated with funding from an EC Urban Pilot Project.

In 1983 the GDR public authorities produced a plan to regenerate Aeussere Neustadt. Some of the area's houses were extensively modernised and rebuilt, but then work slowed down. A new plan, which was never publicly announced, recommended demolishing 50% of the existing buildings and replacing them with prefabricated buildings.

Citizens' action

In 1989 members of existing residents' organisations formed a new group, the 'Aeussere Neustadt Association for Renewal Through Conservation'(IGAN), which was critical of the GDR's policy towards the area. The group produced a scheme based on conservation and sensitive development of existing structures. It also put a strong emphasis on close co-operation with local residents in searching for solutions and projects. The group survived the political upheaval of 1989-90, and carried the voice of local residents into the new situa-

tion. One result of this group's work was that the Senate of Hamburg, Dresden's twin town, provided DM 3 million which was mainly used to repair damaged roofs.

A 1990 study found that local people were very willing to get involved in improving their housing and living conditions but following German unification and its fall-out effects, willingness to undertake activities went down. Reasons were:

• Unclear ownership. For some time, it was not clear who was the legal owner of many buildings previously owned by the state. The motivation for individual and collective action decreased since the tenants did not know if they would be able to stay and enjoy the results of their work.

• Expectation of professional modernisation. Many tenants thought that the new owners would take responsibility for maintenance and modernisation so that self-help would no longer be necessary.

• Abolition of rent reductions. New regulations abolished the rent reductions that used to be available as a reward for self-help work on housing.

• Changes in the social situation. Many people were suddenly threatened with unemployment and poverty - phenomena almost unknown in the old system. This high level of insecurity meant that for most people the priority was to safeguard their own future, and collective action was squeezed out.

The authorities' response

The main responsibility for implementing the current regeneration programme lies with the Office for Urban Renewal. In 1990, shortly after it was founded, this Office opened a decentralised neighbourhood office in Aeussere Neustadt to provide easy access for everyone interested in the programme. But the opening hours of this office were later reduced and many tasks re-centralised.

Meanwhile, a Renewal Commission was set up, to co-ordinate the interests of all participants in the regeneration process. It was made up of representatives of IGAN, the local authority and the political parties. But after the first democratic local elections in May 1990, the local authorities stopped participating in the Commission and raised doubts over its legitimacy. New statutes meant that the role of IGAN became less influential and many of its members resigned from the Commission. It became an advisory body which is not always heard when decisions have to be made.

The local authorities' approach to residents' participation is summarised by a member of IGAN.

'They have developed something like a parent's mentality. They are proud of us as long as we are well-behaved and quiet. They can let us do different things, as long as this does not disturb their business. But as soon as we go our own way they get offended: how can we do such things to them?'

The researchers conclude that the first period after the fall of the wall was characterised by a kind of 'power vacuum' in which there was space to take influence, and this gave a high motivation for all to get involved and become responsible in the newly-gained freedom. But, as in the development of the entire society, a period of disillusionment followed that first enthusiasm, and now, when there is an accumulation of problems and a tremendous task to be faced, the value of residents' activities is not properly appreciated or supported. A lot of the commitment of residents has been lost on the way, and would need understanding, legitimising and assisting in order to play its full role.

Spain

Urban and Social Revitalisation of Ciutat Vella district of Barcelona.

Researcher: Alex Ripol-Millet, Cap de la Divisio de Serveis Personals, Barcelona

The area

Ciutat Vella, is the old city quarter of Barcelona, with a rapidly declining population and many social, economic and housing problems. The population is 90,000, down from 178,000 in 1970. Nevertheless the area remains very densely populated with an average of 300 inhabitants per hectare, rising in some parts to 700, compared to the Barcelona average of 180. The remaining population is elderly (26.6% are 65 years or older compared to 14.8% for the city as a whole) or experiencing high levels of unemployment and low economic status.

Since the 1970s, the district has suffered increasingly from social degradation, partly due to the classic problems of large port cities. Drug-trafficking and prostitution have traditionally been based here, increasing the crime rate and creating amongst the local population a greater perception of insecurity. Other problems are due to such factors as uneven population distribution and its rapid ageing, increased mobility, and conversion of the local economy to service-based activities.

By examination pass-rates the local education system is well behind the rest of the city, and there is a similar difference with the metropolitan area as a whole. Socio-economically, average total income per family is 12% lower in Ciutat Vella than for the rest of the city. The employed population is around 5% lower than for the average for the city due, in part, to the high percentage of pensioners living in the district. Ciutat Vella also contains a large percentage of the city's commercial zones. Housing standards are poor. Only 10% of buildings are equipped with a lift, average living space is less than 60 square metres and 68% of dwellings are over 100 years old.

31% of local inhabitants work in the district itself, compared to 18% in the rest of the city. The district is well-communicated, as can be seen, for instance, from the fact that 10% of the metro stations are located here and 8% of bus routes pass through Ciutat Vella.

There are severe health problems such as AIDS and TB, and life expectancy is 0.5% below the Barcelona average. The low economic levels have resulted in poor quality of housing and lack of renovation. Young people have been leaving the area.

Of the approximately 50,000 dwellings in Ciutat Vella, some 60% require improvement. The 40-year-old Spanish rent law has frozen rents, making it very difficult to evict tenants and this discourages owners of old buildings from making improvements.

The district authorities have now intervened in the housing market of Ciutat Vella, generating continuous construction of new officially-sponsored housing. Those affected by rehabilitation plans or the forced sale of their dwellings have been offered alternative housing, freeing space for new construction or rehabilitation. After long inaction, housing has become a priority due to the political decision that the regeneration of the district should not be achieved through conversion of buildings to the service sector, but that the population, which has steadily decreased over the last 30 years, should be maintained and even increased.

An important measure was to analyse new styles of living, new family units and the way these could be accommodated in the old part of the city.

The initiative

The 'Programme of Municipal Action for Ciutat Vella' drew together urban, economic and social policies for regeneration. Specific targets were to:

- accelerate the process of municipal decentralisation

- improve living standards especially of more disadvantaged groups

- promote housing rehabilitation

- reduce density and establish new open spaces

- increase social and public facilities

- promote participation and social solidarity.

The programme was drawn up in 1987, commenced in 1988 and was partially evaluated in 1992.

Specific initiatives included:

- establishing a public/private sector society (PROCIVESA) with 3,000 million pesetas of capital to finance housing renovation.

- establishing social welfare bridge projects for more disadvantaged groups

- creating local facilities in each neighbourhood

- inter-departmental co-ordination in the public sector and with over 200 voluntary organisations or community groups active in Cuitat Vella

- improving effectiveness of social operator staff through training, education and quality control

- the creation of a Security and Prevention Council in 1988 to co-ordinate safety and prevention schemes

- changes to social welfare provision and organisation with an emphasis on normalising, integrating and decentralising personal welfare services

- development of new specific welfare programmes targeted at children, young people, adults and the elderly, consisting of the following activities:

- information provision

- social, cultural, leisure and sports provision

- action on health and quality of life

- education and training

- support for local groups and associations

- decentralisation of urban services and management where possible. Article 103 of the Spanish Constitution stipulates that decentralisation must be one of the main principles behind the action of public administrators.

Involvement of the community has been by means of:

- reinforcement of the channels of political

participation that the de-centralization of the

Municipal Services has promoted for the whole city

- special attention to the participation of formal and informal organized groups such as neighbours' and consumers' associations, private social work groups and institutions

- creation of two advisory commissions, an Urban Commission and a Welfare (services to the person) Commission, operating close to the population.

- creation of special housing consultation offices to inform and help the population (individuals and groups) in rehabilitation and other housing problems.

Links to EC programmes

LIFE Programme

PERIFRA Programme

Links to Government and local programmes

The programme is primarily financed and executed by the Municipality of Barcelona.

It is co-ordinated with other special programmes at regional level (Autonomous Community) which also provides finance along with a number of private organisations.

Comments

The Ciutat Vella programme has emphasised decentralisation of urban management and tried to incorporate elements of community involvement within particular aspects of its programme. However, the involvement of the local community in the regeneration of its own district has been poor. The number of socially disadvantaged persons among the local population has made it difficult to enlist participation.

It is noticeable that the local community had relatively little input into the original aims for the regeneration programme, and only became involved later in aspects of its delivery and implementation.

The greatest community response has been generated defensively against the perceived threat of displacement from the area. The two largest residents' associations in the district, though recognising the great improvements which have been carried out, warned the local population, and not without reason, of the danger of the cost of living rising, and demanded official guarantees that the local population with the lowest incomes would be enabled to continue living there.

Local people have also been drawn to meetings in order to express their feelings over the way urban reforms are affecting dwellings. Individual or collective agreements have been made with them over evictions, guaranteeing them alternative housing, nearly always paid for by the local administration. PROCIVESA has played a key role in this role. The community has also mobilised at times regarding public safety and subjects relating to crime, drugs and prostitution, but it has been much more difficult to involve local people in the overall process of social regeneration.

The Ciutat Vella programme has shown impressive progress in decentralising services and management to the local neighbourhoods, and experiments in holding the sessions of the consultative council of district bodies and associations in each of the local neighbourhoods were tried, but with limited success in terms of attracting community involvement. It would appear that the decentralisation was not paralleled by a similar organised programme for community involvement and development of community organisation structures.

There were, however, important changes in the way services were delivered. Personal and social welfare services were radically re-organised around three principles:

- Normalisation - a move away from separate services which might tend to pathologise the client towards more general services which sought to integrate people into the neighbourhood and to emphasise preventative programmes

- Integration - planning of all services was to be done on an integrated basis focused on the neighbourhood unit in order to avoid overlap or gaps in programmes

- Decentralisation - the aim was to deliver services as close as possible to the user at the neighbourhood level.

The social welfare services were seen as having an important preventative and developmental role in support of the physical regeneration of the area. The authorities were convinced that in order to improve public safety, preventative social welfare programmes were much more important than the containment and repression of irregularities and criminal behaviour.

The researcher concludes that whilst more resources should be allocated to alleviate disadvantage, as far as municipal competencies permit, this should not force the authorities to abandon the improvement of the quality of life of the population in general. It is only in this way that one can 'normalise' the district and, at the same time, best help the socially disadvantaged. This process means that social agents will have to dedicate great effort to detecting, promoting or creating initiatives aimed at improving local social structures, quality of life, culture, education and leisure.

United Kingdom

A Seat At The Table: Community Management for Urban Regeneration in Drumchapel, Glasgow, Scotland.

Researcher: Stuart Hashagen - Community Development Foundation Scotland

The area

Drumchapel is a post-war housing estate on the Western edge of Glasgow with a population of some 20,000. It was built in the 1950s on a 'greenfield' site six miles from the city centre, as a dormitory suburb to provide for the rehousing of families being moved out of the inner city as part of slum clearance. Housing was developed in the conventional pattern in Scotland for the time; three-storey tenemental walk-up blocks with six houses or flats in each close. The physical layout is of a circular spine road, with neighbourhoods linking to this spine. The overall impression is of monotony and drabness, relieved in more recent years by the demolition of some of the most unattractive blocks, the improvement of others, and the maturing of the green landscape. In the 1991 census, the population of Drumchapel was 18,815, in 8,082 households. The population is relatively young, with 44% under the age of 25 (Glasgow average: 34%). Of the households with children, 47% are headed by a lone parent. Unemployment is high. However, the rate of unemployment has been declining, partly due to the initiative described below.

The earning capacity of the population is low and there is a high proportion of dependent people in the population, with women meeting the bulk of the demand for care. Poor childcare facilities make residents particularly vulnerable to unemployment. 74% of the local population is dependent on state benefit.

Health in Drumchapel is also poor. Reports from the Greater Glasgow Health Board compared Drumchapel with its affluent near neighbour, Bearsden. The Drumchapel resident is:

- 2.5 times more likely to die before the age of 65

- 3 times more likely to die of heart disease or bronchitis before 65

- 2 times more likely to die from cancer

- 3 times more likely to die from breast cancer

- 4 times more likely to be admitted to psychiatric hospital

Five years after diagnosis of breast cancer, 58% of Bearsden women are still alive. The figure for Drumchapel is 48%.

The initiative

Since 1986 the Drumchapel Initiative has developed local employment, attracted investment into housing and the environment, and improved local education, social work, health and leisure services.

Drumchapel Initiative set out to tackle the problems in the area in two ways: through influencing the policy and service delivery mechanisms of the partner public agencies, and through the work of separate organisations which developed from the Initiative. The overall aims of the Initiative were:

- to tackle social and economic problems in an integrated way

- to involve local people in the process and in partnership with statutory agencies

- to encourage innovative action.

The Initiative operated as a committee, with a relatively limited budget allocated to community development and minor grants; to strategic areas such as housing, employment, education and transport; and to other headings including publicity and improvements to facilities. Housing rehabilitation and environmental improvements were carried out through local authority departments or the separately

funded organisations and projects which link to the Initiative.

Community participation was built into the process from the beginning with the establishment of a community organisation committee. This committee transformed itself into Drumchapel Community Organisations Council (DCOC) in 1988 and played a major role in mobilising community activity for the next six years. Its success in this sphere and its innovative methods are notable even though it ceased to operate at the end of 1994 due to financial difficulties and the withdrawal of Local Authority support.

One of the first initiatives of DCOC was a welfare benefits campaign advising residents of their entitlements under changing legislation. This brought 500,000 of additional benefits to Drumchapel residents.

Drumchapel Community Organisations Council was both a legally-constituted company and an association of local community groups. DCOC acted as a holding company and development agency, and operated services and projects through five subsidiary companies:

- Drumchapel Law and Money Advice Centre Ltd

- Drumchapel Community Care Ltd

- Centre Print Ltd

- Architectural and Technical Services

- Arts subsidiary.

From this can be seen the main areas in which DCOC was active. It had approximately 80 organisations in membership, a total staff complement of over 60, and an annual budget of œ1.2 million. Much of the revenue was earned by doing contract work for the local authority in such areas as community care (provision of care to dependent people in their own homes or neighbourhoods).

DCOC was a substantial organisation, owned by the community in which it operated, and

trading both within and outside that community.

Links to EC programmes

There is no major EC programme in the area. However, several projects in Drumchapel are funded under ERDF and ESF. Places like Drumchapel (as dormitory estates) miss out on many EC criteria and this has been taken up as an issue with the EC.

Links to other programmes

The Drumchapel Initiative is one of two District/ Region initiatives set up in 1986. It is well-known in Scotland and was profiled in a review of urban regeneration published by the Scottish Office. It is part of the Glasgow Regeneration Alliance which links seven initiatives in the city through their key partners - the District and Regional councils, Scottish Homes and the Glasgow Development Agency.

Comments

A particularly interesting aspect of the Drumchapel case is the development of a community-owned and controlled asset base. Drumchapel Community Organisations Council adopted the principle that the community should develop structures to take charge of as many services and resources in the area as possible. DCOC did not in the end achieve independence of the local authority but had gone a long way towards it before its closure in 1994.

The organisation had acquired some major properties and planned to acquire more as asset bases to furnish revenue (through rents) for its activities.

It is comparatively unusual for community organisations to develop substantial asset bases, and this approach is one which warrants greater attention in regeneration strategies. The motivation and commitment of a community organisation is likely to be much

higher when it has the means to bring its ideas to fruition. The organisation is also in a position to be a more active partner in a regeneration initiative.

However, it should be noted that even with its properties, DCOC could never have become fully economically self-sustaining. The services it operates are public services. It had no alternative than to continue to seek forms of state funding - either by grant or by contract - in order to function. The more crucial question is whether it operated local services in a better way than the alternative. Strong claims were made but there has been no decisive evaluation.

There is now a diverse and active infrastructure of projects and activities in Drumchapel which work to serve the needs of particular groups, which provide opportunities which would be otherwise unavailable, and which raise concerns and issues with public authorities. Some of these were in existence prior to the establishment of DCOC, several played an active role in helping it become established, some were created by it, and many survived its closure, though the absence of a central co-ordinating body for the local community sector is a weakness for the future.

Drumchapel is one of many peripheral housing estates that were built without facilities. The regeneration initiative had to address not only the provision of those facilities but also the need for changes and improvement to the housing stock. DCOC had its own team of community architects who worked with residents on the redesign and improvement of buildings.

The groups belonging to DCOC provided a wide variety of services concerned with housing and the environment, poverty, economic development, health and social care, leisure and recreation. The programme appears to have been successful in reaching at least some of the more excluded members of the community. Many of the local residents' organisations focus on the needs of the excluded. DCOC also addressed cultural needs, and provided pointers to the way in which culture and the arts could help rebuild a community's identity and act as a focus for economic activity.

Portugal

The Parishes of Se and S. Nicolau in the Historical Centre of Oporto

Researchers: Fernanda Rodrigues and Alcina Monteiro, Co-operativa de Ensino Superior de Servico Social, Oporto

The area

The historical zone of Oporto is one of the priority areas for urban regeneration initiatives in Portugal. It is a lively area with a high population density. The parishes of Se and S. Nicolau have a population of 15,000 and suffer from extensive housing decay and a concentration of social and economic problems:

- a high rate of illiteracy (21% compared to the national average of 15%)

- early school leaving (50% of young people do not complete their compulsory education)

- high percentages of elderly, children and young people

- high unemployment among young people

- most available work is low-paid

- overcrowding is endemic: 37% in Se and 35% in S. Nicolau

- sanitary conditions are poor: just under 50% of homes in the two parishes have no bathrooms, 26% in Se and 13% in S Nicolau have no toilet

- the rate of mortality is higher than in the rest of the city.

The initiative

The 'Carnation Revolution' in 1974 mobilised the Portuguese people towards the recognition and consolidation of social rights in a general climate of involvement. In the study area local people aimed to strengthen their own organisational capacities and to confront the system of existing authorities.

One of the first programmes to appear following the 1974 changes was SAAL (Itinerant Local Support Service) aimed at giving support, via the municipalities, to the initiatives of the population living in bad housing. Another measure was the creation of the Urban Renewal Programme which supported a project in Oporto.

Under SAAL, two tenants' commissions were formed in the historic centre of Oporto. The activists had two key demands: the immediate occupation of some social housing nearing completion, and an end to the exploitation caused by sub-letting. The partners involved in the commissions held polarised positions - on one hand, the central administration and, on the other, the local social movement. Not surprisingly, there was controversy. The official position emphasised large-scale regeneration even where this meant postponing housing plans. But the logic of the local people was to push for immediate action to address their housing needs.

Despite these difficulties, some building repairs went ahead and there was also an emphasis on creating more diverse facilities such as commercial, cultural and social services outlets. Special attention was given to historical buildings, and tourism was encouraged.

Several regeneration programmes operated in the study area in the 1970s and 1980s but they often suffered from precarious funding as well as other difficulties. The patchy nature of municipal initiatives was part of the general weakness and hesitation of Portuguese local power and lack of confidence of the local population, eroded by previous unsuccessful experiences.

In 1987 the regeneration programme was taken over by the local authorities. Links with the local population were weakened as the main partners became local politicians and technical and administrative staff.

However, in 1989, a new approach was adopted. There has been a remarkable change during the last decade in the regeneration process, coinciding with a revival of local activism, which started with the local anti-poverty programme. A glance at the basic principles of the Poverty 3 Programme reveals goals linked with partnership and participation. The orientation towards local development experience has reinforced a multiple and integrated approach and challenged the conventional and sectoral way of running socio-economic issues.

To address these new and diverse goals, a foundation was set up in the study area to meet two challenges: facilitating agreements between the various partners, and achieving a more flexible and co-ordinated use of resources. The Foundation for the Development of the Historical Zone of Oporto also set out to work in co-operation with local organisations and associations. Some of the Foundation's most innovative aspects were:

- to look at the local area in terms of quality of life

- to create an 'inter-institutional technical team' to consider housing solutions

- to create and promote initiatives on a wide range of issues: training (eg in the tourism industry), job creation, welfare services, leisure, and revitalising local associations.

The new approach represented a visible reinvestment in the value of community involvement. Local work with children, adolescents and young people was carried out both in order to assist young people at risk and in order to promote a strategic perspective to long-term community involvement.

Links to EC programmes

POVERTY 3

Urban Pilot Programme

EUROFORM, NOW AND HORIZON

**Links to Government
and local programmes**

RECRIA programme (restoring old buildings, delivering grants via landlords and tenants)

IEFP - vocational training projects National Anti-Poverty Programme Municipal financing.

Comment

In a country which generally deals with public issues in a highly centralised way, it seems to be a great improvement to locate the responsibility for urban regeneration at municipal level. But the conditions and investment needed to achieve community involvement demand long-term political support as a prerequisite.

The current trend is to organise partnerships around social development programmes and so encourage a greater diversity of contributions and modes of participation. It is difficult to ensure that such negotiating mechanisms are equitable when participants have very different levels of experience.

Greece

Perama

Researcher: Dimitris Emmanuel, Consultant For Planning And Research, Athens

The area

The Perama district of Athens, population 24,200, in the south western peripheral area of

Athens, is an area of low income households facing severe problems of housing, transportation, environment and to a lesser extent employment. Social services and education are inadequate. The main local industry is ship repair which has an uncertain future.

The area is socially and ethnically homogenous. Income levels are generally low, with Perama being one of the poorest areas in Athens. However, it is not a stagnant or declining community, having shown improving trends economically and a stable population.

The population has an above average number of people of younger age, and a lower than average elderly population. The average household size is 3.3 people. Three quarters of the people own their own home, although the standard of housing is poor. There is also an extensive zone of illegal (squatter) housing in the north eastern hilly area of the neighbourhood.

Unemployment is in the range of 7% to 18% with a significantly higher rate of unemployment among women. Three quarters of the people who are economically active work in port related jobs, ship repairing, manufacturing, handicrafts or transport activities. Communications into and out of the area are poor.

The area does not contain any sizeable poor ethnic minorities.

Research studies and surveys of residents' views have given the following list of issues:

- planning, physical infrastructure and the environment, particularly issues arising from heavily polluting industry

- transport and improvement to the restricted access to the area

- major deficiencies in social services, recreation and health and welfare services

- deficiencies in basic education and training, including literacy and school provision. There is also great need for vocational and technical training.

- the illegal squatter housing on the fringe of the community which requires either regularisation and major improvements or a large scale re-housing scheme.

The initiative

In the last 10 years there have been three major regeneration initiatives in the area, as follows:

1. A programme to improve housing, infrastructure and environment particularly in the illegal squatter housing. This involved the Municipality, the Ministry of the Environment, the Church (as land owner) and a number of active neighbourhood associations.

2. Modernisation of the ship repair zone to improve working conditions, vocational training and youth opportunities. This involved the municipality, the port authority, employers and unions.

3. A diffuse set of efforts for the improvement and development of Perama covering environment, transport, cultural and social facilities, services and education. This has involved the municipality working with local regional and national agencies in the state, private and voluntary sectors.

In Greece it is normally the case that the local authority controls and leads local programmes, combining the political functions of service development, pressure and advocacy. Nationally there is only limited local group action and little tradition of organised citizen action on local issues. Perama has a greater history and tradition of local group action than the national norm.

Perama was selected for the location of a Poverty 2 and later the Poverty 3 Programme, the latter commencing in 1989. The choice of Perama for these programmes was influenced by the background of efforts, struggles and initiatives for community development which offered a favourable environment for the European initiative and a rich organisational nexus,

formal and informal, within which it could operate.

The aim of the Poverty 3 Programme in Perama was the development of new structures of partnership and co-operation towards more effective and more multi-dimensional social interventions to solve local problems. The methods stressed the participation of local residents in decision making, and the development of a strategy for the mobilisation and involvement of the less privileged groups in the solution of their problems.

The programme was implemented through two specially created local community organisations: firstly the 'Citizens Club', which has four programmes:

- housing improvement

- childcare for working parents

- social and medical advice centre

- home help for elderly and disabled people.

Secondly the 'Work Club', which provides a link for the unemployed through the following programmes:

- information

- help in finding a job

- technical aid and training

- training unemployed women especially in health and social care

- creation of a neighbourhood help and care unit for the illegal housing area.

Links to EC programmes

The main link was to Poverty 3 (Perama was one of three urban localities in Greece with Poverty 3 programmes).

Perama was studied as part of the research on local community action by the European Foun-

dation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions 1988-92 (Chanan, 1992).

Comments

Progress towards community involvement has to be seen against the backdrop of the political and social culture of a particular nation. In the case of Greece, the researcher observes that there is a strong tradition of paternalism or patron-client relationship between poor people and persons of power and authority. This produces a behaviour of dependence combined with maximalism in demands: people demand and expect too much as a simple hand-out and become easily disillusioned when such gifts are not forthcoming.

In this context, the programme has done well to build a significant increase in community involvement. There is an 'inner circle' of active and influential people, about 10% of the population, and a broad category of occasionally or partly involved people, that may include as much as 50% of the population.

The number of neighbourhood organisations in Perama varies between 1.5 and 2.0 per thousand population (ie between 35 and 50). Of these about half can be said to be really actively involved in community affairs and efforts to solve local problems. There is a small group of leaders and activists in autonomous associations or acting through local agencies that are genuinely involved in affairs and has strong influence over a much larger section of the population. Moreover there is a local his-

tory of mass mobilisations that has involved large numbers in informal and unstructured ways from time to time.

More than 35% of the population report some participation in or are members of local groups, most especially those that are concerned with neighbourhood improvement and parents' associations.

Perhaps reflecting the political culture of centralised programmes operated by the municipal authorities and the paternalistic delivery of policies, no permanent structures for participation were introduced, not even simple forms such as regular statutory meetings. As a secondary result no objective mechanisms for the monitoring, measurement and evaluation of participation were promoted.

In addition there were inadequate resources and support for autonomous citizen action and participation, and for integrating marginal groups.

The case study raises the question of what would be appropriate measures for community involvement given the culture of paternalism and the baseline starting point within Greek communities. It is questionable to what extent the objective of promoting citizen involvement should be evaluated in terms of power and control. Of equal or greater importance are the issues of the promotion of self-help, social integration of marginal groups and better take-up of services. In relation to these matters the programme certainly represents a very positive case.

Appendix B: Urban regeneration policies in twelve European countries

Belgium

Introduction

Belgium has a strong, highly developed economy, but suffers from one of the highest rates of unemployment in Europe.

It also has substantial disparities between its two main regions, with the Walloon region facing more economic and industrial difficulties than Flanders.

The regionalisation of institutions in 1974 gave the regions more power, among other things, to take action on urban regeneration initiatives.

Since then, there have been a great number of urban regeneration programmes in Flanders. The policies tend to follow two trails—urban renewal and anti-poverty - though the two tend to work with different groups and are not always linked.

Many urban renewal programmes are aimed at assisting individuals to renew their own homes, which tends to benefit the more capable residents of deprived areas. Anti-poverty programmes are, on the other hand, generally more wide reaching, helping people to re-enter the community, and working to combat structural deprivation on a preventative basis.

Urban regeneration is normally implemented by local authorities in Belgium and, as federal programmes rarely include guidelines on community involvement, levels of community involvement tend to vary across the country.

This summary looks primarily at policy in Flanders, where there have been more initiatives involving local communities.

National background

Belgian urban development during the fifties and sixties followed a pattern familiar to other EU states.

To combat the post-war housing shortage, the government subsidised the construction of new houses, primarily on city peripheries where it was cheaper to build.

Public housing construction in the inner city largely involved demolishing older homes and replacing them with high rise buildings, rather than renovating the existing units, and many of the older neighbourhoods disappeared entirely as commercial buildings and road works took their place.

As the new inner city homes were expensive to buy or rent, and there were few rehousing programmes, many low income people had

little choice but to move into the remaining substandard houses.

Over time, the inner cities declined, and many wealthier people moved to the outskirts. From 1970, partly because of opposition to large construction projects, the Belgian government began, for the first time, to subsidise city renewal, but with no overall policy or regulatory framework.

In 1974, the central government devolved substantial powers, including urban renewal, to the regions.

The Flemish regional government's early urban policies involved encouraging wealthier people to return to the cities, rather than creating projects directed at local low income people. Since then, the regional government has launched a number of urban renewal projects, including:

• Revaluation Areas

The Revaluation Areas programme, launched in 1978, offered government grants to individuals or local governments wanting to renovate houses in areas that had been designated in need of renewal. However, partly because the classification of a revaluation area was, initially, vague, and there was no local involvement in implementing the policy, the programme at first failed to stop the demolition of inner cities areas and the spread of the cities into the periphery.

In the early 1980s, at the request of the European Board, the Flemish government set up a campaign to stimulate urban renewal, to slow down city enlargement, and to involve residents in urban programmes. The idea was to make cities more livable while focusing on the needs of the most deprived residents.

This led to a new policy, in 1983, that focused on construction to fill in the empty spaces in cities, maintaining city heritage by limiting massive new construction projects and involving citizens in the initiatives. Urban renewal grants were still only available for Revaluation

Areas, but the criteria for defining these were made clearer and fairer.

The Revaluation Area initiative was, ultimately, successful. In fact it was so popular that the government couldn't meet all the requests for subsidies.

There were some criticisms, however. Besides the underfunding, the programme was said to have had a lack of vision, insufficient guarantees concerning community involvement, not enough attention to the needs of the underprivileged, and a focus on housing alone at the expense of other problem areas.

• Dynamic areas

A new policy, in 1988, aimed to attract more wealthy people to decayed areas. The idea was to create dynamic areas in inner cities through renovation, new construction, new zoning, and employment creation. To qualify for a subsidy, local authorities had to work with private investors.

• The VKIF Fund

The VKIF fund was an eight year fund set up in 1990 to provide money to 15 especially needy areas, to support projects generated by the local government or the OCMW (local welfare offices). 284 projects were accepted in 1991, 43 per cent of which dealt with anti-poverty initiatives.

The fund was criticised, as had been previous funds, for a lack of strategy, a lack of local involvement and abuse by local authorities. The fund does, however appear to have had an impact. This is largely because project organisers are obliged to supply in advance a policy document which has to be drawn up in consultation with all the possible partners. As a result, projects tend to be more coordinated and policy perspectives are now made on a more long term basis.

• The BFMW Fund

The BFMW, or special fund for social welfare, is undoubtedly the Flemish Government's

most important instrument so far to orient anti-poverty policy more towards the needs of the underprivileged. In 1993, 63 per cent of the fund went to combatting social exclusion and two billion Belgian Francs were spent on its four areas of activity: higher benefit levels, financial support, projects for the underprivileged and job creation.

• The Communefund

The Communefund acts as a compensation for smaller municipalities that did not get money from the VFIK. Municipalities can decide freely how to spend it.

• The VICA

The VICA, the Flemish Interdepartmental Anti-Poverty Commission, set up in 1989, coordinates the administration of anti-poverty policy. VICA includes members from various parts of Flemish administration, such as housing, economics and employment, as well as representatives from the voluntary sector. VICA is closely involved with policy development and has gained a great deal of influence in a short time.

• Domus Flandria

In the federal election of November 1991, a swing to the right by Belgian voters alerted the Flemish government to the dangers of poverty, and both government departments and local authorities have now received additional resources through poverty funds.

The most recent initiative, and the largest since the early 80s, is the emergency programme for public housing, generally known as Domus Flandria.

Introduced in 1992, Domus Flandria was set up through a limited company as a government/private sector partnership. Its main aims are: renovating derelict unoccupied houses, improving the quality of the housing stock in general, improving security of tenancies and preserving open spaces.

Domus Flandria provides grants to individuals or organisations to buy or renovate houses situated in one of 80 selected needy municipalities.

It has, so far, been a great success, and will have built or renovated 10,000 extra rented housed between 1993 and 1995. However, most of the subsidies have gone to new construction rather than renovations, and the programme is limited to certain areas.

• The 1992 Policy Statement

In 1992, the Flemish executive made anti-poverty policy one of its top priorities, taking the view that the quality of a community depends on the opportunities it can give to its weakest members.

The statement laid out a policy of more funding and more emphasis on various measures, such as education, youth work and neighbourhood-directed community centres to help its anti poverty campaigns.

Community involvement

Belgium has no overall urban regeneration policy.

Over the past twenty years, local government resources have increased enormously and there have been many initiatives and declarations of intent about the need for urban renovations and anti-poverty programmes.

The federal government has, however, left the implementation of these initiatives to local governments. This allows programmes to be better matched to local needs, but means that results on the ground vary a great deal across the country.

As there are usually no federal guidelines on levels of community involvement in a given initiative, this too tends to vary widely by local authority, with each local government deciding how much of a role local residents should have.

Urban Renewal also tends to be treated as a financial rather than a community issue, and a lot of policies are designed to help residents of decayed urban areas renovate or buy the houses they live in. This approach has had some success but tends to benefit the better situated residents who are capable of dealing with the bureaucracy and paperwork themselves. Those with less money, initiative and confidence are less well placed to benefit.

This individual approach has, in some cases, created a situation where neighbourhoods are renovated, but to a point where the more needy people can no longer afford to live in them, and have little choice but to move to other areas and form new ghettos.

Community involvement from the start could prevent this situation and help a wider range of residents, as has been shown in a number of smaller projects which attempt to break poverty cycles on a local scale by working with deprived people themselves.

Luxembourg

Introduction

Luxembourg, with its high standard of living and small population, does not face urban problems on the same scale as other European countries. It has two urban areas, Esch and Luxembourg, with only about 100,000 inhabitants each.

Not surprisingly, Luxembourg has never had, nor perhaps needed, an urban regeneration policy. Community involvement in urban issues is also minimal.

However a severe housing shortage is causing problems for low income people, and threatens to increase social exclusion.

National background

Luxembourg enjoys high living standards and very low levels of unemployment.

It also has a larger proportion of immigrants than any other EC state. In 1990 immigrants accounted for 28 per cent of the population and 40 per cent of the workforce.

However, integration has been less of an issue here than elsewhere, due to low levels of unemployment (only two per cent in 1990) and the fact that most immigrants are from other EC countries.

Luxembourg's administrative structure, with three districts, 12 cantons, and 118 municipalities, has hardly changed since independence in 1839.

Only the national and local government are elected bodies and the municipalities are relatively autonomous. With only four levels of government, Luxembourg has a fairly flat administrative structure with little distance between the inhabitants and the central government.

Urban policy

There is no ministry of urban development in Luxembourg and urban policy tends to focus on improving city infrastructure, such as roads, traffic and transport, rather than tackling problems of poverty or social exclusion.

Poverty and exclusion do exist, but they are tackled through a social policy aimed at specific groups, regardless of where they live, rather than through policies aimed at particular areas.

The government's main tool for dealing with poverty and social exclusion is a cash benefit for low income people, called the Revenu Minimum Garanti, or RMG. As an indication of the country's relative prosperity, in 1992 fewer than 4,500 people received the RMG, and most of these were over 60.

The RMG approach is seen as an effective means of dealing with poverty in a well-off country like Luxembourg, but there is some doubt as to whether it can lead to sustainable development. Further, the recent structural

changes in Germany will undoubtedly influence the economy of Luxembourg and may put pressure on the government to review its policy.

A number of private and voluntary associations also play a role in social policy, receiving government grants to organise activities concerning such issues as housing, literacy, health and employment. Each tends to deal with a particular issue or the needs of a specific group, rather than with wider ranging problems.

The researcher discovered only one organisation that received grants for a more global approach to community work, and reports that community work has only recently become an accepted method of development in Luxembourg.

Housing policy

Poverty may not be a problem in Luxembourg, but housing certainly is. Population growth, shrinking family size and the demand for office space in town centres has pushed up the demand for housing, as well as rents, in recent years. Urban populations are also very mobile. In the last fifteen years some city neighbourhoods have seen their whole populations change.

Although there are government measures aimed at helping families that want to buy a house, there is no national programme for housing in general and the public housing sector amounts to only about 1,700 units.

The housing shortage has pushed average rents up enormously, leaving some lower income people with a choice between spending more than 50 per cent of their income on rent or being excluded from the housing market altogether.

Community involvement

Given the lack of urban regeneration policy in Luxembourg, it is not surprising that community involvement is also limited. In 1979, when the government developed a housing and construction policy, it included a procedure to involve 50 inhabitants of an area in the early stages of housing projects. This measure was, however, only used once before it was abolished.

Now, although municipalities do not directly include community involvement in their social housing projects, they do try to respect the local residents and avoid the expulsion of, or big changes in, the existing population.

Urban policy may soon be influenced by the experience of rural areas, where community involvement and local consultation have had such positive results that they are now used by 50 per cent of rural principalities.

Ireland

Introduction

Despite significant economic progress in recent years, Ireland faces serious urban problems, particularly in Dublin's inner city neighbourhoods and suburban public housing estates.

These problems have come about partly because of high levels of unemployment and partly because of the fairly slow development of urban renewal policies and a lack of policies to support community groups in local development.

A perceived lack of government response has prompted a number of community groups to start urban regeneration projects of their own. In fact, in Ireland, local initiatives to tackle urban problems have tended to arise more from the demands and actions of the community sector than from government agencies.

Irish community groups are a potent force. Until recently, however, a shortage of funds has limited their capacity to express, and fulfil, local development demands. Recent policies,

however, have given community involvement a higher profile.

National background

Ireland's society and economy were transformed during the 1960s by the country's first Programme for Economic Expansion. From a closed, isolated and primarily agricultural economy, Ireland has became an important member of the European Union with an economy that is dependent on foreign trade.

One of the primary effects of this transformation has been a population shift from rural to urban areas. In Dublin, the capital, this shift is most apparent in the expansion of its suburbs.

The development of Dublin since the 1960s is characterised by population growth, the building of both public and private peripheral housing estates and satellite towns, and the development of suburban industrial estates, shopping centres and entertainment complexes.

During the sixties and seventies, large numbers of both jobs and skilled workers moved to these new suburbs, leaving the inner cities to those least able to compete for the remaining jobs.

Thus the population of the inner city declined, urban unemployment increased and the resultant escalation of social problems had a spiralling and negative impact on Dublin's, and Ireland's, growth and development.

Since the recession of the late 1980s there are now large concentrations of unemployment, poverty, deprivation and social polarisation in the suburban public housing estates as well.

Urban regeneration policy

In broad political and administrative terms, the negative impact of Ireland's transformation on urban areas relates to three factors: overcentralised decision making, the slow development of urban renewal policies, and slow progress in developing policies to support community groups and local development.

- Overcentralisation of Decision Making

The Irish system of government is generally regarded as over-centralised. While many operational activities have been assigned to local government, regional bodies, state agencies and independent bodies, the main policy and expenditure priorities are decided by central authorities.

Central government control increased even more in 1978 when the abolition of domestic rates, a form of local taxation, reduced the amount of locally generated revenue available to local governments.

Although there is a relatively high public interest in local government elections, these tend to function as in-term polls on the performance of central government. There are no sub-city units of local administration and there is no statutory recognition of community councils.

This centralised structure and limited local democracy have meant that local problems tend to be responded to slowly.

In Dublin, for example, although the problems arising from the city's rapid growth, such as inner city decay, and the need for improved administration, transportation and local services, were commented upon in both legislation and policy papers as early as 1960, the government did not come up with a unified response to these problems until 1979, when it set up the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Inner City.

This committee, the first attempt at local integration of state agencies was temporary. Although its only real function was to disburse an annual fund of one million Irish pounds to special inner city projects, its mere existence demonstrated the need for a more integrated approach to urban problems.

The absence of local integration is also illustrated by the lack of systems to facilitate joint planning and shared projects. Initiatives to

tackle newer problems, such as drug misuse, early school leaving and juvenile crime, are hampered by lack of coordination amongst the relevant state agencies.

There are many examples of local community-based organisations identifying needs and designing programmes to deal with such local issues as job training, child care, juvenile crime and drug misuse.

• The slow development of urban renewal policies

Though Ireland's post-1960s industrial expansion and suburbanisation happened concurrently, they did so without a coherent urban development strategy.

Industrial policy focused on creating processes and jobs in areas where previously no such processes existed. Existing industrial centres were expected to survive and compete without extra help.

By the late 1970s the industrial infrastructure of Dublin's inner city had virtually collapsed. The central government's Industrial Development Authority (IDA) then attempted to attract industry back to Dublin and replace some of the lost jobs with special centres for small industries. These, however, had little impact on the loss of inner city jobs.

Meanwhile, the primary thrust of regional housing policies was to develop new estates in suburban areas, and there were no policies to build or rehabilitate houses in inner city areas.

This policy changed in the early eighties when the decision to move tenants out of an area of Dublin's north east inner city and promote commercial development in their place sparked a concerted community opposition campaign. This led to a great deal of public debate about the value of preserving the inner city's community fabric. It also contributed to the election to the national parliament of independent community candidate Tony Gregory in 1982.

A parliamentary stalemate meant that Gregory held the balance of power and was able to negotiate a number of government commitments for urban renewal, including a promise to build over 300 replacement housing units in North East Dublin as opposed to 30 originally planned.

Called the Gregory Deal, this set a new trend for public housing policy on an inner city wide basis, contributed to the development of housing rehabilitation policies, and to policies encouraging private investment in the inner cities.

These new policies include the Urban Renewal Act of 1986, which empowers the Minister for the Environment to designate areas for urban renewal; and the Finance Act (1987 to 1992) which designated areas for redevelopment in a number of Irish cities and towns and created a range of tax incentives to encourage commercial and residential development in these areas.

However, many parts of Dublin's inner city areas remained derelict and it was not until some time after the implementation of the Urban Renewal Act of 1986 that private interest in rejuvenation really began.

Community involvement

Although the Urban Renewal Act had its genesis in the Gregory Deal, it contained no measures for community development or community involvement in the regeneration process.

This lack of a community partner was consistent with official policy toward community groups at the time. The local government approach to community consultation has generally been one of close consultation with elected city councillors only. Discussions with community groups for the purposes of liaison and consultation are usually confined to representative residents and tenants' associations and tend to be used only to discuss policy issues.

For most of the 1980s there was no central government commitment to support community development. Although the Gregory Deal included the setting up of a national community development agency in 1982, this idea was abandoned after a change of government the following year.

State support for community involvement

State support for community involvement and development started with the First European Commission Programme to Combat Poverty, 1973 to 1980. The Combat Poverty Agency was set up in 1986. Among this agency's functions is that of supporting community development.

Central government funding of community development projects has begun to emerge since 1990, when the government set up the Community Development Fund for the purpose of supporting community-based resource centres and local strategies for tackling poverty. There are now over forty such resource centres nationwide, one of which is the Inner City Renewal Group (the subject of the Ireland case study in the present research).

Also in 1990, the government agreed a Programme for Economic and Social Progress, PESP, with representatives of employer groups and trade unions. This three year programme included a commitment to set up 12 pilot area-based community led partnership companies of statutory, voluntary, business and trade union interests for the purposes of tackling long term unemployment on a community basis.

The government's National Development Plan (1994-99) includes a commitment to extend these area-based partnership companies to needy areas throughout Ireland. These companies will disburse both EU and national funds to support programmes such as community capacity building, community resource centres, personal development, job placement and training.

EU support measures for particular groups affected by poverty and social exclusion, such and NOW and HORIZON, will be operated by local authorities, but it is envisaged that they will be undertaken in coordination with these partnership companies as well.

Many individuals and community groups that have been working in inner city areas since the mid 1970s see the last twenty years as a struggle for recognition and a struggle to impress on policy makers the need to involve those most affected by decline and deprivation in the search for responses and answers.

Community groups now feel they have a measure of recognition from state agencies, and that community involvement will no longer be peripheral to the urban renewal process but at the centre of it.

The Netherlands

Introduction

The Netherlands, like many other European states, has in recent decades seen socially disadvantaged people concentrated in particular urban ares, notably in post-war housing estates built on the periphery of cities.

Dutch policy takes the view that social and economic problems, such as poor housing, unemployment and social exclusion, should not be treated in isolation as they tend to work together to create a downward spiral of disadvantage.

The Dutch government has moved to tackle urban problems with two successive innovative urban renewal polices. Both policies took an integrated approach to urban regeneration and involved a great deal of cooperation, both across national government ministries and between national and local governments. Both also took a neighbourhood approach and involved local residents in decision making.

National background

In 1985 the Dutch government launched an experimental urban renewal policy called the PCG-beleid which was, after a change of government shortly afterwards, relaunched in a permanent form called Social Renewal.

These programmes, led by the Interior Ministry, are integrated policies involving several national ministries and local governments.

The PCG beleid

Introduced in 1985 as an experimental programme, initially for a period of four years, the PCG Beleid was based on the observation that, in medium to large cities, social problems tended to be concentrated in certain areas. Increasingly some districts stood out because of an accumulation of physical, social and economic problems that could no longer be remedied with existing strategies.

Among the triggers for the government to search for innovative approaches was increasing voter abstention and drift to right-wing parties in such neighbourhoods.

The central concern of PCG Beleid was to bring together the projects and measures of different political areas which had previously been carried out separately, to create a comprehensive strategy and an integrated approach to tackling a wide range of urban problems. The programme was based on the proposition that the problems of such districts mutually determine and influence each other.

The policy was aimed at reducing disadvantage in four areas: living conditions, education, welfare and employment.

It was implemented as follows: The interior ministry selected 30 areas in 16 Dutch cities to take part. Local councils developed neighbourhood plans for these districts to show what the nature of the cumulative problem in each district was, and with which projects the council planned to counter them. An overall plan was then agreed between local councils and six government ministries prepared to inject money into the project.

Local councils would receive an integrated fund for an initial period of four years for the implementation of their local PCG-beleid policy. Significantly, the programme did not give local councils any more funding than they normally received. The difference was that the money came in the form of a overall networked budget and was given under the condition that it was used in an innovative way, according to the plan set down in the council's agreement with the state. The largest part of the funding came from the Employment and Social Affairs ministries, as employment considerations occupied a central place in the programme.

A significant proportion of funding also came from the Interior Ministry. This money, meant to be used flexibly according to specific local needs, was primarily used to create links between individual projects and to fill gaps which were not covered by existing grant schemes.

Two central characteristics of this policy were:

horizontal cooperation at national government level, where the various ministries had to coordinate with each other in the production of an integrated support programme, and horizontal cooperation at the local level, where the various council officials had to develop a coordinated approach and involve other participants, such as the employment office and residents, in their strategy.

The PCG-beleid was a great success in terms of what councils achieved within the tight framework set by the ministries.

The programme not only made it possible to address the subject of social exclusion on a new scale and to motivate many parties to participate in fighting it, it also gave local authorities a chance to test and establish new forms of cooperation at a local level. This was particularly true in the case of the cooperation between the various council offices.

Many participants felt that these cooperative relationships led to an increased local capacity

for problem solving that would continue after the end of the PCG-beleid. In many cases they did continue, under the policy of Social Renewal.

Horizontal coordination at government level was not, however, seen as very successful. The main criticism was that too few of the individual ministries were ready to give powers to a common programme led by the Interior Ministry. As a result, the PCG-beleid came to be seen as an initiative of the Interior Ministry, other ministries lost interest once they had made their compulsory contributions, and some even invested in new programmes of their own, further weakening co-operative links.

Social renewal

While the PCG-beleid was still at the implementation stage, a change of government took place in the Netherlands. The new government chose the policy of Social Renewal as its central policy.

This policy arose at a local level, having been developed in Rotterdam as a response to the progressive polarisation of urban society and the further concentration and accumulation of problems in urban neighbourhoods.

The Dutch cabinet described Social Renewal in the following terms: 'It often involves interrelated problems of social isolation, insecurity in the neighbourhood, long-term unemployment, inaccessible or uncoordinated social services and the like. These problems are particularly noticeable in the area of social welfare, in the people themselves and in their direct environment. The cabinet wants to encourage a situation in which these problems and the connections between them are seized in an integrated way. Social Renewal means also that the people it concerns participate directly in the search for solutions.' (Ministerie Von Binnenlandse Zaken [BiZA] 1991, quoted in Froessler, 1993)

There is a degree of overlap between the objectives and aims of the PCG-beleid and

Social Renewal: Social Renewal, like PCG-beleid, involves virtually no additional funding for local councils. It has, however, a far greater reach in content, time span, and the number of neighbourhoods involved. For example, with Social Renewal, participation is no longer limited to a chosen circle of council areas and neighbourhoods but is open to local authorities throughout the Netherlands.

Nor is it temporary. Rather, Social Renewal represents the deliberate establishment of a lasting policy directed towards a long term reorganisation of welfare state activity. In order to get this underway as quickly as possible, work is being carried out on the basis of a four year administration agreement between the government and the local authorities. By the time this is completed a social renewal law and social renewal fund should be in place as a lasting basis for this policy.

Social Renewal also has a greater reach: Its activities include a renewal of approaches in the areas of work, education and income; improvements in the quality of housing and the living environment, as well as social and cultural innovations, calling for a reorganisation of the system of social services and public organisations.

All local authorities now have the right to conclude an agreement for Social Renewal with the central government and can receive funding to implement their plans from six different ministries. The overwhelming majority of Dutch local authorities have chosen to participate in Social Renewal.

These local authorities sign a contract committing them to the creation of an integrated approach on the local level, to conclude the agreements necessary for horizontal cooperation, and to ensure positive participation of target groups in the development and implementation of the policy.

Early investigations showed that most participating councils were using all three dimensions. The results of a study carried out in ten cities show that all the councils investigated have developed an overall city policy, and

have put in place agreements for cooperation with, for example, private schools and the employment administration.

Councils have also developed a targeted approach, with special policies to respond to the needs of specific disadvantaged groups.

Most councils have also chosen a neighbourhood based approach. The neighbourhood level is seen throughout as the level on which work tailored to local needs, integrated policy, cooperation and participation can come together.

The Social Renewal policy also involves continual monitoring and assessment. Local authorities, for example, must produce annual progress reports, and various independent institutions have also been appointed to carry out simultaneous research.

Unfortunately, a number of government ministries are once again proving disinclined to commit resources to a global fund for social renewal and considerably fewer resources were injected into the social renewal fund than originally planned.

Further, a lot of funding designated as freely available had already been committed to certain projects or compulsory tasks of the local authorities, which has considerably reduced the council's room for manoeuvre.

Also, participants from the private sector of the economy are often left out of the process. This is an important consideration, especially as the central cause of the problems of the city districts and their residents lies in economic exclusion and unemployment.

Community involvement

The Dutch experience has shown that the problems of disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods have specific local characteristics that require tailor-made local solutions.

This does not, however, mean that these problems can be overcome on a local level alone,

and cannot be used as an argument for the withdrawal of central and regional government from their responsibilities.

What is needed is not less commitment on the part of these political levels, but a different kind of commitment, one that involves a coordinated reaction from different government departments.

The Dutch experience shows how this might be accomplished, by providing resources from the higher levels of government, in the form of a flexible management framework, which allows communities to develop their own innovative and coordinated long term renewal activities.

The PCG-beleid and Social Renewal policies also show that establishing neighbourhood structures for harmonisation and cooperation does not necessarily require a special financial programme and can, to some extent be achieved by repackaging existing resources.

Further, the neighbourhood-based approached, though necessary, should not lead to neighbourhoods being seen as islands. The Dutch experience shows how important it is to support neighbourhood related approaches within an overall city and national strategy.

An overall city approach is required to avoid further segregation and concentration of disadvantage, as well as neighbourhood related strategies for the effective removal of existing problems.

In the Netherlands there is wide ranging experience of, and well developed support structures for, community involvement. These do not exist in most other European countries. The Dutch experience has shown just how important it is, in the context of urban regeneration, not just to inform and consult residents, but also to give them the opportunity to participate both in decision making and in implementation of action plans.

Denmark

Introduction

Denmark has one of the most successful economies in Europe, and of all (12) EU member states, has the lowest proportion of its population living in areas eligible for Community Regional Development Assistance. However, triggered by a fear among some Danes that ghettos are forming in some areas of Copenhagen, the government recently launched two major urban regeneration initiatives aimed at tackling social exclusion in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Both are experimental projects, designed to improve policy by experimenting with new, sometimes radical, solutions. Both deal with the social aspects of urban regeneration, and both are aimed at tapping the potential of local communities.

National background

Until recently urban regeneration has not been a major issue on the Danish agenda, and has primarily been a question of renovating the older parts of Copenhagen, the country's only really big city.

This situation changed during the 1980s when both structural and socio-economic problems appeared in some of the high rise public housing estates that had been built on city outskirts during the sixties and seventies. The necessary physical renovations were carried out, largely paid for by rent increases, with some subsidies from the Ministry of Housing. However, even though the structural problems of these buildings were, and to some extent still are, substantial, the socio-economic problems are probably greater.

These areas have never been attractive to the general public. Most of the inhabitants live there because they have little other choice. Residents do not, as a rule, appear to have any special relationship to the area and are seldom the driving force behind initiatives to improve their neighbourhoods.

Danish municipalities are required by law to have at their disposal 25 per cent of apartments in the social housing associations so as to have houses to offer deprived groups. While this is worthwhile, it tends to add to the low status of social housing areas. Many immigrants and refugees, as well as socially and economically deprived Danes, live in these estates. This situation prompted a debate, in the summer of 1993, as to whether Denmark, had created ghettos.

Racial attitudes reared their head in these discussions, but a general awareness that the source of the problems lay in poor conditions drew enough attention to prompt the government to spend substantial funds on confronting them.

Urban regeneration initiatives

There are two main initiatives in Denmark: The SUM Programme, the Social Ministry's Development Fund, and the Urban Regeneration Fund. Both aim to improve policy by experimenting with new solutions, and both deal with the social aspects of urban regeneration.

- The SUM Programme

The idea behind the SUM programme is to tap the potential of local communities to improve their own situation. However, in order to realise that potential, fundamental changes first had to be brought about in both national and local administrations, local communities and the relationships between them.

In 1989 the Danish Parliament granted the Social Ministry's Development Fund 350 million Danish Crowns, which supported 1,786 experimental and development projects.

Of these, 241 projects obtained funds under the category of Community Work, Administration and Organization, and dealt primarily with the social aspects of urban regeneration. The projects included local partnerships, environmental work in housing areas, health and educational projects, activity houses and media and theatre projects.

These projects were not, however, financed exclusively by SUM. Support from other sources and extensive voluntary work lessened the burden of finance.

Most involved a large number of employed and voluntary people and, on average, had one full time employed coordinator. More than two thirds of the projects benefited from an average of 40 hours of voluntary work a week.

This reversed a trend. Educationalists and social workers used to dominate experimental community work. They still play a major role, but as local people become more involved, the dominance of professionals is weakening.

Although SUM projects primarily involved a partnership between the project and the local administration, they all involved a wide range of networks of cooperation among politicians, individual residents and voluntary organizations as well.

The community work projects supported by SUM have shown that local community initiatives are fragile because, among other things, their activities and initiatives are often dependent on a few individuals. Still, local communities do have the potential to provide some of the cohesion that is lacking in other areas of society. In order to tap that potential, local communities will have to improve their internal as well as external communication. Without that it is doubtful whether they are capable of looking after their weaker members.

• The Urban Regeneration Funds Programme

The results of the SUM programme form a substantial part of the background for the recently launched Urban Regeneration Funds (URF) programme. In 1993, triggered by the public debate about the possibility of ghettos developing in social housing areas on the outskirts of Danish cities, the government appointed a multi-ministerial committee called the Government's City Committee to look into tackling the problems.

The committee's first report highlighted some of the characteristics of these areas: a high

percentage of social housing, high rents, a high proportion of state benefit recipients, high levels of unemployment and a relatively high proportion of immigrants and refugees.

The aim of the City Committee is to reverse the decline of these areas through a number of coordinated initiatives, specifically:

• initiatives to confront the social problems

• a close examination of the regulations in these areas, with a view to changing the distribution of deprived groups

• special initiatives for refugees and immigrants

• rent subsidies for the housing associations with the highest levels of rent

• a special effort against crime in these areas

• a change in the flow of funds between rich and poor municipalities.

The URF programme is expected to spend about one billion Danish Crowns over a four year period. One of the objectives of the programme, however, is to bring about permanent changes, and it is part of the plan that the initiatives should be continued after the four year test period.

More than half of the funds are to be spent on special initiatives confronting the social problems of the areas in question, such as:

• Social activities, including activity houses, community centres and clubs, to help break social isolation

• Community Counsellors. Approximately 100 community counsellors have been employed and are expected to play a crucial role in the programme's long term success. Their task is to take part in the initiatives that are already in progress and to play a coordinating role in the local community. Community counsellors have been present in some of the housing areas for several years, but the URF programme represents the first

time their work has been integrated with other activities.

- Model projects. In a few selected areas an even more comprehensive effort, involving voluntary organisations as well as professional associations and private enterprise, will be made to reverse the decline in social life. These model programmes will act as experiments within the URF experiment and their progress will be followed closely to see if their experience can be applied elsewhere.

- Programmes for mothers and children in the refugee and immigrant communities. This will include initiatives to help mothers learn the Danish language and introduce them to the Danish daycare system and to better equip refugee and immigrant children to join ordinary day care centres.

- Activities for young people. There will also be a number of programmes to provide young people in these areas with activities of their own choice.

The URF programme is the largest and most coordinated single initiative within the field of socially inspired urban regeneration in Denmark. The political, administrative and local focus of the programme, as well as a comprehensive evaluation to be carried out by independent researchers, means that it is expected to play a significant role in the future development of urban regeneration policy.

Other initiatives

The URF programme, is not, however, the only urban regeneration initiative in Denmark. In the big cities, and mainly in Copenhagen, a continuous regeneration effort is underway. In Copenhagen, this effort is now concentrated on Vesterbro, one of the oldest and most deteriorated parts of the city.

This project is drawing on the experiences of similar projects in other parts of Copenhagen, although the success of such initiatives in other parts of the city has been rather limited,

especially as far as local community involvement is concerned.

Lessons learnt from the experiments

A number of lessons have arisen from the SUM and URF projects, specifically:

- Experimental and developmental projects have become increasingly accepted in Denmark, and are seen as less of a threat by established private and public organizations than they have in the past.

- Experimental projects tend to bend, but rarely radically change, existing decision making systems.

- The continuation of the projects is only one way to reap the benefits of the experiments. Others are duplication of projects in other communities, and the skills gained by individuals working in the projects.

- Projects with some kind of cooperation with pubic sector organisations have a better success rate than entirely voluntary projects.

France

Introduction

In the summer of 1981, riots in the suburbs of Lyons prompted French politicians to create a new policy to help tackle the country's urban problems.

This involved, for the most part, creating new institutions charged with coordinating the activities of the various public and private sector bodies involved in urban regeneration.

The overriding principle behind this approach was to establish a dialogue at local level, and to ensure the participation of service-users, while ensuring coordination at the centre.

While this policy has been effective in increasing cooperation between the various institu-

tions that deal with urban regeneration, it does not appear to have radically changed the relationships between institutions and citizens.

National background

From the end of the war until the mid seventies the French national housing stock expanded under the auspices of the state.

However, the developments, especially urban high rise housing estates, lacked infrastructure such as communal facilities and transportation systems, and became refuges for the underprivileged.

By the time of the recession in the seventies, sensitive areas, or ghettos, emerged as these estates became pockets of poverty, unemployment and racial tension.

Consultative bodies

In 1981, after the situation had reached a crisis with riots in the suburbs of Lyons, the French Government set up the National Commission for Urban Regeneration (La Commission Nationale pour le Developpement Social des Quartiers, or CNDSQ).

The executive arm of the commission brought together a broad cross-section of representatives: members of central and local government, trade unionists, representatives of local people, and senior officials in the public services.

This diversity reflected the guiding principle of the commission's foundation: to develop the capacity to establish a dialogue at local level while ensuring co-ordination at the centre.

The CNDSQ was a provisional body set up to gather insights into the management of urban areas, and into the geographical aspects of social policy. This information was intended to help guide the regions in taking over urban regeneration responsibilities from the central government.

In 1988 the government replaced the CNDSQ with a three-tiered structure, set up as follows:

(1) The National Council for Town and Urban Development (CNV). Headed by the Prime Minister, its members include mayors and representatives of the principal institutions, both private and public, social and professional, involved in defining urban policy in France.

(2) The Inter-Ministerial Committee for Towns and Urban Development (CIV) consists exclusively of ministerial representatives. Its role is to determine government action with respect to urban development and to put in place the necessary finance to carry out policies.

(3) The Inter-Ministerial Delegation for Towns and Urban Development (DIV) sets the agenda for the CIV and supervises the execution of decisions. It acts as an interface between the centre and the regions, and serves as an channel for the dissemination of information and decision making.

These bodies have gone on to create other consultative authorities, notably Local Commissions and City Contracts, charged with bringing together various players involved in urban policy.

• Local Commissions

In 1981, the CNDSQ organised Local Commissions to coordinate the work of various players in the urban regeneration projects at local level. Depending on the projects, these players could include the State and the local authority, the commune, the county prefect, and the regional government. In the case of a housing project, for example, the commission might also draw in the managers of highrise council estates as well as private sector representatives, such as consultants, architects and planners.

Some of the commissions have faced problems of jurisdiction and cooperation between various authorities, especially in separating the jurisdiction of city and regional powers, while

some authorities, notably the Employment Ministry have not been involved at all.

- City Contracts

Launched in 1988, City Contracts are a means to bring together the State, the town and other bodies, such as service users and regional councils, to deal with a variety of urban policy issues, such as town planning, housing, education, transport and public order.

The aim of City Contracts is to cut through and simplify the layers of administration that, in the past, had to be got through to start local projects.

185 City Contacts have been accepted by the CIV to tackle such issues as heritage conservation, environmental protection and local job creation.

- The Ministry of Urban Affairs

In 1990, the government created the Ministry of Urban Affairs, with responsibility for shaping urban policy and co-ordinating government action. Like other national bodies, from the CNDSQ to the CIV, it requires the cooperation of other ministries to operate effectively.

This, however, does not always happen, as each ministry remains bound by its customary norms and guidelines, and each retains control over its own budget. Some ministries do not appear to be ready for the collaborative ventures that urban policy calls for. In the case of the Ministry of National Education, for example, the suggestion that schools should become involved in urban regeneration schemes aroused a heated debate about the role of schools in social work.

Community involvement

Despite these problems, the consultative bodies set up by the French Government since 1981 have been successful in improving coordination and effectiveness amongst the various institutions involved in urban policy.

However, one initial intention of the new urban policy, to include participation from service users, does not seem to have been fulfilled to a great degree.

Part of the problem, it seems, is the increased complexity of the urban regeneration process in France. Some observers argue that the plethora of organisations, procedures and cross-functional groups that have sprung up have made the whole process inaccessible to anyone but technical experts.

It is also argued by some commentators that government attitudes are not supportive of the growth of community involvement. The idea of changing public policy by absorbing initiatives from below goes against the grain because it clashes with two deeply held beliefs: that listening to public opinion would imply the abandonment of policies, and that training and enterprise remain the most effective route to social integration.

There is also, our French researchers suggest, a certain resistance to independent, self-help ventures in France:

'Since the Revolution, the French State has set itself up as the safeguard of brotherly togetherness. This stands in the way of independent public ventures as they are suspected of fostering membership of intermediary groups at the expense of the sense of belonging to the nation. Meanwhile, social disaffection remains among the most marginalized groups who see no sign of the improvements that have been promised in their daily lives.'

For an extract from the French policy report see Appendix C.

Italy

Introduction

Since 1960, there have been two main urban development policies in Italy: 'post facto' regu-

larisation of unauthorized building, and the regeneration of residential areas on city outskirts.

Both policies have been effective in improving the state of the housing stock. There has been spontaneous community involvement, in the sense that residents of illegal buildings have lobbied for services. However, there has been little explicit policy on community involvement. In the economic sphere, however, there is a very extensive worker co-operative movement.

The national background

Although Italy has experienced rapid economic growth over the past thirty years, and is still growing quickly, it also has a large national debt, and persistently high unemployment.

The country also faces dramatic regional disparities, particularly between the richer north and poorer south. Although Italy is one of the world's leading economies, development is slow in 40 per cent of its territory. The closure of that gap is seen as one of its greatest challenges, in conventional economic terms.

Italy also has a need for urban regeneration. According to the Italian Institute of Statistics, almost 60 per cent of the homes in Italy's eleven major metropolitan areas are in deteriorated areas.

To tackle this situation, urban regeneration activity in Italy has developed along two lines: the 'recupero' policy, which regularises and supplies services to illegally constructed settlements; and the upgrading of estates in the urban periphery.

• Illegal Housing

Illegal or 'abusivismo' housing makes up a large part of the Italian housing stock.

This is because a large number of people, both poor and relatively well-off, build houses for their own use, but do so outside municipal building regulations or regulatory plans. The practice is so widespread that during the sev-

enties in Rome, for example, 100,000 illegal homes were built, compared with a legal output of 120,000.

The central government and local authorities have reacted to this phenomenon with a realistic, if not wholly consistent, policy. Through the 'recupero', or post-facto regularization, the authorities simply include the illegal areas in the next round of public services supply, and coordinate the abusivismo homes with the legal housing market.

A 1985 law to stop pardoning illegal construction triggered widespread protests and civil disturbances in Italian cities, eventually leading to even more widespread use of the 'recupero'.

In a new abusivismo area on the outskirts of Rome, for example, there is now a programme for providing water, sewers and lighting; plans for public transport, schools, and cultural centres; and a speeding up of the process for correcting illegal building. Most of the area's economic and social problems remain, however, and public works are needed to prevent crises, such as floods and landslides, that could occur in some of the poorly sited settlements.

• Housing upgrades in the periphery

Another major thread of Italian urban policy has been to upgrade the public housing estates on city outskirts.

In 1982, the central government allocated over 400 billion lire to IACP, an institute that owns 850,000 houses in the big Italian cities, to help upgrade these units.

Some of the projects set out to upgrade the economic and social conditions of the areas as well as the quality of the housing. Various schemes, for example, involved setting up commercial activities for residents, building homes specifically for elderly people, or using building materials that could be supplied by local producers.

Other projects, carried out by the International

Laboratory of Architecture and Urban Design, have upgraded transport and communications networks in Genoa, helped develop tertiary industry in Florence and restored old hospitals and churches in Sienna.

Community involvement

Both the 'recupero' policy and the efforts made to upgrade houses on town peripheries have been successful in upgrading the quality of the housing stock. Neither, however, has given particular emphasis to the role of community participation in the urban regeneration process, and neither has been very effective at fighting social exclusion.

The 'recupero' policy is seen as a form of public assistance where the government's task is simply to provide services to the new illegal settlements. In this case the community is not formally involved, although they do lobby vigorously for their interests at both municipal and national levels. Meanwhile, the upgrading of houses on the periphery tends to be implemented by urban planners and architects without any reference to the role of residents.

Germany - West

Introduction

Since we are concerned with the recent history of urban policy as well as current conditions, we deal with Germany in two sections. Policies in this field were markedly different upto 1990. Now of course we are also concerned with the interrelations of the two. This first section treats the western part of the country.

Germany is the strongest EU member state in terms of economic performance. However, unification in 1990 has imposed a tremendous financial burden on the country, and some funds that had been available for urban regeneration in the West have now been diverted to the East.

Integrated programmes targeted specifically at the most deprived urban areas have not traditionally existed at a national or regional level in Germany. Rather, various federal and regional ministries create their own programmes and pass the task of implementing them to local authorities.

However, as the economic crisis has begun to bite, has there been discussion of introducing such policies on a national level. As local authorities hold main responsibility for urban regeneration initiatives in Germany, the implementation of projects, and the degree of community involvement used, varies widely.

National background

Government attention to deprived urban areas and neglected parts of the housing stock only really began in West Germany in 1971, with the Urban Renewal and Development Act. The act allowed for intensive slum clearances which demolished large numbers of existing buildings in certain urban areas and drove some residents from their neighbourhoods.

The 1980s saw a move to a more sensitive urban renewal policy, known as medium intensity urban renewal. As part of this, a number of local authorities withdrew from direct investment in housing, choosing instead to invest in the residential environment so as to make investing in housing more attractive to the private sector.

Grants, some using federal and regional funds, are now available to private home owners or companies to undertake modernisation or maintenance of houses. This policy allows for more widespread urban renewal and improvements in a greater part of the housing stock than the local authorities could manage on their own. However, it also runs the risk of leaving urban renewal to market forces as upgrading processes set in motion by private investment are often not regulated by public authorities. This could lead to, for example, gentrification, a loss of low cost housing or the displacement of residents.

Integrated approaches

Only very recently, as Germany's worsening economic situation has begun to bite, have some of the regions with more big cities and their corresponding problems started to take action towards integrated programmes targeted at the most deprived urban areas.

Particularly in Northern Westphalia and Hamburg, there have been moves to create special policies and grant schemes, using a more comprehensive approach to the cooperation of different players.

These have not, however, yet been implemented on a broad basis. Terms like deprivation, exclusion and poverty are not very high on the political agenda in Germany.

Administrative structures

German urban policy is highly decentralised. According to the constitution, the federal government has no right to undertake direct planning and investment in local urban renewal projects. These areas are the exclusive province of local authorities.

Local authorities are responsible for drawing up local plans, defining concrete projects and distributing subsidies and grants to projects and investors. However, in doing so they have to obey the legal framework and the regulations of grant schemes set up by the federal and regional governments.

Regional governments, or Laender, are responsible for implementing some national regulations, and have some limited opportunities to create their own grant schemes to support specific policies or to stimulate corresponding actions in.

The central government body with responsibility for urban issues, the Ministry for Regional Planning, Building and Urban Development, has two ways to influence urban policy:

• Through the enactment of framework regulations which the Laender and local govern-

ment authorities have to respect when setting up their own regulations.

• Through offering financial support, such as grant schemes for local programmes. These allow the central government to influence local projects by defining the conditions under which the money is allocated. Two such schemes, the Bund Lander Programme and the Experimental Housing and Urban Policy Programme, are currently underway.

The Bund-Länder programme

The most important instrument for the promotion of urban renewal in German towns has been the Bund Länder Programme. In this joint programme, all three levels of government are involved in defining the initiatives and in contributing resources. The procedure is as follows: each year, the central government sets up a framework programme, outlining basic aims, and distributes funding among the various regional governments. Each regional government then defines an urban renewal programme for its own region. The local authorities then bid for funding from their regional government, and all the accepted bids form the annual programme for the region.

However, the government has concentrated its resources on the Länder of the former GDR, leaving existing programmes in the West reliant on regional and local funds.

The experimental housing and urban policy

Under this policy, central government specifies problems for which innovative approaches are needed, then provides, and pays for, guidelines, seminars and experts to help towns willing to pilot model approaches to these problems.

Community involvement

The legal framework for urban renewal set by the national and regional governments obliges local authorities to inform and consult residents about projects, but does not place a high priority on resident participation.

Although some regional authorities do now require that five per cent of funds allocated to urban regeneration schemes are dedicated to resident participation, this rarely goes beyond the basic requirements of informing and consulting them. The case study in our report, in Bremen, is unusual in the degree of community control which it demonstrates.

Attitudes to Europe

Some commentators say that this lack of community involvement means that European initiatives and funds are not as efficiently used or as well integrated into national and regional policies as they could be. European urban regeneration policies focus on topics such as multiple deprivation, social exclusion and poverty, which are not very high on the German agenda. It is more the norm for German politicians to claim that poverty and social exclusion don't really exist in Germany: some temporary adjustment difficulties perhaps, but no serious problems.

It may be said that the German government tends to resist European initiatives in urban regeneration, taking the view that, if they themselves do not have the power to intervene in local issues, why should a higher administrative level have that power?

Nevertheless, European initiatives are important to, and highly appreciated by, many of the people running local projects in Germany, especially in the field of combatting social exclusion, poverty and multiple deprivation. European help is essential for many projects to get the support they need for experimental or innovative work.

Germany - East (former GDR)

Introduction

Although urban regeneration policy in the former GDR is now in line with that of West Germany, the two regions backgrounds are, of course, worlds apart. The East brings to the table insufficient and dilapidated housing stock, new social problems such as unemployment, and a different tradition of community involvement.

Urban policy in the former GDR was driven almost entirely by a need for housing. The quickest and cheapest way to add to the housing stock was to build on greenfield sites on city outskirts, and little attention was paid to regenerating urban centres until about 1980.

Community involvement in this regeneration was both high and encouraged by the government. However, the desperate need for repairs and the degree of control exercised by the state meant this involvement was more a matter of activating free labour than tapping residents' needs and preferences.

The national background

The former GDR's entirely state-run housing market held that every resident had a right to be housed.

However, as the country never completely recovered from the loss of almost half its housing stock during World War II, most families faced long waits for accommodation. In addition, many residents felt that the system for allocating houses was both inefficient and unfair.

Between the late forties and the early seventies, the GDR's housing policy concentrated on building as many houses as quickly as possible.

From the early sixties, this meant constructing, for the most part, large prefabricated concrete estates on the outskirts of cities, as this was

the fastest and cheapest method to build with the materials available at the time.

As a result, inner cities were neglected and fell into disrepair. When the government did move to reconstruct some of these centres in the late sixties, it managed it largely by destroying and rebuilding the centres. Years of poor maintenance had left few other options.

It was not until the 1970s that the government turned its attention to modernising and maintaining the country's older, pre-war, housing stock, which was by that time in a very bad state of repair. A 1971 census showed that, although older houses accounted for 65 per cent of the housing stock, 80 per cent of them needed renovation.

The housing programme of 1976 to 1990 set out to accelerate both aspects of housing policy. By speeding up the construction of new homes as well as the maintenance and modernisation of the existing stock, the government hoped to give every household its own home by 1990.

In practice this policy shift took some time to take effect. It was not until the 1980s that a significant proportion of investment went to the maintenance and modernisation of inner city housing stock. By that time, investment was sorely needed: only about 40 per cent of these homes had a toilet, bath or shower, and only 82 per cent had a water connection.

During the 1980s, largely because of economic problems and material shortages, the policy shifted even further towards reconstruction and away from new construction.

Reconstruction

In the early eighties the GDR government launched a reconstruction scheme for the inner cities. This involved the maintenance and modernisation of single buildings, as well as the modernisation of whole neighbourhoods. The latter approach was known as complex reconstruction.

The reconstructions were organised in a highly centralised, top down way: the Council of Ministers set national economic targets; based on these, the State Planning Commission fixed housing construction targets; and the Ministry of Housing and Construction then handed down construction and restoration targets to the towns and cities.

It was then up to the local authorities to meet these targets, using, where necessary, their new powers to expropriate houses where owners were unwilling or unable to undertake the necessary measures.

Not surprisingly, there was some criticism that, not only was the system badly managed, it also concentrated on quantitative aims at the expense of other aspects of urban planning, particularly social ones.

By 1989, when the wall fell and the unification process began, it was clear that this reconstruction programme had not been very successful. Most of the older housing stock was still in a bad and even dangerous condition, and large numbers of homes were still unfit for habitation.

Community involvement

East German tenants have always been very active in maintaining and modernising their houses, and the state supported them in this. However, their activity did not really involve expressing their wishes or clubbing together to improve their living environment. Rather, the state used resident involvement as a means to activate badly needed resources (basically, labour), while the tenants themselves were motivated by the fact that their homes were falling apart faster than the authorities could maintain them.

The state used three means to encourage tenants to become involved in the reconstruction of the buildings they lived in:

- Support points for repair: tenants could borrow the necessary tools and be paid for the maintenance work they did on their own

homes. However, this demanded not just activity, but also organisational capabilities from the tenants, and was hampered by a lack of building materials and expertise.

- Tenants' communities: tenants could make a contract with the owner or administrator of a house and agree which maintenance and modernisation tasks they would take over. This however mostly led to tenants taking charge of the work on their own flats, with little collective action to improve entire buildings.

- Competitions in housing: these were much like work-place competitions that encouraged work collectives to outdo one another in exceeding production quotas.

The authorities established target figures for the work to be done and residents' groups then decided how to meet them. Participants could later use the facilities they built, maintained or modernised, and in some case, could be paid for their work.

However, as the targets were tightly fixed beforehand, the scheme turned out to be not so much a collective action of neighbours to improve the quality of their housing as a state-organised means of activating an additional labour force.

All these schemes dealt with individual buildings. Residents could have no influence on reconstruction plans for their neighbourhoods. Although public meetings did ask for residents' views, there was no guarantee that these would be taken into account, and it was not possible, or even permitted, for residents to form their own groups to influence a project.

The current situation

By 1989, a large proportion of the housing stock was still in very poor condition.

In addition, unification brought not only a complete economic and political change but also problems, such as poverty and unemployment, that were unknown under the old sys-

tem. Not surprisingly, much of the population of the GDR reacted with uncertainty, insecurity and fear.

By 1994, West German administrative systems had been largely set up in the East. These include the West German urban regeneration policy, which has been adopted with some additional grant schemes and regulations specifically for the towns and cities of the former GDR.

There are, however, still many differences between the two regions in both structure and residents' attitudes.

EC funding and support, and help from other European towns and states, has played an important role in the regeneration of the former GDR, especially in the period immediately after unification.

At that time, many residents in the East felt dominated and patronized by West Germans and found it easier to accept help and advice from other Europeans.

So, in addition to helping to meet an obvious need for finance and expertise, support from other Europeans has helped to alleviate some of the inevitable tensions of unification.

Many international links were forged at that time, and most are still working today. Against this background European support has an especially high value in the former GDR.

Spain

Introduction

After the rapid economic growth and immense social changes of the 1980s, Spain now appears to be suffering from the current recession more than most, with unemployment at over 20 per cent and a national debt over five per cent of GDP.

Spain has a very decentralised administrative structure. The constitution of 1978 gave its 17

'autonomous communities', or regions, a high level of independence in policy making, implementation, and in some cases, financing. As a result, urban regeneration policies, and the level of community involvement in them, vary a great deal across the country.

In addition, the administrative system is compartmentalised and complex, making it difficult to achieve flexibility, transparency and citizen involvement in the implementation of integrated urban regeneration policies. Not surprisingly, the system is also difficult for citizens to understand and access.

A few integrated approaches to urban regeneration piloted recently have however, shown some success and may be examples of good practice for future programmes.

National background

In Spain, approaches to social problems are segmented and decentralised, involving a variety of administrative bodies at three, and in some cases, four, levels of government. Social problems, however, tend to be concentrated in particular areas.

Most Spanish institutional structures are relatively new, dating back to the 1978 constitution, which ended the centralisation of the Franco regime and repealed almost of all of its basic legislation.

The constitution divides power among the central government, provinces, the local authorities, and 17 regions known as 'autonomous communities'.

Each of the autonomous communities has a different internal organization, and each divides functions among its various departments in its own way. In addition, four of these communities have a special status and a wider range of powers than the others.

There are also variations in the way the regions are financed. In most cases, the central government is responsible for the collection of state taxes, and regional budgets are financed by state transfers and the region's own resources. However, in Navarre and the Basque country, local governments are able to collect state taxes directly and, after negotiation, pay the state its share.

Other administrative levels, ie, provinces and municipalities, have hybrid organisations, involving some steps towards autonomy in resource gathering and power, with government and regional authority supervision.

To add to the complexity of the situation, both central and regional authorities have the option of delegating powers to lower bodies. The central government can pass some powers to provincial, island or regional governments, while regional authorities can delegate to district or borough levels.

This rather convoluted structure, with divisions of powers between the different state administrations on the one hand and the different territorial levels (central, regional, provincial and local) on the other, creates obstacles in implementing policies and often leads to jurisdictional contradictions and conflicts.

The municipal level in particular, because of its limited autonomy, has little room for manoeuvre between the political and territorial organization of the State and the problems affecting local populations.

The situation became even more complicated with Spain's entry into the Common Market and the introduction of European urban regeneration and anti-poverty programmes. In Spain dealings with the EC are carried out by the central government. The administration of the European Social Fund, for example, is the responsibility of the Ministry of Labour, which itself deals with the corresponding administrations at regional level. Local administrations must therefore comply with the procedures established by these bodies in order to have access to the European Social Fund.

Not surprisingly, this complicated system is difficult for citizens to understand and to work with. Often, the potential beneficiaries of urban regeneration measures are lost in the com-

plexity of schemes and, though in some cases a 'single desk' system has been introduced, these changes have not generally been enough to make the system more efficient and accessible.

Integrated approaches to urban regeneration are more a desire than a reality in Spain. Urban development, for example, is mainly seen as a town planning issue and emerges in practice through planning as a municipal responsibility. Urban policies integrating economic and social measures have, as a result, to overcome all kinds of administrative obstacles.

Further, while administrative barriers have grown, citizens' groups have weakened. The social context of Spain has undergone profound changes since 1978. Transformations in the cities and institutional reforms have led to a decline in the voluntary sector and a weakening of urban social movements. A large number of the leading members of these movements have been integrated into local and regional institutions. However, the territorial divisions of these institutions have not always corresponded to residents' own territorial loyalties. The result today is that there are difficulties in matching the policies proposed by the administration to the aspirations of citizens' organization.

Urban regeneration policies

There are two main policy instruments for implementing integrated urban regeneration programmes in Spain, the Municipal Special Plans for Interior Reconstruction (PERIs) and Integrated Rehabilitation Areas Plans (ARIs).

• PERIs

These specify general plans for urban land use in a given territory. They include detailed financing plans and an analysis of the plan's potential social and economic impact. In the Autonomous Community of Catalunya, for example, PERIs are mainly used to reduce crowding in particular areas, to create sanitary installations, to relieve traffic problems and to improve the environment or public services.

• ARIs

ARIs, or Integrated Rehabilitation Areas Plans, arose from a central government bill of 1983, although all ARI declarations are the responsibility of the Autonomous Communities. The bill's declaration states: 'The Spanish legislation over urban and housing matters has almost exclusively regulated, until recent years, the growth of cities and the construction of new dwellings. However, the urban management carried out by the municipalities since 1979 has clearly proved that we also need legal instruments and a funding system to improve and rehabilitate not only the housing and infrastructure, but also urban spaces and their ecological values.'

The bill developing the new concept of integrated rehabilitation areas, defining them as specific zones with special rehabilitation needs for which particular planning, economic and financial programmes are to be established. The bill also details ways and means to coordinate different administrative levels and agencies to carry out the plans.

Each Autonomous Community that has used the ARI facilities, so far mainly Catalunya and the Pais Vasco, has developed its own style of ARI.

In Catalunya, for example, ARIs have two main targets:

• the coordination of public investment within the framework of a common general programme

• the stimulation of private rehabilitation by means of low interest loans.

ARIs have been used so far in the management of land for public use, housing construction and rehabilitation, and the development of parking areas, empty land, streets and substructures.

Community involvement

One initiative in Barcelona stands out as an example of an integrated social development scheme for an urban neighbourhood with a high level of community involvement.

The Plan Integral de Roquetas, in the Nou Barris district of Barcelona, is part of a larger framework set up in 1985 to promote economic and social development in Barcelona.

The Roquetas district was chosen because it was run down both physically and socially, but also because its neighbourhood associations, which were fairly powerful in the mid 1980s, put considerable pressure on the local authority to adopt a scheme.

The Plan Integral de Roquetas takes a localised approach to social action. Its principles are threefold:

- it is designed to integrate the various measures that affect the district

- it assumes that there is an ideal or desirable model for the district based on the wider area's development potential

- it encourages cooperation among neighbourhood associations and promotes self help among local residents.

The Plan Integral had to fit in with another scheme already launched by the Nou Barris district council and a PERI that was tackling town planning related improvements at the time.

The Roquetas scheme is funded by the ESF and the three city committees responsible for economic development, social assistance and decentralised districts.

It has a permanent team with a secretariat as well as four specialised programmes on economic, social, cultural and town planning issues. Its supervisory committee assembles a variety of stakeholders, including two representatives from the city's economic committee, two from the social committee, one from the decentralised districts committee, and representatives from neighbourhood associations.

The practical objectives of the Plan Integral are to keep residents aware of the changes in the district, run training courses for young people and women, run literacy programmes and management courses for adults, set up craft workshops, arrange drawing classes for children, train teachers in the prevention of drug addiction, run local radio stations, renovate housing in the area and support senior citizens' associations.

The Roquetas scheme has affected not only social cohesion but also integration and local economic development. It has had a very beneficial effect on the integration of this neighbourhood which had been cast aside from Barcelona's urban mainstream. Other integrated schemes launched in Spain have, or promise to have, similar effects.

The United Kingdom

Introduction

Postwar urban regeneration policy in the UK has taken two main forms: schemes for physical and economic renewal, and the development of anti-poverty and social programmes.

The country has also seen a shift in philosophy over the past four decades, from a focus on the social problems of deprived areas to a belief in private sector-led urban enterpreneurism.

Current thinking favours an integrated approach that links private and public sectors and creates programmes that tackle the physical, economic and social aspects of urban regeneration.

The degree of community involvement in urban regeneration varies widely across the country. This is because, although urban policy is set by the central government, its implementation is left largely to local authorities and other local

partners. There are also different traditions in England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales that affect the implementation of urban policy. The practice of community involvement in urban regeneration is vigorous, uneven but still fragile, as is the idea of enhancing local democracy and devolving power to community-led institutions.

Physical renewal

After World War II, most industrial cities in Britain found themselves with an inner city core of deteriorated nineteenth century housing, where the poorest households were concentrated.

As in many other European nations, the government's response was to destroy and rebuild these areas, and to build additional housing estates on greenfield sites on city outskirts.

The vast majority of these estates were built and managed by local authorities.

By the early seventies, many of the inner city developments had developed structural problems and the high rise estates were increasingly unpopular with residents. In the lower density outer estates, housing conditions were better but there was very little in the way of services for the residents.

The government responded by shifting its attention in the inner city away from wholesale demolition towards rehabilitation of the existing housing stock.

- Community involvement in physical renewal

In this context, Glasgow developed a distinctive model for rehabilitating housing stock that was later applied to a number of former municipal housing areas.

Glasgow's community based housing associations acquired houses from private owners, rehabilitated them and let them back to members. This system meant that the community, rather than the local authority, owned the assets and had a voice in their management.

In many cases elsewhere, however, community involvement in physical renewal was a matter of conflict, with residents mounting campaigns, including rent strikes and occupations, to persuade local authorities to improve their housing conditions.

This situation has changed in recent years for two reasons: local authorities now have fewer tenants because government policy has encouraged them to sell their public housing stock to tenants and private landlords. Local authorities have also adopted more considered and less authoritarian management models which have led to more resident involvement in estate management and renewal.

Local economic development

Economic development did not play a role in urban regeneration until the mid 1970s. Until that time, there were a number of incentives to encourage companies to invest in disadvantaged regions, but not in individual towns or neighbourhoods.

The government began to recognise local areas as an appropriate level for economic regeneration after the success of such programmes as GEAR (Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal) and its equivalents in other cites.

Such programmes adopted a holistic approach to area renewal, paying attention to economic, educational and social issues as well as physical and environmental improvements.

Local economic development activity usually involved some combination of:

- encouraging companies to invest in an area

- equipping residents to compete for the jobs available

- encouraging community-led economic activity.

Many of the recently establishing Training and Enterprise Councils and Local Enterprise

Councils (government sponsored bodies de-signed to develop local economic activities) have developed programmes based on these models, although their activities tend to be fairly marginal. There has also been activity in recent years to involve the private sector as a partner in regeneration activities.

Anti-poverty and social exclusion programmes

The Wilson government of 1964 to 1970 intro-duced positive discrimination, user participa-tion and area based approaches to a number of areas of social policy, including social serv-ices, housing, education and planning, and set up programmes specifically designed to help disadvantaged areas.

These policies helped change the prevailing view of poverty, suggesting that it was not so much a symptom of individual misfortune or inadequacy, as a result of structural problems in society.

This view gained ground and was reflected in later policies driven by economic revival and investment strategies.

Conservative governments since 1979 have concentrated largely on enterprise-led pro-grammes for urban renewal.

For example, Enterprise Zones, launched in 1980, relaxed planning controls and offered tax exemptions for inward investors. The Urban Development Corporations (UDCs), founded in 1981 in Liverpool and the London Dock-lands, were led by the private sector and given powers independent of the democratically ac-countable local governments. Planning con-trols were relaxed and the UDCs had extensive powers over land purchases and infrastructure development.

Both programmes have been criticised for benefitting industrial entrepreneurs rather than disadvantaged residents, at considerable cost to both the public purse and local democratic accountability.

Community involvement

Our UK researcher draws a distinction be-tween community involvement, the process by which communities play an active part in the regeneration process, and community devel-opment, the process of equipping the commu-nity with the skills, confidence and infrastruc-ture which it needs in order to become in-volved. Both community involvement and community development have played an im-portant role in urban regeneration projects in the UK.

Community development projects and pro-grammes established by voluntary organisa-tions, community organisations or local au-thorities are mainly found in areas of poverty which have, or which need, regeneration initia-tives. Especially in parts of Scotland, commu-nity development has emerged as an explicit component of social strategies designed to address disadvantage by empowering poor people and encouraging communities to take action to address local needs and issues.

Community groups, including tenant associa-tions and action groups, have also played an important role in pressing authorities to start the regeneration of particular neighbourhoods. They have also influenced the development of thinking about how the process, and the rela-tionship between public authorities and local residents, should be handled.

Similarly, paid community workers have made an important contribution to urban regenera-tion by helping local people to consider what action they might take, and ensuring the inter-ests of residents are fully reflected. Community work has also played a significant role in reminding policy-makers of the needs of mi-nority ethnic groups, children, people with disabilities, carers and other groups who do not necessarily benefit from simple economic regeneration strategies.

The 1990s have seen the continued develop-ment of community-led organisations able to play an increasingly active role in regeneration and develop community-owned assets as part of the regeneration process. They demonstrate

that the community can enhance its stake in its own development if conditions are right.

- An integrated approach

The most recent thinking in UK urban regeneration policy favours an integrated approach, linking the private and public sectors, and formulating overall approaches to physical, economic and social renewal.

The City Challenge programme, which ran during 1991 and 1992 in England, allocated funds on the basis of competitive bidding from local authorities. A comparable programme in Scotland, called New Life for Urban Scotland, has been running in four peripheral housing estates since 1988.

The budgeting system has also changed to reflect this new integrated thinking. In England, all regeneration programmes previously funded through different government departments have now been integrated into what is known as the Single Regeneration Budget. Also structured competitively, funds local partnerships that come up with plans for the regeneration of their area. Partnerships may be led by local authorities, Training and Enterprise Councils, or occasionally voluntary, community or private sector organisations. A similar scheme operates in Wales.

Integrated programmes with built-in community participation are gradually coming to be recognised as good practice in the UK.

Wider issues

Some argue that the UK's urban policy has lacked a long term strategic focus and that programmes are cancelled and replaced too quickly. It is argued by some that UK urban policy has suffered from a lack of attention to the social tensions arising from economic restructuring, an over-reliance on the 'trickle down' theory of regeneration, competition between government departments, a failure to address environmental issues and an undermining of the role of elected local authorities.

Over the last 15 years, the UK has also seen the terminal decline of some of the major employing industries of the past, coupled with a widening gulf between rich and poor, and the individualisation of relations between the citizen and the state. In these circumstances, even the best area regeneration policy may be destined to marginality.

Portugal

Introduction

Portugal remains one of the least prosperous EC Member States and has among the lowest levels of social welfare provision in the Community.

It also has a very centralised administration, with no regional authorities, and local authorities that have only gained power and autonomy since the revolution of 1974.

Since then, however, local governments have grown steadily in power, resources and influence. Though many authorities still lack the resources to meet local demands, they now play a significant role in society.

Early urban regeneration initiatives focused on housing needs, and were not very successful.

However, since 1974, and especially since joining the EU in 1986, Portugal has had some success with more wide-reaching programmes, encompassing other aspects of social need and a wider range of participants.

Although community involvement does not yet have a high profile in urban regeneration initiatives, Portugal does have very strong family and community networks.

These networks have helped fill the gaps in the weak social welfare system, and have prevented social hardship from being as severe as the economic indicators would suggest.

National background

Portugal's history of social policy and urban regeneration falls into three periods:

- The Old Regime: Pre 1974

During the dictatorship of 1926 to 1974, Portugal was politically and ideologically dominated by landowners and, especially in the early years of the regime, agriculture took precedence over industrial development.

A government decree of 1948 gave the central government power to demolish and rebuild overcrowded, decayed urban areas.

The intervention, which was ostensibly for reasons of health and hygiene and lasted for several decades, was considered justified by the derelict state of the buildings and the lack of interest on the part of owners.

The intervention involved no reference to the local population. Like the buildings, they were thought to be the objects of the intervention.

During a period of industrialisation in the fifties, an influx of rural people meant that the country's two urban areas, Lisbon and Oporto, grew significantly. This only worsened the existing shortage of urban facilities, infrastructure and homes.

A decree in 1956 combined demolition plans with the building of social housing on the city peripheries, obliging the government to give extra resources to local administrations.

As shifting whole populations to the outskirts proved problematic, the government's focus changed again during the sixties to the preservation and renewal or older urban areas.

Although the main accent of this policy was on housing issues, it was also the first to take into account the role of local governments and the needs of local people, and was thus the first sign of an integrated approach to urban regeneration in Portugal.

Throughout the sixties, industrialisation continued to put pressure on the housing supply. This prompted a series of legislation, including a Housing Promotion Fund (1969), a law on soils (1970), urbanisation plans (1971) and the creation of a secretariat specifically for housing and urbanization (1972).

However, before 1974, very little of this legislation was implemented, and during the last years of the old regime the state actually reduced its role in urban regeneration. Local government was still very weak at this time and the central government was preoccupied with, among other things, a colonial war and increasing social tension.

Portuguese people worked to fill the vacuum. But, despite an increase in private initiatives and a boom in illegal housing, squatting and unofficial, self-help efforts aimed at improving housing for low income families, housing construction failed to keep pace with increasing urban concentration. The situation worsened still in the seventies when half a million expatriates returned from former colonies.

- Social Change: 1974 to 1986

The end of the dictatorship in 1974 brought with it a broad-based will to improve almost every aspect of life in Portugal, as well as new attitudes about community involvement.

Housing, as one of the most widespread and severe problems, played a central role in this change.

In tune with this new spirit, one of the first initiatives to appear, in 1974, was SAAL (Itinerant Local Support Service), which was aimed at giving support, through the local authorities, to the initiatives of the people living in poor housing. Another was the Urban Renewal Programme launched to support two projects in Obidos and Oporto.

While SAAL was aimed at housing problems, the Urban Renewal Programme was aimed at addressing problem areas via a more integrated form of intervention.

Another piece of legislation during this period regulated expropriations where they were in the public interest or were needed to intervene in dilapidated areas.

In 1976, The Restoration of Dilapidated Buildings Programme (PRID) gave more authority to the nascent local authorities to intervene in deprived, or clandestine (squatting and illegal) housing. This programme had a dual role: to increase the housing supply, primarily through restoration, and to help devolve powers to local authorities.

PRID was, however, not very successful in housing restoration, and did not succeed in motivating private owners to rent vacant houses. Initiatives launched during this period were not very effective in slowing the decline of living conditions or increasing housing production.

By the mid 1980s, housing needs were assessed at 700,000 units. The government aimed to meet half this need by restoring dilapidated urban buildings.

The Urban Regeneration Programme, or PRU, a three year programme launched in 1985 and better funded than PRID, was set up to intervene in the restoration of buildings and neighbourhoods. It took an integrated approach, renewing communal areas, developing social facilities and helping to rehouse the population, in addition to its restoration work.

Unfortunately, this programme too was restrained by a lack of financial resources and achieved only 50 per cent of its housing target.

• EU Membership: Post 1986

European integration brought greater technical and financial resources to bear on Portugal's urban problems.

Also since 1986, local authorities have gained more autonomy and responsibility, and have had both more influence on urban regeneration proposals and more involvement in the management and follow up of initiatives.

Although there were still no regional authorities in Portugal, new bodies called Regional Planning Commissions, which are actually departments of the cental government, also began to play a role in urban regeneration projects.

In 1988, PRAUD, the Urban Regeneration for Dilapidated Areas Programme, was set up to support locally-run regeneration projects, and succeed in providing technical support and follow up to 26 projects.

The lack of restoration work and the low levels of private rental housing production (in 1973, 50.8 per cent of houses constructed were for rent, in 1983, only 4.8 per cent were) prompted the creation of a new measure, called RECIA, or The Co-Financing Special Regime for the Renewal of Rented Buildings, which supported both owners and tenants in building and improving rental housing.

The most recent programme, the Special Programme for Re-Housing in the Metropolitan Areas of Oporto and Lisbon (PER), aims to abolish slums in these cities. PER is a joint initiative involving central and local agents, either municipalities or voluntary organisations, and is also expected to work with other bodies, especially national anti-poverty groups, to improve general living conditions for the inhabitants of deprived areas.

Integrated approaches and community involvement

Housing needs have always dominated urban regeneration projects in Portugal, even though there is considerable evidence as to the inefficiency of programmes that ignore other aspects of urban life.

In recent years, however, partly due to the influence of European programmes, Portuguese urban policy has placed a greater emphasis on more integrated and multi-dimensional approaches to urban regeneration.

These have involved the public, private and voluntary sectors in a range of areas, including health, education, training, housing, employ-

ment and job creation, and have involved a broad cross-section of agents. These integrated initiatives have also involved more local residents and local associations.

For example, two projects, in Lisbon and Oporto, which focus both on stimulating the local economy and revitalising the entire surrounding areas, have been co-financed by the European Urban Pilot Projects Scheme, which was launched in 1989 to explore forms of cooperation between regions and cities.

Also, a European Anti-Poverty Programme set up in the historical areas of Oporto, has included urban regeneration activities as part of an integrated intervention reaching several aspects of urban life and has involved a degree of community participation.

Portugal is also involved in the European 'Quartiers en Crise' programme which links 25 European towns and cities in sharing their experiences in coping with serious urban decline.

One of the main conclusions of this programme is that an integrated approach holds the best promise for the future of urban revitalisation and for tackling the problems of social exclusion and multiple deprivation.

The EU's second Community Support Framework for Portugal has an explicit sub programme for urban regeneration, and has identified Oporto and Lisbon metropolitan areas, where housing problems and infrastructural shortages are still severe, as priority zones for replanning. The Support Framework takes a multi-dimensional view of local problems, involves a diverse range of partners, and includes a role for local community involvement.

Throughout Portugal's history, strong family and neighbourhood support networks, as well as the influence of the Catholic church and voluntary organisations involved in social welfare provision, have played an important role in Portuguese society and their efforts have meant that social problems are less severe than the economic indicators might suggest.

Clearly, having such strong communities already in place bodes well for any future community involvement initiatives.

Local power

Although municipalities and civil parishes had virtually no power at all before the political changes of 1974, they have emerged as an important force over the past two decades. They are, however, still in a difficult position due to an imbalance between local demands and resources.

Portugal still has a very centralised state system and the relationship between central and local authorities does not always run smoothly.

Since the budget of 1992, local authorities have been lobbying for more power and resources, based on the assumption that they are the true defenders of the interests of local populations.

When local authorities have been involved in urban regeneration, they have enabled a more global approach, and more direct involvement of local agents, though not always the people most closely concerned with the issues at hand.

There are no administrative regions in Portugal although there are some public intermediaries to assure some links between the five geographical regions, and to coordinate policies such as planning, health and social security. There are opposing views about the place and importance of regions in the country, with the debate centred around the issue of whether or not regions are needed in such a small country.

Greece

Introduction

Although there have been a number of recent urban improvement interventions in Greece, full scale, integrated urban regeneration

projects, designed to tackle a broad range of social and economic issues, are rare.

The regeneration initiatives run so far, both national and EU supported, have had an important impact on urban life. Most, however, do not put any particular emphasis on citizen participation and community involvement.

In fact there is little tradition of community involvement in Greece, and the very centralised administration has done little to promote it.

The partial exception, in both respects, are projects within the Poverty III framework which have been specifically designed to overcome the limitations of local institutions.

National background

Municipalities and Communes are the fundamental local units of self-government in Greece and the main agents or basic partners in local programmes. By virtue of this role and their relatively small size, they are also the main focus for community involvement and citizen pressure in relation to local problems.

While in many cases their involvement helps to mobilise and involve citizens, in other cases it has had an inhibiting effect on the formation of comprehensive initiatives for local regeneration and on the development of autonomous citizen action and involvement.

This is partly because local authorities have extremely limited resources and minimal powers in the most important policy sectors such as employment, education, housing, the environment and social welfare.

It is also partly because local authorities, by playing the role of community advocate, tend to take the place of local community participation, thus further limiting the development of autonomous local associations. Government policy reinforces this by institutionalising the substitution of all forms of citizen participation by the involvement of local authorities.

Government functions and policy-making in Greece are highly centralised. Thus, aside from an often ritualistic recognition of the role of local authorities as consultants or token participants, programmes and services are rigidly structured along vertical administrative lines with no provision for the role of the local factor.

Government departments in Greece, including their regional branches, are rigidly specialised and there are virtually no mechanisms or institutions capable of creating projects with multi-sectorial objectives and inter-departmental co-operation at local levels.

Thus the Ministry of the Environment, which is the only major government agency with programmes aimed at the level of particular urban zones or neighbourhoods, is exclusively concerned with physical planning and the environment; health and social policy issues are the exclusive concern of the Ministry of Health and Welfare, while employment programmes are solely under the jurisdiction of the National Manpower Organisation.

Some European programmes have managed to form partnerships with participants from different ministries or promote activities, particularly training, that cut across departmental boundaries. These, however, are the exception and there are no indications that they have had any influence towards significant reforms in this sphere.

Recent national initiatives

Since the mid-eighties, there have been a range of urban improvement projects in Greece.

Launched in 1984, the National Programme for Urban Reconstruction, implemented jointly by the Ministry of the Environment and interested local authorities, has created a large number of projects that combine town planning, infrastructure provision and the environmental improvement of illegal housing neighbourhoods in the periphery of towns.

The programme, though certainly important for the improvement and development of local communities, falls short of a full blown regeneration initiative in that it is strictly confined to physical planning and environmental investments and does not address social and economic factors or even the housing problems of local families.

There have also recently been a small number of urban renewal projects for certain historic neighbourhoods in the old centre of cities, particularly in Athens and Thessaloniki. These projects are aimed at revitalising residential activities and neighbourhood life in areas that have either stagnated and declined or suffered from an influx of non-residential uses.

These interventions, which are mainly promoted and managed by the Ministry of the Environment, are again confined to measures of planning, zoning and investments or incentives for the preservation of buildings of historical or architectural interest.

The latter half of the 1980s also saw the formation of Local Development Plans for specific municipalities. These plans had ambitious objectives covering all aspects of local social and economic life and problems of housing and environment. Some groups of local authorities also formed Development Companies for the study and solution of local problems, the promotion of municipal business activities and the provision of services.

Both initiatives had the support of the Ministry of the Interior, the autonomous Greek Corporation for Local Development (a public agency for the technical support of municipal initiatives), and the respective regional associations of local authorities. Most of these local development plans have, however, remained exercises on paper. More recently there has been a lot of interest in the promotion of technological parks as a way to help urban areas that have been especially hard hit by economic restructuring and unemployment.

One concrete example is in Lavrion, an industrial town with high rates of poverty and unemployment in the region of Athens, where the municipality, with the help of the National Technical University, has promoted such a scheme. This initiative, however, appears to be limited to simple training on renovation techniques and information technology.

In general, the national and local urban policies and programmes of the last ten years in Greece, though often important in their aims and consequences, do not contain comprehensive regeneration initiatives.

Community involvement arises in a few ways: standard legal procedures of appeal in the case of urban planning; the often important role of local authorities; and in a few cases (mainly in the formation of Local Development Programmes), the use of public meetings. Apart from these, urban schemes do not put any particular emphasis on citizen participation and community involvement either as a means or as an end in itself.

EU supported initiatives

There are seven projects within the European Community Support Framework for Greece: Four belonging to Poverty III, two pilot projects, and one under the 'Quartiers en Crise' programme.

The four Poverty III projects are run in three municipalities in Athens and one group of municipalities in Thessaloniki. Of these, the Perama project, in a region of Athens and the subject of our case study in this report, is arguably the only case that represents a comprehensive effort to help regenerate a poor local community.

The Kallithea Poverty III project, also in Athens, is exclusively concerned with the rehabilitation and integration of drug addicts. The third Athens projects, in Argyroupolis, is run in an area that is neither particularly poor nor problem ridden, and is mainly concerned with particular disadvantaged groups, such as single parent families.

The Thessaloniki Poverty III project covers an extensive area and is mainly active in providing

basic medical help and educational and training assistance to the local Traveller minority. However, it also has a wide range of objectives to do with tackling social problems by, for example, building a centre for single parent families. This project has close contacts and cooperation with the Perama project and has adopted some similar practices and structures with respect to partnership and citizen involvement.

The Quartiers en Crise project in Thessaloniki, managed by the regional association of local authorities, is closely related to the local Poverty III programme: the two projects cover essentially the same area and both are mainly concerned with the social integration of minorities. The Quartiers en Crise project is mainly active in training and employment guidance for the Traveller minority and for the growing number of ethnic Greek immigrants from the former USSR.

The two Urban Pilot projects in Greece, in Athens and in Thessaloniki, are not really urban regeneration initiatives as such. The Athens project concerns the creation of an ecological park, while the Thessaloniki project involves regenerating a large section of the historic commercial centre of the city and its almost exclusive emphasis is on the preservation and renovation of historic buildings and on the creation of a number of pedestrian walkways. The agencies involved are, in addition to the municipality and regional government, planning and archaeology authorities.

Community involvement

There is no tradition in Greece of community development projects or a tradition of administrators and professionals educated in and specialising in community work. The ministry of Health and Welfare and the agencies under its supervision, such as the National Welfare Organisation, do not promote community-based organisations, though in some cases, such as Perama, there are special local social centres for the provision of welfare services.

A number of cultural factors have limited the rise of community-based urban regeneration initiatives in Greece. In Greek political culture, people traditionally seek solutions to their problems through personal help networks, patron-client relationships with influential people, or through political parties or unions at the workplace or community level.

The concept of tackling one's problems by seeking assistance from, or being actively involved in, a local community initiative is alien to most people. This behaviour is quite rational given most citizens' experience with Greek administration, so it would be unreasonable to blame popular attitudes and expectations for the absence of alternative, community-driven, structures.

Citizens' attitudes do, however, work to maintain existing patterns, so they are at least as important as the resistance and inertia of pubic authorities in blocking change.

The absence of comprehensive community based initiatives in Greece is in large part the result of a failure by the reforming agencies to recognise and tackle the twin problem of attitude and structure. In the case of Greece, the reforming authorities are essentially the European authorities promoting these novel initiatives.

Appendix C: 'Transverse' social policies

An excerpt from 'Key points of national policy on urban regeneration in France'

by Thierry Dermoncourt and Jean Louis Laville, CRIDA, 1994

translated by Marion Glastonbury

Urban policy has given rise to new institutions which are recognizably different from the traditional interventions of the welfare state. This new situation is characterized by what are termed 'transverse social policies' - territorialization, positive discrimination in favour of under-privileged areas and the use of contracts.

The main achievement of the administrative structures based on this system has been to reduce the internal dysfunctioning of public operations. But though they may have produced a useful interaction between institutions, they have not succeeded in radically altering the relations between institutions and citizens. Behind the machinery of partnership, we can observe the ever-increasing power of experts controlling all aspects of a site, who have been omnipresent in the urban policy of the eighties. Organization and procedures have proliferated so densely at local level that the problems of society are approached in a more and more technical guise. Discussions are monopolized by specialists who alone can master the complexity of ways and means. Outside the assemblies of movers and shakers, social dissatisfaction continues un-

checked among the most marginalized groups who see no sign of the improvements that have been promised in their daily life.

'Transverse social policies' have improved the operational effectiveness of institutions which have hitherto been too compartmentalized. But it would be a delusion to suppose that the collaboration of professionals, technicians and politicians amounts to the same thing as the involvement of the general public. Furthermore, these new policies remain peripheral when compared with the administration of the great social organizations whose services remain essentially unchanged, a situation which renders the new policies all the more invisible to their beneficiaries. Finally, they are still locked into accounting systems and established patterns of administration which require them to anticipate budgetary demands and which preclude regular long-term developmental support.

In order that the developments started by transverse social policies should be translated into a reform whereby the affected populations become genuinely active, public administration would have to be committed to a stance of 'listening and dialogue with the community that it claims to serve', which is 'neither simple nor natural', as Calame[1] notes. However, he continues: 'True participation exists when local

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[1] P. CALAME, Mission possible, Paris: Lieu commun, Fondation pour le progres le d'homme, 1993, p. 94.

people, both collectively and as individuals, become the authors of their own destiny, and this presupposes that they themselves are able to choose what is being negotiated with the authorities. It seems to me very naive to impose on residents an agenda set by administrative procedures and available types of funding. In these circumstances, I am not surprised to hear many managers lamenting the absence of a response to their appeal with outstretched hands to the community. I also think that we pay too little attention to the length of time needed for these efforts'.

What Calame emphasizes, from first hand knowledge since he is a former official, is the difference between the practice of social engineering and the transformation of attitudes which could serve as a real support to projects that were genuinely rooted in the lived experience of the participants. In spite of the good intentions that inspired their creation, transverse social policies leave hardly any scope for the pioneering of projects which have not been set up in advance or embedded in existing frameworks.

Community initiatives: the failure to take them into account

The conduct of public affairs cannot recover legitimacy by internal reforms in the public services. Besides, the crisis does not only concern the government; rather, it is a crisis of the wage-earning nation of which the welfare state was one a pillar. As soon as the machinery of production (the economy) can no longer provide paid work for all employable citizens, the question of social participation becomes a political question[1].

In this new situation, to promote new forms of solidarity, it is the duty of the State to support activities which are conducive to social integration and cohesion, as a necessary counterbalance to the strength of market forces. These activities may arise in two ways. Either they stem from the initiative of people involved who unite to solve a common problem, or they

are instigated by professionals who, instead of adopting a fragmented individual approach, devise forms of collective social action that favour co-operation and social interaction. There are plenty of examples: children's playgroups, school-based activities (parent-teachers' associations) the upkeep of homes and gardens, home help for the elderly and other dependants, neighbourhood sports and cultural activities, networks of reciprocal services.

There is no shortage of initiatives, contrary to what people wish to believe if they see in society only the rise of individualism. The stumbling block for these initiatives is due to ignorance or to their containment by the institutional environment. At the moment these activities are tolerated rather than encouraged, or they are considered touching, an attitude which conveys an underlying contempt for anything so remote from the 'serious' business of economic society. Decentralisation and rigorous funding may have modified the levels and resources of public intervention but they have scarcely touched its modalities. The tutelary position of the public authorities continues to cast suspicion on any spontaneous social initiative that is not commercial.

The persistence of this traditional attitude is revealed in the lofty scrutiny to which many officials feel entitled to subject the world of community associations. In France, after the Revolution, the State set itself up as the safeguard of brotherly togetherness, the fraternal ethos. This stands in the way of independent autonomous public ventures which are always suspected of fostering membership of intermediary groups at the expense of the sense of belonging to the nation.

However, as Habermas[2] says, the crisis of the welfare state can only be solved by the 'transformation of the relationship between openings for autonomous collective activity, on the one hand, and, on the other, the domains of public activity controlled by money and administrative power'. Whether this transformation comes from people with sufficient strengths to

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[1] Cf. B. PERRET, G. ROUSTANG, L'economie contre la societe, Paris: Le Seuil, 1993.

[2] J. HABERMAS, Ecrits politiques (traduction francaise), Paris: Cerf. 1990, p. 158.

create mutual support independently, or whether it entails the mediation of professionals, what matters is that citizens should take their rightful places and be accepted by institutions without finding that what they have to say gets diluted in consultative procedures where they have no control over what is at stake.

Social harmony, which is now under threat, can be restored with the help of local organisations that deal with everyday problems, provided that the finicky regulations that still apply can give way to relationships founded on trust, support for collective risk-taking and periodic evaluation.

Some professionals in the fields of social work and social security have already declared themselves in favour of such a change. Many social workers in the Family Allowance offices are moving towards more systematic collective action with the client-population[1]. When they say, as one of them has done 'the hardest thing is to get them to feel part of society' the professionals are in fact expressing in their own terms the conclusions of Castel[2] which are as follows: 'The groups which are likely to be on the receiving end of social intervention are not only threatened by the inadequacy of their material resources but also undermined by the fragility of their personal relationships: they are not only undergoing a process of pauperization but also a loss of connectedness, that is to say, the destruction of social bonds'.

For this reason, the social workers want to put their energies into activities that might strengthen social bonds rather than into transverse social policies that are still too remote from the substance of what is at stake for social integration. Their primary emphasis is on stimulating the capacity for co-operative relationships by means of support of grassroots associations, whether these spring up spontaneously and are organised within the community or are started by the professionals themselves.

However, this new departure can hardly be expected to bear fruit if it relies exclusively on the energy of social workers anxious to reform their own practice. What is required is an appropriate institutional framework that can match the desire to control expenditure on the part of the State and the desire to escape dependency on the part of the most underprivileged households. This has been accomplished in Quebec with the advent of CLSC (Centres locaux de services communautaires: local centres of community service). Inaugurated by service-users and professionals who wanted to link health problems with living conditions, the CLSC were accepted at the end of a historic campaign as an integral part of the network of public health and social services. They negotiate their services with the public authorities at regional level and their interventions include support for self-help groups and the setting up of preventative health programmes by service users[3]. According to one alert observer, 'it could be argued that employees and service-users have helped to bring about a situation in which the costs of health care have not increased in real terms since the establishment of health insurance in Quebec in 1971'[4].

In this experiment and in similar innovative projects for social development in the Netherlands and Denmark, we can see ways in which the relations between administrative institutions and ordinary people may be governed by agreed objectives that unlock the compartmentalized funding for social action, training and job creation. Hence the logic of separate schemes is superseded by the logic of projects shaped by their participants, whether they be jobless individuals, social workers, young people or retired.

[1] J. GAUTRAT, J. L. LAVILLE, M. F. GOUNOUF, Le service public au defi du social, Paris: CRIDA-LSCI, CNRS, 1994.
[2] R. CASTEL, De l'indigence a l'exclusion, la desaffiliation, Precarite du travail et vulnerabilite relationelle, in J. DONZELOT (dir.), Face a l'exclusion: le modele francais, Paris: Seuil, coll. Esprit, 1991, p. 139.
[3] L. FAVREAU, Y. HURTUBISE, CLSC et communautes locales: la contribution de l'organisation communautaire, Quebec: Presses de l'Universite du Quebec, 1993.
[4] B. LEVESQUE, Les associations offrant des services de proximite au Quebec: institutionnalisation et financement. Contribution aux Sixiemes entretiens du Centre Jacques Cartier, Lyon, 7-10 decembre 1993.

Preliminary discussions surrounding subsidiarity in Germany are in the same vein: they argue for recognition of self-help groups which stress the importance of consulting service-users about the nature of the services which they are to receive. 'The welfare state would give to self-help organizations the money they need to survive while allowing them vital freedom of movement.'[1]

The renewal of public administration depends on achieving genuine synergy by absorbing initiatives from below. In France any change in this area is acknowledged to go against the grain because it clashes with two fond beliefs: the first firmly rooted in history to the effect that listening to public opinion would imply the abandonment of policies; the second, equally widely held, that training and enterprise remain the royal road to social integration ('insertion'), as was the case in the period of economic growth.

However, the altered status of employment within society now calls for a rethinking of rights to ensure that those who are excluded from paid work are not thereby inevitably excluded from citizenship. In the face of new social problems, the definition of a right to social participation might bridge the gulf between institutions and the public without necessarily claiming that social participation has a monopoly of virtue. Equally, priority could be given to grass-roots initiative where it exists without challenging the established mechanisms of social action.

One concrete example will be enough to illustrate what such a change of perspective might mean. With RMI, several countries adopted the principle of free medical help. In a district of Herouville Saint-Clair in Normandy[2], a worker noted with surprise that families sent their children to fetch information and forms for this medical aid. Having discussed this with several mothers, she realised that several of them felt ashamed to claim this benefit. In their eyes,

it carried a stigma. Together they launched a scheme that no-one thought would work: the creation of a 'friendly society' in the neighbourhood run by volunteers. Several years on, this society numbers more than 500 families. Through its organization, collective management, health education and preventative work, the society has opened up to its participants routes to 're-insertion' which few training programmes or measures to mitigate unemployment could have offered...

Innovative practices in the pubic services, devised in response to the varied demands of service-users or as new ammunition for combatting social exclusion, come up against the definition of solidarity which has prevailed since the invention of the State as protector: that is to say, solidarity expressed solely in terms of individual rights. The ethos of the welfare state assumes that this solidarity implies entitlement to and is automatically linked with a solidarity which creates and strengthens the social bond. But to contain the rising tide of a risk-taking society where isolation reinforces inequality and insecurity, the fostering of the rights of the individual is no longer enough, since it fails to prevent phenomena of anomie and marginalization.

The conception of solidarity should be extended to the promotion of the common good, and social relations should be cherished for their own sake, provided they respect the principles of liberty and equality on which the national constitution is based. The preservation of social networks within the community, as a matter of public policy in the interventions of public services, marks a challenging new frontier for integrated social policies[3], focusing attention on activity and attaching relatively less importance to employment.

For several years, in order to make up for the lack of permanent work in the traditional economy, the increasing number of subsidized posts has led to the proliferation of part-time jobs. Work schemes designed to promote 'insertion' are trapped in this impasse. An

[1] H. BOSSONG, "Selbsthilfe in der Krise zur Handlungrationlitat von Selbtshilfegruppen und ihrer Beteutung fur die Sozial-politi", Zeitschrift fur Sozialreform, 6, 1987.
[2] Coup de Pouce Sante, 402 Quartier du Grand Park, 14200 Herouville Saint-Clair

[3] P. P. DONATI, Towards an Integrated and Synergized Social Policies: Concepts and Strategies, Innovation, vol. 5, No 1, 1992.

alternative approach would be to fund activities which provide participants with opportunities to construct a social identity, and this would imply the explicit recognition of social integration as a crucial factor in policy.

Public expenditure on measures to tackle unemployment has taken a step in this direction by the reallocation of work in public utilities. But this formula which has done much to prevent definitive 'exclusion' is far from being entirely satisfactory. For a start, it represents a merely temporary solution which leaves the beneficiaries at a loss when the contract comes to an end. Furthermore, considerations of the individual's career-path are too often ignored in the manipulation of vacancies. When, for political purposes, those in charge make up the numbers to contain rising unemployment as election dates approach, the

quality and coherence of the jobs on offer inevitably suffer.

For all these reasons, the work provided in this publicly funded context does not always encourage self-esteem. To overcome these obstacles as a matter of urgency, we must combine the security of inalienable individual rights with support for those activities that make for 'socialization', in which people voluntarily participate.

There are grounds for fear that it may prove impossible to solve the crisis of the welfare state by ad hoc redistributive benefit-schemes that do no more than revise and reconstitute the relations between security and solidarity. The new social question raises a broader debate concerning the links between public policy and social cohesion.

Appendix D: Extract from UN social summit declaration

World Summit for Social Development, Copenhagen, 6-12 March 1995:

extracts from the Declaration and Programme of Action regarding communities, volunteering and unpaid work.

The declaration

Para 3: 'We acknowledge that our societies must respond more effectively to the material and spiritual needs of individuals, their families and the communities in which they live throughout our diverse countries and regions. We must do so as a matter of urgency but also as a matter of sustained and unshakeable commitment through the years ahead.'

Commitment 1 (c):

'(The signatory governments commit themselves to) reinforce as appropriate the means and capacities for people to participate in the formulation and implementation of social and economic policies and programmes through decentralization, open management of public institutions, and strengthening of the abilities and opportunities of civil society and local communities to develop their own organisations, resources and activities'.

Commitment 4 (j):

'(The signatories will) strengthen the ability of local communities and groups with common concerns to develop their own organisations and resources and to propose policies relating to social development, including through the activities of non-governmental organisations'

The programme of action

Para 14 (h):

'(Essential actions include) strengthening the capacities and opportunities of all people, especially those who are disadvantaged or vulnerable, to enhance their own economic and social development, to establish and maintain organisations representing their interests and to be involved in the planning and implementation of government policies and programmes by which they will be directly affected'.

Para 15 (j):

'(Essential actions include) strengthening the ability of civil society and the community to participate actively in the planning, decision-making and implementation of social development programmes, by education and access to resources'.

Para 46:

'Much unremunerated productive work , such as caring for children and older persons, producing and preparing food for the family, protecting the environment and providing voluntary assistance to vulnerable and disadvantaged individuals and groups is of great social importance. World-wide most of this work is done by women who often face the double burden of remunerated and unremunerated work. Efforts are needed to acknowledge the social and economic importance and value of unremunerated work, to facilitate labour-force participation in combination with such work through flexible working arrangements, encouraging voluntary social activities as well as broadening the very conception of productive work, and to accord social recognition for such work, including by developing methods for reflecting its value in quantitative terms for possible reflection in accounts that may be produced separately from but consistent with core national accounts'.

Para 64 passim and particularly:

(c) '(A broader understanding of work requires) recognising the relationship between remunerated employment and unremunerated working developing strategies to expand productive employment, to ensure equal access by women and men to employment, and to ensure the care and well-being of children and other dependents, as well as to combat poverty and promote social integration'.

(f) '(A broader understanding of work requires) promoting socially useful volunteer work and allocating appropriate resources to support such work without diluting the objectives regarding employment expansion'.

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