

Entrust Thematic Report

Partnership, Urban regeneration and the European city: a community participation perspective

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1. Clarification of thematic focus

The Community participation working group first convened in Dublin on May 28, 2003. The thematic focus of the working group was agreed, as were the terms of reference:

We defined “community” as a set of actors in the neighbourhood. This includes all those people, agencies and firms in the neighbourhood that affect, and are affected, by processes of change in the neighbourhood

Key actors are:

- those who live in the neighbourhood
- those who work in the neighbourhood
- The owners and customers of local businesses and services

Participation is equally broadly defined as “taking part”. Examples of participation ranged from:

- The generation of partnership structures within the community/neighbourhood (e.g. *Integrated Area Planning in Dublin*) to
- Involvement in the conceptualisation through to implementation of projects/activities and all the stages in between (e.g *Kvarterloft in Kogens Engave, Copenhagen Case Study*) to
- Involvement that leads to responsibility on the part of actors for self-governance and the development of a sense of shared ownership of a project or process (e.g. *Neighbourhood Fund, Berlin Case Study*) to
- Empowerment of the community (e.g. *Community Based Housing Associations, Glasgow Case study*)

2. Urban regeneration and community

Before examining the commonalities and divergences of experiences across the participating cities, it is necessary to acknowledge the structural conditions underpinning the contemporary urban form, and their implications for any study of regeneration/participation. Cities are in a continual state of flux , and re-invent themselves over time. David Harvey argues that the urban process entails “the creation of a material physical infrastructure for production, circulation exchange and consumption” (1985). The built environment is produced by the accumulation and organisation of capital. The urban environment was built, and is continuously destroyed and rebuilt,

for the sake of creating a more efficient arena for circulation. This process of “creative destruction” is continually accelerating, and is clearly visible in cities like Glasgow, Copenhagen and Dublin, where financial services and the “new information economy” sectors play a crucial role in regeneration processes.

According to (Byrne, 2001:47) the built environment matters for the system because it is the basis of a crucial circuit of accumulation in a capitalist system. However, even more relevant is the role that *the actual physical restructuring of urban space plays in particular de-industrialised places*. This process of restructuring is intimately linked at all levels with what Castells (1996) calls the informational global economy. It is connected at the abstract level of world system because of the determinant influence finance capital now exercises over all economic activities. At the meso level, global companies operate through information nets which now might be considered to constitute the real structure of the enterprise. At the local level, processes of urban governance re-structure the form of cities to facilitate inward investment, for example, in flagship projects based around financial services, the new information economy and consumption. This has the knock-on effect of revalorising certain parts of the city, potentially setting in motion the process of gentrification, . and creating conditions of increased polarisation. As Robins asserts “we are seeing the consolidation of the divided city, in which urban space , while it is functionally and economically shared, is socially segregated and culturally differentiated,” (1993: 313). The focus of the many and varied projects in the ENTRUST study, is to address this problem of polarisation by developing and implementing strategies aimed at *socially inclusive* regeneration.

Most contemporary European cities, even while they re-invent themselves, now face the problem of how to manage “excluded zones.” Geddes (2000) observes that recent research has placed particular emphasis on the “spatiality” of processes such as social exclusion , “reflecting not only the different positioning of localities within shifting regimes of accumulation, but also political and policy traditions embedded in welfare regimes” (2000: 783). It is within this context that local partnership arrangements have become a feature of policy for urban regeneration at the local level across European cities. They seek to re-situate regeneration away from the free-floating flagship project, and in the heart of urban communities and urban civil society.

The challenges facing the cities in the ENTRUST project are multiple and diverse. Most cities struggle to maintain their resident population due to a variety of factors including the limitations imposed by physical or topographical constraints, changes in economic conditions (Glasgow), and the influence of social aspirations and the quest for “quality of life”.

With the exception of Dublin, population in the case study cities is either static or in decline. Population was in decline in Dublin throughout the twentieth century, but has recently begun to increase as a direct result of tax-driven apartment building projects in the inner-city. Nevertheless, in the case of both Lisbon and Dublin the relatively high price of property in the inner-city, ensures that most of the significant population growth continues to be on the periphery of the city, and in newly emerged suburban communities in the neighbouring counties. Even in a very livable city such as Copenhagen,

people tend to move out of the city and into the suburbs after they start a family.

Glasgow and Valletta are facing massive population loss to outlying suburban areas, and new towns which offer better opportunities for work. Likewise, many companies have found it preferable to relocate to green field sites in the suburbs, than to stay downtown. This obviously has a long-term impact on the composition of the inner-city community, the pool of social capital and economic resources available, and the degree to which communities can be mobilised to participate in the regeneration of their neighbourhoods.

The city of Valletta has significant symbolic importance in Malta, but has lost its key urban functions. Conceived as the “city of the knights” of St. John in 1566, it was a fortified city built on a peninsula. From its inception it was the modern and elite city on the island. A population of more than 15,000 residents in the 1960s has declined to a population of 7,000 today. The city is perceived primarily as a historic place with its urban function limited to that of a cultural, administrative and symbolic political city. Crucially, it is not perceived as a city for residential living any more. This makes it difficult to conceptualise urban regeneration other than in terms of the restoration of historic monuments.

Vilnius struggles to re-position itself as a European heritage city, and to shed all vestiges of its recent past as an outpost of Soviet Russia. In the inner suburb of Uzupis, the buildings are in a very bad state of repair. The local regeneration agency is renovating the facia of the buildings on the street front in the hope of attracting investors to the area. This concentration on the street frontage also has the advantage that the passing tourist will not have to confront anything irregular that will detract from the romanticism of the architecture. Passing from one such street into the courtyard out the back, is like passing through a time machine and finding yourself in the C19. The dwellings have serious structural problems, there is no running water and no indoor toilets. In some yards, rubbish is piled high, while chickens run around. No longer controlled by a centralist Soviet state, the current political regime has opted for a market-oriented form of governance. Housing was privatised immediately after independence and now 92 % of people own their homes. There is no social housing policy nor any provision for those at the lower end of the socio-economic structure. People are too poor to improve their dwellings so they continue to live in sub-standard conditions.

Political change in Germany post 1989 has had a major impact on the spatial configuration of Berlin. For example, the neighbourhood of Kreuzberg, which was formerly a Turkish and urban bohemian enclave, has, as a result of unification, been re-positioned much closer to the central downtown. This has resulted in significant gentrification in the neighbourhood. The city's unification has also placed enormous financial pressure on the municipality, leading to a re-orientation of urban policy toward public-private partnership.

Cities, then, experience fluctuations in their fortunes due to various external variables. How does the process of urban regeneration address these shifts? Dublin, Glasgow, Copenhagen and Hamburg have all engaged in major “flagship” projects linked to harbourside or riverside development, new cathedrals of consumption, and “new economy” investment. A second

tier of urban regeneration has emerged which is expressed committed to generating change from the bottom-up. Gaining the commitment and trust of the local population is seen as crucial to advance this process. This raises some important questions.

Is there a relationship between level of community participation and the character or profile of a neighbourhood? Is community participation more or less active in older historical neighbourhoods than in newer neighbourhoods that lack a distinct identity? Usually, in historic areas and neighbourhoods there are events, practices, even a shared memory of the past-- that contribution to a sense of belonging within the community. Urban regeneration initiatives, however sensitively conceived and delivered, may not be able to substitute for more organic—time deepened and memory qualified—forms of community capacity building, (Corcoran, 2002). Nevertheless, it is an embedded and frequently unspoken assumption of urban regeneration policies, that they can somehow provide a sustainable, local, and community-based response to the forces that are currently re-shaping the urban landscape

3. Terms of Reference

To interrogate the theme of community participation in the context of urban regeneration initiatives, we focused on a series of interrelated questions:

- How is power generated within the project/process, how is it distributed, does it diffuse across all partners or are some more powerful than others, what are the limits to the diffusion of power in community participation?
- Are urban regeneration structures set up in such a way as to make community engagement real and participatory, or are they set up for token participation only?
- Time is a significant resource in making connections in a neighbourhood, building up trust, generating mobilisation, etc. What kind of time cycle should be borne in mind in creating a template for optimal community participation? At what point is it possible/desirable for a regeneration agency to disengage from a project? (The latter point dovetails with the concerns of the mainstreaming group)
- What are the best methods for reaching people, maximising participation and getting the range of actors in the neighbourhood to take part? What kinds of methodologies and instruments have succeeded in what contexts? What kinds of methodologies and instruments have failed in what contexts?

4. Shared principles of urban regeneration

First, we will focus on the commonalities of experience across the eight cities. In every city there is an explicit commitment to *partnership-driven, local area development*. This is not particularly surprising, since “partnership is being introduced not only into the language, but also in the structures, practices and processes of EU policy making as a key part of attempt to counterbalance fears of fragmentation with notions of integration , and as a means of mobilising agencies and actors behind economic and social policy goals” (Geddes, 2000: 784). What partnership actually means, and how it works in practice, however, varies both across cities and within cities. Partnership is in other words a contested and contestable concept. Every city shares a commitment to targeting those urban areas that are deemed by virtue of their physical infrastructure and socio-economic profile to be in need of regeneration. Generally, this approach has a statutory basis and is informed by the following “locally” sensitive principles:

- Integrated approach
- Local focus
- Community engagement
- Time limited
- Project driven

Examples of the commonality of the local area development approach at European city level:

Regeneration under the “socially inclusive urban development “ scheme means a continuation of Berlin’s approach to urban regeneration with emphasis on: the integration of various approaches, the combination of city planning, housing policy, social and economic instruments, the linking of public, economic and private actors (*Berlin case study*)

The Kvarterloft project in Copenhagen is based on three key principles:
Focus on the district (previous initiatives focused on the individual dwelling or the social problem)
Holistic-all dimensions of the district- social, economic, environmental and cultural are integrated into the plan
Public participation(*Copenhagen Cross city visit briefing*)

Integrated Area plans (IAPs) were prepared for parts of urban areas in most need of physical and socio-economic rejuvenation, and identified targeted sub areas or key developments within them for which tax designation was sought.

The central strategy of the plan is the integration of policies , objectives and projects relating to the physical environment, economic renewal, education, community development and housing in order to bring about

the sustainable regeneration of the area (*Dublin Case Study and Kilmainham-Inchicore IAP, Annual Report 1999-2000*)

The City of Hamburg recognised that the traditional instrument of redevelopment (physical regeneration) is only a partial solution for the challenges posed in some neighbourhoods. Therefore the City defined areas with numerous socio-economic problems as “social focus”. Eight pilot areas were designated city wide in order to develop new models and structures of regeneration, The key fields of action identified were housing, trade/local economy, changed use of commercial locations, infrastructure and traffic (*Hamburg Case study*)

Within the areas that are the targets of urban regeneration, a *project-based approach* is the norm. In all cities, this involves the development and implementation of partnership structures- public/public and public/private- in the context of targeted urban projects the objectives of which can generally be classified under five headings:

Commercial regeneration

Boxion project in Boxhangener Platz, Berlin
Living over the shop scheme, Dublin

Heritage preservation

Timber Balcony replacement scheme, Valletta
Re-development of Castle neighbourhood, Lisbon
Façade improvement, Vilnius

Environmental

Waste disposal project, Kongens Enghave, Copenhagen
Sunflower recycling, North Inner City, Dublin

Economic development

The Hills Trust Learning Academy, Glasgow
Development of a business-network for entrepreneurs, Hamburg
The Digital Hub, Dublin

Community/quality of life

Neighbourhood Fund, Wranglelkiez, Berlin
Holmbladsgade Neighbourhood Centre, Copenhagen
Renovation of owner-occupier homes in Vilnius

The cities differ in terms of the priority given/emphasis placed on different aspects of the regeneration process. Although all subscribe to a holistic approach, in practice, there are constraints on what can actually be attempted and what can be achieved. Decisions about what to regenerate and how to regenerate are conditioned by the prevailing economic circumstances, the level of political support, the socio-cultural context of the city and its historical legacy ,and the particular background of the

professionals charged with carrying out the regeneration (architects, planners, economic consultants, social entrepreneurs). While all cities adapt an integrated approach, each city evolves its overall strategy by balancing three core objectives:

Economic regeneration: local economic development

Social regeneration : enhancement of quality of life

Symbolic regeneration: environmental upgrade and urban aesthetisation

5. Engaged and disengaged communities

In every city there is an explicit recognition that *the community must be acknowledged as an important stakeholder* in the urban regeneration process. The form that this acknowledgement takes, and how it is practiced, differs across the participating cities (see below). As Geddes (2000) has pointed out, while community involvement is a dominant theme in the discourses of local partnership in the EU, the effectiveness of “community” involvement in local partnerships is variable. Furthermore he contends that “this discourse of inclusion and community engagement frequently glosses over an uneasy mixture of diverse strands- from traditional “community development” and community power (Harding, 1997) to the new communitarianism (Etzioni, 1995) and from liberal, individualized conceptions of community, democracy and citizenship to much more solidaristic and collective principles”, (Geddes, 2000: 793).

This diversity is much in evidence across our eight cities. Before examining how precisely the community is engaged, let us acknowledge the existence of dis-engaged or un-engaged groups. When thinking about community participation in the context of partnership and urban regeneration, it is generally local residents that come to mind. While it is acknowledged that “the community” ought to embrace all local actors—including marginal groups, employers and service providers-- in practice, it is *activist local residents*, who are the main target of community mobilisation programmes. Geddes has noted that capacity of local partnerships to secure the effective commitment of key actors is questionable” (200: 785). From our examination of case studies in the eight cities, it is clear, that although local businesses and entrepreneurs are a crucial force within the neighbourhood, they tend not to be part of the partnership process. There is a real difficulty in engaging the private sector in local area regeneration in cities, unless explicit incentives are in place. In the Dublin case there is evidence of private sector engagement through the twin mechanisms of **tax incentives and community gain commitments**. These mechanisms provide for a stake for the private investor in the regeneration process. In other cases, the public-private partnership was not built from the local level upward, but rather consisted of private philanthropy

providing for the funding of a publicly managed and delivered service. (e.g. Cisco systems in Glasgow)

In most cities it is acknowledged that there are “*hard to reach groups*” that have not been explicitly targeted by the service providers, or who cannot be easily accessed because, for example, of language problems or the dispersal of the group, or that are unwilling to engage in participatory processes. For example, ethnic minorities (language barriers- Berlin/Hamburg); older people (lack of trust- Vilnius); new immigrants (not acknowledged (FAS) -Dublin).

It must also be acknowledged that more *recalcitrant interests* may also be active in the neighbourhood. For example, in Valletta local people have mobilised against proposals to provide alcoholic support services and services to lone parents. In Dublin, there are ongoing tensions between residents of Fatima Mansions and the surrounding Rialto neighbourhood. In these instances, an unintended consequence of community mobilisation around a regeneration strategy may be to reinforce rather than overcome divisions in the neighbourhood.

6. The means of participation

The scale and intensity of community involvement varies across the cities and their constituent neighbourhoods. In reviewing the case studies presented over the course of the project we identified a tendency for different kinds of participation to emerge at different scale levels, and at different levels of intensity.

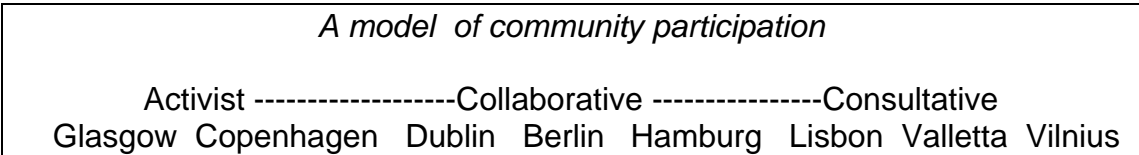
Representative involvement tends to occur at macro level —the presence of a relatively small number of local residents on advisory boards, monitoring boards, project boards. Their role is largely to respond to initiatives emanating from the regeneration agency, to advocate the position of the local residents and to advise on the adaptation and implementation of strategies. Such representative structures are in place in Berlin, Copenhagen, Dublin, Glasgow, Hamburg, and Vilnius. These representatives are not elected but are generally “social entrepreneurs” that represent specific interest groups or associations within the neighbourhood or are long standing activists in the community. They may not necessarily be representative of the neighbourhood and its various constituencies, (Hamburg Case study, p. 17)

Participatory involvement tends to occur at the meso level- in most cities there are examples of “one off” participatory democracy exercises, that is, specific projects that are directed at actively empowering the local residents by encouraging participation from a wider pool of people, and by entrusting participants with a right to disseminate funding, or plan the precise contours of

a redevelopment project, (e.g. Neighbourhood Fund, Berlin; Planning for Real, Dublin; Social Inclusion Partnerships, Glasgow). In these cases, residents are given a very real sense of their input as members of a community into decision-making processes. Residents are constructed as pro-active rather than re-active.

Clientelist involvement tends to occur at the micro level- in Lisbon, Valletta and Vilnius we found examples of consultation processes that are targeted at individuals as opposed to collectivities. The role of the regeneration agency is largely to convince the individual householder of the potential benefits for the householder accruing from the regeneration process (Lisbon) and to provide incentives for the householder to enter into a partnership with the regeneration agency in order to carry out necessary rehabilitative work (Vilnius). Vilnius offered a unique example of “partnership” as a relationship brokered between a municipal regeneration agency and the individual, whereby financial aid is offered to the homeowner to upgrade their home and environs. Since individuals generally share their living space with others this requires co-operation with family and neighbours. Paradoxically the programme requires people to become instrumental about their property in order to improve its value (consumerist ethic) but they can generally do so only through co-operative relations with others (communitarian ethos).

How deep is the stake afforded to the community in the planning and implementation of urban regeneration projects? There is a broad spectrum of approaches to community participation across the cities ranging from active agency on the part of the community, through collaborative relations with other stake holders, to a more restricted consultative role for community stakeholders. .



Here we have plotted each city along the continuum on the basis of the level and degree of community participation that seems to be the norm in that city, at least in terms of the case studies that we analysed. This is not to say that all projects in all of the cities approach community participation in more or less the same way. Rather, this model is intended to show the range of possible methodologies that are utilised across all the case studies. The reality of community participation is highly complex, and frequently, projects will deploy a range of different techniques of engagement.

There is a tendency for cities to bunch in the centre under the collaborative tendency, with more activist and less activist tendencies on each end of the spectrum. Activist tendencies are present when we can see a bottom-up approach to regeneration, where the institutional actors react to the claims of the community rather than vice versa. Here collectivist (as opposed to) individualist solutions are promoted. Consultative relations

render the community much less passive, or indeed, irrelevant. Here individuals are targeted as rational actors to enter into “partnership” that will result in a tangible outcome for the participating individual only.

We use the term collaborative relations to describe instances where all stakeholders work together toward a common end. While collaboration infers a relationship between the various stakeholders it does not have as positive a connotation as partnership does. When people collaborate it is a response to differences in terms of access to power and the limitations on their capacity to act unilaterally. The language of partnership tends to gloss over the reality of differential distribution of power.

Activist community

Example 1: local champions, Glasgow. There are local residents who feel strongly about a single issue and who mobilise others to become involved. In the Gorbals, one such issue was uninhabitable damp houses. These local champions took on local government and after a prolonged campaign, won the battle and eventually the housing was demolished. This left a “can do” legacy in the local community. It is worth noting that a number of these local champions went on to set up and support other services in the area such as the Credit Union and the Gorbals Initiative. One problem is that these local champions are ageing, and how can younger people be mentored, and encouraged to take their place? A similarly impressive initiative in the East End was that taken by the local community to establish the Bambury community centre, which provides facilities locally for a range of different client groups in the community. Here too, however, it is clear that the success of the project owes much to *the force of personality of a number of key local champions.*

Example 2: Collective mobilisation by community, Fatima Mansions, Dublin. In this case, the impetus for a plan for regeneration came from the community, and this formed the background to Dublin City Council’s own plan for regeneration. The community in Fatima was extremely pro-active through the locally organised group, Fatima Groups United. This group commissioned a socio-economic profile of the community, its needs and wishes in 1998. The survey was directed by a researcher but carried out by members of the community. After further intense consultation with the community over two years the group published and launched a document, *Eleven Acres, Ten Steps*. This document comprised a brief from the community of Fatima Mansions to the planners, developers and service providers tasked with the regeneration of the housing estate. It set out the community’s vision for its future, and invited Dublin City Council to enter into a dialogue on how the area ought to be regenerated. In turn, Dublin City Council produced its own regeneration report. Following further consultation and agreement with the residents, the independently chaired, Fatima Regeneration Board was established and is proceeding to implementing the regeneration on a partnership basis.

Outcome

- Residents see that as a result of their initiatives, mobilisation and actions, change can be brought about.

Collaborative relations

Example 1: The neighbourhood Fund in Berlin was an experimental pilot scheme for the empowerment of residents that has been carried out in all neighbourhood management areas with additional funding by the city-state of Berlin. Each allocation committee was to decide on the allocation of about 500,000 euro. The residents and local protagonists in the allocation committees decide independently on the allocation of funds. The committees are structured as follows: at least 51% from local residents drawn randomly from the register of residents. Of those contacted in the 15 participating neighbourhoods, about 25 % expressed an interest and about 14% became members of the committee. The remaining 49% of the committee is made up of existing groups and institutions such as schools, older people's homes, landlords, housing companies, tenants groups etc. The size of the committee is proportionate to the population of the neighbourhood. Local residents and other people interested in the neighbourhood can put forward proposals for the neighbourhood fund. The local office of the neighbourhood management team will then process them for the meetings of the allocation committee. Since the inception of the project in 2001, 1,600 projects of all kinds and sizes have been approved by the allocation committee.

Outcomes

- A crucial success of the neighbourhood fund is the activation of citizens.
- The number and variety of measures initiated for neighbourhood development has increased significantly.
- The number of groups and projects that are involved in neighbourhood development has increased significantly, (Berlin Case Study) .

Example 2: Formalised participation, Hamburg. Consultation has a statutory basis under the Urban Development Promotion Law (1971) which has been elaborated through subsequent guidelines issues by the state: Renewal projects must:

- Install a neighbourhood manager who is able to initiative, organise, and moderate the process of social and economic development in collaboration with residences, business and local services.
- Install a local office, as a working place for the manger and a meeting point
- Create a neighbourhood advisory board
- Establish a community centre
- Put in place a local budget at the community's disposal
- Provide support for participation and self help.

The redevelopment advisory board is the central information, discussion and participation board within the redevelopment procedures. It offers residents an advisory role on all planned development for the area. For example, the advisory board in Karolinenvertel has 16 voting members of which 3 represent the residents' constituency. The remainder are drawn from other stakeholder groups in the community including, social and cultural, chambers of commerce, local business and politicians.

Outcome

- A broad outreach to the community-at-large
- Those who are motivated and activated are encouraged to be involved in the urban redevelopment programme.
- Ordinary people had an active input into the drawing up of the area regeneration plan

Clientelism/Individualism

Example 1: Valletta. Consultation is equated with testing public opinion through conducting public opinion questionnaires, for residents and users of local services, covering demographic, social, cultural and commercial dimensions. These public opinion surveys are fed back into the planning process.

Example 2: Lisbon. In the Castle neighbourhood there are very strong social ties, and people are aware of their shared interests. Nevertheless, there exists no solidaristic community group acting as an advocate on behalf of the community. In the absence of same, planners and architects of regeneration had to consult at an individual level, working individually with older people and the socially marginalized to gain acceptance. This required a huge expenditure of time, that probably could have been used more productively.

Example 3: Vilnius. The OTRA has a strong commitment to Community Capacity building but in the way that this is conceptualised and implemented it works more as individual capacity building. The focus is on utilising capacity to preserve the built environment (as in Valletta and Lisbon) and not to build sustainable communities. The regeneration strategies tend to produce individual beneficiaries (a rehabilitated house, a new timber balcony, structural repairs) rather than tangible community outcomes.

In each of these cases it is fair to say that the regeneration agency is to a large extent driven by urban planners and architects and as a consequence their agenda-environmental/heritage preservation- tends to prevail.

Outcome

- Individual participants see a real and tangible benefit as a result of their engagement with the urban regeneration process.
- Individuals may find that their interests and those of the regeneration agency do not necessarily coincide.

7. Mechanisms of engagement

As we have seen above, in some cities **individual approaches** to residents by regeneration agencies are the norm (Vilnius, Lisbon, Valletta) whereas in most others, a more *collectivist* approach which target interest groups/community groups is promoted (Glasgow, Dublin, Berlin, Hamburg).

Word of mouth is identified as the key channel of information by residents in Hamburg, followed by the regularly published neighbourhood newspaper.

Local newspapers and newsletters are an important feature of regeneration in most cities. In Dublin the Integrated Area Planning areas produce regular newsletters on developments in their areas. In Vilnius, the regeneration of the neighbourhood of Uzipis is documented, through film and other techniques, by the local artist community. Local newspapers, which are very high quality productions, are very important in the Copenhagen Kvarterloft neighbourhoods. These newspapers are supported by Kvarterloft funding, although some commercial income is generated from real estate advertising. The articles about the community help to disseminate knowledge and provide a sense of belonging and identity. As mentioned earlier, the Kvarterloft project in Copenhagen has been highly successful in raising public awareness of its projects. One of the most impressive aspects of Kvarterloft is the level of awareness the project has achieved in the target communities: 86% know of or have heard of Kvarterloft, 58 % think Kvarterloft has contributed to making the district a better place to live, and 12% have been actively engaged in the regeneration process.

The “**snowball effect**” is also acknowledged to be a useful mechanism for engaging additional groups in the community through the targeting of one key group. For example, a conflict intervention project in Berlin began life on the streets of the city where community workers talked to and worked with children. The children talked about this work in school and at home so that teachers and parents became acquainted with the project. The project “snowballed” to include after-school workshops in conflict resolution for children.

The **re-assurance** to participants of the independence of the regeneration process is viewed as key to building trust and commitment to the project. For example, in Copenhagen, it was emphasised at the outset of the project that participation would be taken seriously and that the local politicians had no intention of dominating the process. It was also pointed out that the regeneration programme aimed at holistic solutions worked out in co-operation between citizens and officials. A very successful intervention to continue this work has been, a programme of free weekend conferences where everybody involved in the regeneration process (residents in Kongens

Enghave, working groups, local employers, municipality of Copenhagen, etc) gather to discuss progress to date. This provides an important forum for the airing of views.

In Dublin the NEIC IAP has made a priority of holding regular meeting with residents. They have found that ongoing consultation about what is happening on specific sites is crucial to building up trust incrementally between the local authority and the community. Regularity of meetings, particularly in the start up period of a regeneration project helps to counteract “ the deficit of belief”, and to work through contentious issues.

To keep people involved there has to be a link created between the time cycle and a stimulation cycle (Lisbon). In other words, people have to be able to see **clear and tangible benefits** coming downstream within an agreed time frame in order to reassert their ongoing commitment to the regeneration process. People lose interest if there is no dividend for their participation and no outcome to the process. Even small successes are important to keep people on board and create a virtuous cycle. (See diagram from social housing project) It must also be acknowledged that it is not possible to bring everyone with you, all of the time.

Exercises such as **Planning for Real** are a proven mechanism for engaging the widest possible number of residents. This method has been used to excellent effect in the redesign of the Diamond Park in Dublin’s North East Inner City. Community participation based on the **Community Gain Fund** is a vital strategy of engagement in the city of Dublin.

The **internet** is not, as yet, considered an important channel of information within neighbourhoods. This is a function of the penetration rate, and it is possible that as more communities become “wired” the significance of the internet for local action and mobilisation will increase. As access to and participation in information and communication structures becomes increasingly integral to civil society, ‘exclusion from them becomes exclusion from citizenship, effectively both political and cultural exclusion from civil society, ‘ (Lash, 1994: 132). We encountered very few examples of projects aimed at the re-integration of marginalized groups through affording access to information and communication technology (ICT). Certainly, Warren and Skerratt’s (2003) work on local rural communities and new information technology suggests that community websites can serve an important integrating function if built from the bottom-up, and are also a potentially useful channel of communication between local communities and government and non-governmental agencies.

8. Concluding points

- The task of regeneration in the European city can only be a piecemeal response to a much larger spatial reconfiguration.
- Partnership is frequently aspirational rather than real. Under the rubric of partnership, cities, neighbourhoods and regeneration programmes seek to address individual and collective interests deploying a range of different strategies. There is no consensus or coherence about the term partnership, not all potential partners are successfully mobilised, and the forms that partnership takes vary substantially across the cities and the across projects.
- The “community” is a term that hides a diversity of interests and roles. The community includes not only residents –both owners /occupiers and tenants –but others who work in the neighbourhood or who use the area for leisure. Different people want different levels of involvement–some to be kept informed of developments with the opportunity to be consulted, others who want to share in the decision making processes, and others who do not want to engage at any level(Glasgow Case Study).
- Partnership with the private sector is the exception rather the rule across the eight ENTRUST cities. Dublin is the only city that has a statutory requirement to engage in **Community Gain** through levies on developers, monitored by a community-elected monitoring committee. The experience of Dublin has been that it has not proved difficult to engage private companies in community regeneration where tax incentives and community gain policies are in place. These mechanisms provide for a stake for the private investor in the process. Both private development and the community can gain from the common gain objectives, set down on a statutory basis, and monitored by elected community representatives, during implementation

Community participation group Recommendations

These recommendations have been mainly derived from the community participation document drafted in July 2003, and the discussions and commentary of the Community Participation working group in Berlin, September 2003. I am grateful to all of those who participated in these exercises.

Aim: Community participation means empowering the community, creating a new division of responsibility in which the community shares responsibility for urban regeneration with the regeneration agency or municipality, and other key actors.

Local level

- **Adapt a flexible model for instituting and mobilising community participation**

-Agencies and municipalities work at different levels and in different ways, and must constantly review and update techniques for gaining access (e.g. the internet may be a new vehicle for community participation)

-Agencies and municipalities need to deploy a range of different and complementary strategies of involvement depending on the particular issue or the context of the local regeneration.

- **Involve residents in defining the neighbourhood as a first step toward regeneration**

-Agencies and municipalities need to identify very specific “**micro-level**” **strategies** for gaining the trust and involvement of the target group. Such interventions produce a useful “snowball” effect in the community.

-Latent and manifest “**deficits of belief**” must be addressed within the community.

-**Trust** can only be built up in a community on an **incremental** basis. It is not possible to do serious participation work with a community, without guaranteeing continuity across time. If the time scale of a regeneration project exceeds one year, benchmarks must be put in place to retain the commitment and trust of the community.

-Regeneration agencies and municipalities must balance planned initiatives with sensitivity and respect for community. The messages that are sent out must be positive, and people must be encouraged to embrace positive self-definitions.

-Gentrification and consequent displacement of older, inner-city communities are frequently an unintended consequence of urban regeneration. **A guarantee that displacement of the indigenous community will not take place and that new housing for the indigenous community will be developed alongside private sector developments** is a recipe for community acceptance of regeneration.

-An audit of neighbourhood is a key pre-requisite before embarking on action. This helps to define the problems, potentialities and what people want.

- **The “community” should be as broadly defined as possible and special efforts** should be made to involve “hard to reach” groups in the community’s regeneration.

-The “community” is a term that hides a diversity of interests and roles. The community includes not only residents –both owners /occupiers and tenants –but others who work in the neighbourhood or who use the area for leisure. Different people will seek different levels of involvement. Regeneration agencies and strategies should strive to be inclusive in their strategies for community involvement, so that community representation does not become “unrepresentative” over time.

-Locality is a very important principle for businesses, it is to their advantage that local infrastructure is to a high standard, and that the community enjoys good quality of life. The private sector has to be made aware of the benefits to be gained from doing business in the area, and teaming up with the regeneration agency and the community. This will

involve clarifying whom should be mobilised within the business sector of the community, and develop strategies for engaging them.

For example, it has not proved difficult to engage private companies in community regeneration where tax incentives and community gain policies are in place. These mechanisms provide for a stake for the private investor in the process. Both private development and the community can gain from the common gain objectives, set down on a statutory basis, and monitored by elected community representatives, during implementation.

-Special strategies for inclusion should be developed to integrate minority groups and local ethnic economies into the community and neighbourhood. Regeneration agencies and municipalities can act as arbitrators between indigenous community needs and the “new” community needs.

- **Exploit the capacity of third sector intermediaries to bring the private and public sectors together in urban regeneration.**
- **The public sector should provide continuity across time by spearheading regeneration programmes that are not time-limited, in the same way that individual projects are.**

-Special areas with special needs cannot be regenerated over a short-term time span. Local projects are by definition time-limited, and this can militate against long-term betterment of the community and the neighbourhood. Strategies on the ground then need to be embedded within a larger macro-framework.

- **The special skills required for neighbourhood management should be codified and should include such essentials as university level education or equivalent, practical experience on the ground, and experience of working with intercultural groups.**

National level

- The process of urban renewal must be taken seriously in order for it to have an impact on the ground. To this end, it is recommended that **urban regeneration projects must be anchored at the highest governmental level** through national legislation or the advocacy of a high-level governmental group or task force.

- Administrative reform and restructuring would obviate the need for a plethora of agencies at local level. Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that **area based service provision in which the regeneration agency or municipality devolves into the neighbourhood, provides a crucial point of contact** with the community .
- **Measurements of success in the mobilisation of the private sector** need to be developed so that urban regeneration agencies and municipalities can evaluate their initiatives. Such measurements of collaboration should take into account a number of dimensions including:
 - policy provision for private sector participation
 - consultative/advisory work provided by private sector personnel
 - financial investment or grants made available by private sector
 - networking between private and public sectors

- **Look outwards rather than inwards.**

-Regeneration programmes should engage in an active promotional campaign to raise their national profile, push regeneration higher onto the political agenda, highlight the success of programmes, and encourage new investment, new people and new ideas.

-Allied to this is the need to develop a coherent message to sell to the community, the potential investors and to the private sector.

-Civic boosterism and in particular, the desire to make places more attractive for tourists is a key theme that links all regeneration projects across all the cities. But residents interests and those of potential tourists do not always cohere, (Karolinenviertel, Kilmainham, Castle neighbourhood, Lisbon, Uzupis, Vilnius)

EU Level

- **Networking among European cities** engaging in community-based initiatives should be promoted as a means of sharing knowledge and skills, as well as developing new competencies and improving general practice.

- **Networking among European universities** with special competencies in architectural design, urban planning and community development should be encouraged through, for example, a dedicated programme aimed at staff and student exchanges.
- Much of the experience and practice of urban regeneration is fragmentary and nationally specific. The EU could develop a **coherent framework document** or directive which would offer a more integrated and coherent approach at the supra-state level.
- **Cities should be conceived of as special areas** with a particular role to play in the new expanded EU. There should be an **EU wide cities strategy** which could provide a basis for developing and fine-tuning national and local city strategies.
- **Candidate countries should be supported and facilitated in developing urban renewal strategies**, which should build on the expertise and experience of urban regeneration programmes that have already taken place across other European countries and cities.

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