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Twenty-six URBACT Thematic Networks and Working Groups involving 230 partners across Europe have been at work communicating, studying, comparing and analysing for the past eighteen months. Rooted in these exchanges, each of the partners coproduce a Local Action Plan with their Local Support Group.

As the projects advance, the Lead Experts accompanying the projects are responsible for highlighting new or tried and tested ways of addressing shared challenges, of linking them up, and providing analysis that will enable decision-makers in cities to benefit from and integrate this learning into their daily work.

The global economic and financial crisis has challenged many established certainties and has accelerated changes that were already under way. Heightened challenges have forced city practitioners to adapt their strategies and sometimes even to reverse their priorities.

All of these articles have been written by URBACT Lead Experts. At this point, midway through the life cycle of the projects, they reflect on the state of play in the projects, heavily impacted by the multiple effects of the crisis.

At first reading, there appears to be nothing in common between female entrepreneurship, innovative public procurement, the dilemmas of area-based urban renewal, urban identities and metropolitan governance.

But this great variety of themes reflects the diversity of the challenges facing European cities, which the URBACT Programme enables them to confront with the support of peer cities.

Throughout the articles, several ideas return again and again: innovation, creativity, harnessing capacities, cultural transformation, opportunities, potential, cross-sectoral, cross-boundaries, etc.

The reason is that these ideas are key components of sustainable integrated urban development. The pressure created by the downturn makes it more necessary than ever before that decision-makers in cities find new reference points, establish new approaches, and imagine new ways of operating.

URBACT, the European Commission, Member and Partner States, and all the partners and experts involved in URBACT projects, contribute to European cities' ability to emerge from the crisis. ●

Josef Postranecky
Chair of the URBACT Monitoring Committee

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TOWARDS INNOVATIVE PUBLIC PROCUREMENT

Using Public Procurement to Drive Skills and Innovation in Urban Communities

by **Eurico Neves**
Lead Expert of the UNIC Thematic Network

■ *Europe has now long recognized that economic growth and competitiveness depends on innovation and that as such promotion of innovation is key for economic development. Still, public authorities, at European, national and local level continue to promote innovation mainly from the supply side, and forgetting about the importance of Market size, rate of growth, users willing to pay premium prices and first-mover advantage as critical factors in the creation of a favourable market for innovation to take-up. To use the image from the celebrated economist Alfred Marshall, they continue to try to cut a piece of paper with just one blade of a pair of scissors – and not surprisingly find it inefficient.*

■ *Europe can drive forward innovation by harnessing its large expenditure on public procurement and public agents, including city authorities that can "play this game" by learning to "spend smart", promoting innovation and defending relevant industrial sectors.*

Today Europe is clearly under exploiting and not realising the potential of public procurement to meet its innovation and research objectives. Experiences from outside Europe show that progress in this field is possible and the public sector has the potential to positively influence innovation and sustainable development through public procurement, thus leading to economic growth and in addition tackling one of Europe's most pressing problems – how to increase the productivity and effectiveness of our public services.

Although no truly comparable or historical data sets exist various figures suggest that the United States and EU have similar expenditure levels regarding public procurement. However, US R&D public procurement expenditure is more than 20 times that of Europe and US ICT research is more than 4 times European levels (EC 2005e). These

figures illustrate that there is a clear difference in the approach and use of public expenditure allocation on the instruments to stimulate innovation (market pull using procurement in the US vs. technology push using State aids in Europe) Indeed, innovative procurement in USA is promoted with explicit policies, which are actively pursued – for example the Small Business Act, under which the USA government reserves 2,5% of all R&D procurement for small (often innovative) businesses (and social activities) in order to give preferential treatment concerning procurement of innovation.

A recent inquiry in the UK (CBI, 2006) also showed that when asked if public procurement practices helped or hindered companies' own innovation activities, over two fifths of the companies currently supplying public authorities (46% of supplies to central government, 43% of suppliers to local

authorities) said that the practices did hinder them, compared to only 25% of non suppliers. Overall only 16% said that current practices helped them.

Europe should not throw away the benefits of the support we give to innovation through grants, incentives and advice, but needs to complement it with efforts to create favourable markets - including the public sector - who give innovators an early customer base from which to develop their products or services and diffuse them ahead of global competition. Thus, finally learning to use both blades of the scissors to cut paper, and deal away with economic recession.

Europe is Moving towards Innovative Public Procurement

The fundamental principles governing public procurement across the European Union are transparency, non-discrimination and competition. The aim of public procurement is to achieve value for money for the taxpayer through the promotion of competition in the marketplace. The Treaty of Rome prohibits public procurement from discriminating on the grounds of nationality, meaning that procurers should not be biased against firms or individuals from different Member States.

European Union Procurement Directives include various requirements for specifications, selection of tenderers and award of contracts. The directives state that specifications must be non-discriminatory (i.e. capable of being met by companies across the EU) and that specific rules on the use of EU and other standards are adhered to. In selecting tenderers, the directives limit the information and criteria that can be taken into account in assessing the qualities of the companies concerned. In awarding contracts, there are two options: lowest price or the most economically advantageous tender.

The European Union adopted new procurement directives some years ago (Directives 2004/18/EC and 2004/17/EC) that Member States are now implementing. These replace six existing directives and set out the procedures that need to be followed at each stage of the procurement process above certain thresholds for works, services and supplies. The new directives go some way towards promoting the possibility for innovation and in particular,they allow:

■ Possibilities for technical and competitive dialogues between purchaser and supplier, a necessary condition if each side is to understand the other;

■ The facility to specify requirements in terms of functional performance or standards, which allows suppliers to produce any configuration of technology they feel can meet the need;
■ Options to permit variants, thus opening up bids to alternative ideas;
■ Conditions that allow transfer of intellectual property to the suppliers, and hence allow them to exploit their innovations in wider markets. Since 2008, Europe also has its Small Business Act. One of its objectives is to adapt public policy tools to SME needs, and it proposes a new code of best practice for public procurement that should facilitate SMEs' access to public procurement contracts.

It offers solutions to difficulties faced by small companies by improving access to information about public contracts and how to bid on-line, reducing excessive financial requirements, and cutting the paperwork.

It is now time to put it into practice through concrete measures at all levels of governance, and in particular at local and city level. Some regions or countries are expressing a political commitment from the highest levels down into innovation-driven public procurement, or providing tools and mechanisms that can induce change.

The 2001 "Netherlands" strategy for innovative procurement", aims to promote innovative procurement, "by presenting a challenge in the invitation to tender and tailoring the contract forms to this."

A knowledge centre has been created (www.pianoo.nl), which aims to raise awareness through, for example, the publication of a fact-sheet with information on innovative procurement. It also supports knowledge sharing between public procurers from all domains of government, including health and education. The "Innovation Platform" (a joint government-industry initiative) has proposed an action plan which envisages specific actions and targets, such as a 2.5% target of the total procurement budget reserved for goods or services not yet available on the market.

Italy has a centralised e-procurement platform (Consip), providing consultancy and technology services (eAuction, eShops and an eMarketplace for procurement under EU threshold) to all public administrations especially for Central PA. In 2006, more than 1.000 suppliers were registered on the portal and there were more than 42.000 public administration ordering centres (3.500 on eMarketplace). In 2006, only in the eMarketplace around 11.000 orders (euro 38mln, 230.000 on line articles) were placed, mainly in office material and IT products and accessories.

In Ireland the Government Supplies Agency uses elaborate criteria for selecting firms that could be modified to include innovation considerations.

In the United Kingdom, the DTI's (Department of Trade and Industry) five year program, published in 2004, committed the DTI and the OGC (Office of Government Commerce) to establishing an ideas portal; "a mechanism for firms, inventors and researchers to submit unsolicited, innovative proposals to the public sector"; and to work together on a number of specifically identified tasks to support the promotion of innovation in public sector procurement, including identifying significant and high profile projects where government is seeking innovative solutions. Indeed good practices in terms of procurement in support of innovation are emerging in several EU member states and this is taking place at national, regional and supranational levels indicating the wide variety of intervention opportunities. Public procurement operates indeed at all levels of governance and potential drivers for enhancing innovation through public procurement can be found at these same levels. Regional or city level procurement accounts for approximately half of public procurement in Europe and is therefore a major challenge to disseminate and involve these actors into innovative public procurement practices. Many regional structures are acutely aware of the need to develop innovative strategies for their regions and cities and hence are willing partners in securing enhanced leverage and impact of public procurement on innovation. Notwithstanding these opportunities other challenges will need to be faced such as the multiplicity of (semi-)public actors at this sub national or sub central level (hospitals, universities, regional authorities, water boards, public transportation companies) and central government control of "regional budgets".

Bringing it to the Urban Level

The role of cities as the "engines" of economic change in modern knowledge-based societies is by now widely recognized and cities have expanded their traditional role of purely physical and land planning into exploring new ways of intervening in social and economic fields as part of urban sustainable development. The role of cities as engines of growth and job creation and innovation catalysers is particularly recognised in the Urbact II programme and all the 9 projects under this thematic pole are looking at developing policies, tools and mechanisms that can help cities managing authorities to foster local innovation and promote sustainable development. These include the use of public procurement as a tool for promotion of innovation and sustainable development. Innovative and Sustainable Public Procurement is viewed by these cities as a relatively new progression from Green Public.

Procurement, that while continuing to take environmental considerations into account, builds

further by also including innovation and social criteria, like, for example, promotion of employment or of SME participation.

Within URBACT communities, and also on other cities across Europe, there are a number of good practices, which demonstrates how the adoption of innovative public procurement practices may strengthen cities evolution towards more dynamic and competitive economies.

These include:
■ The adoption of **early procurement procedures**, and in particular the cooperation between public purchasers at local level (city councils, but also universities, hospitals, …) through Common Procurement Agencies or similar, thus creating a critical mass that removes some of the barriers towards innovative solutions; but also the implementation of foresight and market analysis studies prior to the launch of public tenders (also called pre-procurement techniques). Public procurement also has a role in promoting practices which foster a culture of innovation – through, for instance, earlier channels of communication with potential suppliers or by ensuring that contracts are not awarded purely on the basis of cost – will also raise the profile of a learning culture within the supply chain. Suppliers may also have new ideas, technologies or processes that the public sector can best learn about by engaging at the very early stages of a procurement exercise. In addition, a supplier may also bring external ideas to the procurer during the process of the procurement exercise, and spark further exchanges of knowledge that result in additional innovation and better solutions.

Waterstons & Darlington Borough Council

Waterstons, a small IT company, won a contract to supply a new website to Darlington Council, which sparked significant growth in public sector markets and encouraged the company to recruit additional highly qualified staff. The website won industry awards and the Council particularly valued the company's ability to go beyond their initial ideas on content and design. Waterstons' approach was considered innovative and the Council encouraged this by communicating with the market at the pre-tender stage, using external assistance to draft the invitation to tender document and having an open specification that encouraged each bidder to develop its own ideas.

Waterstons has since gone on to win several more public sector contracts. As the company has grown it has significantly increased its demand for higher-level skills, recruiting around 20 additional young graduates to positions with direct responsibility for clients.

This case study demonstrates that early com-

munication with the market can help the public sector to purchase more innovative ICT solutions, particularly where the tender process is designed around encouraging innovation, for example using external experience to assist with the draft of an ITT before the main tender process, on-site days and open tender documents emphasising supplier's ideas.

■ Support **Public-Private Partnerships** in procurement. A number of EU member states and regions are increasingly resorting to PPPs (public private partnerships) to resolve procurement needs. Much early experience has been confined to infrastructures and services such as hospitals and road and rail infrastructure but also in areas of defence and utilities and in the actual management of such investments. Such a partnership approach offers a different procurement process in which it might be possible to imagine a greater role for innovation (earlier consultation with the market, greater dialogue and creativity, value for money not just lowest cost approach, innovative contractual arrangements etc). This form of agreement may also represent a way for bringing in innovative SMEs into the procurement process through sub contracting procedures. While the benefits of partnering with the private sector in PPPs are clear, such relationships should not be seen as the only possible course of action and are indeed complex to design, implement and operate. Many alternative sources of financing are available, including "public - public" institutional arrangements which should not be discounted in the hope that PPPs offer a miracle solution. Therefore PPPs need to be carefully assessed in the context of the project, the public benefit and the relative gains to be achieved under various approaches.

Dublin Region Waste Water Scheme

The Government of the Republic of Ireland has encouraged private sector involvement in the upgrade of its public utilities and infrastructure through PPPs. In most cases PPPs have been implemented either through "design-build-operate" ("DBO") contracts, or "design-buildfinance-operate" ("DBFO") contracts, in which the private sector had also contributed to finance the assets.

Dublin City Council recognised the need for a new treatment plant under the pressure of the EU Urban Waste Water Treatment Directive, which required improving the quality of seawater in the Dublin Bay. It decided to procure the treatment plant using the DBO method to ensure the best value over the whole life of the project. At the same time, building the plant on the restricted site available at Ringsend required using the most up-to-date technology, thus more expen-

sive than others. The Cohesion fund enabled the financing of the gap needed to attract the private company detaining the needed expertise and technology.

The capital and operation costs are recovered through the level of the tariff, which is paid only by non- domestic operators. The consortium holding the DBO agreement receives a rent to cover their maintenance and operating costs.

By using this scheme and a local fund to cover the total operating costs, the City Council indirectly subsidizes the domestic consumers, as they are not paying for the treated water.

A recent attempt to introduce water fees for the domestic consumers has encountered much resistance and thus failed.

The PPP agreement aims to protect the capital investment and to ensure the sustainability of the project. The operator has a direct incentive to maintain the assets and enhance operational efficiency.

■ Insert **social clauses into procurement contracts**. Government procurers can insert "social clauses" or "community benefit requirements" into contracts, relevant to the subject of the contract and consistent with national procurement policies, the EU Treaty and EU Procurement Directive, that help to achieve wider social, environmental or economic benefits. Actions taken can have implications over the longer and medium term as well as the short term and it is therefore important to approach social issues from a whole life costs perspective of value for money. Social clauses can include employment and skills requirements but may also include employment and training issues, workforce skills including adult basic skills, equality – disability, gender and ethnicity, community benefits, core labour standards, environmental standards or small and medium sized enterprises.

Use of social clauses by the City Council of Nantes

The City Council of Nantes introduced a law in 2005 to insert clauses that support employment promotion in public procurement. For construction and cleaning contracts, the winning company has to commit to employing unemployed people for a certain volume of working hours, either directly or through a specialised employment agency. This is assessed in the award criteria and monitored through contract performance conditions. In April 2005, the City of Nantes inserted the employment clause in two work contracts for the construction of a school and a swimming pool. A workload of 12,500 hours was reserved for unemployed people.

■ Set out ***demanding standards, namely in the environmental field***. Regulations can successfully drive innovation either indirectly through altering market structure and affecting the funds available for investment, or directly through boosting or limiting demand for particular products and services. "Performance based regulation" sets targets beyond current market capabilities in an attempt to anticipate and stimulate innovation, currently used most obviously in the area of environmental emissions. Standards can act to encourage innovation through procurement if they are set at a demanding level of functionality without specifying which solution must be followed. They thereby foster innovation but do not prescribe the specific route to achieving it.

Malmo Traffic Environment Programme

Malmo is one of the biggest and most densely populated cities in Sweden. In 1997, the city council approved a Traffic Environment Programme that contains political and regulatory actions, including creating an environmental zone open only to low pollution vehicles. To place an order in the field of road construction, the contractor has to comply with defined environmental criteria, e.g. buses and trucks must comply with the highest Swedish environmental standards for motorized vehicles and contractors must have started to work according to an environmental management system (e.g. EMAS or ISO14001). These regulations have led to innovation in energy friendly transport technologies and because domestic and foreign companies were treated equally, the regulations could not be challenged on the basis of EU discrimination laws.

■ Induce a ***cultural transformation amongst public procurement officers***, through training, incentives, dissemination of EU Procurement Guidelines and other tool kits and good practices diffusion. It is obvious that there can be a mismatch between high level support for change and action on the ground. At the more operational level of public procurement a challenge is to ensure that all public customers – individuals as well as the bodies they work for – are willing to explore the potential of innovation and contributing towards sustainable development solutions. A willingness that needs to be nurtured and rewarded, namely through training, sharing of good practices, individual and group incentives and availability of the necessary means and resources (e.g. longer time frames for impact evaluation of public procurement). Currently, public procurement training provisions are very uneven across European central and local public authorities, and namely in urban communities. While some cities have well developed training programmes, others have little or no training provisions and rely on gifted amateurs, often with no previous experience of procurement, let alone procurement for innovation and the ability to handle procurement exercises.

The Environmental City District Hammarby Sjöstad, Stockholm

Hammarby Sjöstad is a project to build up a new part of the city. The amount of the apartments to be built was 15,000 and offices 10,000. The area was an old industrial area, very near to the city of Stockholm. The development of this environmentally friendly city district started in 1998 and included a unique method for integrated and sustainable planning of infrastructure as well as for the implementation of innovative technology for energy, water and waste management. A related slogan was "Everything should be twice as good as the best or as the state of art at that time". The project was initially expected to be finished by 2012.

The process falls within Stockholm's strategy of developing a policy vision on linking procurement and innovation in their region. As a major procurement process, it included several actions regarding the preparation of public customers, namely information and education activities (such as seminars, fact finding visits, and specialized reports) in order to encourage environmental investments, change attitudes and stimulate new thinking amongst public officers.

■ ***Monitor innovation and contribution to sustainable development*** in public procurement. Impact needs to be monitored and there is a growing tendency of creating special organizations or networks for supporting cooperation and innovation in public procurement throughout Europe. This is partly due to the realization of the complexity of the public procurement process when aiming at wider social goals like innovation. Tasks to be performed include Information collection and dissemination, consultancy, systematic evaluation and impact assessment of cases related to procurement for innovation, systematic appraisal of demand-side innovation policy tools in urban communities and cities.

Tallin Transport System Working Group

In their quest for more innovative public procurement, the Tallinn City Government has since September 2002 created a working group that is responsible for monitoring innovation in the public transport sector and that included representatives from the Tallinn Transport Department as well as Registrikeskus (register center). One of their aims was that of increasing the number of people officially registered as residents of Tallinn and the introduction of an ID-ticket for the Public Transportation System, following a public procurement process, in 2004, has been one of their outcomes.

The working group has since continued to monitor the introduction of innovations in the cities and suggested areas for improvement.

Conclusions

The adoption of practices such as those described above will likely contribute to the openness of public markets for innovation and sustainable development, eventually resulting

in the attraction of innovative firms to the community and helping to spark change and fasten evolution towards more dynamic local economies – possibly at a fraction of the cost of other measures, as direct public aid or infrastructure development, e.g. science parks.

The present time of financial crisis and economic recession calls for public authorities to take action and consider innovative ways to stimulate innovation amongst the private sector and continuing to keep sustainable development issues high on their agendas. Public procurement can provide an answer to those issues but call from a new attitude from public authorities – are the European Urban Communities ready to give it a try? ●

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How Cities Can Harness the Capabilities of Universities in a Period of Economic Uncertainty

by **Clive Winters**
Lead Expert of the RUN-UP Thematic Network

■ *In times of economic downturn demand for higher education usually grows. This is usually seen through an increase in applications for educational courses and programmes to drive an individual's employment potential. URBACT II, through a focus on innovation and creativity, is investigating the way in which cities can harness the wider potential of universities and knowledge based institutions in order to drive competitiveness and innovation at a local level.*

The Lisbon European Union Spring Council of 2000 set a strategic goal for the European Union to become the most dynamic and competitive knowledge based economy in the world by 2010. This was driven through significant research, policies, and projects on how to stimulate the knowledge economy and importantly the role of universities within the triple helix structures [1], which define the concept of the transformation process in university-industry-government relations.

However in a period of economic uncertainty the real questions and debate are now:
■ What is the specific role of universities in a period of downturn? and,
■ How can universities aid longer term recovery?
Universities and city authorities will play a vital role during this period of economic uncertainty.

As highlighted by European Commissioner Jàn Figel [2] "Education, innovation and research play a crucial role for Europe, in particular in these difficult times. In fact, this is the time to invest more, not less, in education, research and innovation. If we invest more, we can come more quickly out of the crisis."

But the challenge is not limited to investment. As former European Commissioner Lord Mandelson, UK Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills has expressed [3] "To compete in this fast-moving world our companies must be built by workers with the right skills, they must be able to rely on world class digital and material infrastructure, and benefit from a regulatory environment that is designed to facilitate the creation and development of strong and flexible businesses. This is where the role of government becomes critical, because training, ground-breaking science,

innovation, finance, infrastructure – these are not things that markets will necessarily provide to the right degree on their own."

To address these challenges we need to review the wider role of universities, their engagement with local communities, their support for skills development training and education; their support for stimulating spin-out and graduate start-up businesses alongside their role in innovation, knowledge transfer and business.

Establishing a Wider Perspective on the Role of Universities

The URBACT II programme recognises the urban contribution to growth and jobs and that cities are home to innovation, entrepreneurial spirit and economic growth. Priority axis 1 of the operational programme in particular recognises the important themes of promoting entrepreneurship and improving innovation and the knowledge economy and the development of a triple helix structures as catalysts to promote innovation structures and entrepreneurial spirit. However, until now nearly all the attention has gone to the role of larger cities with world class universities – the so called Premier League [4].

"Universities are increasingly working with Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises in their own communities to help them become more productive and profitable. They can provide vital support to businesses but sometimes businesses do not make use of the skills and expertise that exists."

Yet small and medium sized cities as "Urban Poles" are critical to driving forward EU economic performance and innovation competence. The strategic development and exploitation of endogenous potentials is crucial, and universities are critical to this innovation process. A specific issue facing Urban Poles is they cannot make sufficient use of existing knowledge and competencies of their universities to support economic development and encourage entrepreneurship. Within its baseline study the work of the URBACT II funded RUnUP network [5] has recognised that:
1. Universities are positioned as mechanisms for research and development and subsequently licensing, patenting and spin-outs (and this is reinforced in European and National policies); *although this may not be where their potential for supporting local economic development truly exists.*

2. Local Government organisations see Universities primarily as vehicles for Education and Research & Development (see point 1) and expect them to support the development of their local economy by default; *although universities operate in regional, national and international markets and are not entirely (if at all) aligned to local priorities.*

3. An economic development perspective examining the needs of the local economy, its modernisation, transformation, transplantation and new sector creation establishes common ground where local priorities can be articulated and the role of the university in this context can be openly explored and suitable knowledge transfer approaches defined in support of triple-helix development. This is the key challenge addressed by RUnUP.

Solna, Sweden

From Economic Crisis to Knowledge Economy, Solna, one of RUnUP's partner cities, with a population of 65,000 people is located in east central Sweden, part of the capital Stockholm Metropolitan Area. During the early 1990s Sweden suffered an economic crisis, during which Solna was impacted with high levels of unemployment. In 1997, politicians from all political parties in the City agreed to a strategy to enable it to become the most business friendly municipality in Sweden.

Solna has now been transformed into a service and knowledge intensive economy. The number of companies located in the City has almost doubled to approximately 8,500 and there are slightly more jobs (67000),than inhabitants. Expansion has intensified and will continue until the year 2025, when the population is expected to reach more than 90,000 with employment opportunities for all.

Feedback from the survey of companies in which Solna was recognised as the most business friendly municipality in 2008 highlighted that the quick processing of planning permission and food permits and the establishment of strong communication mechanisms between the city politicians and civil servants and business representatives were the key features of the city's good track record in economic development. This success has its basis in the service-minded organisation, a positive attitude towards alternative solutions along with a profile to become and maintain the position as a business friendly city.

Central to the transformation of Solna has been the success of Karolinska Institute (KI), one of the largest medical universities in Europe. It is the largest centre for medical training and research in Sweden, yearly awarding the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine. It's mission is to improve people's health through research, education and global collaboration. Another goal is to become Scandinavia's foremost innovation centre in Life Sciences, and leading in Europe in exploiting new scientific data. KI places great value on close cooperation between the commercial and the academic sector. The Institute operates a Corporate Alliance unit that supports and stimulates cooperation with companies focusing on strategic alliances.

For further information, visit the Solna City Profile on www.urbact.eu (check the RUN-UP mini-site)

The Role of Universities in the Economic Downturn

In a period of economic transformation and downturn, taking a wider view on the role and capabilities of universities is particularly important. It has never been so timely for economic development organisations and business to look at what capabilities exist within their local university and for universities to promote what they can do to help.

In essence this includes assistance to address some of the problems engendered by the economic downturn in a variety of ways that address direct support in the downturn and aid long term recovery, including:
a. Skills, Training and Employee Development
b. Innovation Knowledge Transfer and Supporting Business
c. University Spin-Outs and Graduate Entrepreneurship
d. Access to funding support

a. Skills, Training and Employee Development
As European Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner has highlighted [6] "investment in education and training is the key to creating a better future. In the current financial and economic crisis, well-targeted investment can build and strengthen skills in the workforce. It equips people for the opportunities of the post-crisis world, and lays the basis for long-term sustainable economic and social development."

During the economic downturn the need to develop skills is more crucial than ever. Whilst difficult circumstances may make it necessary to rationalise and reduce the workforce to remain competitive, it is also important to retain and develop people within an organisation who are skilled and have a real potential for the future.

As has been highlighted by many businesses and business associations during the RUnUP development phase, engaging Universities in workforce development is seen as a key mechanism for improving leadership and management skills but Universities can also help improve business practices and efficiency. Higher Education

is increasingly introducing new ways of working, such as expanding work-based programmes so that training fits better with business needs and company practices. Tailored and flexible programmes save money and time for business and ensure higher productivity returns. As part of all this, universities can talk to employers and give professional advice on what kinds of training support could help particular businesses.

In addition universities also provide good access to recruiting graduates and establishing student placements. History shows that recruiting talented, enthusiastic graduates is an excellent way of combating economic difficulties and ensuring that businesses are ready for recovery. Importantly, student placements provide students with a head start in their career but additionally and importantly provide organisations with access to fresh young talent who can make an immediate impact, and develop a potential future loyal employee.

Related to education and skills development (linked to the RUnUP theme's of modernisation of the economy and business transplantation) the Swedish region of Västra Götaland has introduced the Better Concept [7] to promote the training of employees within SMEs through the provision of distance learning courses delivered by University Colleges. The programme is demand driven with students applying the knowledge learnt in the courses to the real life problems faced in their SMEs enabling knowledge to be applied to real life scenarios faced in regional companies. The courses utilise an internet based learning platform with lectures delivered through video streaming alongside weekly planning and tutor support sessions. The impact of the concept has been significant with 830 participants supported over 4 years with business impact a key driver. In this context companies are seeing Universities as accessible and providing knowledge and know-how that can be applied for immediate impact on bottom-line profitability through increased turnover and improvements in business process efficiency.

b. Innovation, Knowledge Transfer and Supporting Business
Innovation is defined within the European Commission and OECD Oslo Manual as the implementation of a new or significantly improved product (good or service), or process, a new marketing method, or a new organisational method in business practices, workplace organisation or external relations.

In this context universities have a significantly important role to play supporting the design, development and prototyping of new products and the development and improvement of manufacturing processes. University Research and Business Development expertise makes a significant impact on individuals, organisations and society in general and can be frequently applied to "real-life" situations. University-led and inspired innovation has helped European economic competitiveness in major sectors such as pharmaceuticals and aerospace. But universities are also increasingly working with Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises in their own communities to help them become more productive and profitable. They also help large and small companies come together to innovate.

In the area of economic diversification and modernisation it is recognised [8] that public research organisations are to some extent less important sources for supporting innovation in SMEs. However the role of universities in technical change in this context should not be seen as limited to pursuing research "at the frontier" but, instead to make accumulated knowledge available as and when there is a need for it [9]. In support of this the Innovating Regions of Europe, Knowledge Transfer Working Group [10] identified that "voucher systems, training courses, mentoring, selection of brokers and signposting SME entry points to the knowledge transfer network (higher and further education as opposed to universities) can help meet the challenge of helping increase the take up by SMEs of knowledge transfer services." Best practice innovation cases are well publicised in Europe and can be adapted to meet specific local economic development requirements.

Gateshead, United Kingdom

Gateshead is the largest in the area of 5 Tyneside local authorities that cover Gateshead, Newcastle, North Tyneside, South Tyneside and Sunderland and occupies a central position in the Tyneside conurbation alongside the City of Newcastle on the South bank of the River Tyne. In recent decades Gateshead's economy has undergone significant structural changes – from traditional manufacturing industries towards more service sector businesses. Despite these shifts and the fact that the industrial composition of Gateshead is still progressively changing, the borough is still home to a high number of manufacturing and engineering businesses that in response to global competition, have invested in process, plant, machinery and people to now supply high value products to high growth markets both in the UK and overseas.

Gateshead itself is developing an Innovation Connector that could underpin the development of Gateshead's new economy – the Design Centre for the North. The Design Centre is based on the principles of Innovation Connectors, that are partnerships to concentrate facilities and encourage innovation between government, universities and industry, creating hubs based in deprived areas to create deep local impact; linked to regeneration based on traditional industrial strengths such as energy and chemicals, new industrial specialisations such as bioscience and software and softer enabling skills such as design to add value; and a strategy and implementation policy to produce dramatic change in the region within a generation.

The Design Centre concept will focus on product development, innovation and design in the North East. It aims to foster integration and interdisciplinary working between business and the knowledge base in design and science, engineering and technology – a tangible example of the triple helix working promoted by the URBACT II network RUnUP.

For further information visit the Gateshead City Profile on the URBACT website.

c. University Spin-Outs and Graduate Entrepreneurship
Experiences in universities have shown that they can be a source of spin-off firms [11], and this is especially important in new science based industries. Regions with low levels of entrepreneurship and low high tech industry are especially keen to encourage HEI spin offs. However, rates of formation are likely to be affected by the nature and research base of the HEI and the level of support in the surrounding region.

The Small and Medium Sized City of Enschede, located in the east of the Netherlands with a population of 155,000 highlights a particular best practice in the creation of new industries through the dynamic role of the University of Twente which is committed to making an economic and social contribution to the region of the Netherlands where it is based. The University was founded in 1961 within a local economy that needed a boost to compensate for the dwindling textile industry and actively supports local economic development through its patents, lifelong learning and spin-out companies developed through its TOP programme [12]. It has as its objectives the development of knowledge based companies from graduates, staff and local industry linked to the faculties of the university and including financial support, incubation space, advice and connections to university research.

"Universities are positioned as mechanisms for research and development and subsequently licensing, patenting and spin-outs although this may not be where their potential for supporting local economic development truly exists."

The University actively promotes entrepreneurship among its students and staff through various programmes. As a result the University has the highest spin-off ratio in the Netherlands. In 20 years over 700 companies have originated from the University. These companies have had a 5-year survival rate of over 70%, creating almost

10,000 jobs to date. In addition the University has about 130 student-run companies. The impact on the city is clear with strong industry relationships and over 600 spin-off companies that thrive on and around the University campus.

d. Access to Funding Support
Supporting knowledge transfer to businesses through research and consultancy, universities can provide access to funding schemes designed to maximise business competitiveness. Particular schemes operating through universities or accessible by European Universities may include:
■ Innovation Vouchers: designed to assist small and medium-sized enterprises to benefit from research & development and consultancy expertise.
■ Knowledge transfer projects: forming a partnership between a local company, a university and a qualified associate (normally a graduate of the university)
■ Business Collaboration Grants: SMEs with other businesses to bring new products and services to market.
■ International Trade: Offering support to businesses to access growing global markets

In support of problem solving for industry (linked to the upgrading of mature sectors in the economy) an example includes the Research Voucher Scheme [13] launched in Limburg aimed at increasing the level of knowledge and improving the competitiveness of small and medium-sized enterprises by creating and developing a "knowledge market" in the region, which would allow SMEs to call on external sources to supply the

know-how required to develop their business. The scheme helps provide R&D funding to SMEs and support for new product development. In relation to the work of the RUnUP thematic network the scheme directly addresses the fear that some SMEs often have of universities and research centres that often inhibits them from accessing external expertise.

Similarly, the Innovation Networks scheme highlighted by the Innovating Regions of Europe as a best practice exemplar offers small groups of companies in the West Midlands region of the UK grants to collaborate on product, process and service innovation projects. A low level of bureaucracy and cooperation between various regional support programmes make it easy for companies to start innovation activities. The programme was designed to address two major barriers preventing SMEs from innovating: lack of adequate skills in-house and a shortage of funds. By offering grants, the scheme encourages small groups of regional SMEs to collaborate on product, process and service innovation. The Innovation Networks initiative offers grants to groups of at least three SMEs collaborating on the development of an innovative product, process or service. In relation to the work of the RUnUP thematic network the cooperation allows SMEs to share good practice, widen their skills base, reduce overhead and benefit from knowledge and technology transfer.

Maximising the Role of Universities in the Local Economy

Many cities in the RUnUP URBACT network need to enhance their individual and organisational knowledge of their local and regional knowledge based institutions. Only by understanding the structures, key contacts, key research and educational themes and existing approaches of universities to working with their local economy can they support the development of triple helix structures and the alignment of university activity to local economic development priorities. As a prerequisite to the design of new schemes and approaches for university–business interaction, cities need to consider defining their sector priorities and the state of economic transformation.

A 3-step framework for cities can be used for addressing this challenge. The entry point is the bringing together of representatives of key triple helix organisations to develop a joint response to economic challenges. By pooling existing data and intelligence, an up-to-date and comprehensive "economic picture" can be developed in cities to inform policy development and identify successful arrangements for the governance of innovation and economic transformation. Subsequently city partners need to work together to re-define the role of universities

and local authorities to align to the focus of local transformation and the knowledge economy, producing an economic development strategy based on triple helix partnerships. And finally city partners need to formalise a core triple helix partnership for the delivery of new and upgraded activities and actions outlined in a local action plan. Universities across Europe operate differing structures to support knowledge and technology transfer type activities and community engagement but they do have dedicated teams who work with business.

In support of this framework approach the URBACT II network RUnUP will be delivering a series of 3 thematic workshops and 3 study visits within the strategic themes agreed for the network. Overall the RUnUP network seeks to bring stakeholders from academic, business and public sectors together to boost economic development in small and medium sized cities. Recognising the all-encompassing nature of economic development, RUnUP is inclusive in nature, reaching out to all sectors of the economy to inspire and support entrepreneurship and innovation.

For further information on RUnUP, its network events and partner cities visit www.urbact.eu ●

[1] The term triple helix defines the concept of the transformation process in University-Industry-Government relations.
[2] European Commissioner Jàn Figel, Speech to the 2nd European University Business Forum in February 2009.
[3] Lord Mandelson, UK Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills, 11th June 2009.
[4] Visit http://www.topuniversities.com/ for further information.
[5] Visit http://www.urbact.eu for further information.
[6] European Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner, "Investing in Higher Education - an EU perspective", 5th July 2009.
[7] "Knowledge Transfer Strategies for Regional Development and Competitiveness", IRE Knowledge Transfer Working Group, Final Report, June 2008.
[8] "Firm Size and Openness: The Driving Forces of University-Industry Collaboration", in Y. Caloghirou, A. Constantelou and N.S. Vonortas (eds.), "Knowledge Flows in European Industry: Mechanisms and Policy Implications", London: Routledge, 2004.
[9] "Universities and industrial transformation: An interpretative and selective literature study with special emphasis on Sweden", Staffan Jacobsson, June 2002.
[10] "Knowledge Transfer Strategies for Regional Development and Competitiveness", IRE Knowledge Transfer Working Group, Final Report, June 2008.
[11] Spin out refers to a type of company that "splits off" sections of itself as a separate business. The common definition of spin out is when a division of a company or organisation becomes an independent business. The "spin out" company takes assets, intellectual property, technology, and/or existing products from the parent organisation.
[12] The TOP Programme, University of Twente.[13] Research Voucher Scheme, Limburg.

MANAGING URBAN IDENTITIES:

Aim or Tool of Urban Regeneration?

by **Nils Scheffler, Paulius Kulikauskas, Fernando Barreiro**
Lead Experts of the HerO, REPAIR and Net-Topic Thematic Networks

■ *Identity is becoming an issue concerning mayors, city managers, and urban planners. It is regarded as an important factor with which a city or region can create a "corporate feeling" within their citizens and businesses through civic pride, strengthening identification with the town and place, emotionally binding them. It serves as well to distinguish the city from other towns and regions in the global competition by creating a distinct image, and attracting skilled people and investments.*

Urban identity is a complex and multi-referential phenomenon – it embraces linkages between the material and immaterial; it has different scales: local, city, regional, national; it can be seen from various perspectives: personal, collective, external; it develops in time, affected by change, and influenced by many factors. This article explores different ways of how European cities and metropolitan areas deal with urban identity in the context of urban and regional development.

Identity can mean a number of things for an urban area and the people that live and work there. It relates to tangible and intangible heritage: buildings, history, memories. Identity helps citizens become attached to their environment and confirms that it belongs to them, individually and collectively. This increases their willingness to advocate for a place. Identity can also help to improve the image of an area, stopping a down cycle process, supporting social transformation by positively marketing a place. The perceived identity of a place or a town by its citizens can also be used to identify and detect improvement measures towards the desired image and environment quality.

For some cities it means that identity is an anchor, providing continuity for development, preserving rich traditions of communities, and making sure that changes brought about by time do not carry away essential qualities of the neighbourhood or the city. For the process of urban rehabilitation and development, it means to respect and even build on the positive local identity as it provides a sense of home, security and community for the civil society and serves as a "soft" location factor. Individuals, communities, businesses and authorities cherish and safeguard various aspects of the identity of a place and its people for different reasons: originality, sense of belonging, pride and branding.

Other cities and their neighbourhoods struggle to cast away various legacies and their identities of the past that are no longer relevant, desirable, nor even practicable. They are struggling to develop new identities with their urban development actions. For them, a new identity is a vision and the image of that new identity serves as a marketing tool. In the Nineties, a housing estate south of Copenhagen changed its name from Ishoejplanen to Vejleaaparken in conjunction with their initiation of a grand urban renewal scheme, for no physical improvement alone would help to attract new residents to Ishoejplanen, as this name was associated with the bottom of the social ladder.

In between these extremes, there is a wide array of examples of cities dealing with urban identity in different ways, as changing times mean people attached to a place need to decide what to retain, what to discard or let go, and what new elements need to be introduced. Sometimes the new becomes a key carrier of identity to the external world (Monaco and the Monte Carlo Casino) and the new identity comes to stay. During a prolonged period of time, the Ruhr Area (Ruhr-gebiet) was an icon of industrialisation, yet today you will not find much steel produced there – instead, it has developed a profile based on cultural landscape, arts, leisure, and services. The old identity was no longer productive, but instead of being abandoned it was reinvented, as the old industrial structures were re-used for new purposes.

Identities can be used for romantic and practical purposes. They have been used as a tool of social transformation and in branding and marketing places. No wonder research and demonstration have also focused on "spirit of the place", and on personal and collective identities. There have been EU-funded projects – such as CULTURED in Interreg IIIC – that explored, for example the use of cultural heritage in regional development. In URBACT so far identity has not been placed at the centre of concern in any projects, nor has it been actively discussed or used as an instrument. This article describes how three current URBACT projects (REPAIR, HERO and NET TOPIC) deal with this issue – urban identity in support of urban development and regeneration.

Three Different Approaches of URBACT Networks to "Urban identity"

Cities in the HERO network develop and use their physical cultural heritage to strengthen – among other things – their urban identity, which is strongly hall-marked by cultural heritage. The identity building on cultural heritage is considered as an important "soft" location factor in the competition to engage and attract people and enterprises. So it is seen as a tool for branding and marketing, as well as functioning in support of binding and attracting people and businesses.

The NET TOPIC cities, suffering from industrial decline, territorial fragmentation, and social polarisation, are considering a city model change that would increase the strategic value of their territories and transform them into more attractive cities which offer greater quality of life and better citizen coexistence. They expect to create new, more positive, and prominent identities, both for branding and fostering social transformation.

Thus, they have as a goal to develop a new, more attractive identity also in order to attract people from the outside.

The REPAIR cities seek to reinvent former military sites of different types, locations, and periods, and to use them as a catalyst in broader urban regeneration. A wide variety of new uses are being introduced in these sites, and as a result their original identity will change. A question emerges whether there should be any additional efforts given to retain the military identity, and how to manage its relationship with different groups of visitors and their views.

HerO – Heritage as Opportunity

Contribution of physical cultural heritage to identity

The New Charter of Athens (1998) states that "Heritage is a key element which defines culture and the European character in comparison with other regions of the world. For most citizens and visitors, the character of a city is defined by the quality of its buildings and the spaces between them… actions, together with an appropriate spatial strategy, are essential for the well-being of tomorrow's city, and the expression of its special character and identity".

This illustrates that people are interested in living in cities with a distinct identity. Old Towns with their well-maintained physical cultural heritage (monuments, groups of buildings and historic sites) provide this distinct identity. Most often they engrave the image and the identity of the town, effusing a feeling of home, community, likeness and appreciation. This identity is strongly related to the personal identity of citizens and that of the local community. Generally citizens are very proud of their local heritage, identifying
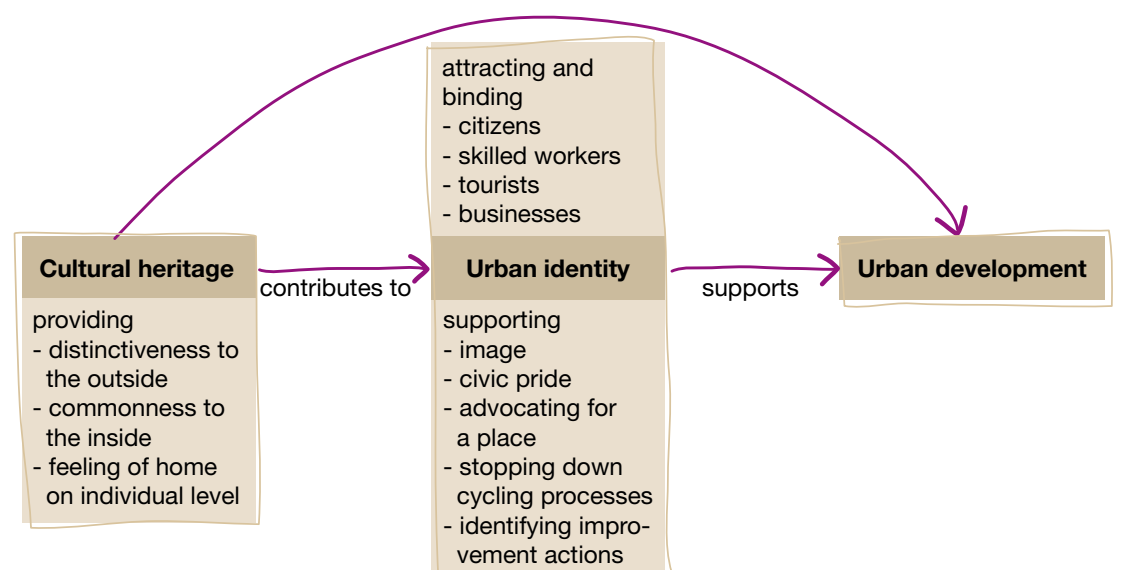
themselves strongly with their town, which also leads to the development of a collective identity of the residents and stronger identification with the place. Well-maintained cultural heritage serves also to develop a positive image to external people as a unique soft location factor in the global competition of attracting enterprises, skilled working force, inhabitants and tourists.

Thus, within the HerO cities, cultural heritage is steadily gaining importance as one important development asset, amongst others, to develop and to strengthen a distinctive identity to attract and bind citizens, enterprises, a skilled work force and tourists. Because of its bearing on cultural identity, cultural heritage is fast becoming an element that gives strength to a distinct urban identity, particularly in the context of globalisation; "glocalisation", or localising in the movement of globalisation to strengthen the feeling of home and to be recognized!

Physical Cultural Heritage as Tool for Identity "Building"

The main contribution of physical cultural heritage (the focus of HerO partners) to identity, is shaped by cities' townscapes, historic buildings, public spaces and quarters as well as the main visual axes, forming a unique and distinctive place to be. In particular, monuments act as irreplaceable focal points stimulating the process of forming and preserving the city's overall identity.

To make use of the potential of physical cultural heritage for the preservation and improvement of urban identity, the HerO cities safeguard and develop their **historic urban areas and cultural heritage**; not making these areas a museum, but a living, future-oriented organism adapting carefully to the needs of businesses and people, building up and maintaining the local identity of the place.

Cultural heritage
providing
- distinctiveness to the outside
- commonness to the inside
- feeling of home on individual level

contributes to

Urban identity
supporting
- image
- civic pride
- advocating for a place
- stopping down cycling processes
- identifying improvement actions

supports

Urban development

attracting and binding
- citizens
- skilled workers
- tourists
- businesses

Thus, within the HerO partners one focal point is to "use" cultural heritage to keep and shape the urban identity of the place, to make use of the Old Town as a feature building identity. Therefore, cultural heritage is one important driver in the municipal strategy to maintain and improve the urban identity.

Examples of actions taken by the HerO cities to strengthen their cultural heritage in order for it to support urban identity are:

■ Directly investing in cultural heritage (safeguarding it) to strengthen the area's distinctive character and identity;

■ Marketing the distinctiveness and quality of life of the area (cultural heritage) to the outside world (attracting enterprises, skilled workforce, inhabitants and tourists) and to the inside world (binding citizens and businesses);

■ Communicating the particular cultural value of the place to inhabitants and tourists, i.e.,
■ making the cultural heritage visible and perceptible for citizens and tourists alike, mirroring the historic traditions and values;
■ organising creative cultural events in the historic setting, enlivening public spaces;
■ offering qualified and specialised tour guides, not only for tourists;

■ Assigning functions to the physical cultural heritage, which citizens experience in their daily life (e.g. public and cultural functions);

■ Strengthening and further developing the building traditions through design guidance, which have to be based upon visual, cultural, functional, and historical assessments of the historic urban area, allowing contemporary design in terms of "future cultural heritage" as well as respecting the historic setting.

Actions however do not only concern the "physical" dimension, but also involve bringing new, sustainable uses to historic buildings and structures, giving cultural heritage a future-oriented value, further strengthening cultural heritage-based urban identity. This also includes options to make cultural heritage part of citizens' daily life, by targeting actions which address the economic, environmental and social needs of the community (integrated approach).

The Vienna Memorandum advocates working *"together to preserve the urban heritage while considering the modernization and development of society in a culturally and historic sensitive manner, strengthening identity and social cohesion".*

So "identity building" based on cultural heritage is only successful when it is designed in an integrated way involving local actors. In particular, in the area of raising awareness, inhabit-

ants and property owners have to be involved, building people's sense of identity, ownership and pride related to the place. Professionals such as architects and engineers also have to be implicated, building up their specialist skills and capacity for an adequate preservation of cultural heritage. For example, apprenticeships can be set up where young professionals can learn related skills under a master craftsman. Ecologists, economists and sociologists have to be involved too, as their work affects the development of historic urban areas and their cultural heritage. Mass media can support cultural heritage-based urban identity as well by raising awareness and communicating to local actors on heritage issues and the value this heritage may represent for them.

As this indicates, building urban identity on the basis of cultural heritage is not a detached process; it is integrated in the general urban development process. This allows the building of urban identity to contribute to the appreciation and understanding of cultural heritage, which simultaneously supports its preservation.

All HerO cities are currently elaborating Cultural Heritage Integrated Management Plans, in which urban identity is an integral part, particularly within the field of action "Education and awareness raising".

NeT-TOPIC: Urban Transformation Processes in Peripheral Cities of Metropolitan Areas

Partner cities of NeT-TOPIC are peripheral cities belonging to a metropolitan area. This location has determined their evolution as urban spaces. They have suffered industrial decline, territorial fragmentation and social exclusion as a consequence of this "metropolitan membership". Now these peripheral cities are reconsidering their city model, trying to increase the strategic value of their territories in order to transform them into more attractive and cohesive cities which offer greater quality of life and better citizen coexistence. Thereby, a change in their traditional identity is taking place, or at least, "building a new urban identity" has become a main goal of local government policies and aims.

From an initial situation of "suburbs" morphologically characterised by large housing estates, and functionally characterised as dormitory cities, these cities are becoming locations which try to balance their residential and economic functions, where shopping centres, service facilities and green areas are being established, and where new infrastructures are developed. The combination of all these elements aims to provide the metropolitan peripheral territory with

a centrality and an individual urban balance, transforming them from satellite dormitory cities to real cities. Indeed, they are building their new "identity".

New centralities are generated as a result of the endogenous dynamics of the periphery, as a consequence of a public (or mixed) decision promoted by a local authority external to the central city. Hence, the new dynamics of the local governments in peripheral cities in metropolitan areas, articulated around development and urban transformation projects, aim to achieve a particular and singular city model.

Salford (U.K.)

Salford Quays is the result of the successful regeneration of the derelict Manchester Docks creating a world-class business, cultural and residential area. The area is an important employment site for Salford and has good public transport links through use of Metrolink. **The Lowry** was opened in 2000, bringing with it theatres, galleries, shops, bars, restaurants and conference facilities. The Quays has established itself as a tourist destination with a wealth of world class entertainment, sporting, leisure and cultural facilities.

Another dimension that must be considered are the links between the city and the current social life of the place, taking into account the new functions of the peripheral sites of the metropolitan area. Indeed, a crucial factor of urbanism is making the city a place of exchange. This encompasses creating proximity of relationship among people, creating an atmosphere of good citizenship and ensuring high quality in the urban environment. Ideally it should contribute to establishing new bonds between individuals and groups.

Simultaneously, the different operations of physical renewal of the city have always brought with them not only a functional dimension, but also a cultural one. This is systematically considered in the design of incorporated elements favour-

ing collective memory and creativity, territorial balance, social cohesion and finally, urban identity.

Centralities and the cohesion of multidimensional cities are one of the most innovative challenges to tackle in metropolitan areas. Urban centres are key sites for socialising, cultural identity, social inclusion, multicultural links, and for the awareness of belonging to the same community. In the metropolitan city there is a multiplicity of urban centres and a diversity of cultural patterns of collective behaviour and social links. The multiplication of centres in the frame of the city region, the new articulation among these centres, making them accessible for all the inhabitants, and providing them with urban quality, has become a condition for citizenship and civic assets.

In this perspective we should combine local identity (of each sub-metropolitan centre or community) and metropolitan identity, due to the increasing level of fluxes and mobility of the social and economic components of the metropolitan fabric.

A city today is no longer that which is limited by municipal boundaries, but neither is it the so called metropolitan city. Today it is a city region, with changeable geometry, vague borders, blurred centralities, and scarce symbolic references that can provide meaning to its inhabitants.

Including the cases of Net TOPIC cities, there are several examples of urban regeneration through integrated plans and urban projects that have reinforced the urban identity and residents' sense of belonging to peripheral sites within metropolitan areas. This can be achieved through regeneration processes focused on the reconstruction of different dimensions of citizen life, the diversification of functions and economic activities, the mixture of residents, engagement with the urban history of places, improvement of public services and houses, and the accessibility and visibility of the site.

L'Hospitalet (Spain)

In the city of L'Hospitalet, which forms part of the metropolitan area of Barcelona (Spain) operations such as *Plaza de Europa* and the extension of the International Exhibitions Centre (*Fira Granvia L'Hospitalet*) are generating new urban centralities as well as new nodes of citizen relationship at the metropolitan scale.

Once the transformation process of the city model had been materialised and disseminated, and once the evidence of radical changes had been made more apparent than the inertia of the negative image of the city (peripheral, dormitory, marginal, unsafe, etc.), a progressive

change was triggered in the perception of the city in the eyes of its own inhabitants as well as in the perception of the city in the country as a whole.

This new identity is mainly based in the idea of valuing the centrality of the city, and in the use of this centrality for the development of central activities that qualify the urban spaces and its social and cultural environments. One of the pillars of the city's identity strategy is to make it a welcoming city open to diversity, while also preserving its Catalan and Mediterranean idiosyncrasy.

REPAIR –
Realising the Potential
of Abandoned Military Sites

Selecting new uses
and managing identities

The REPAIR project – "Realising the Potential of Abandoned Military Sites as an Integral part of Sustainable Urban Community Regeneration" – includes partners who explore whether former military heritage sites can provide additional urban regeneration potential. Those REPAIR partners who have systems of disused fortifications as their target sites will confront issues of identity that builds on national history and patriotic feelings.

Rostock's focus in REPAIR is aimed at its medieval fortifications, of which only fragments remain due to neglect caused by suppressed aspects of identity. For the people of Rostock, two relatively

recent changes in the political system created a stigma among its people, which finally resulted in concealment of history and an important part of its identity. Henkel-Arado bombers, made in Rostock, bombed Spanish towns during the Spanish Civil War, and later Dutch and English cities suffered the same fate from these aircraft during WWII. In addition to feelings of guilt, during the time of the DDR (the German Democratic Republic) it was forbidden to refer to any military history, and thus even the medieval fortifications of Rostock were neglected. Only participation in the ASCEND Interreg IIIC project, progenitor of REPAIR, allowed discussions to start an objective way to deal with this abandoned part of Rostock's history. The references to military past are now slowly discarding the trauma of former generations.

Hence the role of the REPAIR project is to create more opportunities for Rostockers to celebrate the medieval fortifications as representation of civil engagement in a prospering and free local community defending its freedom and prosperity as a result mainly of voluntary citizens' engagement. The identity aspects, related to military heritage, are out of the closet. Yet the economic considerations prevail, and the hopes to recreate more fragments of historic fortifications remain low on the list of public investment priorities, creating risks that both the trauma and healing will slowly disappear from memory.

Contrary to the painful history of Rostock, the people of Medway in the UK have always been proud of its Royal Dockyard at Chatham which was once the most important naval dockyard in Britain. Dating from 1570 it served to defend the country from the Spanish Armada, and was protected by a series of forts including the Great Lines of Defence. The closure of the Dockyard in 1984 was a devastating blow to the people and economy of Medway, with the direct loss of 5,000 jobs, and many more in support industries in and around the urban area.

Medway has already demonstrated its ability to develop new socio-economic uses for their Chatham Historic Dockyard, which now employs as many people as when the Dockyard closed. The old buildings remain and there are some museums and historic warships moored on the site. The forts of the Great Lines still stand. However, as the wounds of loss of industrial employment remain, new uses and different

employment opportunities take the place of the old, and the identity of the place has been changing. University functions have moved in, and "Dickens World" and shopping are now competing with references to the military past of the site.

The New Dutch Waterline, a 19th century floodable defense system with fortresses stretching for 85 km in the beautiful natural landscapes of the Netherlands, is coordinated by a national project, whilst the fortresses have been transferred to different ownership. The approach to the former military identity of these forts varies widely. Blaauwkapel, a fort built around an existing village, now incorporated by the City of Utrecht, remains a quiet, picturesque residential area with some businesses occupying former defense buildings, its past military function almost inconspicuous to the unsuspecting eye of a visitor. Half of the former Fort de Bilt in Utrecht, divided in two by a highway, has been dedicated to remembrance of executed resistance fighters of WWI and serves as a peace education centre for schools, while struggling to survive economically and accepting parties of corporations on team-building exercises. Fort Aan de Klop serves as a very successful conference centre and restaurant, popular with residents of Utrecht, and accepting some campers in summer.

Fort Vechten, which is located on an old Roman defense site of the Limes Path, has been run by a non-profit foundation for 10 years, organizing private functions during the week, and opening to the public during weekends for a wide variety of events, including military re-enactments of various periods and cultural activities. It is now facing a change of function to operate as an information centre for the whole New Waterline, and this despite its currently successful activities. All these former military locations are now economically sustainable, funding the maintenance and repair of historic remains and public activities from their own commercial operations. Fort De Gagel, a site that is part of the REPAIR project, is developing a Local Action Plan to convert the fort to serve as a gateway between a depressed housing area populated by Moroccan and Turkish immigrants towards the quality landscape and leisure opportunities in the adjacent Dutch countryside, as well as accessing a centre for urban agriculture - without any immediate reference to its former function.

It is understandable that finding economically sustainable new uses is a key critical factor for the conservation of military heritage, as it often is for many other types of heritage sites. The intangible references to the military past help in attracting visitors, who may identify themselves with the history, patriotism, or other aspects of the past identity of the sites. Yet the views on retention of the past identity often vary, and they are not necessarily always positive. Some views are shaped by the stigma of war, grief over lost jobs, and growing pacifism. There are large groups of society who simply have no connection to this identity at all, such as many recent immigrants from non-European countries who just shrug off the military history even more than most other kinds of their new countries' heritage.

REPAIR objectives do not focus on identity, but rather on conservation of tangibles, access to sites, environmental and employment issues. Yet to answer the central question of REPAIR – how can the successful regeneration of former military sites also act as a catalyst for broader sustainable urban development? - the issue of identity may prove important beyond mere conservation of the tangible cultural and natural assets and the finding of profitable new uses. One may raise a sequence of questions: do new uses that are not related to the military function of the past influence the changing identity of the sites?; If yes, how do they?; Are some uses more compatible with the past identity than others?; Will the historic identity wither, eclipsed and erased by the new uses?; Should additional efforts be made to maintain the partial identity of the original use, going beyond retention of tangible artifacts, memorial museums, and re-enactments?

There are no simple answers to these questions. Time, memory and conscious management of identities may prove to be critical factors. Conversion of the military heritage is a relatively recent undertaking in many countries. One would need to compare different sites, new uses, events, and results of efforts to anchor the past identity in different ways and over a long period to observe the changes of identity of the former military sites and the effects provoked by the change. These efforts and results need to be seen in a wider context of brown-field redevelopment, management of identities of other cultural heritage sites, and even of the cultural diversity of Europe.

The Emerging Issues of Managing Urban Identity

From the experience described above, we see that the issue of managing urban identities is relevant to a wide range of urban regeneration issues. The practice of other European projects shows that various manifestations of, and references to, urban identities can be a valuable tool to support civic pride and to create an image for a place. Branding and marketing to support image and identity can be a force to bind and attract people and businesses as well to support the cities in engineering social and economic transformation of urban areas.

For some cities a new, positive identity is a goal they want to reach in order to be positively perceived by the outside world. Others already have an identity citizens are proud of, which distinguishes them from other cities i.e., due to their physical cultural heritage, functions, etc., and which cities use as a tool and "soft" location factor for the social and economic development of their area within the context of global competition.

For identity to be used as an asset it must be managed—anchored, nurtured, safeguarded and manipulated—and must include considerations beyond the physical environment. In particular the varying perspectives of urban identity of the various stakeholders have to be considered, as urban identity is perceived on an individual, subjective level. This means being capable of "managing" identity, and responding to the following questions : What is/are the current urban identities / of whom? What kind of identity is "wanted" and for whom? What forms and influences urban identities and how can they be steered to obtain the desired identity?

As a result, the array of related management issues is complex and suggestions of what may or may not work includes more issues than those included in this article. At the same time, Prof. Sharon Zukin of Brooklyn College warns that "the over-writing of historical and cultural identities will alienate and marginalise embedded social groups", or it may erase the emerging identity of the place altogether. So the enthusiastic desire to manage urban identities, using them as an instrument for marketing and social transformation, must be approached with caution.

Although their primary focus is not urban identity, the emerging experience of the URBACT Networks HERO, NET-TOPIC and REPAIR may help explore the variety of possible options and emerging approaches in addressing identity-related concerns while responding to the diverse problems and goals of cities. These concerns, if properly analysed and documented, can be useful for many cities. Thus URBACT should explore further the management of urban identities, building on past efforts and including other concerned URBACT players in the debate. ●

Further information about

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Female Entrepreneurship:

Towards an Urban Agenda for the Economic Downturn

by **Professor Gill Scott**
Lead Expert of the WEED Thematic Network

■ *There is increasing recognition that the success of the European Strategy for Growth and Jobs depends on the involvement and contribution of both men and women across the Union. There is also increasing evidence that women's entrepreneurship can be a key factor in the economic development of modern cities. The current economic crisis may, however, be threatening the capacity of female entrepreneurs to develop the sectors where they have proved they can make a contribution. It is more important than ever to avoid creating a climate that could disadvantage women as entrepreneurs or workers. This paper draws on the work of the URBACT WEED project and explores how policies, tools and mechanisms within the URBACT partners and other cities across Europe can be extended to strengthen the capacity of cities to use gender sensitive entrepreneurial support as a way of becoming more dynamic and competitive environments.*

In 2008 the Renewed Social Agenda reaffirmed the European Commission's commitment to creating more and better jobs within the framework of the European Strategy for Growth and Jobs alongside a belief that gender equality is a key factor for the success of the strategy. [1] The involvement and contribution of both men and women across the Union was once again recognised as a factor that can make a significant difference to economic growth; indeed some estimate that closing the gap between male and female employment rates could boost Eurozone GDP by as much as 13%. Women have already proved themselves to be capable of making a greater contribution to GDP in Europe through increased participation in the job market. Female employment in the EU is now close to the Lisbon objective of 60 per cent by 2010 [2], but extending the full potential of women's entrepreneurial activities requires urgent attention if women's contribution is to be fully realised. [3] Self employment levels amongst women in most countries has not increased at the same rate as increases in employment [4] despite evidence that women starting their own business can be a key factor in increasing overall business start-up rates.

Municipal-based practices and strategy have a role to play in changing this picture. Despite increased understanding of what is needed to encourage and support women into enterprise, municipal involvement remains not only a new but seldom sustained approach although an important area for progress. Developing a better relationship between women and entrepreneurship has only recently been seen as offering significant opportunities for city economies at a time of economic crisis. Two reasons for this change of heart can be identified. Firstly, the areas where women have been developing enterprise or entrepreneurial capacity are those that make cities attractive places to stay and work in the long term. Care, retail, hospitality and knowledge-intensive sectors are the areas where women tend

to be active. They are also important parts of modern city economies, and are areas where services to reconcile family and work life can be developed in ways that can protect many families from poverty. Secondly, supporting women's entrepreneurial activities has been proven to be a way to engage women from the more deprived areas and socio-economic groups of cities in economic activity prior to employment or full-blown enterprise responsibility. The question we have to engage with now is whether new ideas to increase the strength and contribution of women—disadvantaged and less disadvantaged—to growth and job creation can be found. Cities can be successful in promoting business development but for policy development to work, clearer institutional frameworks and structures and ideas are needed. This is precisely what the Women, Enterprise and Economic Development (WEED) URBACT II project explores.

Women's enterprise: a key concern for cities in the current crisis

The GEM Monitor Report of 2007 highlights the different rates of entrepreneurial activity between OECD countries and the consistently lower rate for women. [5] Differences between countries suggest that a raft of social, economic and political factors affect entrepreneurship – how else, for example, do we explain the very low rates for both men and women in France against the high rates in Spain, and the fact that some cities are growing faster or are more inclusive for women than others [6]? Examining this is essential in the current economic climate as women will be hit harder than in previous recessions as employees and as businesswomen. And although they are unlikely to be harder hit than men, it is important to recognise this impact when women's involvement in the economy has grown so enormously in the last two decades. Furthermore, the long-term positive significance of a feminised economy, and the increased potential amongst female-headed businesses to lead some sectors out of recession should not be put at risk. A failure to really address the barriers to women's enterprise and employment or to make sure their capacity is maintained for future periods of growth will be a long term loss for the whole economy.

It is not just economies that will lose out in the recession. Women are more directly exposed as employees and business owners to the impact of the current recession than ever before: women's earnings have become increasingly important to the household economy and the impact on families of women's job losses and business failures is greater than in previous recessions.

However female entrepreneurs' reaction to the downturn provides a glimmer of hope within this picture. Research carried out in February 2009 by Prowess [7] into the impact of the downturn on women-headed businesses found that amongst 350 Prowess member organisations a 40% rise in enquiries for business advice was recorded in 2008, i.e., interest in setting up new businesses was continuing despite the devastating effect of significant reduction in the availability of bank finance on client firms.

According to a *Natwest Everywoman Report, The Hidden Growth of Female Enterprise* [8], not recognising the potential contribution of women represents a highly significant risk for the future growth potential of SMEs in the UK, and an even more important risk than before the economic downturn. It is a conclusion that has been made elsewhere in the world. The International Trade Centre concluded in March this year that "women's entrepreneurial abilities can play a major role in leading the way towards revitalisation of national economies and world trade". Such growth, however, will not happen unless action to support and help female entrepreneurs is taken. It can be done. A sustained policy of commitment to general business support and focused provision for women entrepreneurs over the last thirty years [9] in the USA helps to explain the astronomical rise in woman-owned businesses there between 1988 and 2008; nearly half of all privately-held firms are now at least 50% owned by women. This is twice as high as any country in Europe and highlights the difference that effective policy can make.

Meeting the Challenge: a European Endeavour

It is not that Europe has failed to engage in efforts to increase women's involvement in entrepreneurial activity. Supporting a change in women's economic and social role has been on the policy map in various ways over the last thirty years in Europe. There has been significant investment in women's education and labour market insertion and this is commonly associated with women's increased economic activity. Positive action programmes of the sort that characterised the 1980s and 1990s, however, were largely in the form of training and employment projects for women returners, and were less focused on women wanting to set up their own businesses. They were often very successful at incorporating women into the newer sectors of city economies but seldom focused on entrepreneurship. Nevertheless a few clear initiatives that focused on business creation in a way that supported women did exist. EU co-financing spawned a range of initiatives such as the New Opportunities for Women (NOW) which provided support and funding for a wide

business creation range of projects in the mid to late 1990s.

The European Social Fund EQUAL Initiatives of 2002 to 2007 also had as one of its themes business creation but specifically amongst disadvantaged groups. It funded over 600 entrepreneurship projects under that theme. The EQUAL Compendium on Active Inclusion draws together the lessons learnt on the subject of inclusive entrepreneurship during the EQUAL programme and includes details on one of its initiatives that focused on women – the Accelerating Women's Enterprise Development Partnership (AWE) [10]. AWE brought together a number of leading agencies in women's enterprise development in the English regions to develop a programme of activities and interventions to ensure that mainstream business support was developed to meet the needs of excluded groups of women. Since 2005 the Commission has also been supporting WES, the European Network to Promote Women's Entrepreneurship. The network has members from 30 European countries (EU, EEA and Candidate Countries) and its members provide advice, support, information and contacts regarding existing support measures for female entrepreneurs at national and regional level as well as help in an annual identification of good practices and research at national and regional level [11].

Despite this evidence of interest, initiatives have often been piecemeal, precariously funded and inadequately integrated with city regeneration policies. It is essential that policies and interventions that have worked best in the past to drive female enterprise activity in different environments are explored – an approach which must be local. A lot can and needs to be done at sub national level and significant achievements could be gained by individuals, communities and cities working with such a focus.

Bringing innovation to municipal level

Unfortunately, as suggested at the beginning of this paper, despite increased understanding of what is needed to encourage and support women into enterprise, municipal involvement remains if not a fairly new then a seldom-sustained approach, even though it is an important area for progress. The 9 cities working within the WEED network include Alzira, Spain; Amiens, France; Celje, Slovenia; Crotone, Italy; Karvina, Czech Replublic; Enna, Italy; Medway, Kent; Santiago di Compastella, Spain; Umea, Sweden. The network is part of the URBACT II Programme and has been looking for the policies, tools and measures that have and could be developed to achieve the better relationship between women, entrepreneurship and local economic development so necessary at a time

of economic downturn. In particular, examples of good practice amongst the WEED partners and others in cohesion and competitive regions show how:

1. Promoting the culture and conditions for entrepreneurship amongst a wide range of women including those furthest from mainstream economic activity can be assisted by well planned locally based training innovations;

2. Providing higher quality financial and business support services that bring together and bridge private, public and semi-public agencies to ease women's access to financial and business support services and provide ongoing support is possible with municipal involvement;

3. More women-friendly business incubators can be achieved through municipal business and university partnerships; and

4. Changing public procurement procedures to include social clauses can prove successful in widening markets for family-based businesses.

1 Promoting the Culture and Conditions for Entrepreneurship

Earlier it was pointed out that women entrepreneurs are not a homogenous group. The 2007 Prowess report *Business Support with the F factor* argues that integrating start up support with training and providing transformational support with female friendliness at its core could and should be adopted by local and regional bodies involved in business support. If mainstream business support improved its family friendliness and "bottom up" solutions driven by local demographics, and economic priorities were developed, customer satisfaction and local economic development could be improved. Moreover, if the diversity of women were recognised the impact would be even greater.

Business Link Kent has developed a very **comprehensive programme of women's business support** in the Medway area of the UK to encourage and support women to become entrepreneurs. The agency recognised that the threshold to become an entrepreneur is higher for women than for men. They wanted to get women to consider the idea of turning their hobby or passion into a business or using their transferable skills to enter the labour market or training. A programme of events has been designed to offer a range of integrated training, enterprise and development services for women in a friendly and supportive environment. The format is relaxed and provides a supportive and encouraging environment where women from different groups and backgrounds and business types can talk to other women and find out whether working for themselves is right for them. This provides local women with real exposure to the possibilities of self employment

or further training that Business Link can offer them. At the same time the material and trainers are highly professional and focussed on providing guidance at key stages. The result is high quality, attractive, and effective support for the real choices that women can make.

In Sweden most efforts supporting women's entrepreneurship are made through the Women's Entrepreneurship programme of the Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth. It has become a coherent and structured approach to the problem of low levels of entrepreneurship amongst women in Sweden since its inception in 1993, but one of its strengths is that it also allows local initiatives to have a place within a wider scheme of national economic development. The **Women are Great** programme in Umea is an example of such a local initiative. It targets existing entrepreneurs as well as women who currently have a job but who want to start a business. The programme is run by the Chamber of Commerce and financed by the national Promoting Women's Entrepreneurship programme. Marketing of the project is done through advertisements in local newspapers and the response was extremely positive, particularly among women who wanted to start businesses. Most of the women see the project not only as a possibility to acquire more knowledge, but also as a forum for networking and exchanging of experience, because most do not have natural networks that they can utilise for matters related to business and entrepreneurship. For those already in business, the project is seen as an excellent opportunity to create networks to find people they can build relationships with in their continued work as entrepreneurs. The project takes place over one year. During the project period, each participant is offered a structured programme to develop skills and ideas for business progression and is also offered 4 individual coaching opportunities in order to develop the business idea. Key to the programme's success is the difference in interventions for women who want to start businesses and for women who are already employed.

2 Providing Higher Quality Financial and Business Support Services

An environment that promotes women's enterprise has to recognise that over 80 per cent of women's businesses are micro enterprises. Focussing support on small enterprise means recognising their small scale financing needs. In **Amiens**, France, the municipality is one of the partners involved in the community-based **micro finance initiative** of the *Association pour le Droit à l'Initiative économique* (ADIE). The municipality's aim is to assist those who normally have little access to credit or markets to build a route into self employment, and it has taken advantage of the well developed national micro credit scheme of ADIE. ADIE is a socially focused finance and support micro finance initiative for the entrepreneurs of very

small businesses throughout Europe who do not have access to bank loans. In Amiens, ADIE supports largely female unemployed participants and relies on a network of a small staff paid by the local authority and local volunteers to support and advise entrepreneurs in their business approach to build routes out of unemployment and the informal economy. The result is adapted support services that meet the needs of women, such as mutual support, courses at appropriate times, and adapted finance such as low amounts, peer group lending and reduced interest rates. It has increased the local rate of enterprise creation. The availability of finance is a key to this program's success but as Philippe Guichard of the European Finance Network suggests "Co-ordinating training, mentoring and finance are all part of the essential picture for supporting inclusive entrepreneurship". Finding the right way to support women locally across their needs is essential. Amiens is currently looking at new ways of enabling women entrepreneurs to combine business and family life—essential as the maternity rights and benefits of employed women do not currently extend to self employed women.

Access to quality and business-focused mentoring is particularly valued by women starting and growing an enterprise. Mentoring helps them to build belief in a positive vision for the development and growth of their business and provides a conduit to business support and information. In **Celje**, Slovenia two of the measures supported by the municipality to improve the growth potential of women's businesses have been the **Voucher Counselling Programme** and the **One Stop Shop**. The Counselling programme is delivered in partnership with the Chamber of Commerce and is available for new start ups and established businesses. Established business owners can receive 50 per cent funding towards 4000 Euros spent in any one year to receive one to one or group counselling for improving an aspect of their business (typically marketing or business planning). Unemployed women and men can receive 100 per cent of 1500 Euros towards business advice and support for startups for one year. Neither of these are loans, they are grants. The One Stop Shop is located in the Municipal offices and provides information and training for entrepreneurs in all aspects of business development. It has concentrated over the last few years on providing free, on line easy access to all the registration and tax forms that are needed to set up a business and thus reduced considerably the costs of registration etc. What is unique about this One Stop Shop is the combination of financing and business development allied to knowledge of regional conditions. It highlights the value of developing local knowledge for appropriate services.

3 Women friendly business incubators

Developing effective partnerships between universities, business and local economic develop-

ment departments of municipalities is essential if cities are to make the most of innovation coming from research and development. However, despite the rising number of female undergraduates, the use of the services, networking and space of such incubators amongst women is small [12]. We know that successful completion of a business incubation program increases the likelihood that a start-up company will stay in business for the long term but a key challenge is how to encourage and support women in their use. Whilst women's education and training levels have gone up in all Member States, their involvement in research and in a knowledge based or knowledge intensive economy has not gone up proportionately; they remain under-represented in enterprise central to the knowledge economy[13]. Since January 1999, the **Council of Santiago has been supporting the University of Santiago** to develop innovative technology-based companies coming from R&D projects. The impact has been the constitution of 120 companies between 1999 and 2008, of which 92% still exist. Until recently, however, the number of women involved in such companies has been small despite the fact that over 70 per cent of students in the university are women. In order to address this problem the Woman Emprende programme was developed in 2006 as a partnership between the university and municipality to increase the visibility and relevance of female entrepreneurship and to develop tools used to foster female entrepreneurship. An example of a company supported in this way is GalChimia, a leading Spanish company in the area of Synthetic Organic Chemistry, which is a supplier to the Chemical and Pharmaceutical Industry offering services of custom synthesis, contractual research and process development. The company was constituted by four female Doctors of Chemistry and they expect to have a turnover of 5 million euros by 2011. Woman Emprende is the creation of a national and international network and in this local implementation it has proved successful.

4 Changing Public Procurement Procedures

To support the development of gender equality in entrepreneurship it is important to recognise the nature of family dynamics and the potential of families to form small family enterprises that could be supported by procurement strategies of municipalities. Unemployment in **Alzira, Spain** has hit levels unimaginable in the previous ten years. Initially, much of the unemployment was concentrated in the construction sector, but there is a growing realisation that whole families are affected by the downturn. Since 2008 the State Fund for Local Investment in Spain has made funds available to local authorities to encourage them to undertake public works and investments in order to reactivate the economy and to favour small to medium sized companies. Previously a company would have to present a project and it would be judged on price and project. Now

to have a project approved by the municipality a third consideration is included – its social impact. Although not yet fully established, the Alzira municipality is considering refining the "social impact" to include the impact on families and specific groups of women.

Conclusions

In exploring how policies, tools and mechanisms within URBACT cities across Europe have extended their capacity to use gender sensitive entrepreneurial support, the intention here has been to show how this constitutes a route not just for a more inclusive approach to entrepreneurship but also as a way for cities to become more dynamic, socially just and competitive environments. Policy and innovation developed by municipalities and their partners have much to offer in terms of how to effectively promote gender equality. And despite the fact that entrepreneurial activity remains a challenge for all, there is considerable practice that could be drawn on to combat the effects of the economic downturn, lay the basis for more attractive cities of the future, and use the dynamism of women entrepreneurs to move along the road out of recession. While there is some evidence that women business owners have overtaken their male counterparts for "growth ambition", the lessons from supporting women could prove useful for other non-gendered enterprise support initiatives [14].

But it is not a single solution or simple route to get there. There are dangers in localised entrepreneurial development when tied to local regeneration if it is the only route and is accompanied by no increase in income. [15] Current innovations regarding entrepreneurship often start to break down when it comes to applying them to those furthest from mainstream economic activity and when project funding runs out. As Peter Ramsden, a founder member of Community of Practice on Inclusive Entrepreneurship (CPOIE) has said, "Entrepreneurship can certainly be a tool for inclusion, but only if we have the right tools and a real commitment to inclusion. Employed women have the greatest chance of being successful entrepreneurs so there is still a great deal to do if unemployed women and particularly unemployed women in marginalised groups are to be included in change." [16] There are measures which could stimulate more women-headed firms, such as public authority procurement policies with targets for women-owned small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) that have not yet been tried by public or private authorities to any great extent in Europe. The contribution of women entrepreneurs is also not fully understood because it is not well documented or researched. [17]

The challenge for municipalities and their partners in economic development in Europe now is how

to develop strategies to stimulate innovation and how to understand and exploit the potential that women offer for sustainable economic growth. Amongst WEED partners the next step is the development of time specific local action plans to address these challenges—to build on existing strengths and address the gaps preventing the use of women's capacity to contribute to dynamic and competitive environments. Showing what can be done at city–level is a first step, but it must evolve into a set of principles and strategy to have real impact. ●

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[3] European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions Women at Work: Paths to equality - Back¬ground paper 2008 Available at www.eurofound.europa.eu

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LOST JOB - LOST HOME / LOST HOME - LOST JOB

Can Secured Housing Help Cities Mitigate Effects of the Crisis for their Citizens?

by **Heidrun Feigelfeld**
Lead Expert of the SUITE Thematic Network
Edited by Peter Ramsden

■ *Comprehensive measures such as the linking of housing – related and employment – related measures are not to be seen in national programmes, unless one includes the employment impact of the construction industry. The responsibility for this lack lies completely at the local level.*

Young Mrs. Miller is now living alone with her two kids. The money she earns with her part-time job goes quickly. Talk at her company yesterday was that soon the first layoffs would be inevitable. Today she received a letter from the energy company – electricity costs will soon be going up. That, on top of food, childcare and heating charges. Her throat starts to feel tight. This is not how she had imagined her life.

Once she is unemployed, she will lose her flat. But without a flat, how can she find work again? In addition, even as one of the "working poor" she will face increasing problems in coping with charges for service costs. Where can she find help?

My home is my castle

Are there ways out of the downward spiral that is currently putting more and more people at risk? Isn't it the case that housing could be the safe haven providing the space for people to rearrange their lives? What responsibility for providing and enabling good housing lies with the cities?

In times of recession and crisis, more groups of the population lose security — security of employment, the security of maintaining a sufficient income to sustain living standards and ensure one's children's education, and the security of the knowledge that one is working towards a humane ageing after age-related retirement.

An essential prerequisite for avoiding falling into a downward spiral is a secure housing situation. Yet, instead of providing this in a time of recession, the structural effects of housing policies, which lead to a lack of affordability,

growing numbers of evictions and a decline in housing standards ("poor housing for poor people" – lower quality of new construction, neglect of stock) seem only to heighten the threat posed to disadvantaged households. Even middle-class households are under pressure. The crisis affects both home-owners, as mortgage companies foreclose when arrears start to build up, and tenants, when rental and running costs rise as the market becomes smaller and more expensive.

European, national and regional levels of government have applied themselves to the stabilisation of the financial markets and the industries, businesses and service providers that depend on them. They do this in order to secure jobs and to maintain the level of individual consumption. However, there is considerably less awareness of the how unstable housing situations can contribute to growing crisis scenarios of people at risk of exclusion.

Very often, the loss of housing is wrongly dismissed as an exclusively "individual fate", regardless of real social and political causes. The crises that individuals undergo lead directly into a vicious circle of poverty. People who are homeless have considerably diminished chances in the labour market, and once without a job, they are unable to afford to get back into housing. The consequences of this vicious circle burden the public budgets, mainly of cities. Welfare departments find themselves obliged to set up elaborate systems for temporary accommodation and floating support for the homeless and to allocate individual benefits.

Ironically, it was exactly this cynical and irresponsible handling of the demand for housing for the financially underprivileged that led to the global crisis – the US Credit Crunch.

There is no question that it is easily accessible, stable housing markets and the long-term affordability of housing situations that hold the key when it comes to the flexibility and mobility demanded by the economy.

Left out in the rain?

At the present time, it is still not easy to ascertain whether due cognizance is taken of this link between employment, affordability and housing, and whether appropriate measures are taken quickly enough, in order to provide comprehensive stability to, for example, someone like young Mrs. Miller whose story began this article.

Questions need to be asked of the cities/municipalities, which will also have to bear the consequences of not easily reversible spatial processes and their social effects, as to how they are effectively, preventatively and supportively shaping this crucial aspect of their citizens' lives.

Early and preventative multi-faceted measures of intervention by municipalities for securing housing could avoid the long-term social costs involved in re-integration into the labour market and winning back a decent living situation, as well as the costs of the re-stabilisation of neighbourhoods.

The discussion is under way. Maybe not enough on a city level, yet surely in fields where cost increases, financing problems, dwindling jobs and employment problems become immediately visible – the building industry, real estate market, non-profit and/or private developers and property management.

In addition, social services at grass-roots level are sending warning signals based on increasing data and their awareness of the growing problems, trying to bring the slow-moving decision-making apparatuses to act and counter-steer.

Something that is becoming more and more clear is that, cutting across ideological and party-political divides, those concerned with housing are closing ranks in their demands for acceleration, regulation and security, for example closer alliances between the building industry and ecological protection.

On the European level, structural measures of aid have already been taken and should also become effective in the housing sector. At the same time, national governments are implementing measures not only to absorb the crises of the banks and big industries, but also relevant for the economic recovery of the building construction industry.

Researchers in the housing sector, too, are trying to live up to their role as analysts, prognosticators and masterminds, although the scale of

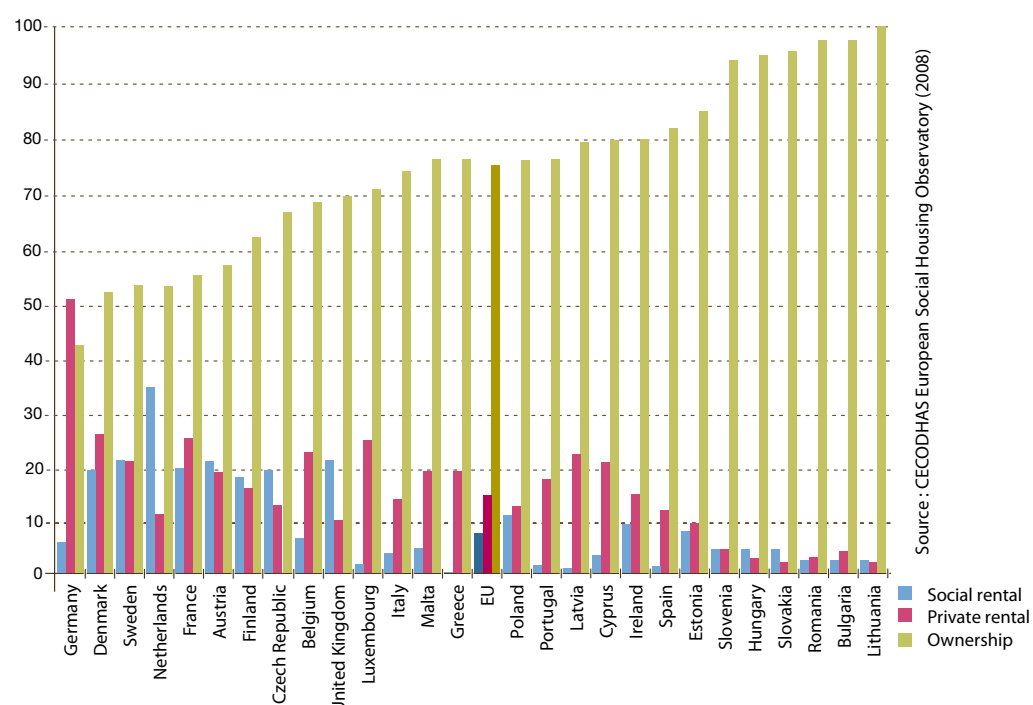the crisis has taken them by surprise, like so many others.

However, the current approach to the problems and the first counter-cyclical measures have proven (as is so often the case) to be strongly sector-oriented, limited to the housing sector. They do not take into account the question of employment of those affected.

Approaches can be seen here and there, case examples can be found, but to verify their quality as good practice examples, more evaluation is required. I will delve deeper into all these discourses, proposals and first measures at a later point in this paper.

Where do the cities stand? Until recently, cities saw themselves as in the calm before the storm (with the exception of those whose governments had made poor investments or lost large amounts in speculation). Now, increasing unemployment rates are beginning to impact on housing and urban development. Nevertheless, some time is still left for preventive and pro-active action. Current reports, however, all talk of an enormously increased level of city debt, thus decreasing the scope of action by the minute. What especially interests me is whether there are measures to connect housing-related approaches to employment-related ones? And if such measures do exist, are they on a detailed, local level?

Perhaps it is enough to sustain the liquidity of a young family through income support from varied and different social protection systems? Is it possible for services for the prevention of eviction, linking negotiations with landlords or banks and welfare benefits, to disrupt the pathway into homelessness? Up till now, this alliance between social and housing policies has only been the main focus of innovative policy.

Tenure distribution in the 27 EU Member States

Source : CECODHAS European Social Housing Observatory (2008)

Legend:
- Social rental
- Private rental
- Ownership

More comprehensive approaches, including employment initiatives and the strengthening of local economies using a broader spectrum remain sporadic and/or limited to specific regeneration projects in particular regions.

Minding One's Own Business

If we search for the general patterns evolving at the moment, we see that measures for the perpetuation of affordability and the maintenance of buildings prevail over all others in the housing sectors – on the European as well as the national level.

The dominance of the economic aspect of housing policy is underpinned by two main factors. One is the aim for "affordable housing". This is mainly related to the way that public authorities exercise influence on the housing market: regulatory influence through law, taxes, costs of infrastructure, funding, as well as still in some sectors on builders and administrators. The other is the aim for "cost-effective construction" in both the building industry and architecture. This is subject to market-related, technical and of course regulatory influences.

As always in the housing sector, we are also dealing with two separate but inter-connected fields – housing stock and new construction. New construction is not surprisingly drawing much attention, even now in a time of crisis, in the quest for innovation. Yet all the experts agree that due to the predominance of existing housing stock over new building, measures taken there will have a much higher impact.

This holds true even more for the challenge to secure and improve the housing situation of people in the lower income levels particularly affected by unemployment and other effects of the crisis.

In this article, I want to concentrate mainly on the field of funded, "social", housing. [1]

On the European policy level, as a first response to the crisis first measures were taken in order to achieve effects concerning employment in the job-intensive field of the construction industry with a simultaneous climate-relevant impact (ERDF).

This is already an improvement. Until recently, housing was mainly seen in most Member States as a national responsibility, and funding for housing-related issues only possible if obviously related to social inclusion objectives and social services, or to quarter/neighbourhood action. However, there is an ongoing process to promote the acceptance of housing as a decisive tool for inclusion, cohesion and growth. For the first time the ERDF Programme of 2007-2013 provides the opportunity to include housing-related funding for New Member States (the EU 12), up to an amount of 2% of the total ERDF allocation. In particular, the funding is related to measures in the field of housing, for refurbishment of the common parts of the building, energy-efficiency operations, or transformation of buildings owned by non-for-profit or public bodies into affordable housing.

Only a very few cities and regions of the NMS have successfully laid claim to such funds, but much is still possible.

Additionally, another funding opportunity via ERDF has also been made available as a rapid response to the crisis at the end of the 2008, and extended to include also Old Member States. As an information leaflet put out by CECODHAS explains, "The European Parliament and the EU-27 Member States adopted in April 2009 an amendment to the regulation on the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) which enables all Member States and regions in the European Union to use EU funding to invest in energy efficiency and renewable energy measures in housing, with the view to support social cohesion." Further, "In each Member State, expenditure on energy efficiency improvements and on the use of renewable energy in existing housing shall be eligible up to an amount of 4% of the total ERDF allocation." The

Measures taken by the housing sector and by cities include discussions of the issue during conferences, seminars and workshops, carrying out surveys, holding competitions for ideas, funding research and seeking contact with other fields, such as the social and the ecological ones.

proposal was meant to pay a special attention to the most vulnerable households who too often suffer from energy poverty". [2] Regarding housing categories, as the leaflet explains, "It is up to the Member States to decide which type of housing will be eligible. Since, according to the new regulation, this measure should be implemented in the view to support social cohesion, social and cooperative housing, which provide quality and affordable apartments and homes, should be one of the main beneficiaries. However, some countries might decide to further support energy improvements in some parts of the private housing market…
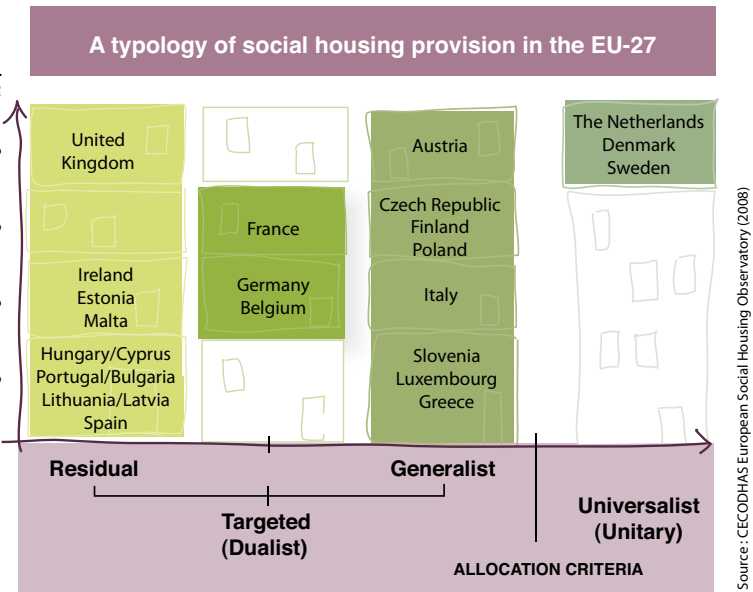
For the EU-12, the new measure means that along with the already existing possibilities (2% of total ERDF allocation per country in the field of housing, see above) there will be a further opportunity to invest up to 4% of total ERDF allocation on energy efficiency and renewable energy in existing housing." To cite the CECODHAS leaflet again: "Local stakeholders, especially housing providers," (and I want to add: "and local / regional authorities")… should contact their Managing Authorities in order to communicate the needs and potential in terms of energy efficiency and renewable energy in the existing housing stock, reflect on to which existing schemes (loans or subsidies programme for energy retrofitting for example) the ERPF could be combined." They also "should work with partners to identify potential projects." This is exactly the mission on which the Local Action Plans of the project SUITE are based.

In a nutshell, this establishes more opportunities than before, and yet, even with its focus on energy saving, on longer-term investments and larger-scale and physical issues relating to the housing stock, it still won't provide aid to a mother of two with payment and job problems. While the notion of "social cohesion" is mentioned, the possibilities for financing linked social-and employment-oriented measures still need further attention and work.

At the same time, on the European level, the argument is being made vociferously that the shortage of funds and very real problems that have arisen due to the crisis should not mean that the objective of creating a more social Europe should be neglected. The importance of housing, its affordability and the necessity of accompanying services constitute a large field within this discussion.

The discussion on the "Right to Housing" [3] or "Right of Access to Housing" is high on the agenda. At the meeting of European housing

A typology of social housing provision in the EU-27

Source : CECODHAS European Social Housing Observatory (2008)

policy ministers in late 2008, they "emphasised that the current crisis in Europe calls for intervention at all levels to guarantee the fundamental right of access to decent housing." [4]

The role and the implementation of services linking housing related and social demand is growing, based on EU decisions that state, among other things, that "services of general interest related to social housing" should be excluded from the scope of the competition rules (2004).
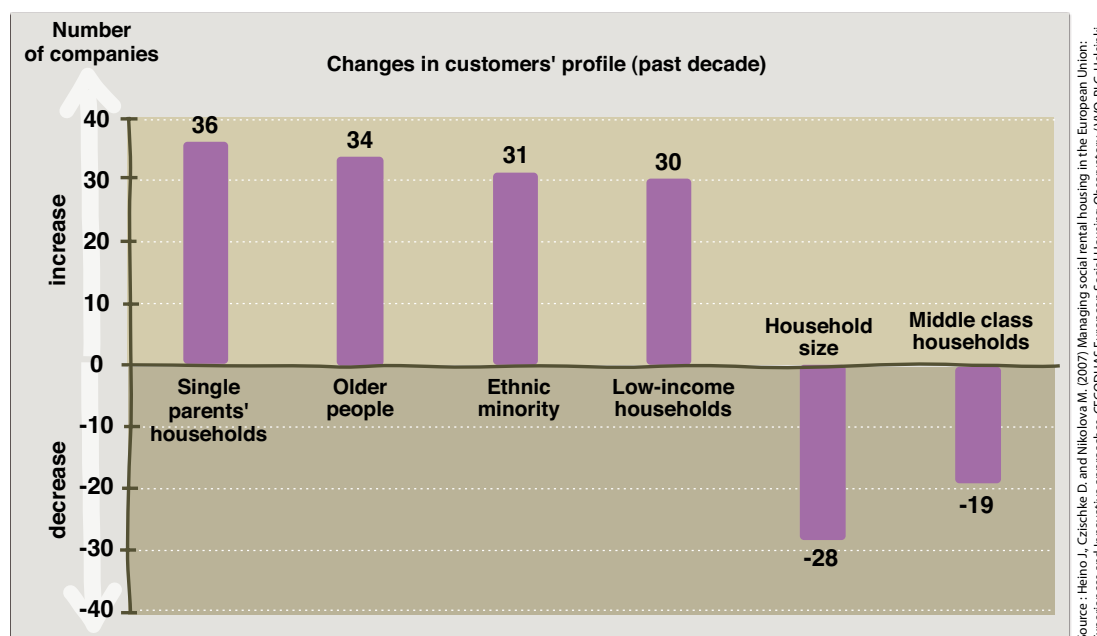
Housing-related issues have penetrated several funding programs of the ESF European Social Fund (which invests in the implementation of employment and social inclusion policies in the Member States), as well as the PROGRESS funding strand (within the Open Method of Coordination OMC). PROGRESS focuses on activities with a strong European dimension to guarantee an EU added value. These activities are designed to inform policy analysis and developme nt. "To ensure decent housing for everyone" is among the five key challenges in the field of social inclusion, as is the challenge "to make labour markets truly inclusive". The appeal this article makes is to connect these two demands.

European research is also facing re-evaluation, taking into consideration current trends and challenges. In the current economic climate, resources are reduced, and policy sets a focus on "outcomes". Further, it is clearer than ever before that carbon and energy matter more and more. But here again, housing creates key structures for effective measures. In the further development of the different national housing policies, researchers see – as common future tendencies – a "reduced emphasis on ownership growth", a "remaking rental housing" and an "emphasis on supply side" – tendencies, which are a reversal of previous trends. [5]

In the future, this could provide especially disadvantaged households (as lone parent families, large families, unemployed people, and poor elderly people living alone) with a more flexible range of offers. Mrs. Miller, the lone parent with her children who is threatened by poverty, and whose narrative begins this article, could be helped – the question is only: how quickly?

Of course, the nature of the problems varies from place to place and region to region. In addition, cities are at the moment strongly limited in their scope of action because of the crisis and must carefully analyse their priorities. However, this makes it even more important to hold this discussion in a serious manner.

Furthermore, there are considerable differences in the problems of cities and housing of the OMS and NMS regarding the scale, severity and scope of action of the cities. According to all reports, the crisis will hit the NMS harder than has originally been assumed.

Changes in customers' profile (past decade)

Source : Heino J, Czischke D. and Nikolova M. (2007) Managing social rental housing in the European Union: Experiences and innovative approaches. CECODHAS European Social Housing Observatory / VVO-PLC, Helsinki.

At the moment, nobody dares to claim to have found the philosopher's stone for crisis management. In the housing sector, as in so many others, there is great insecurity, helplessness and concern about the inability to get on top of the downward trends despite the drastic measures that have already been taken. However, in the course of searching for means of action, what becomes clear is that some sort of solution might well lie in the return to former values.

Reliability, sustainable action without speculation, fairness, transparency and control, as well as the appreciation of long-term action and durability are on the top of the list.

Measures taken by the housing sector and by cities include discussions of the issue during conferences, seminars and workshops, carrying out surveys, holding competitions for ideas, funding research and seeking contact with other fields, such as the social and the ecological ones. This results in lessons learnt and policy recommendations. Some of these are brought to the level of policy-makers; others take the form of self-assignments in the respective sector to increase its own action.

Among the measures being taken for the economic recovery of the building construction industry by national governments (and which yield a double effect – building a sector with added value and employers, as well as increasing swift domestic efficiency and leverage) are several, which also support the housing sector. [6]

Several countries counterbalance the banks' unwillingness to grant credit for housing construction with governmental guarantees and housing-related conditions for subsidised capital, relaying interest rate reduction to homeowners and governmental direct credits.

Another frequent strategy is the promotion of social housing or rental housing respectively, especially in OMS (new construction, acquisition of housing stock or commercial projects, and

extension of the stock of emergency housing).

In many cases, incentive programmes and tax reductions concern refurbishment and/or urban regeneration. Retrofitting of insulation and other energy efficiency measures play an important role. Homeowners are supported in their mortgage credit repayment in several NMS.

In addition to fiscal measures, bureaucracy reduction and increased use of EU subvention funds (keyword ERDF), and the implementation of economic stimulus plans are promoted by agreements between the State and communities (e.g. Ireland, Latvia, Luxemburg, Spain and the UK). This is where the connection to the local level is so important for the cities.

Comprehensive measures, such as the linking of housing-related and employment-related measures as I suggest in this article, are not to be seen in national programmes, unless one includes the employment impact of the construction industry. The responsibility for this lack lies completely at the local level.

A Contribution from URBACT II?

In this dire situation, what are the benefits of a networked look at other European cities and regions? Are the historically grown credos of housing politics, framework conditions, and the scope of action, simply too different?

As a look at the current discourse shows, this also strengthens the relevance of the SUITE Housing Project network within the European Programmes URBACT II for sustainable urban development in its objective to discuss the role of the social regulation of housing for cities and to develop innovative approaches. SUITE's claim that in order to secure future sustainability for housing, it has to integrate three different facets - social, economic and ecologic sus-

tainability – building a sustainability pyramid, is reconfirmed.

The partner cities and agglomerations have all named single-parent families like "Mrs. Miller's" as well as, more generally, low-income households as their main addressees for future measures.

They are keen to get support in discussing their burning questions, to develop a first, targeted local action plan, and would much rather not be left alone in their search for the desired objective. In times of dwindling municipal resources, this comprehensive approach naturally faces many challenges. Moreover, the risk of sacrificing quality standards in favour of hasty last-minute measures is generally high.

Further, the much discussed focus on "social mix" versus the focus on "social targeting" (limitation of access to the most disadvantaged) does not go unmentioned. The SUITE network has already discussed this topic as a focus. It will soon provide small exemplary approaches from partner cities and other European cities to illustrate first proposals.

In the cross-links to further URBACT II networks dealing with housing questions, such as Healthy Cities (ecologic quality, services) and HOPUS (quality by coding), as well as to networks dealing with quarter questions, we can expect interesting comprehensive clues. An exchange with projects related to "Jobs and Growth" will bring a stimulus for the connection between employment and housing situation discussed in this article.

This, we hope, will prove that European exchange between cities is not art for art's sake, but will actually provide feasible ideas for implementation.

Small Gears Make the Machine Work

The time-tried path of public direct and indirect aid for housing provision and purchase, of guidelines and regulations of user costs, of influence on management and maintenance of the stock, and the networking with neighbourhood development, is showing its benefits now.

Social housing, which had been devaluated recently, is again standing its ground. The non-profit building industry feels reassured in its approach and cities will be able to choose steadier paths.

In addition, it is obvious that there is not ONE truth, no silver bullet, but lots of small gears that have to be adjusted separately. We have to ask: What happened there?; What can still be used of this policy?; What can be easily regenerated?; Where do we have to make a change of

course?; Realistic expectations, pragmatism and clarity are of paramount importance. This new approach can relieve deprivation, build trust, and regulate markets, all at the same time.

Groan Globally, Ease Locally

Numerous approaches for tackling these problems are being discussed and considered, mainly focusing on the possibility of ongoing financing and affordability while maintaining serious quality standards.

One focus lies on regulative measures (dedication of building land, planning regulations, neighbourhood planning), measures concerning housing policies (social liability of capital expenditure by limited-profit housing associations, new models of funding, lowering of monetary and other entry levels) and visionary recommendations (such as a decoupling from banks and financial markets).

In addition, certain types of households can be targeted, especially those disadvantaged groups for example; and targeting can also be done of quarters in particular problem situations.

Experts claim to stress the obvious high importance of "soft measures", good management and accompanying services as opposed to "hard measures", such as demolitions and new constructions, even though these last are more obviously spectacular. [7]

However, there is a definite lack in comprehending work and housing as integral worlds and in developing corresponding measures that are interdisciplinary and inter-institutional instead of segmented. Employment and education activities should be designed as integral parts of concepts relevant for housing and quarters.

For politicians, stakeholders, institutions and practitioners, this means giving up on old traditions and aiming instead for cooperative action. Only in alliances with clear yet flexible rules can these new challenges be mastered. It is crucial for local authorities to find allies in the economic, housing and social sector, and paramount for them to develop rapidly effective yet sustainable solutions.

La vie en rose?

All this sounds very positive and promising. So is it enough to roll up our sleeves, raise money, launch a bundle of measures and throw an optimistic look into the future of (social) housing?

The crisis is not mastered yet, its duration and severity are still uncertain, and the effects of institutional and economic efforts not fully fore-

seeable. Instead of fear and paralysis, it is necessary also in housing and urban development politics to take a risk and turn towards more sustainable and more social politics.

Swift action with a sustainable perspective is of paramount importance. The opportunities offered by EU funding (ERDF) have to be deployed. The focus to "enhance energy efficiency and fight climate change" should be in pole position. What must be avoided are hasty measures that relieve in the short run, but lack sustainability with fatal consequences for our future. Quality reduction is quite simply the wrong path.

The potential of quickly effective social measures for especially threatened population groups, however, should be considered more strongly in ERDF and ESF funding programmes. I should like to emphasize once more that measures to connect housing-related approaches to employment-related ones on a local and detailed level are still widely unavailable. It is still impossible to come up with specific suggestions as to how "Mrs. Miller", the lone parent we saw at the start of this article, can be helped quickly. This is a problem, just as important as the difficulties being experienced at the moment in the maintenance and creation of jobs. It is the cities' duty to act as designers in this field. ●

[1] One has to take into account that the term "social housing" has a broad range of different connotations, based on historical development and on national policies.

[2] A concise overview can be found on both regulations on ERDF funding in this brochure from CECODHAS www.cecodhas.org (in English). It includes good practice cases from various countries and cities, and links.

[3] Currently, a network about "Housing Rights Watch" has been established within the field of "Homelessness". See FEANTSA www.feantsa.org - The Right to Housing.

[4] For short reports arising from this meeting and from the meeting of European ministers for regional development and cohesion policy see www.ue2008.fr. (search "ministres européens en charge du logement").

[5] Answers to the crisis have been the focal point of the plenary contributions of high-ranking experts of the field of housing economics at the 2009 ENHR European Network for Housing Research Conference in Prague on "Changing Housing Markets: Integration and Segregation". For presentations, see www.enhr2009.com.

[6] For more information see the pre-summer 2009 survey of the IIBW Institute for Real Estate, Construction and Housing 'Maßnahmen Europäischer Staaten zur Konjunkturbelebung im Hochbau" (Measures of European countries for economic recovery in building construction), including a survey among 16 states. www.iibw.at (portfolio / construction, English summary, German report.)

[7] A rich range of ideas as to how European countries and cities might consider managing their social housing stock, ensuring adequate housing for all and achieving mixed sustainable communities, based on well-researched national problem assessment is provided by Whitehead, Christine; Scanlon, Kathleen (ed.) (2007), Social Housing in Europe. LES London School of Economics and Political Science. ISBN 978-0-85328-100-9. www.lse.ac.uk (search "whitehead socilahousing in Europe").

AGEING AND EMPLOYMENT:
Old and New Challenges in a Global Crisis Scenario

by **Annamaria Simonazzi**
Lead Expert of the Active Age Thematic Network

■ *Are older people discriminated against in the labour market? And if so, why? And what can national and local policies do to promote inclusion and favour active ageing? The paper aims at answering these questions. The first part provides an overview of the main factors behind the low employment rate of older people, highlighting the new threats entailed by the current global crisis. It will then outline the policy reforms that have been devised and implemented, at both the national and the local level, to increase the employment rate of elderly people, drawing also attention on the possible trade-offs. The final section will present the approach adopted by the URBACT Active Age project, and its aim of promoting a more comprehensive, sustainable and integrated life-course approach to active ageing.*

Population Ageing and Employment

Population ageing is both a challenge and an opportunity. A challenge to the various welfare regimes, an opportunity to move towards a more comprehensive, sustainable and integrated life-course approach to active ageing.

Radical changes in the age structure will have significant labour market impacts. Under present conditions, longer life expectancy leads to a sharp decrease in the employed/pensioner ratio. However, employment is the principal means by which citizens of all ages can meet their needs and socio-economic aspirations. At the same time, a high employment rate is the only way to secure long-term sustainability for any welfare system. That is why the EU has set two targets to be met by 2010: to have at least 50% of the EU population aged 55-64 in employment (defined in the Stockholm European Council in 2001) and to raise by 5 years the effective average age at which people stop working (agreed in the 2002 Barcelona European Council).

If older workers remain in employment longer and increase their labour supply, the demand for these workers will need to keep up. To ensure that demand meets supply, the Member States should pursue actions aiming at removing disincentives at the micro-level for workers to retire later and for employers to hire and retain older workers; as well as at the macro-level.

In many countries, the lack of job opportunities remains a problem cutting across generations due

to structural features of the economy: policies designed to extend working lives are more likely to affect the younger generations' prospects (young in - old out, or viceversa). The current economic crisis has sharpened the risk of crowding out, making stagnating demand the main challenge faced by European labour markets. Macroeconomic policies should ensure that total labour demand is such as to prevent intergenerational competition for jobs.

Local labour market policies targeting individuals (active labour market policies) must not be implemented in isolation: they should take into consideration the possible effects on other generations, and be complemented by labour market reforms aiming at increasing demand.

The Age Divide

On average, the employment rate of people aged 55-64 is half that of the prime working age (25-54). With fa ew notable exceptions, the European countries are still far from the Stockholm objective (figure 1). Gender is one single important factor in cross-country differences: in a number of countries, women have a much lower participation rate at all ages, and a more discontinuous working career. (However, due to economic and social change, inactivity rates have been rising for men and decreasing for women.) Although 65 is the official age of retirement in most countries, the main reason for inactivity

among 55-64-year-olds is retirement. Once again, gender matters, since personal or family responsibilities which hardly make any showing among the reasons for men's inactivity loom large for women. Dismissal or redundancy (9.5% of all reasons) and own illness or disability (11.5%) come after retirement (46%) and early retirement (19.2%) as the main reasons for older workers aged 55-64 to leave their jobs or businesses.

Early retirement can cover up discriminatory practices (Casey and Laczko 1989). Lack of incentives on the part of employers to hire older workers (the demand side), and lack of incentives – indeed, often, disincentives – for older workers to remain at work (supply side) are the main reasons for the low employment rate of mature workers. To increase this rate thus means addressing the factors affecting the problematic transitions in a working career - financial disincentives, employers' attitudes, and attractiveness of work - in order to ensure employability, continuity of employment, and re-entry.

Policy disincentives. Research by the OECD (2005) suggests that there are, embedded in public policies, strong disincentives to remain in the labour market on ageing. High replacement rates may negatively affect the attractiveness of working longer. [1] Early retirement institutions may also negatively affect elderly participation in more indirect ways: by negatively affecting the expected return to training, generous (as opposed to flexible) early retirement schemes may discourage training participation by older workers (Fouarge and Schils 2009). Pension reforms have been carried out in many member states with the primary aim of increasing the retirement age (and/or tightening conditions and reducing entitlements by switching to funded schemes). A number of countries are introducing more flexibility in the age of retirement and in the possibility to combine pensions and earnings.

Age-related discrimination. Employers seem to prefer investing in young workers, whose longer time horizon allows the firm to recover the cost of new tech-

nologies (Langot and Moreno-Galbis 2008: 26). Stereotypes and prejudice may affect both employers' willingness to hire and elderly workers' self-confidence, and hence their active search for a new job in case of redundancy (O'Cinneide 2005; Gosheh Jr. et al 2006).

More expensive. Elderly workers are generally considered to be more expensive and less productive. Seniority-based wage systems can entail increasing labour costs at older ages (OECD 2006). More flexible pay systems (and in particular moving away from seniority-base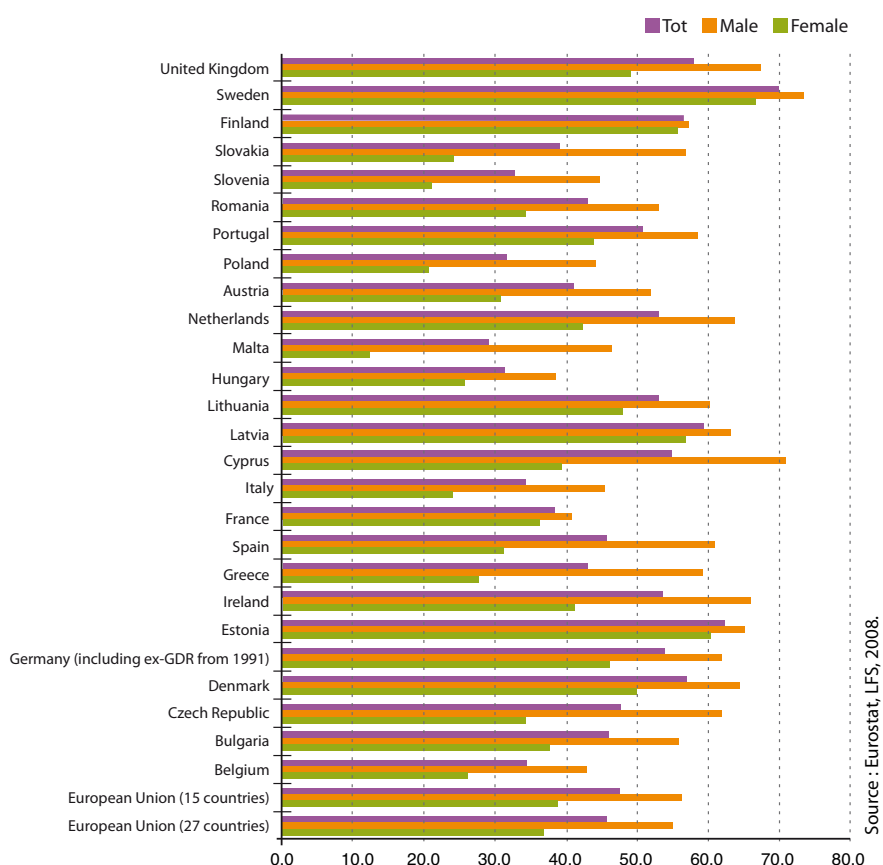d wage systems) might enhance the job security and employability of older workers by reducing their relative cost. [2] The EC thus seems to advocate finally bringing in more flexibility throughout the whole life-cycle. One should, however, consider the negative income effects of these reforms, whose effects may be aggravated by more precarious working careers during the life cycle.

Less productive? Empirical research indicates that productivity increases with age; supervisors, conversely, point to a negative relation (Taylor 2001). Experience, stability and reliability seem to go under-rated, as is the possibility to reduce depletion or obsolescence of skills by training and work organisation. Age-related discrimination is especially severe for unskilled workers and for women. Results from the LFS (Labour Force Survey) confirm that older people are on average less educated than younger age groups, with large differences across countries. "Indeed in many Member States the low employment rate for the age group 55–64 is due to the combination of the high share of older people with lower levels of education and the tendency for the less skilled to have lower employment rates" (EC 2007: 95).

Training. Far from being narrowed, the skill gap is usually widened by training. It is fairly well established that older workers receive less training than younger categories, and the less skilled older workers receive less training than the more skilled. Poor education and lack of human capital lead to exclusion from learning paths in a vicious circle of discrimination in the workplace. Mature people who lose their jobs after decades of repetitive tasks are often unable to adapt their skills to the new demands. Thus, firm-level employment practices often prevent older workers from remaining in or rejoining the labour market.

Reconciliation. Elderly women face even more serious barriers than men. Lack of adequate

Empirical research indicates that productivity increases with age; supervisors, conversely, point to a negative relation (Taylor 2001). Experience, stability and reliability seem to go under-rated, as is the possibility to reduce depletion or obsolescence of skills by training and work organisation.

Fig. 1 - Employment rates across EU Member States for older workers (55-64) by gender 2008

Source : Eurostat, LFS, 2008.

policies for work-life balance leads to spells of inactivity during working life (Simonazzi 2008). Data disaggregated by gender and age show that mature women are the most penalized in the labour market (figure 1). Moreover, there are fewer learning opportunities for women in general, and for mature women in particular, making adaptation to labour demand extremely difficult. When they succeed in re-entering the labour market, it is often at the cost of discrimination, segregation and poor job quality, in terms of wages and job security (Daubas-Letourneux and Thébaud-Mony, 2003).

Health and working conditions. Physical strain, poor health and disability, job quality, flexible work organisation and working times arrangements can affect elderly people's attachment to the labour market. The available data signal the importance of work-related health problems for older workers. Reorganisation at the work place can adjust the distribution of tasks in accordance with the older workers' capabilities. Arrangements to withdraw gradually, part time or reduced working hours (possibly supplemented by income support measures) can help in retaining older workers in employment.

Economic crisis. Higher labour costs relative to productivity make the elderly, and especially the low-skilled elderly, extremely vulnerable in downturns, when they are often encouraged to exit the labour market through redundancy or early retirement schemes. By making young people cheaper and more expendable, labour market deregulation has increased the relative cost of elderly workers, who are usually on open-ended, regular employment contracts, with wage and non-wage costs fixed by national contracts. Thus, older workers tend to be more vulnerable in times of recession.[3] While the current global crisis is sharpening the trade off between young and old workers in the labour market, in the case of older workers transition into inactivity is often a path of no return (EC 2007:77). The effects of the crisis on the older workers' activity rate risk stretching out to the longer run and seriously impairing the results achieved in times of relatively higher growth.

Setting the incentives right:
An overview
of macro
and micro policies

A wide range of policies within the Active Age approach have been devised to address the various factors making for older worker discrimination at the workplace. [4] These policies have been targeted to the economic system - e.g., deregulation of the labour market, flexibility measures, pension reforms [5] - and to individu-

als - e.g., implementation of policies targeting training, life-long learning, employment (through employment centre reform), healthy working conditions, adaptation of the workplace and work organization to the needs of older workers, curbing age discrimination while fostering reconciliation and entrepreneurship.

Greater flexibility in retirement, gradual retirement, combinations of retirement and work, but also improvement of job quality, may help defer retirement. [6] Strategies to encourage intergenerational solidarity and the exchange of skills between young and elderly people – by enabling interactions among groups to share experience and recognize tacit knowledge [7], learning platforms [8], coaching [9], tutoring and mentoring models [10], new communication channels and partnerships [11] may help improve retention by firms. Projects have been launched to search for new solutions for workers made redundant by firms downsizing or re-locate, in declining [12] and rural areas [13].

At the local level, there is a much keener awareness of the need for active involvement of all the actors – target groups as well as local authorities and stakeholders in general.

These various measures need to be harmonized in a mainstreamed (integrated) strategy in order to avoid trade-offs; [14] moreover, their success is conditional upon the existence of an adequate aggregate demand for labour.

The local level. While financial incentives or disincentives (pension schemes, tax wedge, EPL), as well as passive labour policies, are handled at the national levels, the implementation of active labour policies rests mostly with local authorities. At the local level, there is a much keener awareness of the need for active involvement of all the actors – target groups as well as local authorities and stakeholders in general. Success requires bringing in both older workers and employers in the implementation of public policies, for instance by working together on plans aimed at increasing the profitability of the mature workforce, or simply by raising awareness of the potential business benefits deriving from employing older workers (Warwick Report 2006). In Germany, for instance, the government has acted on both the supply and demand side of labour, by improving older workers' qualifications and making it profitable for firms to retain older workers. [15] A similar two-handed approach, acting on both workers' qualifications and firms' policies was adopted by the Czech Republic in 2002 [16].

Finally, the various local policies need to be coordinated in order to avoid conflicting aims across generations or vulnerable target groups. Active involvement of target groups and policy coordination are the two principles which have been adopted by the "Active Age" project.

The URBACT Experience

The URBACT project on **Active Age** (led by Rome), involves nine cities across Europe. The employment issue is closely intertwined with health, care and social inclusion issues, and thus represents only the first of the themes that will be discussed at the transnational workshops. The cities are currently drafting their local action plans on employment, in response to their specific needs. Thus, Edinburgh is focusing on the promotion of flexible working practices for older people, through better work organisation (including work/life balance); the Municipality has established the practice of calling for older people's opinions when discussing the policy-makers' choices. Maribor is also focusing on retirement, working on policies and initiatives aimed at easing the transition from work to retirement, for instance by planning post-retirement activities capable of reducing the negative economic impact of retirement. Building upon a pilot project, [17] Rome will focus on further developing services for the orientation and advice to 50+ unemployed workers, on fostering professional re-qualification and training, and on the development of self-entrepreneurship. Thessaloniki is focusing on strengthening the information between employers and employees in order to facilitate the awareness of older workers with respect to the opportunities offered by the labour market in terms of training and services.

We cannot report on the experiences and projects of all the cities involved because some of them are still working at this task. However, they all seem to respond to two common principles: active involvement of the target groups, and consideration for an integrated life-course approach to Active Ageing, in order to minimise both conflicting aims and trade-offs, and in the awareness that promotion of older-age active citizenship builds up in the course of the life cycle. This understanding, which is an integral part of the URBACT projects, drives the search for interaction and coordination among the URBACT network participants. In the case of "Active Age", interaction with "My Generation", in particular, should lead to a crucial contribution in developing tools and ideas on how to engage target groups, and to devise common policies to create active transitions in the various phases of the life course, while reducing trade-offs. For instance, tackling the problems of the different paths of transition from youth to adulthood - from drop-out back to school, from school to work, from juvenile crime into more orderly life – and of transition from adulthood to maturity, seniority, and old age, can

help in finding innovative ways to foster active citizenship throughout the life course.

Final Remarks

National and local policies have been targeted basically to increase the employment rates of the elderly population. These rates are still very much determined by the national employment models and by the various welfare regimes, which in turn reflect historical, social and cultural models. Local policies need to take into account the socio-economic background in which they are embedded, but, exploiting their proximity to target groups, they need to engage them, involve stakeholders, calling on people to participate in the selection and implementation of policies. In this process, policy-makers can learn from the exchange of experiences and good (and bad) practices. ●

[1] The OECD study finds a strong negative correlation between employment rates of workers aged 55-64 and the replacement rate (that is, the ratio of annual benefits to earnings before retirement), with Mediterranean countries at the higher end.

[2] It should be noted that, by introducing "flexibility at the margin", which falls mostly upon young people and new entrants in the labour market, labour market de-regulation has created a competitive advantage for younger, more precarious and expendable workers vis-à-vis older workers, usually on "typical" contractual arrangements, and therefore "burdened"

with wage and tax wedges (Bassanini and Duval 2006).

3] There seems to be a positive correlation between the employment rate of older workers (both male and female) and the rate of growth of the economy.

[4] COM (2006) 571 final of 12/10/2006, The demographic future of Europe – from challenge to opportunity.

[5] For more details, see www.oecd.org/els/social/workincentives

6] European Commission 2008, Joint Report on Social Protection and Social Inclusion.

[7] Project "Moderniser sans exclure les seniors", France www.ec.europa.eu

[8] www.webu2.upmf-grenoble.fr

[9] www.ec.europa.eu
Managing age groups and seniors: conclusions from comparative research programs, www.latts.cnrs.fr

[10] www.ec.europa.eu

[11] www.ec.europa.eu

[12] The Walloon government, in collaboration with trade unions and the office for vocational training and employment, introduced a restructuring Support Plan to help workers who lose their jobs.

[13] "Clare Life Long Learning Network" addressed the need to provide a LLL curriculum in a rural area of the West coast of Ireland.

[14] The new employment guidelines promote both an integrated approach to advance solidarity between generations, embracing young and female employment, and issues of reconciliation and integration of migrants. See integrative guidelines no. 18 "Promote a new life cycle approach to work", COM (2006) 571 final of 12/10/2006, The demographic future of Europe – from challenge to opportunity. COM (2007) 244 final 10/05/2007, Promoting solidarity between the generations.

[15] On the one hand, mandatory agreements have been signed with social partners to coordinate actions concerning

better qualification, employability, and more flexible time arrangements. On the other, the employers' association has published a Guideline for companies explaining how to adjust work tasks to older workers, enhance life-long training, plan working time arrangements and build age-mixed teams. See also "Experience works", the "Regional UK Programme for Unemployed over-45s" launched in 2000, targeted the over-45s by assisting those unemployed to go back into work and those in employment to further develop their careers . Around 38% of those who received support have returned to work.

[16] In the "National Programme of Preparation for Ageing" a number of concrete measures have been introduced for job retention and higher employment rates among elderly people. A range of measures have been implemented to prevent age discrimination in work and pay, providing older people with retraining opportunities, and promoting adaptability and innovation in the workplace in order to support company competitiveness, facilitate cooperation between governmental bodies and social partners during company restructuring, and implement a system of life-long learning for employees.

[17] "Over-45" - a pilot Action Plan 2005–2007 promoted by the XIV Department of the Rome Municipality – aimed at providing customised services by the Public Employment Services to the population target. The project consisted of several steps: identification of institutions well-rooted in the territory and with in-depth coverage; activation of the COL (Labour Orientation Centres) network; formulation of a methodology for analysis of the features and needs of the over-45; testing and evaluation of the first results. "Sportello lavoro over-40" - a planning laboratory led by district XVII of the municipality of Rome and promoted by two association, Associazione Atdal and Lavoro over 40 –provided advice to people over-40 with a diploma and an experience of precarious work.

Dilemmas of Integrated Area-Based Urban Renewal Programmes

by **Iván Tosics**
Lead Expert of the NODUS Thematic Network

Urban renewal policies underwent significant changes in Europe in recent decades. With some simplification, the following periods can be distinguished:

- *1970s: "hard" urban renewal - extensive physical interventions*
- *1980s: "soft" urban renewal - efforts to keep the original population in place*
- *1990s: "integrated urban renewal" - combining physical, economic and social interventions*

The last decade brought heated debates about the understanding of the problems of disadvantaged neighbourhoods and about the potential methods to handle these problems. Previously, the common understanding was that the problems of disadvantaged neighbourhoods were caused by physical characteristics of the places and the composition of their population. Claude Jacquier (see Jacquier 2008) was one of the first to call attention to the role of the crisis of local institutions and their incapacity to regulate the interactions between place (environment), people (social) and institutions (economic and political). According to Jacquier, an integrated programme for sustainable urban development has to

manage and improve the interactions between all three components, in order for deprived areas to have a chance to become a "normal" part of the settlement pattern. From this statement it follows that disadvantaged neighbourhoods need complex interventions which have to cover not only physical and social issues but the whole range of government and governance issues.

Thus the "new generation" of integrated area-based urban renewal programs aim at improving deprived areas through complex and interlinked multi-sectoral interventions. Behind this common understanding, however, there are two sensitive dilemmas which are heavily debated.

Should Interventions be Targeted to Deprived Areas or Not?

One of the dilemmas of integrated urban renewal is related to the very rationale and value of this type of intervention. The supporters of area-based interventions argue (Vranken-De Decker-Van Nieuwenhuyze, 2003:61) that although general anti-poverty programmes are essential, direct interventions into the most deprived neighbourhoods are of basic importance. Such interventions are needed to correct market failures (capital avoids problematic neighbourhoods) and to empower the residents, improving their access to mainstream job opportunities and other institutions of the society.

There are many different versions of area-based policies. The most common is determined by a top-down mixture of different types of (physical, economic, social) interventions. Another type, gaining ground in the 2000s, is characterized by attempts to increase the participation of local residents. One of the best known examples of this second type is the Neighbourhood Fund in Berlin.

■ In 1999 Berlin introduced the system of Neighbourhood Funds. On the basis of objective indicators the most deprived neighbourhoods of the city are selected. Each of these get access to a given amount of money. The decision about what to do with this money has to be made by the residents. In practice a jury is established in each of these neighbourhoods, with at least 51% of the members selected randomly from the local residents. Ideas, collected from the residents, are then judged by the jury which makes the final decision.

There are, however, strong critiques of area based policies from wider societal perspectives. Such territorially targeted approaches "... simply displace problems between different neighbourhoods and do not add to the overall economic and social well-being of the city as a whole – "they are the equivalent of rearranging the deck chairs of the Titanic"... This is the more true as (...) "the causes of the problems and the potential solutions (...) lie outside the excluded areas." (Vranken-De Decker-Van Nieuwenhuyze, 2003:62, quoting Ray Forrest and Michael Parkinson). According to this view the problems of the most deprived areas can not be solved within these areas. Instead, horizontal interventions are needed (reducing poverty, increasing the level of education, etc.) and physical interventions should address larger territorial areas.

Vranken (2008) raises further problems with area-based interventions.

"Selecting only areas with the most severe problems might imply that areas that are only slightly better off do not receive any attention at all. Second, area-based policies may move problems from one area to another. Third, by focusing only on a few neighbourhoods or districts, the potential of other parts of the city or the metropolitan area may be ignored. Finally, area-based policies may just be chosen because of their better visibility – which is a strong argument for politicians – and not because they are more appropriate."

As an alternative to area-based interventions, horizontal policies are put forward. These should take the form of public interventions for the whole urban area, either universally accessible or targeted on the basis of specific characteristics (not through selection of areas).

Some selective examples of such horizontal policies are the following:

a) to give equal opportunities to everyone in education through schools which are of equal quality everywhere (example: significant efforts made in the Finnish educational system to provide equal educational quality throughout the school system);

b) to enhance the skills of residents in order to improve their chances of finding a job (Birmingham city council organized training for unemployed residents to maximise their chances of being employed in a new shopping centre);

c) to improve access to information (example: East Manchester, where the municipality ensured access to internet for everyone);

d) to improve transport to enable residents of poorer areas to reach opportunities existing in other areas (example: Docklands light rail system in London).

In the debate about area-based initiatives one of the views is that area-based initiatives are only good when the major problems of an area are related to the physical characteristics (eg., rundown buildings and/or public spaces). If problems are predominantly social or related to employment however, interventions should not be based on the area. This view, however, is weakened by the fact that horizontal policies quite often do not "reach" the most marginalized groups of society – those living in the most deprived areas.

Needless to say, the dilemma of the rationale of area-based interventions is not conclusive, neither of the opposing views is universally accepted, and all the opposing arguments raised in the debate are true to a given extent (for each of the arguments it is possible to find concrete cases which "prove" the validity of the argument).

How to Deal with the One-Sided Social Structure of Deprived Areas?

The other dilemma relates to the social composition of residents in deprived areas. According to the recently very fashionable "social mix" approach the most deprived areas can not be improved with long-lasting results unless a change in the local social structure can be realised, i.e., unless it becomes more mixed by replacing a part of the low status residents with new, higher status ones.

The original version of this idea aimed to achieve a better mix of different housing categories in poor neighbourhoods, with the hope that a supply of new good quality housing would attract new affluent households, leading to better social mix of local residents. In a later version of this policy the aim was modified: "(…) social mix can at least offer the opportunity to successful households to stay in the neighbourhood. This means that they will not have to run up the downward escalator and leave the neighbourhood." (Vranken-De Decker-Van Nieuwenhuyze, 2003:61). The presence of successful households in deprived neighbourhoods is also important to provide positive career-routes and aspiration to the future generation.

The growing popularity of social mix policies also comes up against the limits of integrated interventions in particularly deprived neighbourhoods: according to Kahrik (2006), "The lack of social capital in existing populations was a constraint on empowerment strategies which could be addressed by social diversity strategies (…)"

Social mix strategy has been implemented in Dutch urban renewal programmes. In this case in selected deprived neighbourhoods some of the cheap dwellings are demolished and replaced by more comfortable dwellings which are offered to successful existing local households, i.e., not only families from outside the neighbourhood.

The evaluation of such policies (e.g., the Dutch Big City Policy), however, shows ambiguous results. According to Musterd-Ostendorf (2008:83) "(…) the idea of attracting the better-off to settle in disadvantaged neighbourhoods appeared not to work". Another problem is that a long period of time is needed until real communication develops between the different social strata living in the same neighbourhood.

Social mix ideas, if not applied carefully and in combination with other public interventions, might develop in sharp contradiction with the social goals of housing policy. A recent case for this can be traced in the four largest Dutch cities.

■ These cities apply urban regeneration through the demolition of some of the worst housing stock and the creation of high-value new owner occupied housing. The aim is to increase social mix through the creation of a housing mix which might attract middle and higher income people back to the city, into the new high quality housing built in the previously poor neighbourhoods. For this policy there is an investment budget of 1.4 billion euros given by the national government with additional resources from urban authorities and housing corporations for the period 2005-2009. However, these policies have been criticized by analysts: attracting higher-income

Social mix ideas, if not applied carefully and in combination with other public interventions, might develop in sharp contradiction with the social goals of housing policy.

residents by positioning these urban areas in competition with the VINEX locations (large scale new developments outside the city's territory), the real aim is to increase the tax base, which leads at the same time to unacceptable social consequences. Here "social mix" means public support is given to those who are already more affluent..

Similar arguments are raised by Glynn (2008), who calls the social mix oriented city-centre regeneration "sugarcoated gentrification".

The outcomes of social mix strategies are rarely surveyed with empirical analysis. Such an analysis – still unpublished – was mentioned in a presentation given by Galster (2009). The empirical analysis of such policies faces a lot of problems. The first is the definition of "disadvantaged" which has clearly to be elaborated in different forms in different countries (income, race, tenure…). The concept of "social mix" also has to be defined carefully, referring to composition (on what basis), concentration (the extent or breakdown of mixing), scale (building, neighbourhood, metropolitan level).

According to Galster, taking a "social mix" approach can be valid on the grounds of equity and efficiency, and in terms of who is the beneficiary of the policy. These rationales can be surveyed through an analysis of the beneficiary of the policies: 1) the disadvantaged, 2) the advantaged, or 3) society in general (i.e., both of these groups, but not necessarily equally). So the evaluation criteria of the effects of social mix policies can be the following:

■ Equity criteria: to what extent is the first group the winner (improving in absolute sense the well being of the disadvantaged)

■ Efficiency criteria: to what extent is the third group the winner, i.e. positive sum outcomes for the society (aggregation of disadvantaged + advantaged), taking both intra and extra neighbourhood effects into account

Galster emphasized that social mix policies might only be efficient within given circumstances. If the share of disadvantaged people in a neighbourhood is below 20%, there is little need and mixing is likely to have little impact. But if this share is above 40% it is too late in a sense—the problems are likely too extensive for social mix policies to be effective. (These figures refer to "disadvantaged" as defined by the US poverty standard, i.e., these percentages are specific to the concept of disadvantaged in that context). On this basis one of the methods to increase social mix might be to reduce the share of disadvantaged people to 20% in all neighbourhoods where the existing proportion is above this threshold. This could mean that disadvantaged families from these areas are "parachuted" to more affluent neighbourhoods, but only to the extent that they increase by

no more than 5% the existing proportion of disadvantaged households. Another possible method is to encourage non-disadvantaged families to move into new housing in disadvantaged areas.

Social mix policies raise many interesting questions. One is the evaluation of the effect of the population change. The effect of the parachuted disadvantaged households on more affluent neighbourhoods can be measured for example by changes in real estate values in these areas. On the other hand the effect of the parachuted more affluent families on disadvantaged neighbourhoods can be demonstrated with the resulting positive communication-based effects. Andersson and Musterd (2005), however, argue that there are usually no such effects, and if this is true, mixing serves only to increase property values in the area, or in other words to offer nice real estate to middle class families.

Another question raised by these policies is the justification for the application of social mix policies. This might be different according to the type of neighbourhood: it may be more justified in deprived areas where the reason for the concentration of disadvantaged people is the lack of choice or racial discrimination, rather than in low-rent or immigrant-receiver areas where mixing can destroy existing social links without offering anything better. Even political counter-arguments can be raised against such policies: social mix can be considered as a new form of unwelcome institutional intervention, especially for ethnic/migrant groups. For example poor black households would not want to move into more affluent white neighbourhoods where they may face hostility and be considered as problem families. On the other hand they would not want to stay in neighbourhoods with bad schools, and little social aspiration. They are looking for something else, which is not on the list of the planners' ideas offered. [1]

An additional question raised by these policies is related to methods of selection of the families to be moved out – whether defined as low income or as "harmful" families (the latter are handled in the UK by the law on anti-social behaviour). Similarly the question can be raised in terms of where they should be parachuted, under which circumstances and to what extent should the residents of these areas be included in the decision-making concerning the rehousing initiative. In order to solve this problem, Lyon has developed a legal charter, "Greater Lyon Charter for Rehousing" as a means of trying to resolve this problem of inclusion in the decision-making

It also means that to achieve social mix in deprived areas requires a well planned housing policy, covering the whole urban area, and ensuring the production of sufficient social housing in less segregated areas.

where both residents and municipality are bound by agreed conventions and obligations in the initial phases of the process.

The social mix strategy can easily become too "fashionable", applied without careful analysis of local circumstances and/or leaving important aspects out of consideration. Recently many large-scale demolition programmes have been launched in lower status neighbourhoods in European cities with a reference to social mix policies but with little or no regard to the external effects and social consequences. In the case of Paris, for example, large scale demolition in the *banlieues* (large prefabricated housing estates in the outer parts of the city) are heavily criticized by social analysts due to the fact that in the same areas there is a huge shortage of social housing. There are similar large scale demolitions in Glasgow, Lyon and German cities (just to mention a few), together with large scale investments of many hundreds of millions of euros in transport, upgrading public areas, and erecting new public buildings.

In most cases it is not the physical problems which justify the large urban regeneration programmes linked to extensive demolitions, but economic and social problems. In some areas segregation became unbearably high (the La Duchère housing estate in Lyon is just an example with 80% social housing), the prestige of these estates has decreased, and they have sunk to the bottom of the housing market as a result. In most cases demolitions of technically sound buildings are clear consequences of earlier mistakes in public policies, regarding economic development, employment, urban, housing and migration policies. This means that social mix interventions have to be applied in time, before segregation is reaching a level which can no longer be "repaired" through application of such cautious interventions and more drastic measures like demolition need to be considered.

The dilemmas of the social mix approach are highlighted from a different angle by Vranken (2008):

■ What makes world cities like New York, Paris, or London so attractive is the existence of a kaleidoscope of ethnic villages. This means that social heterogeneity should not be a target at the lowest spatial level. Within apartment blocks, streets and even small neighbourhoods, social heterogeneity is not only hard to realise; it often creates more problems than it solves and will be self-destructive in the end. Do not try to create "communities" through physical constructions.

All of this means that a carefully planned social mix strategy can not exclusively concentrate on a selected area: besides interventions within the deprived area (demolition of bad and construction of higher quality housing) interventions in other areas are also needed, i.e., the neighbourhoods to which deprived residents are to be moved. It also means that to achieve social mix in deprived areas requires a well planned housing policy, covering the whole urban area, and ensuring the production of sufficient social housing in less segregated areas.

■ Lyon provides an example: according to a programme starting in 2001, thousands of housing units were demolished in Venissieux (a high-rise housing estate with a very bad reputation), while a similar number of new social housing units were built in other areas to create new balance across the entire Lyon area. This was a quite costly strategy for the local government who had to buy plots in more expensive areas in order to be able to provide social housing in such "normal", non-segregated neighbourhoods.

In some countries (e.g., France, Germany) there are national laws existing either to prescribe a minimal share of social housing for each settlement or to ensure that a given percentage of new housing in each new housing project above a minimal size should be affordable for lower income households.

While there are debates about social mix in all western countries, this topic is hardly mentioned in post-socialist countries. One of the reasons for this difference is the fact that in these countries the large housing estates and inner city areas are not yet as segregated as in many of the western cities. There is also another reason, however. In post-socialist countries only very little social housing exists (stock has been privatised, new is not built), thus to find replacement flats for the most excluded is almost impossible and integrating them into existing neighbourhoods is also difficult, due to the strong exclusion tendencies in the majority population.

The Link between the Territorial Scale and the Social Character of Renewal Interventions

From this short overview it turns out that there are no clear answers on the dilemmas of urban renewal regarding area-based or horizontal interventions and how much social mix is needed at all. Of course, the level and type of deterioration of an area might give some ideas: urban ghettos should be handled differently from the case of simply marginal – low rent – areas. However, the final answers to these questions should depend on the

strategy of the given city and the metropolitan region: discussions with the affected residents and with all other actors in the broader area should decide the fate of people, places and institutions.

The joint analysis of the topics of social mix and of the area-based character of urban renewal interventions leads us to some important conclusions.

Urban renewal interventions should never be exclusively area-based – even in cases when most types of interventions concentrate on a selected deprived area, it has to be acknowledged that some types of problems (e.g., employment, education, health care) can not be handled exclusively on the basis of the small area and need therefore interventions beyond the area, on a much broader territorial scale.

The stronger the socio-spatial segregation of an area is, the more "social mix" type of interventions are needed. However, in order to minimize negative externalities, such interventions should be planned on a broader territorial base (e.g., city-region, see Tosics 2007). This also means that the interventions should not only be carried out within the deprived area and the monitoring of the effects should take place for the whole of the broader territory.

In an optimal scenario both area-based and horizontal (people based) interventions should be decided within the framework of a wider urban renewal strategy, covering the whole urban area. Such a strategy should include a longer term perspective about the economic, environmental and social aspects of development of the whole urban area and should create the area-based and the horizontal policies for interventions on that basis.

The introduction of area-based urban renewal policies was a very important step 10-15 years ago, enabling the integration of physical, economic and social interventions within the selected neighbourhood. The growing externalities of such policies, however, make it necessary to recognize that to overcome the "area effect", the integrated approach should be extended to the city-region level, where the areas for interventions should be selected, NGOs and population groups should be involved in the area programmes and the outcomes should be monitored. This means a "second integration": local area based actions must be integral parts of larger scale, regional development strategies. These "next generation" integrated policies will also enable the more sophisticated and controlled use of social mix ideas in urban renewal.

Thus the city-region level has a key role to play: instead of simply applying global ideas and/or pre-defined indicators, the governance system of the functional urban area has to identify and understand the local problems and set up the

strategy to handle the problems, with the help of locally developed solutions, ensuring the integrated approach and involving the local stakeholders. At the same time the city-region level is also important to minimize the area (spillover, external) effects.

All these tasks would need strong government on the functional urban area level. The reality is far from that though, the development of integrated policies in the city-regions is quite difficult all over Europe. Both top-down efforts and bottom-up initiatives are needed to "build up" the much needed financial and regulatory functions of the city-regions.

National urban policy should also play an important role in making the step forward from limited examples of good integrated area based programmes towards more systematic practices. In this process practitioners also have a task to act as conspirators (Jacquier) to build in a bottom-up way municipal, regional and national competencies in their various offices and departments, and in the political sense to develop both levels of integrated urban development. ●

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METHODS OF GOVERNANCE ACROSS ANY FRAMEWORK
City-Region as "Marble Cake"

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■ *In the theory of fiscal federalism public tasks are divided among different tiers of government at least in two ways. While one is based rigorously on delegation of administrative powers ("layer cake" model), the other is a more flexible functional spread of public responsibilities to governmental and non-governmental bodies, even collective and private stakeholders. This less formalized way of administration, so called governance, is one of the best methods to manage tasks at city-region scales which, in fact, always crosscut any existing administrative borders in quite a changeable way. Provision of local public functions is shared according to the "marble cake" model in this case. Stakeholders' tasks and interaction among them are divided in a very unique and innovative way in particular cities and their surrounding wider areas. Is this particular marble cake in every-day governing practice delicious enough for city-regions to try it? The paper is about some examples how specific functions are shared among partner cities and regions in Europe.*

The so-called *"layer cake" federalism* in central-local relations of public administration is based on a relatively clear delineation of providing functions and programmes among different levels of governments. It means a general responsibility in the field of particular tasks however the lower level operates explicitly or implicitly within the formal frame of the upper level and central authorities. In contrast, *"marble cake" federalism* [1] is a system devoted to pragmatic mixing of tasks and programmes among different levels of government at either local or state and national levels. This less formalized but more associative way of managing activities has been spreading for more than a decade in large cities and their wider area in Europe.

Furthermore the "marble cake" model is more complex than pragmatic devolution of functions to a more competent component of governing actors. Selecting a particular level, which is satisfactory to supply some public needs, would remain in frameworks of public administration as such. However, in the practice, you can face with much wider flexibility, when, for instance, *voluntary or private stakeholders* are also involved in provision, of urban common tasks and these are managed well just at a city-region scale. Local political relations are mostly over the sole activities of municipal authorities because power relations are spread among the mentioned wider range of stakeholders. Intergovernmental, non-governmental and private involvement in supplementary public functions may be well-developed at a city region level realizing fruitful opportunities. In order to supply public needs in economy of scale, motivation of driving forces should be defined behind the overall cooperation processes just in city-region size. Private and voluntary players are also involved in common policies. They are steering policy options, cooperative actions in the wider meaning of this term.

Apart from intergovernmental and public-private relations, the flexible and dynamic character of functional division has also a third characteristic feature in city-regions as units that develop *networking* features of co-operation, instead of traditional cooperation only inside the administrative poles. Network governance [2] is quite open to cover actions characteristic in a large city-area, and furthermore to make linkages for one large centre to other similar ones in order to merge either of them in the global competitive economy.

Non-Institutional Character

European programmes and projects scrutinized mainly the territorial framework of the European urban system so far. The ESPON [3] in this field highlighted polycentric development, then delimitation of functional urban areas and other spatial analyses. METREX [4] is a network of practitioners concerning with planning and development at metropolitan levels. The URBACT programme (www.urbact.eu) preferred a more functional view. Nevertheless the URBACT II developed this profile to a direction of actions to promote a more integrative development in different fields of cooperation. It focuses very much on particular functional issues

and in the frame of the programme some of the projects deal with especially methodological and practical aspects of existing examples in the flexible "marble cake" cooperation. As a part of the programme the working group "JOINING FORCES" [5] found out a more methodological aspect to study governing practice of big cities and their area. This contribution matters to collect and systematize more important instruments as well as introduce them in practice of wider cooperation at any city-region level. Our working group especially scrutinizes the above mentioned phenomenon in the practice of eight city-regions representing different countries of the EU. In some cases more than one member state is represented in a particular city-regional areas. (*See the boxes further on*) So, the "marble-cake" method in building and maintaining networks becomes more and more important as supplementary practice to territorial administrative activities either in member states or their municipal and regional tiers especially in large metropolitan areas.

The "marble cake" methods of operation work in different frameworks of metropolitan institutional design while the model as such is not really institutional as a whole. In order to see the context this background should be summarized in brief. It arises from the period of metropolitan government, which was conserved later on in cases where the structural basis remained.

According Gorzelak and Smetkowski (2005) [6] division of public tasks can be managed on the basis of different models in city and its urban area as follows.

I. In the complex functional model an elected authority has a wide range of responsibility on the whole city-region. It supplies infrastructural and social public services and formulates policies especially in development, economic and environmental issues regularly on the basis of integrated development strategies. **II.** In the model of selected and most significant tasks the elected or nominated authority with general responsibility is limited to some of the competencies. Typically this limitation focuses on the remaining development function at the city-regional level as an entity. **III.** The counselling model neglects any separate government level, however mainly strategic planning is prepared and implemented by agencies, which might be lead by a delegated council of existing local public authorities.

It is worth adding to this classification, that the latter focuses on methods most clearly, which is adapted many times by the other cities in different clusters mentioned above. "Marble cake" solutions have been more popular since the failure of metropolitan governments in the 1970s.

Eindhoven City Region [7] is a good example on the counselling model as well as maximizing non-institutional instruments in spatial manage-

ment. (*See Box 1* as a brief description about the model). There is no official regional level of government in Eindhoven, however the law allows municipalities to work together and create a regional form of government. This voluntary institution is called a region, it does not have a specific separate body but the legal basis is given to municipalities for cooperation in one or more specific issues. These types of regions have statutory policy competences, such as economic development, transport and environment and until the 1st of July 2008 also had spatial planning. Sources and capacities of implementation are realized by directly linked public foundations. City-regional connections to other big urban poles are deployed to enhance their interests with neighbouring countries. These have proved to offer flexible capacities in the field of economic innovation and cooperation based on spatial relations.

Box 1
Planning and Programming in and out of the City-Region Eindhoven
The City Region Eindhoven (SRE)

The City-Region Eindhoven is located between the economic centres of the Dutch Randstad conurbation, the Ruhr conurbation of Central Germany, Brussels and Antwerp. The region has 725,000 inhabitants and 32,000 businesses. The economic structure is characterised by the presence of a high quality industrial base, and a service sector which is continuously undergoing steady growth. Key industrial clusters include mechatronics, the automotive industry and electronics. New sectors are industrial distribution, environmental technology, medical technology and information technology. Research and development activities are particularly prevalent in the region. Of the total amount spent annually on research and development in the Netherlands, some 50% goes to the Eindhoven Region. The slogan for the Eindhoven region is therefore justifiably "Leading in Technology". The presence of a sound industrial base and high quality service sector calls for an excellent regional infrastructure.

The SRE is an inter-municipal cooperative union in which municipalities cooperate in order to promote common interests, in other words, government by the municipalities for the municipalities. The working area covers 21 municipalities with a total population of almost 725,000.

The SRE looks after the common interests of the municipalities in the region. For example in the field of spatial planning, traffic and transport, housing, the environment, recreation and tourism, education, health, culture and socio-economic affairs. The purpose is to bring about a balanced development of the region, in which there are rural districts in addition to a clearly defined urban district, each with its own set of problems

and opportunities. The SRE tasks are mainly of a planning, organising and co-ordinating nature. The task of the Regional Council is for example to define town and country planning, an environmental policy plan and a socio-economic policy plan. The implementation is left to the municipalities. However, there are some large-scale regional projects under the control of the SRE, mainly recreation projects.

Eindhoven isn't alone as a knowledge centre. Its geographical location was the reason for the city to enter into a partnership in 2003 with Leuven in Belgium and Aachen in Germany, two other knowledge centres "just across the border". The Eindhoven-Leuven-Aachen triangle aims to promote and serve as an example for international and interregional partnerships in the field of knowledge and innovation.

ELAt, the Eindhoven-Leuven-Aachen triangle, is a geographical area of high-tech activity in the Dutch, Belgian and German cross-border region. The total ELAt area covers 14,269 square kilometres, has a population of nearly 5.9 million, a workforce of 2.9 million and an aggregate GDP of € 157.5 billion (2005). High-tech, knowledge based industries account for a direct share of 20% in the GDP. The driving force of these industries creates large multiplier effects on the economy. The estimated R&D spent in ELAt is four billion euros, representing 2.5% of ELAt's GDP.

ELAt is a stimulus for and an example of the improvement of the knowledge economy in Europe via cross border and interregional cooperation. The impact of the activities within the ELAt project doesn't only concern the three urban regions (Eindhoven, Leuven, and Aachen) and the other cities in urban network of NWE, but it will also have an impact on the surrounding areas. **www.sre.nl**

Another aspect of the "marble cake" practice derives paradoxically from the "layer cake" period. In the era of formal metropolitan government [8] institutional structures could be typified as follows (Goldsmith, 2001: 328-329): **I.** single tier government at city-agglomeration level **II.** two-tier government, so called federations in big cities **III.** cooperative forms with institutional background.

The latter one is represented in our group by the Urban Community of Lille (Lille Métropole Communauté Urbaine - LMCU). LMCU is a statutory public body consisting of 85 municipalities including the city. The formal legal construction of "communauté urbaine" was adopted by law in 1966 and two years later institutions of cooperation around Lille and four other big cities of France were established. Originally this framework served simply cooperation among

municipalities in agglomerations. These urban communities have their own budget, may levy taxes, decide on agglomeration-size investments, carry out development and land-use planning. The main fields of activities are public transport, road maintenance, environmental policy. These functions were enhanced in 2000 with economic development, widening of cultural and sport infrastructure, social housing, etc.

Emerging External Cooperation

In the case of LMCU some of the huge projects in public transport, telecommunication and development of a techno-pole were very ambitious and successful linking to the policy intention to become the centre of the new Europe. This was realized as a more efficient strategy than those implemented by some others [9] from the communities established in the same early era. A very much influenced political elite could reach significant results for the region as a whole. In the 1980s the first metro-line was opened, and then Euralille centre was built up, including the new high-speed train station, etc. These investments promoted the city region to be competitive at the international level and gave an opportunity to spread the complex area of development further on.

The story of the TGV transport (see Box 2) is a good example on: flexible but very competent forms and frameworks of governance in competitiveness. LMCU could not have been successful alone. It was an institutional engine of wide scale strategic development which spread regional coverage of cooperation to wider areas, including cross border, in a complex ongoing process. High speed train stations in big cities made strong initial incentives for the development of the whole urban area. The development is a national one, however. Connected lines are in the city and its region, so exploitation of opportunities need involvement of municipalities, chamber of commerce, civil participation in site.

Box 2
High speed transport and Lille Metropole

Lille Metropole is a Eurometropolis of 1.9 million inhabitants
■ working population of 500,000 people
■ Capital of the Nord-Pas de Calais Region, Lille Metropole has 85 municipalities and 1.1 million inhabitants
■ France's 4th largest conurbation after Paris, Lyons and Marseilles and 2nd conurbation by population density

Inter-municipal cooperation
Thanks to its expertise, the Urban Community is constantly striving to favour the development of Lille Metropole. The Urban Community's missions, its uncontested technical know-how acquired over many years in the fields of transportation, urban ecology, highways, allied with its organisational ability help to achieve the objective set out in the community programme.

TGV
Poverty continued throughout the 1960s and 70s, when the whole region was faced with problems after the decline of the coal, mining and textile industries. From the start of the 1980s, the city began to turn itself more towards the service sector: factories and workshops were replaced by offices and services and, in a certain way, Lille seems to have rediscovered its medieval role as a merchant city. The Lille-Paris TGV link in 1993, as well as the creation of the new Euralille district and the arrival of the Eurostar in 1994, have played a big part in the resurrection of the city's economy. Lille is now an important crossroad, in the European high-speed rail network: it lies on the Eurostar line to London and the French TGV network to Paris, Brussels and other major centres in France such as Marseille, Lyon, and Toulouse. In 2004, Lille was designated European Capital of Culture. Source: Site of Lille Tours 2007.
www.lillemetropole.fr

Further examples could be from the field of public services. In most of the metropolitan areas, for instance, solid waste collection and disposal are provided under formal and/or informal co-operations. Externalities do arise, so the question is whether this is accepted and adressed, and if so, within what kind of framework and using what methods. In this case we found out division of municipal shares in providing companies as an instrument of making public influence.

In sum, governing actors, methods, processes cannot be presented as simply a municipal or local associative issue. This contemporary phenomenon is over the horizontal cooperation among municipalities or vertical cooperation between any different levels of governments. In particular case functions are spread among a wide range of counterparts and territorial area, stepping over every geographical or administrative barriers. This approach can mobilise many resources. Technological development (case of Eindhoven) or high speed train (Lille) are neither traditional nor local or internal functions at all, however local actions made very important contributions in order to widen the cooperation. The basis of it becomes more and more difficult to imagine and describe and is not based on administrative areas or methods. However non-administrative instruments have become more widespread at this large scale, with some risk weakening the democratic frameworks.

To eliminate this risk, a European policy of promotion of metropolitan regions could be a relevant policy response. The growing importance of the instruments showed by the Lille and Eindhoven type of examples can have the effect of enhancing people's appetite to be involved directly through elected bodies or indirectly through locally elected bodies in influencing development of their own wider urban area. The desire to be more competitive in the global economy either for increased growth or in response to crisis is one of the key motivations but others will emerge including carbon reduction and a concern to manage sprawl, congestion and improve quality of life and the urban-rural interface. The "marble cake" model of governance in city-region scale is a challenging combination of different network solutions to widen large urban capacities without any type of administrative amalgamation and without using traditional bureaucratic instruments. ●

[1] Layer Cake and Marble Cake federalism are originally terms of American federalism, referring to central-local relationships in the framework of states and the federal level. This was extended later to relationships of national and local levels in every democratic county, notwithstanding the federal or unitary structure of the country.
[2] On democratic network governance see Sorensen and Torfing, 2007 and Marcussen and Torfing, 2007
[3] www.espon.eu
[4] www.eurometrex.org
[5] www.urbact.eu
[6] Cited by Kuc-Czajkowska and Sienkiewicz, 2009:33
[7] Partner: Eindhoven City Region (SRE) Harm Martens <h.mertens@sre.nl>, Ab Oosting <a.oosting@sre.nl>
[8] Concerning the basis of this classification it is worth to make a difference with other ones which focus more on the big city itself notwithstanding really on its area. See Szente, 2007.
[9] Biarez, 1997 cited by Goldsmith, 2001: 329

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Design Coding and the Creative, Market and Regulatory Tyrannies of Practice

by **Professor Matthew Carmona**
Lead Expert of the Working Group HOPUS

■ *Design coding is the focus of the HOPUS consortium within the URBACT programme. This article reflects on one of the inspirations for HOPUS, namely the UK pilot programme that evaluated the use and effectiveness of design coding as a design/ development tool. It focuses on the roles and relationships between the different stakeholders in the coding process, and compares the pre-conceptions about coding with actual experiences in use. The article reveals the gulf in professional cultures that impact on the development process. This is underpinned by the continuing struggle between creative, market-driven, and regulatory modes of praxis. The article is polemical in that it points the finger at approaches that potentially undermine the creation of the built environment as a collective endeavour. It is also propositional in that it draws from the evidence-base to propose that design coding could, if used correctly, positively regulate the essentials of urbanism, whilst leaving room for design creativity and enhanced market value. HOPUS will help to demonstrate the potential of such methods across Europe.*

The Three Tyrannies

The built environment is a collective endeavour, influenced by a diversity of stakeholders, each with a role to play in shaping what we see and experience as the architecture, urban form, public space and infrastructure that constitutes the urban environment. Each will have their own motivations informing the particular role they play in shaping the built environment, and these will determine the relative priorities they place on different outcomes: aesthetic, economic, social, environmental or functional.

In a typical development process developers have the real power to shape the built environment though their ability to fund development. The public sector has power over some aspects of design through their regulatory powers, whilst designers have wide ranging responsibility but little real power. Instead, they gain their influence through their unique professional skill (to design) and professional / technical knowledge. The community only has indirect power through the right to complain to those with regulatory authority, whom (usually) they elect.

In reality individual development projects will reflect different relationships between the stakeholders depending on the relative power positions in each case and in each country. Nevertheless, the idea of conflicting and varied power relationships, and the notion of multiple stakeholder aspirations, can each be understood in terms of the modes of praxis from which they emerge. These boil down to three distinct traditions – creative, marketdriven, and regulatory – each with a major impact on the built environment as eventually experienced.

At their most extreme, each can be characterised as a particular form of "professional tyranny" that has the potential to impact negatively on the

design quality of development proposals. The word tyranny is favoured because it encapsulates a single-minded pursuit of narrow ends in a manner that undermines, or oppresses, the aspirations of others. Although actual practice is not typically situated at the extremes, there is value in exploring these positions which are extensively discussed in the literature and which, it is contended, to greater or lesser degrees underpin all practice.

The Creative Tyranny

The first tyranny results from the fetishing of design where the image, rather than the inherent value – economic, social or environmental – is of paramount concern, and where the freedom to pursue the creative process is valued above all. Such agendas are most closely associated with the architectural profession, often under a guise of rejecting what is sometimes seen as a further tyranny, that of "context". Perpetuated by the dominant model of architectural education across Europe, and by the continuing impact of Modernism, many designers see all forms of regulation as limiting their freedom for self-expression.

The Market Tyranny

A second tyranny reflects an argument that the market knows best, and what sells counts. In the UK, this argument has been made most often and most vociferously in connection with the speculative housing market, where housebuilders have long campaigned for a freehand to use their standard housing designs and layouts on the basis that they know their market. Thus design quality is perceived by developers as a complex mix of factors which include dominant economic aspects of supply and demand revolving around costs and sales potential – buildability, standardisation, market assessment, customer feedback – and within which visual or spatial quality is secondary. In this market, architects have often been cut out altogether from the development process.

The Regulatory Tyranny

For some, the final tyranny, that of regulation, can be analysed (and challenged) in terms of the political economy it represents, namely as an attempt to correct market failure. For many regulatory economists, however, no market failure existed in the first place and standards and codes simply create barriers to change and innovation. Encapsulating these positions and distorting in the process the workings of a "natural" market might be the reactionary local

politician proclaiming "we know what we like and we like what we know", or the unbending council technocrat determined that "rules are rules". The tyranny also reflects a concern that the public sector's real power stems from the right to say "no" to development proposals via the series of overlapping regulatory regimes – planning, building control, conservation, highways adoption, environmental protection, etc. – whilst the power to make positive proposals is limited by the fact that typically it is the private sector with access to resources.

A Zone of Conflict and Compromise

The tyrannies represent extremes, perhaps even caricatures, but arguably they are also, to a greater or lesser extent, reflections of realities that practitioners from whichever side of the tyranny trinity are repeatedly faced with during the development process. They result from profoundly different motivations, respectively: peer approval; profit; and a politically defined view of public interest, but also from very different modes of working and associated professional knowledge fields, respectively: design; management / finance; and social / technical expertise. They have long driven practice and debate in the UK (and elsewhere in Europe) whilst the result has often perpetuated profound and ingrained stakeholder conflict within the development process and led to sub-standard development solutions.

At the heart of each is also a different and overriding imperative, respectively to achieve an innovative design solution (within the given constraints – site, budget, brief, etc.), to make a good return on investment (in order to sustain a viable business), and to satisfy a defined range of public policy objectives. As these are often in opposition to each other, the result will be a three way tug of war, with the central ground stretched thinly within what can be characterised as a zone of conflict and compromise (see Fig. 1).

Figure 1 : Zone of conflict and compromise
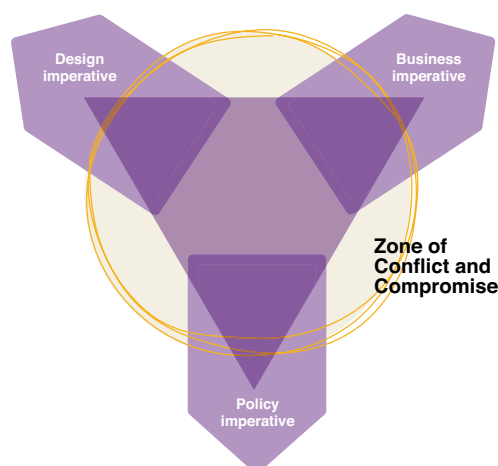
The Revival of Design Coding in England

Reflecting this history, for a long time, the issue of design quality was either given lipservice to, or actively excluded from the political agenda (as was the case in England in the 1980s), resulting in open inter-professional conflict, sub-standard design outcomes, and relatively little interference from above. More recently, driven by the global movement of design up the political agenda, increasingly local and national administrations have been searching for the right tools through which to overcome the process-based tyrannies, and deliver better design solutions.

In part this reflects the new positions of architecture and urban design as weapons in the battle of global and local inter-city competition. But reflecting this competitive city ethos, attention and resources have tended to be focused on urban centres, rather than in predominantly residential areas, or on housing development. Yet it is in these areas where the standard of design is often open to greatest criticism. In the UK, the need to deliver large new housing allocations whilst avoiding the revolt of suburban and rural England, led the Government to review the potential of design coding to deliver better design and a smoother regulatory process.

Coding, Nothing New

Coding of one form or another is nothing new in England, or elsewhere. Different forms of regulation of the built environment have occurred throughout recorded history, with types of coding used as far back as Roman times. Today, many of the development standards used to guide the design of buildings and the urban environment can be described as coding, of sorts, controlling almost every aspect of the built environment. However, most of these are limited in their scope and technical in their aspirations and are not generated out of a physical vision or understanding of a particular place or site.

The evidence overwhelmingly suggests that coding in the form of non site-specific development standards is unlikely to provide the answer to delivering better urban design. Moreover, faced with a perceived increase in regulation of different types, architects and developers have become increasingly concerned about the impact this is having on their room to manoeuvre; or their space to deliver, respectively, creative and profitable solutions. The question, therefore, is what is a good code and can such a tool be used to deliver public interest objectives such as more housing and better urban design, whilst still allowing for creative architectural design and enhanced economic value (the preoccupations of the other two legs in the tyranny trinity)?

So do Codes Hold the Answer?

For Ministers in England, design codes seemed to hold the promise of a new and different approach. An initial literature review and scoping study established that design codes were a distinct form of detailed design guidance that stipulate the three dimensional components of a particular development and how these relate to one another without establishing the overall outcomes (see doi:10.1016/j.progress.2006.03.008). The intention of design codes was to provide clarity over what constitutes acceptable design quality for a particular site or area, thereby (theoretically) achieving a level of certainty for developers and the local community, and, within an appropriate planning framework, helping to improve the speed of delivery. Used in this way, the intention was to provide a positive statement about the qualities of a particular place.

As such, design codes were seen as site-specific tools, typically building upon the design vision contained in a masterplan, development framework or other site or area-based vision. The codes themselves focus on urban design principles aimed at delivering better quality places, for example the requirements for streets, blocks, massing and so forth, but may also cover landscape, architectural and building performance issues such as those aiming to increase energy efficiency.

There followed an extensive pilot programme to fully test the potential of design coding, including the detailed monitoring and evaluation of nineteen case studies across England (see http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/citiesandregions/designcoding2). The announcement of the pilot programme brought with it an immediate and negative reaction in the professional press reflecting a range of reoccurring critiques. These directly attacked what the writers saw as an attempt to extend the tyranny of regulation through the introduction of design coding; and in making the arguments directly reflected creative and market tyranny perspectives.

The codes themselves focus on urban design principles aimed at delivering better quality places, for example the requirements for streets, blocks, massing and so forth, but may also cover landscape, architectural and building performance issues such as those aiming to increase energy efficiency.

Summarised, a first set of critiques focused on design outcomes and suggested that design codes would:
A. Suffocate the creativity of designers by reducing their scope to innovate;
B. Deliver only traditional design solutions through an in-built presumption against contemporary design;
C. Promote formulaic design solutions through the delivery of tick-box architecture and standards-based urbanism.

A second set of critiques focused more on process-related issues with an economic impact on the development process. They concluded that design codes would:
D. Lead to excessively bureaucratic decision-making with less discretion and more paperwork and delay;
E. Result in a cost-cutting culture through the cutting out of designers from the development process;
F. Result in very restrictive and prescriptive planning through which the freedom of the market would be curtailed.

A New Evidence-Base

During the two years that it ran, the pilot programme delivered a substantial evidence base on which to base informed judgements about the potential or otherwise of design codes. Space only permits an overview of key findings here.

Headline Findings

The research revealed that as a particularly robust form of design guidance, design codes can play a major role in delivering better quality design, and this should be the major motivation for opting to use them. They do this by "fixing" and delivering the "must have" urban elements that form the common and uniting urban framework for schemes.

They also have a significant role to play in delivering a more certain development process, and – if properly managed – can provide the focus around which teams of professional stakeholders can coordinate their activities, delivering in the process a more integrated and consensus driven development process. For this, however, they require a significant up-front investment in time and resources from all parties, although the evidence suggested that for commercial interests this was compensated for by the enhanced economic value that better design and a stronger sense of place brought to the resulting developments.

The research revealed that the use of design codes made no discernable difference to the length of the formal planning process (a key objective of Government was to streamline planning). However, as pay back for the up-front investment, a streamlined process of applying for and obtaining reserved matters consents (for the detailed design of successive phases of the development) was apparent, following the granting of an initial outline permission for the development as a whole.

The research concluded therefore that – in appropriate circumstances – design codes are valuable tools to deliver a range of more sustainable processes and built development outcomes. However, design codes are just one possibility amongst a range of detailed design guidance options and it is important to understand where they should and should not be used. In this regard, codes seem most valuable when sites possess one or more of the following characteristics:
- Large sites (or multiple smaller related sites) that will be built out over a long period of time
- Sites in multiple ownership
- Sites that are likely to be developed by different developers and/or design teams.

This reflects the key benefit of design codes, namely their ability to coordinate the outputs of multiple teams and development phases across large sites in order to realise a coherent design vision. Design codes can provide an integrating focus through which to bring together the various processes and those involved in them. They do this because their preparation necessitates the engagement of all creative, market and regulative parties early in the development process. The detailed discussions that result help to resolve issues that otherwise typically cause tensions later in the process and undermine the quality of the built outcomes.

However, the research also showed that design codes do not sit in isolation and are certainly no panacea for delivering better quality development. Moreover, if the commitment to their production and use is lacking amongst any key stakeholders, codes can become a divisive force and an expensive waste of resources.

The research demonstrated that design codes are not without their problems – logistical, resource, skills and time-based. Just like any other form of detailed design guidance, if design codes are themselves poorly designed, or inappropriately used, they may be as much part of the problem as the solution. But despite this, evidence from across the pilot programme suggested that the arguments against codes are largely based on a range of common misconceptions with little basis in fact.

Rebutting Creative Tyranny Critiques

Taking, first, the group of critiques that broadly reflect a creative tyranny perspective (A to C above); far from stifling the creativity of designers, design codes were shown to have the potential to increase the creative input into the development process. Thus whereas much volume house building in the UK has occurred without the input of architects and urban designers, design codes and the masterplans to which they relate cannot be prepared without these skills. Moreover, although some design codes strongly favour traditional architectural design, many others demonstrate that coding is equally suited to deliver innovative contemporary housing design.

The research suggested that design codes encourage the delivery of a stronger and more unified sense of place, including architectural variety within a theme, but also, critically, they require that developers break away from standard house types and local authorities from crude local development standards. They do this by encouraging stakeholders to think together about each development in its entirety as a unique place, then fixing this through the codes, rather than as a series of separate and discordant parts.

Rebutting Market Tyranny Critiques

This integration of activity extends to the second set of critiques (D to F above) that broadly reflect a market tyranny perspective. Here the research revealed that rather than adding to and complicating the bureaucratic burden, if used correctly, codes can clarify regulatory processes and reduce the uncertainly faced by developers. In part this is because codes also reduce the discretion available to regulators by establishing and tying down the critical design components of schemes well in advance of detailed planning applications being received. In turn, this considerable investment up-front in the design process ensures that far from representing cost-cutting devices, design codes cannot be prepared without a significant injection of design time, skills and resources early in the process alongside the positive engagement of key stakeholders. As such they add to, rather than reduce, the overall design input into schemes, and require additional resources to fund this.

In fact design codes require the exercise of advanced design skills throughout the process of their preparation and use, and unlike other processes of development, coding distributes the creative input across three distinct phases of

design – establishing the spatial vision (typically a masterplan), coding that vision, and designing each parcel as they come forward against the code.

Avoiding a New Regulatory Tyranny

This does not mean, however, that codes are uniformly prescriptive, restricting in the process the designer and / or developer's room for manoeuvre (a major concern of both creative and market critics). The case studies suggested that local circumstances and the vision of those responsible for each code's design will determine the precise characteristics of design codes. For example, the case study code documents varied in length between 25 and 100 pages, and whilst some aspects were highly prescriptive (e.g. building lines), others were dealt with far more flexibly (e.g. architectural treatments). The extent to which codes are capable of modification as successive phases of a development comes forward is also a matter for local decision, with processes of code review and the use of code supplements commonly utilised in order to give greater flexibility between phases and to enhance those parts of codes that have proved less successful.

Overcoming the Tyrannies

What is universal, is the potential for code production to act as a collaborative process, in so doing challenging and potentially overcoming the types of praxis that underpin the three tyrannies. Thus the pilot programme revealed that coding brings together a wide range of individuals and organisations with a part to play in delivering development.

An early and vital role of any coding process will therefore be to put together the right team with the right skills and resources and commitment to the use of a coded approach. Experience shows that this process actively avoids selection of stakeholders who are stuck in the sorts of confrontational mindsets discussed above. Instead, stakeholders were selected who were willing and able to negotiate their role and contributions to the development process within the confines established by the code. In this regard, design codes seemed to establish a zone within which productive negotiation (rather than compromise) could occur, internalising this within the development team, rather than externalising it as open conflict. Effectively tyranny had been substituted with understanding (at least in part) and a desire to address collective aspirations (Fig. 2).
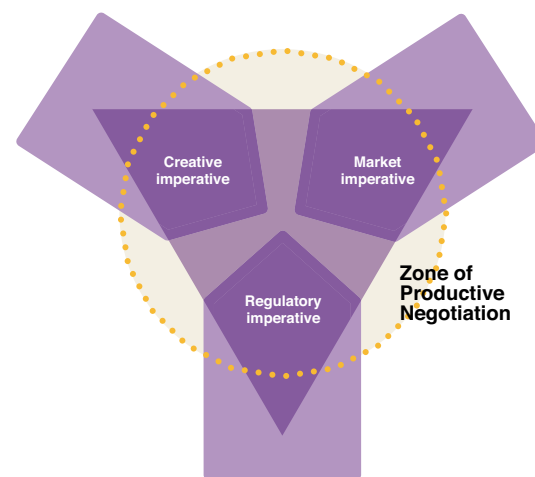
Conclusions

No one sets out to create poorly laid out, characterless places, to exclude good designers from the residential development process, or to prevent developers making a reasonable return on their investment. Despite this, the evidence suggests that too much of what has been built in the recent past has continued to display the former characteristics, whilst the latter perceptions remain widespread amongst affected groups. The extensive testing recently undertaken in England found that site-specific design codes have great potential to assist in overcoming these problems, with potential benefits that include:

■ Better designed development, with less opposition locally, and a more level playing field for developers

■ The enhanced economic value that a positive sense of place and better quality design can bring

■ A more certain planning process and an associated more certain climate for investment

■ A more coordinated development process built on consensus instead of conflict.

The findings suggest that in regulating future urban development, design coding does not stifle the potential for creativity and value generation, and may even enhance these critical contributions to place-making. This is because, if used correctly, codes allow the essentials of good urbanism to be regulated, raising market value in the process whilst still leaving room for design creativity.

In examining the potential of different forms of design coding across Europe, HOPUS will attempt to determine the use and value of such tools in the hugely different design, development and regulatory contexts that make up the European Union. Discussions through HOPUS have revealed that many European countries face the same sorts of practice-based tyrannies that have predominated in the UK. It is hoped that the project will be able to provide some practical advise about if and where design coding should be used, and about how the use of such tools can be optimised across Europe. ●

Urban Knowledge Economies Affected by the Crisis?

by **Willem van Winden**
Lead Expert, REDIS Thematic Network

■ *How does the economic crisis affect the development of cities towards "knowledge cities"? This paper discusses the impact of the crisis on the knowledge economy in general, and the development of new "science districts" in particular. It builds on the experience of cities involved in the REDIS-network* [1]*. REDIS focuses on the development of science quarters in cities.*

Recalling the Basic Drivers of Urban Economic Growth

In turbulent times of crisis and recession, it makes sense to recall the basic drivers of economic growth. It is clear for some decades now that economic growth does not only come from "traditional" production factors (land, labour and capital). Rather, technological progress and innovation are key drivers of growth. Governments and companies around the world are aware of this, and have invested heavily in research and development (R&D), knowledge infrastructure and knowledge management. The annual global budget devoted to R&D currently exceeds one trillion US dollars [2].

There are signs that the emerging knowledge economy has reinforced the role of cities in the economy. After a long period of urban decline, the end of the 1980s marked the beginning of a remarkable revival of urban areas in Europe and the US, and this tendency coincides with the emergence of the knowledge-based economy. The strong knowledge infrastructure of many cities has turned into a key economic asset. Moreover, the diversity (of people, firms and cultures) so typical for urban regions constitutes a fertile ground for new ideas and innovations. The diffusion of new knowledge and technology is faster in urban areas, thanks to the density and physical concentration of large numbers of knowledge workers and knowledge-based firms [3].

Planning for the Knowledge Economy

Cities throughout Europe deploy a variety of instruments to boost their knowledge economy. They make policies to attract talent, to reduce school drop out rates, to develop knowledge clusters, facilitate knowledge transfer between universities and companies, and to promote entrepreneurship. Several cities have invested in landmark architecture and other "grand projects" to underline their ambitions as knowledge city. The city of Valencia (Spain) for example created a futuristic "city of arts and sciences" (designed by Calatrava), a multimillion euro investment presenting Valencia as a knowledge center of the 21st century [4].

An increasing number of cities invest in urban "knowledge quarters" or "creative districts", and develop them as integrated parts of the urban fabric. This brings knowledge back to the heart of cities. The trend reflects the growing conviction of policy makers that innovation and knowledge creation is an iterative and interactive process that thrives in diverse and mixed environments. There is a sharp contrast with the 1970s and 1980s, when knowledge and science parks were typically created at "greenfield" suburban locations, outside the core city.

The shift from the isolated campus model to integrated approaches has brought knowledge-based development to the heart of Europe's cities. New ideas about the significance of user (read, citizen) involvement in innovation reinforce this tendency.

The City of Dortmund

The city of Dortmund exemplifies this shift from isolation to integration. Like much of the Ruhr area, this former industrial powerhouse faced massive economic decline due to deindustrialisation. Since the 1980s, knowledge based development has been the cornerstone of local economic policy. Back in the 1980s and 1990s, the city developed a mono functional technology park, physically remote from the city. Currently, the city is developing a second, "new generation" knowledge hotspot on the Phoenix site, a former industrial site near the city centre. In contrast to the first technology park, this one is being redeveloped as a mixed-use area, including residential functions, leisure, and all sorts of amenities. Moreover, to give it identity, the development is explicitly linked to the industrial past of the area. Parts of the industrial heritage are preserved and reconverted. This attempt to preserve or create "identity" is typical for post-modern knowledge locations. More info on **www.phoenixdortmund.de**

The City of Newcastle

The City of Newcastle, UK (REDIS-partner) is another fine example. Over the last years, the City has already successfully transformed its industrial image, through heavy investments in culture and flagship architecture. The city's next ambition is to become a significant "city of knowledge" in the UK. Among other things, the City is developing a large "science quarter" at a former brewery site, in the City centre. To realise this ambition, the City Council works together with the University of Newcastle and ONE Northeast, the regional development company for the Northeast of England. The partners have the intention to transform the brewery site into a new mixed-use City centre quarter, focused on attracting and developing world-class knowledge and business in science and technology. See **www.newcastlesciencecity.com**

Impact of the Crisis: Observations and Expectations

How will the current economic crisis affect the transition process of cities towards a knowledge economy?

There are some good reasons for optimism. Public spending on science, research and higher education knowledge will probably not decrease on the short run. Some countries, including France and Germany, even announced to increase R&D spending as part of the economic rescue package. In that sense, the knowledge sector is robust. Changes are under way, however. The recession is fuelling debates on the nature of R&D investment. Many argue not just to augment expenditures but to spend resources more economically, and develop "smart specialisations", not only on the national but also on the urban level. There are strong voices to focus public R&D spending even more on pressing issues such as addressing climate change and moving to more sustainable forms of energy.

Inevitably, in the not-so-distant future, governments will have to raise taxes or cut expenditures to reduce the debts that they are now accumulating. This constitutes a possible threat to large knowledge based programmes. There may be a mounting societal and political pressure to spend tax euro's on social policy rather than "fancy" or elitist knowledge economy projects.

Luc Soete, innovation professor at Maastricht University, identifies a gap between EU countries in this respect. On one side, there are countries with high R&D investments (examples are Finland, Sweden, and Germany). Their governments generally consider the financial crisis as an opportunity for reforms that strengthen R&D and innovation, and the development and use of "green" technologies and eco-innovation. On the other side, there are countries with low R&D investments. In their response to the crisis, they appear to only marginally refer to research and innovation stimulation measures. In the longer run, these different policy responses may forge a growing divide between EU countries, with technologically leading countries taking a further lead, and a group of falling behind countries adjusting their specialisation towards less technologically advanced goods and services.

The impact of the crisis varies among European countries, but also within countries, not every city is equally affected by the economic crisis. There are signs that industrial regions (including those specialised in high-tech industry) are particularly hard hit, due to their strong export orientation and the collapse of world trade. A

recent UK report shows that workforce skills largely determine how well cities are performing in the recession and that most of the worst hotspots are repeat casualties from previous recessions. "High skills cities, places with highly qualified populations such as Cambridge, York and Oxford, have fared better compared to areas with a high proportion of residents with no or low qualifications, such as Stoke or Rochdale which have been much harder hit" (http://blog.taragana.com). In The Netherlands, similar tendencies can be observed. Industrial regions in the Southeast of the Netherlands suffer more than knowledge and service based cities like Amsterdam. This early evidence suggests that diversified knowledge cities will emerge stronger out of the crisis than industrial regions, but this conclusion could be too early. Industrial regions are hit harder because of their export orientation, and a rebounding world economy may boost their exports and bring them back with a vengeance.

There are some positive aspects of this recession, too. First, the recession may give a boost to R&D co-operation between the public and the private sector. There are no strong signs yet of private sector cuts in innovation efforts and expenditure, but that might change when the recession lasts. In any case, private firms are keen to save costs and may be interested in cooperation with public science. This could have positive long-term effects, and contribute to regional types of "smart specialisation". Moreover, the crisis is a catalyst for entrepreneurship. Many employees start their own business.

Effects on the Development of Urban "Knowledge Quarters"

The REDIS network [5] (under the URBACT II programme) unites eight European cities with advanced plans to develop "knowledge quarters": special areas or quarters in the city where knowledge economy is central. What is the impact of the current crisis on these developments? What trends do we observe?

In some cities, declining land prices and real estate values have a deep impact on the value proposition of newly planned knowledge quarters. Private investors are faced with higher capital costs while expected revenues are on the decline. Developers are inclined to opt for cheaper solutions (higher density building, less luxury, "downsized" plans for public space and infrastructures). One of the key questions is whether sustainability issues (investing in green technology, energy saving buildings, new ways of energy supply) will suffer from the crisis. In the REDIS-network, we see that some large-scale knowledge projects are delayed; also, the envisioned participation of the private sector is abandoned or downscaled. In Newcastle, initially the partners were looking to procure a private sector developer to take forward the development of Science Central knowledge quarter. Due to the economic crisis, the delivery of the site has changed. The city development company (1NG) is now managing the site on behalf of the land owners. A phased approach to the development of the site is to be implemented now. There is also more focus on using public sector funding in the short term to invest in the infrastructure for the site to provide the right conditions to attract private sector developers.

In many cities, the development of new knowledge quarters does not depend much on the private sector but rather on investments from universities, public authorities or EU funds. Here, we see little if any impact of the crisis. In **Bialystok**, one of REDIS partner cities, the impact of the crisis is not severely felt. In general, Poland is less affected by the crisis, thanks to strong consumer demand, stable EU funding and a devaluation of the currency. 45% of entrepreneurs in the region claim that economic slowdown does not influence their businesses at all. The rest of them say the situation is unfavorable. The most visible results of crisis are growing unemployment rates (from 7,9% to 10,4% in the first half of 2009) and a growing city budget deficit (data received from City of Bialystok).

The city of Bialystok is developing a science park, but it is mainly financed with EU funding. The city even experiences "benefits" from the crisis: companies offering services propose lower prices in public tenders. The city allocated almost PLN 3 mln (approx.750,000EUR) for architectural design and site development for the science park. As many as 23 bidders stood for the tender. In similar tenders organized before there were regularly only a handful. And the final price the city paid for the project is about PLN 1 mln (approx.250,000EUR). The same situation holds for other public investments like roads, public transport, etc.

In **Magdeburg,** the situation is also rather stable; the public investments in the city's "science port" will continue as planned, and there are no signs of declining interest from the private sector. On the longer run, there is a threat of budget cuts for universities. The Land Sachsen-Anhalt is discussing the budget for 2010-2011; expenditures have to be cut by about € 3 billion, and universities will have to take their share. This may affect Magdeburg University as well, with negative impacts on the citiy's ambition for the science port.

The city of **Aarhus** is developing the "IT city of Katrinebjerg". The area is home of companies, research institutes and an incubator for innovative firms, all active in ICT. The effects of the crisis are modest so far, with some firms facing a decline in turnover and profitability. Niels Chr. Sidenius, Managing Director of INCUBA Science Park comments on an emerging lack of funding and risk capital, due to the credit crunch: "Firms experience more difficulty to find funding, in particular bio-tech and life-science companies. One of the reasons is that a number of business angels have lost a lot of money on property assets". There is some delay in the implementation of projects, but this is not a general trend. Importantly, the market for office space is under pressure, which undermines the area-based concept to some extent: "It is easy for many of our companies (and potential tenants) to find alternative locations we therefore have to focus even more on the additional, more science park specific facilities and services".

Summing up

The economic transition of cities towards knowledge-based economies will continue during and after the crisis. Some effects of the crisis can be observed. First, the impact is different on different types of cities. There are some indications that diversified cities with a strong knowledge base are outperforming industrial cities, but the effect could be temporary. It is simply too early to tell what the structural effects of the crisis will be. Second, it is clear that national policy responses matter for cities, and here we see major differences between EU member states. Overall, investments in public R&D will not decline, but there is a divide in the EU between countries that explicitly boost knowledge investments (those are the countries that already spend much on R&D) and those that do not. The effects will be strongly manifest on the urban level, because it is in cities where the lion's share of R&D takes place.

On the positive side, the crisis may bring public research and private enterprise closer to each other. Firms facing economic difficulties have an interest to turn to universities (or other public research institutes) to keep their innovation train running. This may have lasting effects, and local governments are wise to lend a helping hand.

The REDIS project unites cities that are making urban plans for knowledge-based development. Here we see a division. On the one hand, there are public sector dominated (and financed) plans for science parks and knowledge quarters. These developments are hardly affected by the crisis so far, as they mainly rely on public funding (national, regional and EU) that was secured and earmarked before the crisis broke out. On the other hand, some cities have development projects in which the private sector is heavily involved as co-investor. Here, we see significant downsizing and delay effects: investors face lower land and real estate values, higher capital costs or limited access to capital, and lower expected revenues. The value proposition of these projects has radically changed for the worse, in a very short period. There is a tendency of the public sector taking over the role of the private sector as driver of the developments.

In the coming year, the members of the REDIS network will continue to reflect and act on the development of knowledge quarters. For those interested in the network's activities, we refer to the website: www.urbact.eu ●

[1] http://urbact.eu/en/projects/innovation-creativity/redis/homepage/
[2] 2009 Global E&D funding forecast
[3] See Van Winden, W. (2006), Globalisation and Urban Competitiveness: Challenges for Different Types of Urban Regions, in OECD (2006), Competitive Cities in the Global Economy, OECD Publishing, Paris
[4] http://www.spanish-living.com/regional/Valencia_city-of-arts-and-science.php
[5] http://urbact.eu/en/projects/innovation-creativity/redis/homepage/

URBACT II PROJECTS

PROJECTS	ISSUES ADDRESSED	LEAD PARTNERS
Cities, Engines of Economic Development & Job Creation		
Creative Clusters	**Creative clusters in low density urban areas** (diversifying local economic base; using cultural activities as catalysts for development; setting up physical, social, educational environment to attract and retain talented people in «the creative city»; etc.)	Obidos – PT
Fin Urb Act	**SMEs and local economic development** (support systems for small scale SMEs and innovative/ high-tech projects; pathways to partnerships between cities and Managing Authorities; communication on support schemes, etc.)	Aachen – DE
OPENCITIES *(Fast Track Label)*	**Opening cities to build-up, attract and retain human capital** (identifying factors of «openness» and their impact on city attractiveness; increasing and promoting city openness to attract international migrants, etc.)	Belfast – UK
REDIS	**Science quarters and urban development** (integrated policies for the development of science/ knowledge quarters; multi-level governance issues; etc.)	Magdeburg – DE
RunUp	**Strengthening endogenous potential of urban poles** (improving local governance of innovation; promoting triple helix partnerships for local economic development; setting conditions for the stimulation of knowledge-based activities, etc.)	Gateshead – UK
UNIC *(Fast Track Label)*	**Traditional industries and innovation** (strengthening local industries and promoting innovation in the ceramics sector; promoting ceramics traditions as a driver to urban renewal; valorising cultural and industrial heritage, etc.)	Limoges – FR
URBAMECO *(Pilot Fast Track Network - completed)*	**Regeneration of deprived areas and city-wide/ regional growth and competitiveness** (fostering economic growth opportunities; integrated neighbourhood development plans; local partnerships and involvement of local communities, etc.)	Grand Lyon – FR
Urban N.O.S.E.	**Urban incubators for social enterprises** (fostering inclusive development policies; consolidating inter-institutional partnerships; connecting local authorities and the Third sector, etc.)	Gela – IT
WEED	**Women at work** (improving working conditions, promoting/ supporting entrepreneurship, fostering employment in NTIC and scientific/ knowledge-based sectors, etc.)	Celje – SI
Social Inclusion & Governance		
Active A.G.E.	**Strategies for cities with an ageing population** (supporting employment; improving long-term and home-based care services; fighting social exclusion and insecurity; fostering inter-generational solidarity as a driver for elderly-sensitive urban development policies; assessing the impact of ageing in urban planning; etc.)	Roma – IT
Building Healthy Communities *(Fast Track Label)*	**Urban factors influencing health** (indicators and criteria for a healthy sustainable urban development; healthy sustainable lifestyles; use of structural funds in addressing health issues)	Torino – IT
CityRegions.Net	**Urban sprawl and development of hinterlands** (planning tools and financial schemes for a sustainable city-hinterland development; cooperation at regional level)	Graz –AT
CoNet	**Approaches to strengthening social cohesion in neighbourhoods** (area-based and integrated approaches to neighbourhood development; new governance structures for the integration of socio-cultural, educational and economic dimensions, etc.)	Berlin – DE
JESSICA 4 Cities	**JESSICA and Urban Development Funds** (design and implementation of funding schemes; territorial evaluation and diagnoses; city projects and Operational Programmes, etc.)	Regione Toscana - IT
Joining Forces	**Strategy and governance at city-region scale** (spatial planning; mobility and transports; environmental issues; develppment of knowledge-based economies; attractiveness and competitiveness; social inclusion, participation, empowerment; governance mechanisms, etc.)	Lille Metropole – FR
LC-Facil	**Implementing integrated sustainable urban development according to the Leipzig Charter** (tools for the definition, implementation, monitoring of integrated policies for urban development; testing the «Sustainable cities Reference Framework» developed by the Group of Member States and Institutions)	Leipzig – DE
MILE *(Pilot Fast Track Network - completed)*	**Migration and integration in Operational programmes** (enterprise development for ethnic minorities and active inclusion in the labor market;·cultural diversity and social cohesion;· access to key services, etc.)	Venezia – IT
My Generation	**Promoting the positive potential of young people in cities** (transforming passivity and alienation into positive personal and professional aspirations; fostering active transitions from education to work; holistic coordination of youth related initiatives, etc.)	Rotterdam – NL
RegGov *(Fast Track Label)*	**Governance in integrated urban development** (long-term integrated policies and financial planning for sustainable regeneration of deprived areas; monitoring progress and achievements; sustainable partnerships; city-region governance; neighbourhoods at risk, etc.)	Duisburg - DE
Suite	**Sustainable housing provision** (economic viability and social mix; environmental quality standards, etc.)	Santiago de Compostela - ES
Cities & Integrated, Sustainable Development		
C.T.U.R.	**Cruise Traffic and Urban Regeneration** (physical and environmental regeneration of port-areas; cruise traffic and port-heritage as drivers to economic and social development; planning and management of cruise development, etc.)	Napoli – IT
EGTC	**Sustainable development of cross-border agglomerations** (local and multi-level governance systems)	Mission Opérationnelle Transfrontalière – FR
HerO *(Fast Track Label)*	**Cultural heritage and urban development** (revitalization policies; protection of visual integrity; integrated systems for the management of cultural heritage)	Regensburg – DE
HOPUS	**Design coding for sustainable housing stock** (governance for the implementation of design coding; quality standards for urban and architectural design, etc.)	University La Sapienza, Roma – IT
LUMASEC	**Sustainable land use management** (managing urban sprawl; fostering attractiveness; strategies for local decision-makers, etc.)	University of Karlsruhe - DE
NeT-TOPIC	**City model for intermediate/ peripheral metropolitan cities** (managing urban identity; governance issues; fighting urban fragmentation; regeneration of brownfields, military sites, etc.; transforming a mono-functional city into a multifunctional city)	L'Hospitalet de Llobregat - ES
Nodus	**Spatial planning and urban regeneration** (improving coordination of area-based regeneration and regional/ metropolitan planning; integrated policies, etc.)	Generalitat de Catalunya - ES
REPAIR	**Regeneration of abandoned military sites** (socio-economic regeneration of abandoned military heritage sites as a driver for sustainable urban development)	Medway - UK

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