Urban Regeneration Management

International Perspectives

Edited by John Diamond, Joyce Liddle, Alan Southern and Philip Osei

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John Diamond,
On behalf of the Editors.
Ormskirk,
Lancashire, UK
2008.

Introduction

John Diamond, Joyce Liddle, Alan Southern and Philip Osei

We had three primary aims in preparing this volume and inviting colleagues to join us. Firstly, we wanted to examine the perception that there was a 'global brand' of urban regeneration management and practice. In part, this has become a popular view shaped by what appears to be the mono-cultural experience of contemporary urban cites reinforced by the uniformity of shopping malls, airports and hotels. As we try to explore in what follows, this perception is far from being a 'mono-cultural' one. It is shaped, developed and promoted by Western advanced industrial notions of what the comfortable urban experience is about, and in its conformity of appearance, it also reinforces a particular set of ideas of urban regeneration.

Secondly, we wanted to reflect, ourselves, on the patterns and practice of urban regeneration management across a number of different sites and places. We are very well aware of how a particular 'model' of urban regeneration has become the norm, and we wanted to see if that was the case but also how, and in what ways do different places anticipate and plan for the processes of regeneration, including developing programmes of training and education.

Finally, we wanted to reflect upon and explore the responses of local communities and neighbourhoods to the arrival of the regeneration 'caravan' in their locality. Patterns of resistance or articulating different ways of effecting change are important to capture and explore. It seems to us that describing, interpreting, reflecting and providing a way of making sense of these patterns of resistance or collaboration are important for all of us.

We are very well aware too of the scale of the task and the risk that we might only partially achieve our aims. It does (and did) seem to us that there are some real and important ideas to explore and examine. The primary one of these is the idea that there is a 'model' of contemporary urban regeneration, and it is possible to describe its component elements and to assume from this that this model is transferable. Implicit in this notion of portability is that it is ahistorical and acultural. It follows from this set of

claims that the model is apolitical too. As will be clear in the parts that follow, all of the contributors are acutely aware of time and place. They, in their different ways, draw upon their sense of place and their attempts to locate the particularities of what they are examining in a chronology that seeks to include: space, time, place and the different and competing communities present.

We set out, in the first chapter, to give our view that the processes associated with urban regeneration and the development of a 'school' of urban regeneration management professionals are deeply political and challenging to a range of different interest groups. As a consequence we do recognise the need to reflect the different 'voices' or experiences present in any contemporary regeneration programme. We do not assume that regeneration initiatives are 'conflict free' zones—from a perspective that is seeking to examine the programme from within or from the outside and listening to the different voices of participants or those affected by the initiative.

In this set of chapters, what we are trying to do is locate that debate and the importance of listening and learning to a broader context. As you will see we devote a chapter to the attempt to link the global brand or sweep of regeneration practice to a local brand of listening and reflecting back the voices and views of those affected by the global march of the urban regeneration process.

The importance of critical reflection and the need to locate these processes within a context defined both by place (and time) but also of political institutions (and forms of governance and accountability) remains a central element or theme of what follows. We have attempted to identify a number of themes or cross cutting issues that we think will help provide a framework for what follows.

These themes or cross cutting issues include:

- The extent to which we can describe a North American approach to urban regeneration and what might constitute such an approach;
- The ways in which schools of management (or business) or public administration have responded to the proliferation of regeneration programmes and the extent to which there is an emerging 'school' of regeneration management;
- The competing, but inter-related, forces at play within a regeneration initiative and the extent to which those engaged in its management are able to act independently of these social, political and economic pressures;
- The extent to which liberal democratic institutions are 'fit for purpose' in the context of regeneration programmes and the implications this may have for local governance and accountability;
- The absence of debate or discussion on the theoretical and conceptual underpinning of regeneration programmes.

THE EXTENT TO WHICH WE CAN DESCRIBE A NORTH AMERICAN APPROACH TO URBAN REGENERATION AND WHAT MIGHT CONSTITUTE SUCH AN APPROACH

The 'conventional wisdom' of the 1980s and the 1990s might argue that it is possible to promote both the idea that regeneration initiatives reflected the North American experience and that we can identify the essential elements of such an approach. As Andrew E. G. Jonas and Linda McCarthy argue very powerfully in their chapter, this claim is wrong on several counts. In their chapter they set out very clearly the ways in which we need a more complex and sophisticated understanding of the ways in which US cities engage with (and learn from) regeneration experiences. They also describe and interpret changes in the role of city, state and federal agencies and the differences among states in terms of how regeneration initiatives are understood and implemented. They make the important point (which is a theme within this edited collection) that the idea there is 'one' model is both simplistic and wrong.

We do need, however, to rehearse the reasons why the perception that there is a US model developed in the UK (and to some extent across Northern Europe) persists. The idea is that current models of regeneration management and practice have been shaped by the American experience is also reflected in the debate within and between management practitioners and researchers.

As Chapter 1 illustrates we need to remind ourselves of the particular features of the North American experience—which may not have seemed special in that context—which have been picked up and promoted both by politicians and academics. It seems to us that there are a number of assumptions or elements that are present across a number of initiatives in the European Union and that have an intellectual as well as a practical home in North America.

These components include the need to 'secure' the revitalisation of older, urban and industrial parts of cities; the importance (and necessity) of securing public sector resources to "pump" prime such redevelopment; the view that local political institutions or forms or existing forms of governance were 'failing' and needed to be renewed, repaired or removed; the renaissance of urban cities would also need a coalition of civic organisations and agencies to promote the benefits of inward investment; and that such agencies needed to be a coalition or alliance of public/private and voluntary organisations.

What we are suggesting is that whilst the content, pace and structure of these regeneration programmes in North America has changed over time there are some core features that are perceived to be necessary pre-conditions for success elsewhere. As we try to show in the next chapter and the concluding parts of this set of chapters these are themes we return to.

THE WAYS IN WHICH SCHOOLS OF MANAGEMENT (OR BUSINESS) OR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION HAVE RESPONDED TO THE PROLIFERATION OF REGENERATION PROGRAMMES AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH THERE IS AN EMERGING 'SCHOOL' OF REGENERATION MANAGEMENT

The response of the Academy to developing an analysis and critical reflection of regeneration initiatives illustrates some of the tensions and absences in the current debate. As we show through the subsequent chapters from colleagues outside the UK, it is not the absence of an informed exploration of specific projects or programmes that is the issue, nor is it an unwillingness to share experiences to inform practice or reflection that is the issue. We have (within the Academy) a number of influential (and well established) professional bodies and learned societies that actively promote the knowledge and understanding they represent.

Our concern, and why we want to explore this idea of how the Academy informs and sets new norms and values, is that ahistoric or apolitical approaches to contemporary regeneration management will miss out the specific and highly localised context within which change is taking place. Therefore, in the processes associated with curriculum design, accreditation and choices over content we can see a 'normalisation' of certain views and expectations. This, in a sense, reflects a short-term response to the 'market' (itself a reflection of change locally and internationally) and how that market is constructed, managed, understood and regulated. It is also a reflection of the impact of certain 'global' narratives associated with regeneration management. These narratives have become symbols, or indicators, of the potential success of local projects. We can see across cities in different nation states how there is a conformity in the discourse of regeneration: partnership (public and private); new forms of managerialism; stakeholder involvement and community participation are all essential ingredients.

We are also aware through our work across a number of regeneration programmes, collaborative research projects and through our own individual (and collective) writing, of the tendency towards separating academic enquiry and critical reflection from the skills or competency-based approach to undergraduate and post-graduate education. We have observed this process in a number of different contexts including across the international networks of higher education institutions and awarding or accrediting bodies.

In the chapters that follow, Philip Osei, in his exploration of Jamaica, Ann Marie Bissessar, with her study of Trinidad and Ismael Blanco's reflection on Barcelona examine the extent to which particular theoretical models of public management (especially 'new' public management) can be applied in their specific context. In doing so, they point to some essential questions, or points of reflection—especially the extent to which the specific case studies can point to the maturity of localised systems and structures of public administration—such that they can trace the journey to 'new' forms

of management and governance, and the extent to which the particularities shape the systems.

THE COMPETING, BUT INTER-RELATED, FORCES AT PLAY WITHIN A REGENERATION INITIATIVE AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH THOSE ENGAGED IN ITS MANAGEMENT ARE ABLE TO ACT INDEPENDENTLY OF THESE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PRESSURES

The notion of 'independent' action and decision-making sits at the centre of a number of urban regeneration approaches. Whilst, there may be recognition that some of the external forces that shape (or reshape) localities are powerful and beyond regulation, there remains an element of expectation (or hope) that the transformative power of urban regeneration models can spill over across a range of sites of intervention. The common language and practice of urban regeneration management finds itself based in a set of assumptions: that there is a potential to affect positively the lives of individuals and families as well as the economic health of local communities and regions.

All of us are interested and concerned with how these notions of liberal democracy, or 'democratic' capitalism, have shaped the ways in which urban regeneration programmes are put together, the underlying assumptions that inform the selection of specific ways of developing a response to the urban crisis and the extent to which there is a shared consensus on the 'room for manoeuvre,' which local regeneration managers have.

In Karen Leeming's chapter on a housing project in Amsterdam and Hüseyin Gül and Murat Ali Dulupçu's discussion of regeneration initiatives in Turkey, we can observe the tension between these elements in play. Both chapters chart the attempts by local actors and/or regional agencies to develop responses to local needs and the extent to which they could act 'independently'.

We draw upon the issues raised in these chapters in the final part of the volume where we reflect upon the extent to which we can develop or construct a framework within which these experiences can be mapped against the literature.

THE EXTENT TO WHICH LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS ARE 'FIT FOR PURPOSE' IN THE CONTEXT OF REGENERATION PROGRAMMES AND THE IMPLICATIONS THIS MAY HAVE FOR LOCAL GOVERNANCE AND ACCOUNTABILITY

One of the features of observing regeneration programmes across and within different continents is the extent to which it is in the structures and

models of governance that we can observe key differences. In one sense, we could reduce these differences to ones of regulation and authority. There is a marked tension between those places where institutions of local governance are relatively weak at regulating the free market or where there has been little opportunity to develop processes and forms of accountability and regulation.

John Shutt and his team's work in the Czech Republic provide a series of fascinating insights into the struggles between emerging political and administrative systems to assert their (relative?) authority and the need to address the pressures for economic and industrial restructuring and the need to reconcile the decisions taken with the requirements of the European Union. In a very real sense, this chapter captures the dilemmas of those seeking to use regeneration programmes as a means of promoting social and economic justice. Joyce Liddle and Ioannis Oikonomopoulos, in their chapter on regeneration practice in Greece, illustrate very effectively some of these questions. In particular, they provide an additional set of experiences with which to explore the impact of the EU on the authority and autonomy of the nation state. The extent to which supra-national agencies can (or cannot) influence national governments is a real and political issue. But it also opens up the examination of the relationship between 'local' institutions and national or supra-national ones too.

Whilst Andrew E. G. Jonas and Linda McCarthy remind us that we need to focus on both the detail of regulatory systems and the structures of local governance and democracy. Thus, the US model provides an interesting comparison for all of us in that there is a rich evidence base of how local regeneration programmes can be put together with a wide range of partners and be subject to local scrutiny but that outcomes may not always meet local needs.

In each case we need to look at and reflect upon how systems of governance emerge and are themselves products of social and economic processes—and that the concept of 'fit for purpose' may not sit easily with all the major interest groups. We are back with the importance of placing individual regeneration initiatives in a context that is much broader than the particular industrial or economic problems it has been assumed it will address.

THE ABSENCE OF DEBATE OR DISCUSSION ON THE THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL CONTEXT TO REGENERATION PROGRAMMES

In Graeme Chesters' chapter on the relationship between the significance of the social movement literature and theoretical debates and regeneration initiatives, we see what we hope will be an important synthesis of ideas. We do think that it is important to rehearse the intellectual debates/rationale

for regeneration developments in the city. What this final chapter provides is a link to the literature on community development and the extent to which individuals and their localities become sites of conflict and change. This literature and the 'family' it sits within provides an important and significant link to a much broader literature on the individual and the extent to which they can act as independent agents. The agency/structure debates provide another illustration of the multi-disciplinary nature of regeneration processes and regeneration management. It also illustrates the multi-layered approach to research and the need to frame the theoretical models drawn upon to inform practice and reflection.

We attempt in the first chapter to provide a broad context to these debates. In particular, we seek to revisit the literature and debates on the relationship between neo-liberalism and contemporary regeneration practice. We will return to these broader themes both in Chapter 11 and in the Conclusion.

Part I

Context

Introduction to Part I

John Diamond, Joyce Liddle, Alan Southern and Philip Osei

KEY THEMES:

- Developing a sense of the uncertainty linked to notions of globalisation and regeneration;
- Identifying trends in policy and practice;
- Reflecting upon the significance of the North American experience.

LEARNING POINTS

By the end of Part I, we hope that you will be able to:

- Develop an understanding of the key debates that frame the discourse of regeneration management;
- Identify the trends in regeneration management practice;
- Reflect upon the extent to which there is a 'North American model' and begin to examine the differences in practice evident in the US.

CONTEXT SETTING

The two chapters that open this edited volume occupy an important part of the broader context setting for this volume of chapters. We have tried to draw upon examples that will frame the discussion in a particular way. A key sub-theme of this edited volume is the significance we attach to difference or diversity of experience and practice. As will become clearer in the chapters that follow, we are trying to promote both an 'internal' conversation between the chapters and within the three separate parts of the book. This idea of an ongoing conversation is linked to our concern to promote (and value) reflection and critical engagement among academics/researchers/practitioners and policy makers. Whilst we acknowledge that the Academy as a whole also values such relationships, we think that more work needs to be done. In particular, we want to support, promote and encourage the

blurring of lines and boundaries between research-only activity and that which is linked to the experiences of community activists and residents. Even allowing for sustaining appropriate boundaries of practice, we want to see those relationships supported by the Academy.

In a sense, we come out of that tradition of promoting dialogue across boundaries. Indeed a number of the contributors too come from that tradition. At the present time it seems more significant, perhaps, to facilitate such a cross boundary discussion as we seek to reflect upon the impact of globalisation and regeneration management on localities and communities.

In the first chapter, John Diamond sets the context within which we have framed the edited volume. Andrew E. G. Jonas and Linda McCarthy then go on to draw upon their work in the United States to examine the differences in policy and practice and to identify particular organisational as well as governance structures that have shaped regeneration practice in the States.

1 Context to Globalisation and Regeneration Management

John Diamond

INTRODUCTION

The primary purpose of this chapter is to sketch out the key practice and theoretical issues that are explored in the subsequent chapters and sections of this edited volume. We are aware that in framing the theoretical and conceptual questions we are seeking to establish a structure and order to a debate that may (actually) be inherently unstable and disorderly. We are also aware that as we write (in the autumn of 2008) we are situated in a time of transition and upheaval and that it is difficult to anticipate how long this phase will be and what the medium- to long-term consequences are likely to be.

There are, however, a number of issues that we can identify as probable casualties of the impact of the collapse of global markets and the financial institutions and practices. In setting out some of these casualties, we are attempting to situate them within a discourse of 'regeneration management' and to reflect upon the extent to which such a discourse is helpful in analysing experience and practice across the sites of intervention drawn upon in this collection.

In the final section of this chapter, we anticipate and map the subsequent contributions and their observations and interpretations against the ways in which regeneration management has been framed and promoted in different localities and over different time periods. We are particularly aware of the dominance of the 'North American model' both in the literature and in the ways in which researchers and practitioners engage with regeneration management and practice. We want to reflect upon the extent to which such a 'dominance' is real—in policy and practice terms.

The extent to which we can discuss regeneration processes as a particular 'model' illustrates a recurring theme reflected by a number of contributors to this collection. In part, the notion that it is possible to identify the constituent elements contained within regeneration initiatives and that these elements can then be 'transferred' from their home base and replicated in another locality is a myth sustained by poor policy and practice analysis. Whilst we can seek to situate specific regeneration projects in a

defined and localised neighbourhood or city and we can trace the diversity of place and time as being of significance, we also need to unpack the theoretical ideas that inform regeneration practice (Aitken 2008; Cadell and Falk 2008; Halpern 1995).

In a sense, therefore, what we are seeking to examine in this edited collection is that whilst there may not be a defined 'model' that can be reproduced with little reference to or account of the particular circumstances of a specific city or neighbourhood, we can observe a shared discourse within which regeneration management is situated (Jacobs 1992; Jewson and MacGregor 1997; Boddy and Parkinson 2004). It is this shared discourse that we want to reflect on in this opening chapter.

We want to argue that it may be possible to identify a transnational regeneration 'industry' in which individuals and organisations (from the public as well as both the private and charitable sector) promote particular models of practice from which they invite their audiences to extract the specific lessons or elements that can then be imported into the locality under review. Our argument is not that this type of practice is inappropriate (which it is) but that it often conceals underpinning ideas that frame the context within which the debate is taking place (Flint and Robinson 2008).

The absence of an explicit discussion on the theoretical frameworks that define the context within which regeneration projects are located is important for four reasons. Firstly, many current policy and practice debates whilst acknowledging a sense of 'place' and its 'history' fail to recognise that scale and context matter; secondly, the systems and structures of local administration and management cannot be separated from their location and context; thirdly, the relationship of regeneration management processes and models to institutions of civil society—including notions and models of local democracy—are significant in understanding the context and potential trajectory of projects; finally, there is a more fundamental set of questions to pose that relate the relationship (implicit or explicit) to the ideas of the 'failed' neighbourhood or locality by what criteria are particular places (cities/neighbourhoods) defined as being in 'need' of regeneration management expertise and transformation. We discuss the thematic set of questions next.

MAPPING THE TERRITORY

It seems appropriate, given the content and focus of what follows, to adopt the language of cartography. We need to be aware of how the point(s) at which we enter the dialogues or observations of urban regeneration management, both as processes and as a means to achieve highly defined outcomes, inevitably frames and structures the focus as well as shapes the reflections or conclusion we might draw. In particular, how we frame the

context within which we put a place or a locality within a city or city-region also shapes the points or sites of 'conflict' or 'change'. We need, as a consequence, to be sensitive to recognising (or recording) what the context or experiences were prior to the processes of change or conflict becoming more evident or dominant. If we assume that an element of all map making is to start with received ideas about what constitutes a sense of place and that part of the action of the map maker is to superimpose their sense of geography and spatial relationship then we can anticipate additional (or unintended) sites of conflict too. It is with these observations or reservations that we reflect upon the key themes identified previously and set out to examine the significance of 'place' and 'history' in setting the agenda for regeneration managers.

SCALE AND CONTEXT—THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO PLACE AND HISTORY

A key component of the regeneration process can be found in the ways in which specific localities or streets within localities are 'designated' as being suitable or appropriate for an urban regeneration intervention. The processes of definition or categorisation are usually situated 'outside' the territory of the place that has been named and awarded this special status. What we want to suggest is that this process itself presupposes a particular set of outcomes and is rooted in a particular discourse that is shared amongst welfare state professionals and policy makers but is rarely shared and debated with a broader audience. As a result, we can observe a series of actions or decisions that further define and shape the context within which the project or programme is located (Christensen 1999; Kantor 2008).

The recurring narrative that we can observe and 'hear' in these encounters is one of 'failure' and decline at every level of the neighbourhood or locality and that can only be redressed by external intervention across a wide spectrum of public policy areas. The presence of an external intervention co-ordinated by welfare/public policy actors as the means of ensuring the 'revival' of the neighbourhood is a powerful statement of the scale of the crisis and an indication of how it can be resolved (Cinalli 2007).

Thus, whilst the narrative of regeneration we are reflecting upon contains within it a diagnosis of crisis it also implies a prescription to achieve success. The difficulty we (as an Editorial Collective) have with the regeneration narrative that situates its analysis in a context defined by some sense of what constitutes 'failure' is that it assumes there is an agreed definition of what is meant by 'failure' and, more crucially, what has caused the failure in the first place. It seems to us that the content of this collected volume is an attempt to explore the different examples and meanings of the success/failure dichotomy we can observe in the context of regeneration management.

As a consequence of this way of conceptualising the potential models of regeneration practice we situate the discussion in a broader context. The impact of 'globalisation' may be a contested area for analysis in terms of how globalisation is defined and secondly how we make sense of the social and economic processes that are claimed to be the effects of its development (Jones et al. 2006; Jones and Morris 2008). But we can observe and reflect upon changes in the ways in which financial and economic institutions or practices are managed and regulated; the relationships between social change—in terms of family and social policies—and broader public and political change including the impact of demographic changes in population and the implications this might have for local economic development and for the needs of nation states; the ways in which nation states have formed economic and trading networks to both protect their internal economies and also to promote external trading relationships; and the multiple impact at a subregional level (as well as the nation state) of their consequence for employment, skills development, training and education and the social relationships these changes shape, reproduce and promote over the medium to long term (Borja and Castells 1997; Bright 2003; Harvey 2005).

Therefore, locating and defining the context within which change is taking place is not just about the geography of place, but it is much more about seeking to understand the scale or level at which the analysis takes place. We can develop a multi-level framework that examines these complex sets of relationships and factors from the 'street' through to the 'nation state' and the level of regional analysis where the points of comparison are between different regions situated in different nation states. Indeed one of the claims or critiques of the processes associated with globalisation is to make the concept of the nation state less important than twenty or forty years ago. We want to challenge that notion as being over-simplistic for at least three reasons. Firstly, as we explore later, it is still necessary to examine the role and function of institutions of governance; secondly, we need to take account of the strength/capacities of civil society to act independently; and finally, we need to reflect upon the extent to which local agencies or institutions of the nation state can act independently. It is in this context that we can place regeneration management projects.

We are not arguing that the concept of the 'nation state' in the context of examining the impact of globalisation is outmoded or alternatively can assert its right to act independently but rather that we need a more nuanced and reflective way of understanding the place of the nation state. This is especially so as we define particular projects or initiatives associated with urban regeneration in both a historical/political context as well as reflections of the particular social, economic and cultural associations with a specific place.

A sense of place or identity with a specific locality are not uncontested or neutral social processes. As each of the contributors to this collection demonstrates, analysing the social, political and economic processes associated

with a specific regeneration initiative requires recognition that there are competing definitions of the importance and future of the physical space that is categorised as being ripe for regeneration. Thus, the importance of understanding the social construction of attachment and identity with a locality and how those interpretations may not be shared requires a high level of sophistication and awareness of local intelligence on the part of local regeneration managers. This role and function of local brokers or neighbourhood facilitators or neighbourhood leaders is taken up in Chapters 10 and 11 as we discuss and reflect upon some of the implications of the issues raised by the case studies for the education and training of regeneration managers.

The scale and 'inevitability' of globalisation and its relationship to neo-liberalism has been explored and discussed fully elsewhere (Harvey 2000; 2005; Clarke 2004). In this particular section we want to reflect upon the interrelationships between globalisation, neo-liberalism and a sense of place and how these relationships have framed the regeneration management discourse.

As Syrett and North argue in their analysis of the relationship between enterprise, employment and the neighbourhood renewal agenda, 'The shift towards a liberalised global economy has been characterised by not only the persistence but also the entrenchment of concentrated urban deprivation within advanced Western economies' (2008:1). Their focus or point of entry into their study is the extent to which (in the UK but actually England) strategies and initiatives to address unemployment and social and economic dislocation and poverty can revive the particular (and 'persistent') problems of specific neighbourhoods. In an important sense, they acknowledge the juxtaposition of poverty and affluence that is present across global/world cities, and they reflect upon the extent to which governments can intervene to change the experiences and opportunities of individuals living in deprived places.

In the context of the relationship between neo-liberalism and regeneration management we might anticipate a more complex set of relationships to emerge. Arguably, we might suggest that the relationship might not be 'visible' in the ways in which might be anticipated. But as Clarke (2004) and Harvey (2005) have suggested, we can see the 'presence' of the neo-liberal agenda in the way in which social and public policies are framed and in the way the role of the 'state' is conceptualised and discussed.

As Clarke (2004) has suggested we need to be aware and have a clear empirical base that the impact of the neo-liberal agenda on how we understand the role of the state or stake out positions that promote the idea of the state as a 'force' or 'presence' within public policy and the public realm is very real. The claim (or assertion) that the cumulative impact of neo-liberalism has been to marginalise the concept of the state and/or the 'power' of political institutions would appear to a contemporary audience as surprising. A more important point is that we need to reflect upon the

extent and changed perception to which the state and public policy or public institutions are framed or positioned.

David Harvey's work (2000) and that of Hilary Wainwright (2003) represent important and significant perspectives on the changing nature of the relationships among the state, civil society and the neo-liberal agenda. They offer different ways of examining how these relationships are 'conducted' and the ways in which the struggle among them gets played out. Both writers locate their analysis and the sites of their enquiries in cities and draw upon the experiences of individuals and communities as they seek to co-exist with the impact of neo-liberalism. Each uses regeneration processes and agencies as ways of understanding the urban experience. We want to cite their work as representing (in different ways) seminal contributions to our collective understanding of how neighbourhoods or communities become sites for public policy implementation or private sector experimentation with the collusion of the state.

Their work complements the studies of Fainstein and Fainstein (1982) and Fainstein et al. (1992) where the conceptual model being explored is that of the 'city' being in a constant process of change and conflict as different interest groups seek to assert their authority over the institutions and individuals managing decision-making within the city. The argument places the 'city' at the core of a complex pattern of social and economic interests. The particular form the conflict takes is related to the relative 'success' or stability of the economic base of the city. They seek to show this, in turn, is contingent upon the overall 'health' of the economy and the particular features of the economic and industrial or service sector at a subregional level. If these are out of sequence, then pressure builds upon the social and welfare institutions of the city to maintain existing levels of service, to meet local political priorities and to allocate resources accordingly. As the gap widens between the needs of the city managers/leaders and the capacity of the local/regional economy to meet those needs, then welfare and public services are reduced; local political conflict emerges and the crisis of urban management /leadership is accentuated.

Their main argument is that we can observe these processes in play in North American cities from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s. We would suggest that in European cities (especially from the late 1970s onwards), it was possible to observe these processes at play. The important addition we would want to add to their conceptual framework (from the perspective of Northern Europe) is that the period of change has been categorised as being from 'concessionary' to 'conserving'. The former fits the period of welfare expansion and the provision of public services and locates the state as key to this process. The latter phase is the time of restraint and reduction or a withdrawal by the state. We can see those phases in a number of cities in the UK in the 1980s and in some European cities too. We would want to add another phase of development that we would describe as: 'competitive' followed by a phase of 'coalition building'.

These phases are explored in more detail next, but they are presented here because we think they convey the importance of the link between place and space with those social/political and economic forces represented by neo-liberalism. Each of the categories or phases identified represents an attempt to locate the political and social processes of change within a spatial context—the city. The importance, therefore, of particular neighbourhoods within the city as places where we might observe the outcome(s) of these broader change processes is evident. It is on the streets of particular places where individuals assert (or not) their sense of ownership and identity and where, in many urban locations, individuals find themselves in competition for scarce resources such as housing, welfare and work (Davies 2007; Medoff and Sklar 1994).

It is these expressions of identity and attachment that also give a 'voice' to a sense of a particular past or history and why we need to recognise that defining a sense of place is not an easy or a neutral act. It represents a set of selected (and often personal) narratives that give shape and meaning to a set of streets or a specific community and its needs. The broad historical sweep of the rise of specific cities (London, New York, Mexico City or Istanbul) cannot capture the personal narratives that are more contained in their accounts.

In both their studies of different cities, Harvey and Wainwright provide outsiders with a way into exploring and reflecting upon the pace of urban change, the complex interrelationships between different levels and agencies of government (and governance), the relationships between institutions or agencies of civil society (especially neighbourhood-based groups or associations) and how all of these sets of relationships co-exist, liaise with and collaborate with the private sector institutions and employers. These competing and contrasting sets of relationships give us a way into understanding how these relationships are mediated or facilitated by local administrative agencies or institutions. In addition, we need to examine the roles played by local regeneration managers and co-ordinators. In essence, we are exploring the capacities of local leaders as well as key decision makers and sites of decision-making.

LOCAL MANAGEMENT AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION: CHALLENGE AND CONFLICT

The question of how outsiders 'enter' localities and begin to examine the social and economic contexts within which regeneration projects are situated is linked to the way in which the neighbourhood or place is defined or understood. It is in this process of classification and reclassification that we can observe the influence of local state agencies. The presence of the local state—through formal institutions and structures—within a neighbourhood is another expression or indicator of the scale and level of interest it

has in a particular place. We need to separate those institutions of the local state (or central state) that are present to ensure the social reproduction of roles and functions (education provision, policing, health and housing services) it requires from those organisations or agencies whose role is to administer the services or to provide some level of 'leadership' at the neighbourhood level.

What is interesting to observe is that there is an assumption that once an area is designated as ready for a regeneration project, this constitutes an assessment of 'failure' by state agencies as well as the local 'leadership' institutions. There is, therefore, an important question of understanding the extent to which the capacity and quality of local state institutions are called into question as a direct (or indirect) part of these processes. We need to locate this debate as separate (but related) from how neighbourhoods are defined. There are some key conceptual questions raised here and which are present in the literature (Bennett 2006; Bourdrea 2004; Fainstein, Gordon and Harloe 1992; Kohler and Wissen 2003).

The questions include: the extent to which we can distinguish between the role and skills of neighbourhood-based services from the professional cultures and practices of welfare services; the relationship(s) between welfare state services and employers and the private sector; the capacity of local political institutions and the local party political infrastructure to support/ facilitate the emergence and contribution of new leaders, especially across the generations and seeking an inclusive model of practice; the extent to which the agencies of the local state can act independently of the state; and the extent to which the structures, processes and systems of local administration create opportunities for local discretion or local management. A key underpinning set of ideas and one we turn to first is the extent to which all of these issues reflect a particular model of liberal democracy. In this particular model (present in North America, Northern Europe and other advanced capitalist economies) we can observe a particular set of assumptions informing the practice and structures of the local state—not that systems are uniform but that there is a shared set of ideas and assumptions.

Arguably a key concept is one that 'captures' the extent to which the state regulates the activity of capitalism. As we finish work on this edited volume in the autumn of 2008 that question and what flows from how we make sense of the relationship between the state and advanced capitalist economies has a resonance that might not have been as explicit twelve months ago. The scope and 'legitimacy' of a regulatory framework promoted by the state reveals the balance of power between the institutions of the state and those of private capital and the financial and banking institutions linked to advanced capitalism.

This point is discussed more fully by Harvey (2000) and the literature summarised by Duncan and Goodwin (1988) that, in our view, provides

an important and rich contribution. Harvey makes the point about the necessary relationship between free markets and the state very effectively:

> . . . . The development of free markets depends crucially upon the extension as well as the intensification of specific forms of state power. Contrary to popular belief, market processes do not lead to a "hollowing out" of the state . . . (Harvey 2000:180)

It is this complex and contradictory set of needs and competing set of ideas that we discuss next.

Clearly an interpretation of the ways in which governments across the advanced industrial economies have sought to 'save' national (or regional banks) and international banking institutions or interests would conclude that this illustrates the relative weakness of the nation state and its political (and administrative) institutions. Depending upon what time frame you chose to adopt, you might conclude that this has always been the case. Despite previous economic slumps, the argument would be that the state intervenes only when it is in the interest of the financial/banking institutions. Whether this is a view that is shared, there are some interesting and thoughtful parallels with the relationship of the state to neighbourhoods that have been categorised as in 'need'.

We can see, across advanced industrial economies, a pattern of behaviour whilst not providing a straightforward replication of agencies and institutions does, at least, enable us to look for a 'shared' set of ideas and assumptions. From these points of similarity (not sameness), we can see how particular models and approaches to regeneration management are framed and situated.

Over time, it is possible to observe how (in different places and despite differences in institutional arrangements) the state—as represented by its political institutions—introduces particular regulatory frameworks that can be altered and amended. These frameworks will differ in scope and purpose, but they do share an essentialism that is to promote and to protect the interests of capital. At times, the regulatory frameworks may appear more intrusive than at other times (setting employment rights within the law, establishing minimum wages, establishing health and welfare services and promoting skills and training) and codifying the limits on 'hiring and firing' may appear intrusive to some (Carpenter, Freda and Speeden 2007; Syrett and North 2008). But in these different contexts and for particular historic as well as political reasons, we will observe a difference in institutional arrangements and in the explicit sets of relationships between the state and capital as defined in legal processes.

In the context of local regeneration projects, and in the ways in which regeneration managers seek to negotiate their roles or to lead on the implementation of a particular initiative we can conclude that the specific context

and relationships tells us something of the 'thickness' of the state's institutions and its authority. As we will see next we want to make the point that it is in the practice of regeneration management and the bringing together of a range of different institutions and agencies that we can see the visible sign of the power and status of the local (and central) state. But this statement of its authority is contingent upon the relationships between the state, capital and the existing regulatory frameworks in place. We do not assume that the presence of regeneration projects is a statement of the independent authority of the state but (at best) an indication of its relative authority. Thus its presence may conceal a 'local' or 'national' account, which points to the relative failure of the political institutions to meet the needs of local constituents. Moreover it may provide an illustration of how locally managed public and welfare services 'failed' their clients or users. Or it may provide a way of understanding or reflecting upon how private capital meets its own needs (over time) but has become more mobile and less rooted or dependent upon localities or regions to meet these needs.

Thus, what we are trying to suggest is that such a contingent set of relationships leads to defining regeneration projects as almost completely reactive to particular needs, events or places. We cannot point to a single set of examples that place such approaches to urban change in the 'pro-active' category. It may be the case that housing projects or transportation infrastructure projects were developed in order to 'head off' change but largely, they are reactive too.

Therefore, despite very important differences in the status and role of legal and political institutions across advanced capitalist economies what we can observe is a 'shared' approach that is informed by the institutional and ideological sets of relationships present. The extent to which there are different 'voices' seeking to extend the regulatory frameworks or to promote particular social approaches to welfare services present in these different locations does not alter the limits to authority and decision-making displayed by national or local governments.

At the local level, it is likely that we will be able to observe differences over how regeneration initiatives are defined by local political institutions and 'actors' and local administrative structures and decision makers. The extent to which there is a sense of a 'shared leadership' at the local level is one of the interesting questions posed by analysing regeneration projects over the past thirty years. The 'articulation' or 'promotion' of a local leadership base and the identification of civic leaders is explored next in more detail. However, we need to rehearse some of the issues here because it touches on the question of management and administration at the local or neighbourhood level.

We need to think about the ways in which differences of place, need and scale are shaped by the institutions of decision-making and administration or shape their responses and engagement with localities. The discourse of regeneration management is, of course, not fixed. It reflects the dominant orthodoxy of the time, and this will change over time and between places.

In each of the case studies that follow, and in our reflections on the implications these studies have for the content and focus of programmes of study for regeneration managers or regeneration practitioners, we are aware of the need to distinguish between the actions and decisions of local agencies and their role or capacity in framing such decisions. These differences are important because they contribute to our understanding of the extent to which local agencies have discretion in their decision-making. The 'freedom' of local managers, client focused workers or street level staff to make their own decisions and to act as 'independent' professionals is one which has been well documented and analysed (Yin and Yates 1975). We refer to this literature here because it seems to us that it adds to the complex set of relationships between agencies, individual workers, administrative systems and residents or users. The setting of these relationships within a context of the relative autonomy of 'street level bureaucrats' provides us with a way of locating their practice but also of seeking to define the limits and possibilities of change. The relationships identified previously provide another layer of complexity when seeking to describe, analyse and reflect upon the extent to which we can describe the actions of local managers as being congruent with those of local political or civil administrators. This complexity is a reflection too of a particular discourse on 'professionalism,' which is certainly a feature of North American and some Northern European states too. It can be situated within the professional bodies developed to promote and/or to regulate the professions of social work, mental health services and urban design and planning. These 'professional' bodies position their respective agencies as separate from civil society and presume a level of expertise and knowledge that maintains this separation.

Into the mix of local institutions and political processes and relationships, which we explore next, there is an additional set of relationships and tensions. The increase in the size of the welfare professional sector with its additional institutions and regulatory bodies places another set of pressures on the capacity of local institutions of local government to act as independent agencies. Thus, we can begin to observe across a number of advanced industrial societies how (for different reasons) a complex set of institutions and regulatory bodies have emerged with the effect (possibly unintended) of seeking to limit the capacity and autonomy of civil society agencies to take decisions in the interests of their residents. It is this tension that we explore next.

LOCAL REGENERATION MANAGEMENT AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE: THE DRIVE FOR PARTNERSHIP AND COLLABORATION

The acceleration in regeneration-type projects and initiatives over the past twenty-five to thirty years has created a network of practitioners and a potentially rich source of data and information. The extent to which we

can observe a common or core set of experiences that have been informed by regeneration managers may be doubtful. But we may identify a shared language and approach to regeneration management. Practitioner networks together with researchers and academic institutions across North America and Europe have been increasingly involved in the dissemination of ideas and practice. These networks provide significant routes into professional bodies as well as political institutions and policy-making fora.

We want to suggest that it is here within these networks and through the sites they chose to reflect upon or to elaborate their practice that we can observe the development of regeneration 'language'. This process is located in a wide variety of places (institutions of higher education, academic journals, trade and professional body magazines/websites, conferences, seminars, short courses, accreditation or validation agencies, charitable trusts, research councils and publishing houses), and the list is endless. We discuss in later chapters the significance of this 'professionalisation' of regeneration management, but here we want to focus on one aspect of this process of change: the key role occupied by those agencies and institutions that have the delegated function of providing local oversight or governance to regeneration projects.

The 'drive' to collaborate and to promote a partnership approach across the public, private and not-for-profit sectors are not, in our view, neutral or apolitical actions. They provide an insight into the shared discourse of neo-liberalism, which surrounds regeneration management and the contemporary political and social discourse too (Bennington, de Groot and Foot 2006; Moore 1995; Munro, Roberts and Skelcher 2008; Thomson 2007). The need to develop the capacity of agencies to share information, to engage in joint commissioning and planning of services (from across all sectors), to identify ways in which the provision of public and private sector services demonstrates value for the money invested and to stimulate the local management of projects over the 'lifetime' of a regeneration process is not straightforward. However, it is underpinned by a language that promotes the importance of collaboration but also supporting the idea of a reduced public sector and a contracting out to a multiplicity of providers who meet the contract specification for the provision of local services.

It is in this context that we can observe a changed role for the state (especially in those states that are members of the European Union) and in North America, its role will vary according to time, location and need. Across advanced capitalist economies (not withstanding the current recession/depression), we can observe and therefore investigate the ways in which the local state occupies a 'leadership' role within regeneration initiatives. Whilst we might conclude that (to date) this role has varied from promoter to facilitator of the process, we might assume that it will take a more explicit role than before. If our conclusion is correct that cities/urban centres have moved from the crisis phase as described by Fainstein and Fainstein (1982; 1989) in the 1980s to another phase, or stage, then we

need to examine the consequences of this shift. We have characterised the next stage and the current phase as 'competitive' 'coalition building'.

This latter, or current, phase reveals, perhaps, the ways in which political institutions seek to draw in private sector interests as well as seeking investment from global markets.

In a phase of 'coalition building' we might anticipate different leadership models, or types, to be undertaken by the local state, but part of that process will involve investing in the leadership capacity of the local state and, in particular, looking at ways of asserting local direction and accountability to specific projects. The coalitions of interest are important sites of influence, decision-making and resource allocation. It is here that the processes and local politics of local governance arrangements will be evident.

There is no one specific model that we can identify (nor are we suggesting that there is or might be), but rather we can anticipate the types of relationships present within localities and the characteristics that will be evident from empirical/observational research. We are claiming that a core characteristic of these relationships is that they are developed in response to or as a consequence of a economic or industrial crisis or period of crises. These relationships and the organisational and institutional form they take are derived from a reaction to important and significant changes in the economic performance of a major region or nation state. They are reactive sets of relationships and institutions. We acknowledge, of course, that over time, such organisations or agencies may become pro-active and seek to promote, develop and implement change that appears to confer an autonomy on the organisation and an independence of action. We are aware that there is a risk in claiming that such agencies have little or no room for innovation. We want to suggest that the scope for innovation is constrained, and whilst we may be able to trace the unintended consequences of some actions, we want to suggest that there remains a broad synergy of interests, expectations and modes of managing change between the different members of this coalition of interests.

In different nation states and at different levels/scales of the state, these coalitions of interest take on different organisational and structural forms. Thus, whilst there is no one particular model from which we can 'read off' the role, remit and membership, we can identify a 'typical' membership list. We are suggesting that such a grouping emerges from that phase of the social/political/economic cycle that goes beyond that posited by Fainstein and Fainstein (1982). Urban politics and urban policy has moved from the stage of welfare retrenchment to the promotion of more 'competitive' policies including changes to the welfare benefits, flexible labour markets and incentives for inward investment to the politics of 'coalition' building. By this we are describing the policies and processes by which the local state expands on those relationships fostered and developed through the 'competitive' to more formalised sets of relationships that involve an explicit 'sharing' of authority and decision-making through agreements and a

pooling of sovereignty and responsibilities involving a number of agencies/services (Bassett 1996; Peck and Tickell 1995).

We can see these types of relationships in the United States through the development, at different times, of citywide or neighbourhood-based regeneration/renaissance boards. At a subregional/regional level it is possible to note the formation of partnership or collaborative initiatives across the public/private/not-for-profit sector in a variety of states. The Empowerment Zone programme introduced by the Clinton Administration represents a type of coalition building, and its model varied according to the specific context it was located in. Thus, in New York, it took account of the power and patronage of the Borough Presidents and developed a model that was different from those introduced elsewhere. In the UK, the introduction by the Labour Government in 2001 of its Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy was accompanied by the creation of Local Strategic Partnerships. This development, which was a bringing together of different public and welfare state interests, challenged the authority of locally elected politicians (see, for example, Smith, Lepine and Taylor 2007). However, by 2008, the LSP model had been overtaken, arguably, by attempts to create agreements on a range of services and targets that cut across the administrative boundaries of city governments. These Multi Area Agreements, which involved the formal recognition, in some instances, of city-regions, brought together different politically controlled towns/cities into a network of a 'city-region' (Hetherington 2008). What is important in understanding or placing this particular initiative on the continuum of 'coalition' building cities/regions is how marginal the 'political' actors are in the consultative or supervisory boards that have been established to monitor and to implement the MAAs. These agreements cover a wide range of elements, but central to their 'success' is the employment, training and education agendas and here the role of employers as central (and influential) sets of interests are critical.

In the UK context, at the time of writing, we are starting to see at the city-region level and the regional level models of organisation and governance that have 'borrowed' from the perceived success of the reform of the governance arrangements in London. The introduction of an elected mayor whose power and, especially, authority has increased reflects a clear 'steal' from the US model of elected mayors. These developments sit, arguably, outside the nation state, and they represent an alternative or parallel set of developments in which the regeneration of a place (a city) or region is predicated not upon the authority of civic institutions but in the repair and promotion of new modes of civic governance. The ways in which the mayors of Barcelona have promoted that city (which we discuss in Chapter 8) illustrate this particular stage of urban governance.

In our view, it marks an important transformation of the pre-existing models of civic governance. We can discuss whether it is a phase of transition or whether it is more profound than that, but our central argument is that different leadership models emerge too. There are examples across

these cities of attempts to promote a more pluralist form of leadership. We can observe (again from the UK) how government, together with different public and private sector interest groups, have sought to support the development of different sites of decision-making and leadership with the articulation of leadership education and training through 'capacity' building projects. These developments have also been joined by the stress on looking to 'devolve' or to 'delegate' decision-making and to support the professionalisation of 'management' and 'leadership' through the accreditation and validation of programmes or qualifications. In these developments, universities, in particular, develop close working relationships and the general sense of encouraging 'knowledge transfer' across the public–private divides and within the public/welfare state illustrates another indicator of the scale of the changes we can observe.

These policy, practice and organisational changes need to be located within a policy environment that has been shaped by nearly thirty years of neo-liberalism. The promotion of a reduced public sector, a weakened local state as a place of political change or experimentation and a model of service commissioning that could be used to break the power of organised labour should not come as a surprise. What is interesting is that these elements can be found within a wide variety of regeneration initiatives, and in many ways they have provided spaces of innovation and experimentation for a set of processes enhanced by the power of globalisation.

REGENERATION, GLOBALISATION AND THE IDEA OF THE FAILED NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Contained within the regeneration management discourse are a set of ideas and concepts in which places and locations are defined as 'failed' or 'failing'. The focus of where such 'failure' is situated is important as we look for common themes or processes across national/international boundaries. The location or the site of the 'failed' neighbourhood is significant because it contains within it a sense that the 'responsibility' for failure rests within the neighbourhood rather than being found elsewhere.Therefore, across a range of projects and regeneration initiatives we can see a language of renewal being developed and that the necessity for such a process of renewal or renaissance is as a direct consequence of the collective failure of those living and working within a specific place.

Clearly this set of arguments is not new. We can see it replicated across urban sociology and contemporary public policy analysis in Europe, North America and the advanced industrial economies (Byrne 2001; Banks and Shenton 2001). At times, the language of 'failure' is presented as representing a refusal or a reluctance by individuals and communities to engage with 'change'. These processes of change can include changes in the labour market, the introduction of new ways of working, the decline in particular

forms or sources of production and the shift of manufacturing or the service economy to alternative locations.

Changes in the national or international economies are seen (in this 'failure' discourse) to be outside the control or influence of local communities, and thus they need to adopt a 'realistic' response to change. The reluctance or the refusal to do so is yet another illustration of the sense of 'failure' within the locality or neighbourhood.

The 'failure' discourse is important too in the context of looking for patterns of change or common responses from the state. In particular, the response from political as well as welfare and social agencies represents an indication of the extent to which there is a shared political discourse that locates the failed or failing neighbourhood in this way. To a certain extent we can recognise at a national level in the UK or in the US how urban policy (and regeneration management) has followed or been shaped by this narrative of failure. The decline of industries and the rise in unemployment and the inevitable changes in the labour market (either by gender, age or by migrant workers coming in) are seen as important contributing factors to the social and physical decline of urban centres.

The notion of the failing inner city is a familiar one across urban areas. We can see ways in which the challenge to city leaders (political as well as administrative) to respond to these patterns of change and decline accentuates the crisis affecting urban areas. A secondary wave of associated change follows some of the processes identified previously. These changes include a decline in property values, a movement of the affluent urban mobile population to residential settlements outside the city or on the edge of the city, a series of separate but interrelated pressures on welfare services to meet the needs of the young and elderly 'left behinds' and a separate but connected series of challenges to local political elites to manage the change processes.

By locating the focus for 'failure' on a neighbourhood or series of localities within the city or across the region the possible solutions or alternative ways of framing the question is limited. Within a relatively short space of time, it becomes possible to list the additional contributing factors that have shaped and defined the neighbourhood as an 'unsafe' place—a place in need of regeneration. The list is well known to regeneration management practitioners or to workers based in urban neighbourhoods. The list presupposes that those living in the neighbourhood lack the skills or capacity to effect change for themselves and/or that they have become welfare dependent and possibly, they represent a 'danger' to the wider society. We could include in this additional list individuals who are involved in crime or anti-social behaviour, drug dealing, street crime, prostitution, domestic violence, non-attendance or reluctant attenders at school, higher rates of teenage pregnancy than the average, low levels of school completion and high school graduates and physical decline of the infrastructure and housing with a higher than average rate of tenants in public housing projects.

The creation of such a list assumes that each of the individuals and their families are, themselves, unable to make choices about their lives or their locality without some externally defined or imposed model of organisation and set of objectives. Thus, we can see across a number of regeneration projects the ways in which local needs and aspirations are defined and articulated by a group of regeneration professionals external to the locality.

If we map this framework across to the notion of the city in crisis as proposed by Fainstein and Fainstein (1982; 1989) we can see how at different points in the cycle of crisis the response to neighbourhoods looks different. In the phase of the city as being a 'concessionary' or 'conserving' space we are likely to see sites of explicit conflict and tension between different arms of the state as welfare and public agencies seek to protect services and individuals and families. In the 1960s in the US and the UK, specific urban initiatives were introduced to support neighbourhoods and the families and communities within them. These community-based interventions were located within a theoretical and conceptual model of participatory decision-making and 'empowerment of the individual and the community' (Purdue 2007b). There was an element of seeing these developments in the context of promoting alternative and supportive policies to mitigate against class exploitation. The social reform agendas of the 1960s with their implications for social policies informed by perspectives on race and gender had their manifestation in many urban locations especially in education for adults or universities. However, the argument we are putting forward here is that the qualitative impact of the social, political and economic crises of the 1970s and 1980s resulted in a process of restructuring the welfare and social policy/practice infrastructure. By developing the Fainstein and Fainstein model to incorporate two additional phases in this process of urban transformation we can see how the impact of these changes has shifted the context within which these communities are defined.

We can see how the consequential regeneration 'industry' has redefined the space and the language associated with the neighbourhood. The shift towards seeing the neighbourhood as being a potential site or place for renewal makes it dependent upon an assessment of its assets. The potential assets available: land, location and potential for redevelopment provide an additional lens through which places are seen and their potential 'scored'.

In the phase of development we are offering in this chapter, cities are looking to develop coalitions of interests. The extent to which individual neighbourhoods have the scope or the capacity to engage in such a process is doubtful. In part the processes of 'professionalizing' the welfare state and extending authority over those who are defined in 'need'—the worklessness agenda—reduces the potential for individuals to engage with local agencies or, if they do, to effectively challenge the limits of decision-making.

We are aware of the complexities present across cities and within neighbourhoods: the profound increase in the movement of people, the growth

of cities in Latin America, Asia and China and the corresponding decline in the urban advanced nations. These complexities and the pressures they place on us, notions of equality, equity and access to resources, expose the fragility of debates on empowerment and social capital. In the advanced capitalist economies we can see how 'social capital' has been colonised as new space to promote 'social entrepreneurship' as a way of escaping the problems of economic growth. As a number of the chapters that follow suggest, we may also be in a process of transition (or transformational) in terms of social relationships with a new politics too (Powell 2007).

We can, therefore, expect to see such challenges taking place in different sites and points of engagement. We should not assume that such conflicts will be within the formal processes. We have over the past twenty years seen urban disorders in the UK, France and the US over the failure of the state to address particular welfare and social questions. The alienation and marginalisation of the urban poor or dispossessed from the institutions of civil society are likely to create discontent and challenge. The questions for those of us engaged in seeking to understand the complex sets of relationships between globalisation (its economic impact, its sets of ideas including those of neo-liberalism and its movement of labour across the world) and regeneration management (with its ideas on policy development and the promotion of particular ways of stimulating growth and the neighbourhood economy) involve developing a more nuanced and informed sense of how we assess the development of the urban crisis and where and how the challenges to the prevailing way of doing things will come from. We think that we are at an early stage in reflecting on the potential outcomes of the current crisis. But we do think that the ideas of neo-liberalism whilst challenged have the capacity to reinvent themselves. The question for the practitioners and advocates of a more involved and community-based approach is if this is the case: What are the implications?

In the chapters that follow, we draw upon a set of experiences and knowledge that provides a series of insights into different locations and examine these relationships through a context of place, space and time.

2 Redevelopment at All Costs?
A Critical Review and Examination of the American Model of Urban Management and Regeneration

Andrew E. G. Jonas and Linda McCarthy

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, liberal politicians, public officials, planners, and activists in the United States spoke passionately and earnestly of the country's growing 'urban crisis,' a crisis that was often inflected with discourses of racial segregation, political alienation, and fiscal decline. By the 1980s, talk of the urban crisis was more closely associated with wider economic trends—globalisation, capital flight from the city, and the crisis of the American 'Fordist' model of mass production (Florida and Jonas 1991). Amidst these developments, there was a neo-conservative backlash against urban policy which paved the way for the New Federalism and, with it, federal urban budget cuts. Released from federal oversight and fiscal subsidy, cities and suburbs would be forced to compete for their fiscal futures under what some now characterise as a neo-liberal urban policy regime (Hackworth 2007). This neo-liberal solution to the nation's urban crisis in turn paved the way for the emergence of a range of entrepreneurial approaches that have come to characterise what some have called the 'post-federal' era of urban development in the United States (Clarke and Gaile 1998; Brenner 2002).

For some apologists of the new federal urban policy regime, the market-driven economic revival of American cities is to be pioneered by an intrepid new class of entrepreneurial local and regional civic leaders, who are closely allied to a new 'creative class' of talented workers and professionals, as described so persuasively by Richard Florida (2002). Positioned at the vanguard of urban revitalisation in America these entrepreneurial urban leaders are involved in a range of private development-led projects based around the new economy. By privileging the creative energy of urban populations, these projects also ensure that the benefits of the global economy reach the diverse communities that comprise America's major cities; communities are arguably defined less in terms of negatives, such as political alienation and racial segregation and more in terms of their inclusion into the positive values and attributes of socially inclusive and economically dynamic urban regions. Despite ongoing

negative publicity around recent events such as the Los Angeles Rebellion of 1992, Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, and now the financial meltdown affecting metropolitan housing markets—it cannot be denied that the language of economic comeback now applies to America's cities. From the perspective of today, the crisis discourse of the 1960s and 1970s seems but a distant memory.

All of this could be viewed as a generalisation—a parody on the economic revival of America's cities. Yet it serves our present purposes quite well. It captures the essence of what we see as a broader shift in the scope and scale of urban regeneration practice in America. From thinking about America's cities and communities responding to distinctly urban problems in situ, it seems that a transition has occurred in which urban and suburban fortunes are in turn increasingly shaped by ideologies, events and processes operating well beyond city, suburban and local jurisdictional boundaries. The language of urban regeneration in America is increasingly outward-looking, coloured and contextualised by discourses of globalisation, regionalism, environmentalism and neoliberalism. Nonetheless, in this chapter we want to avoid a temptation to try to correlate the economic revival of American cities and communities with events and discourses operating beyond their borders. We want to see urban regeneration continue as being as much about dealing with problems in situ as it is externally oriented. To be sure, there are important connections and relationships between globalisation, neo-liberal ideology and urban development trajectories (Hackworth 2007). Yet, in practice, it is difficult to identify and separate out external cause from internal effect.

Urban management in America remains very much about responding to day-to-day and location-specific issues, interests and service needs (both in the workplace and living place), including fostering neighbourhood solidarity; building local, city and metropolitan-wide coalitions; setting up public–private partnerships; and managing scarce federal (and local) fiscal resources. For all the new rhetoric about embracing economic globalisation, the New Regionalism and global environmental sustainability, urban regeneration in America continues to reflect and embody a deeply ingrained material and political culture built around fiscal localism, property rights, community spirit and, above all, local land use control and jurisdictional authority. In short, the specific social, environmental and economic geographies of US cities and suburbs—including those of the people in them—matter. Nonetheless, one thing has changed. The management of America's vast cities and metropolitan areas involves managing increasingly complex inter-governmental and multi-scalar governance structures, the organisation, size and scope of which must extend beyond the control of any single local jurisdictional authority. America is a nation built around a strong legacy and political culture of federalism and an ideology of local control. Connecting

this inherited ideology of localism to the new geographies of urban and regional development engendered by globalisation presents a challenge both to intellectual knowledge and practice of urban regeneration in America today.

SOME GENERAL AND RECEIVED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF URBAN REGENERATION IN THE US.

In this section, we briefly review some recent trends in academic research on urban management in America. We also identify issues and concerns that seem unique to the American context of urban redevelopment.

APPROACHING URBAN MANAGEMENT: FROM URBAN RENEWAL COALITIONS TO ENTREPRENEURIAL URBAN GOVERNANCE.

In recent years, the focus of critical academic research on urban management in the United States has undergone a broad transformation. From the detailed analysis of urban renewal coalitions in particular cities that characterised research in the 1960s and 1970s, there is now increasing interest in how changes in the nature of urban governance relate to wider processes of economic globalisation and the shift towards neo-liberal modes of economic governance. Mollenkopf (1993) linked the rise and fall of urban renewal coalition to broader shifts in federal coalitions and the pattern of federal spending. Likewise, Shefter (1985) examined cycles of urban fiscal crisis, linking these to the role of banking institutions and switches between machine and reform imperatives in municipal government. More generally, a regime approach to urban governance was concerned with how urban management often involved a compromise between the demands of the local electorate and the need to sustain private investment and tax revenues for a city (Stone 1993). This work has recently extended to the analysis of regional regimes in recognition of the fact that partnerships and coalitions involved in urban development must extend across city and suburban governmental boundaries (Hamilton 2002).

Economic globalisation offers a different context for the analysis of development-orientated urban regimes (Horan 1991). In this context, theoretical interest in managerialist forms of urban government has given way to a new emphasis upon urban entrepreneurialism as many cities compete to attract growth in the form of mobile investment and consumption (Hall and Hubbard 1998; Jonas and Wilson 1999; Lauria 1997). Urban management is increasingly about 'holding down' the positive externalities of participation in the global economy (Amin and Thrift 1994) rather than managing negative externalities associated with the provision of services

to different social groups or neighbourhoods; in other words, the business of the city is about promoting 'growth first' or 'growth at all costs' rather than meeting the demands of the voters. New partnerships between business, public sector and not-for-profit agencies now undertake various urban place promotion strategies, transformations in the built environment, and urban governance reforms in order to attract mobile capital and investment into the city. In short, there has been a transition from concepts of urban government and managerialism to those of urban governance with the private and not-for-profit sectors seen as active players rather than the federal government in shaping America's cities (and suburbs).

Such transformations in urban management seem to be linked to the collapse of a Fordist–Keynesian regime of accumulation (Florida and Jonas 1991). In this scenario, public authorities and non-state actors in cities now outflank, if not in fact have replaced altogether, nation states (viz. federal government) as major players in globalisation and economic growth. It seems that urban managers and their local partners have little choice but to engage in a beggar-thy-neighbour competition for globally mobile capital (Jessop, Peck and Tickell 1999). In these respects, *all* cities in the United States are entrepreneurial and the capacity to engage in state-led local redistributional strategies appears to have been substantially attenuated.

Liberal critics might be justified in arguing that there has been a general tendency as of late on the part of communities and cities to rely on redevelopment 'at all costs' with little attention to non-market forms of redistribution. Although the beneficiaries of entrepreneurial redevelopment are often those private businesses, developers, investors and politicians that depend upon the urban land market and exchange—what Harvey Molotch and John Logan famously described in terms of the 'growth machine' (Molotch 1976; Logan and Molotch 1987)—the story is perhaps not so simple or straightforward as implied by such sweeping generalisations. Indeed one of the arguments we wish to make next is that along with the rise of urban governance, there has also been a 'rescaling' of urban management institutions and the politics of redistribution to the metropolitan-region scale. This represents not so much a response to globalisation and other extra-local pressures as some have suggested (Brenner 2002) as to how these wider trends shape, produce and in many ways reinforce localised social–distributional and environmental patterns and processes across and within cities and metropolitan areas. There often is an intense rivalry between urban and regional growth coalitions in different metropolitan areas, which can create an appearance of intense inter-territorial competition and 'growth at all costs'. Yet those who argue that there is a generic American 'neo-liberal' model of urban entrepreneurialism sweeping around the world tend to overlook the great variety of local regeneration stories inside the US and its cities.

Indeed, there are signs of a return to some of the longstanding distributional concerns of urban management scholarship, such as problems reducing metropolitan fiscal disparities, mitigating inter-jurisdictional conflict,

and using new modes of state intervention (federal, state and local) to improve levels of urban service delivery and infrastructure. Likewise there is interest in renewing local democracy, public participation and addressing problems of environmental sustainability.

Broadly speaking, the new context for analysing urban management in America is as follows:

- American cities, including their constituent neighbourhoods and downtowns, are making a comeback economically, fiscally and socially but most of all in terms of economic development policy, but that this is a very uneven process;
- This uneven economic change is having localised social and spatial impacts including the discovery of a 'creative class' alongside the 'urban underclass';
- Suburban and exurban growth nonetheless continues almost unabated; suburbs as well as cities might compete but many cooperate to attract economic activity especially in new economy sectors;
- Mega-urban agglomerations have grown bigger and there is increasing talk of the need to build city-regional governance around issues like social inclusion and distributional equity;
- Within the constraints of home rule and federalist models of government, regionalism is gaining currency across many US metropolitan areas;
- The language of urban crisis and renewal has been replaced by that of comeback, with a new emphasis on connecting up policies for redevelopment, sustainability, and social inclusion.

URBAN REGENERATION, THE NEW URBANISM AND REDEVELOPMENT

Before we get into the details of contemporary urban regeneration practice in America, one aspect of the distinctiveness of the American approach to urban management needs to be considered. This concerns the phrase 'urban regeneration'. This phrase is rarely used in today's urban policy context. Instead, the discursive and policy landscape of urban regeneration in the US is increasingly populated by terms such as 'community redevelopment,' 'neighbourhood revitalisation,' 'transit-orientated development,' 'sustainable communities,' 'smart growth,' the 'New Urbanism,' and 'the New Regionalism'. Some of these terms do refer to specific policy tools or practices (e.g., tax-increment financing of redevelopment). Others (e.g., the New Urbanism and the New Regionalism) capture new movements or ideals about the way contemporary strategies of economic and social revitalisation increasingly prioritise cities and urban redevelopment or legitimate greater cooperation between cities and suburbs (see Case Study 1).

Case Study 1: New Urbanism as the 'Neo-traditional' Regeneration of the Inner City

Also referred to as 'neo-traditional' neighbourhood development, New Urbanism is a school of thought within urban design circles that seeks to reproduce the simple, communitarian, white-picket fence ambience, appearance, and serenity of small-town, walkable neighbourhoods. It is based on a prescriptive system of design that attempts to replicate an older way of making places using zoning regulations and special districts that dictate traditional street grids, mixed-use zoning, careful regulation of building materials and massing, and restrictions and controls such as covenants and bye-laws to ensure a distinctive physical and social environment. With its emphasis on promoting compact, pedestrian-friendly, transit-oriented environments that can create a sustainable setting that minimises automobile use, New Urbanism has been championed conventionally as a response to urban sprawl.

New Urbanism has been widely criticised, however, for catering to pretentious materialism, encouraging social exclusion and depending on a selective recall of urban history. Critics of New Urbanism argue that there is nothing either new or urban about it and that the outcome is, at best, bland rear-guard buildings, at worst, kitschy, Disneyesque architecture that is more about imageability than livability (Marcuse 2000). Critics contend that it has succeeded only in producing a plethora of socially and architecturally homogeneous middle- and upper-income subdivisions that are isolated from their host communities by private management and retro architecture that is too naively artificial to bear its own stylistic weight. Moreover, New Urbanism's claims in terms of automobile use and sustainability are belied by actual commuting patterns and levels of SUV ownership. In addition, while it may reduce sprawl by increasing the density within the New Urbanism subdivisions, it may promote sprawl by making suburbs even more attractive to mobile urban residents.

Most recently, however, New Urbanism projects have been undertaken in older industrial neighbourhoods in cities like Atlanta, Chicago, and Pittsburgh. These redevelopments have included high-rise public housing demolition, brownfield redevelopment and infill projects. While some projects are open to the same criticisms as their suburban counterparts, as well as to additional concerns about gentrification and displacement, others have involved community-based initiatives to provide affordable housing that involve residents, CDCs, and urban designers. Proponents argue that New Urbanism is particularly appropriate for inner-city regeneration because these neighbourhoods already have

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Case Study 1 continued

a tangible historic context, however frayed, which gives them their distinctive character (Deitrick and Ellis 2004). As Bohl (2000) has argued, however, New Urbanism is not a panacea; although its design principles are consistent with broader policies aimed at urban regeneration, on its own, it cannot represent a comprehensive programme for inner-city regeneration or replace full-fledged housing, economic development, and social service initiatives. Moreover, concerns about environmental determinism relate to inner city as much as suburban New Urbanism; even community-based New Urbanism projects cannot overcome the fact that shaping the built environment cannot create community and solve urban problems (Marcuse 2000).

Although the term 'regeneration' is rarely used to describe what is happening in American cities today, the institutions and practices often associated with urban entrepreneurialism have nonetheless been adopted and copied by other countries. For example, urban regeneration partnerships and institutions championed by regeneration managers, civil servants and politicians in the 1980s (the so-called Thatcher years) in Great Britain were often modelled on an earlier generation of US urban renewal institutions. Notably, regeneration in the UK followed the example of much-criticised downtown renewal partnerships and redevelopment agencies responsible for the commercial transformation of Central Business Districts in Baltimore, Boston and Pittsburgh. However, circumstances and institutions in both countries have changed so it never amounted to a straightforward policy transfer. The federal urban renewal programme itself grew out of the 1949 Housing Act, a programme that was responsible for slum clearance, freeway expansion and commercial redevelopment in a number of major urban centres. Critics of urban renewal have long claimed that it accelerated the fiscal decline of central cities and destroyed the social fabric of once viable inner urban neighbourhoods. Many US states passed laws to enable the establishment of community redevelopment authorities, and these powers remain important today. Redevelopment and its associated tool of tax-increment financing (TIF) has become a widespread tool of urban regeneration across a wide range of cities and suburbs. Today's redevelopment authorities in American cities may be a legacy of earlier urban renewal programmes, but it is dangerous to assume that they produce similar fiscal effects or rely on similar powers and resources as the old urban renewal programme. Moreover, the transfer of these new policy instruments to contexts outside the US often overlooks the very specific conditions that generated such structures in the US. We devote some attention to redevelopment tools like TIF in the next section.

STRATEGIES AND TOOLS OF URBAN MANAGEMENT AND REGENERATION

Public officials and civic organisations in cities across the US are engaged in a great variety of projects and strategies to respond to globalisation and economic restructuring and to the constant challenges that these processes present. Some cities have successfully adjusted to a post-industrial economy, transforming into financial service centres, attracting major corporate and head office functions, or building up a cluster of high technology, bioscience and creative industries. Whilst evidence of regeneration can be found in most American cities, strategies, policies and their impacts vary greatly from place to place. For example, how does one begin to compare the upbeat 'sustainable urban living' project promoted by the Vulcan Company in the South Lake Union district of downtown Seattle (Figure 2.1) with, say, the MOSES (Metropolitan Organising Strategy Enabling Strength) project in Detroit, which involves a coalition of religious and civic leaders and activists involved in low-income communities and concerned about issues like public access to metropolitan transport?

Such vast differences in the experiences and aims of urban management and regeneration projects and coalitions across the country make it difficult

Figure 2.1 A 'New Urbanist' development: So-called 'affordable green living' on offer at the South Lake Union close to downtown Seattle. (Photo courtesy of Andrew E.G. Jonas).

to generalise in terms of a generic 'US approach'. To be sure, the New Urbanism is a widespread force of change, and redevelopment has become a widely used tool. Yet specific projects and strategies vary from attempts to encourage the redevelopment of old industrial districts into high status residential areas, to glitzy new transit-oriented developments, to the commercial redevelopment of former industrial sites in or proximate to downtown areas, to faith-based community reintegration efforts and to development of new green industries on brownfield sites. In support of these strategies, a wide range of institutional structures have emerged, including a proliferation of new partnerships between businesses, civic groups, and community and not-for-profit organisations. Despite such intrinsic place-based variety, it is possible to identify certain institutional structures and redevelopment tools that appear to be distinctive to the post-federal US context (Clarke and Gaile 1998). We now examine five such tools, in more detail, before demonstrating the different ways in which these tools are used in different places and regions across the US, by reference to a couple of detailed case studies.

Public–private Partnerships

Public–private partnerships (PPPs) to achieve urban regeneration became increasingly popular in the United States in the 1970s, initiating a policy shift—from 'managerialism' to 'entrepreneurialism' (Harvey 1989)—which arguably had a profound influence on economic development efforts internationally. These contemporary PPPs arose as a market-based solution to the problems of the failed federal urban renewal programme. The subsequent federal Urban Development Action Grant programme required local governments to compete with each other for more limited funding using criteria intended to encourage partnerships that leveraged private-sector dollars.

At the same time, the cutbacks in federal aid also forced city officials to rely increasingly on local resources. With the prevailing perception that many urban problems were caused by weak local economies, local governments assumed that the involvement of private-sector capital, expertise, and leadership was needed (Beauregard 1998). Given the unpopularity of raising taxes, city officials seized the opportunity to instead use strategically located sites that were publicly owned or could be acquired through eminent domain to leverage private investment as part of PPPs (Sagalyn 2007). A vision of the public interest, however, came to reflect the limited interests of the private-sector members of the 'growth machine,' such as property developers, newspaper publishers, and utility companies (Logan and Molotch 1987).

PPPs in the United States usually involve more than conventional subsidy relationships where there is merely a one-way flow of incentives, such as grants and tax breaks, to developers; they also entail more than the 'privatisation' of public services or facilities to the private sector. Genuine PPPs

are based on joint decision-making involving pooled resources and shared risk. PPPs are attractive to economic elites whose interests are served by local economic growth and who, therefore, are potential partners; PPPs are attractive to city officials because they may offer flexibility and efficiency in the use of local resources, introduce skills not available in the public sector and provide private investment that may allow local governments to limit their financial exposure. Although contemporary PPPs were initially established to achieve downtown regeneration, they soon became popular for a broad range of economic development efforts including revitalising industrial waterfronts, providing new infrastructure, restoring historic structures, and redeveloping brownfields (Sagalyn 2007).

In order to facilitate flagship and other projects that range in size from single parcels such as Navy Pier in Chicago to large-scale sites such as Battery Park City in New York, quasi-public redevelopment agencies—in these cases, waterfront redevelopment corporations—are often established to cut through bureaucratic red tape; they operate like private corporations but are authorised to use public and private funds.

Despite the often uncritical acceptance of PPPs to achieve urban regeneration, there can be significant drawbacks. The overall results for a city can emerge as unplanned and piecemeal because the PPP projects are not necessarily co-ordinated with each other. The fact that decision-making and the records of the quasi-public redevelopment agencies are closed to the public, combined with the fact that unelected decision-makers are members of PPPs, raise questions about transparency, accountability, and the democratic process (Krumholz 1999). The involvement of the private sector and the privileged position of business in pro-growth coalitions dictate that the profit motive is dominant; consequently, projects that include socially desirable elements like affordable housing are less likely to occur. Likewise, the focus on real estate deals has been criticised for benefiting the wealthy and neglecting the needs—jobs, education, affordable housing—of poor and minority populations. There have also been limited trickle down or spill-over benefits for surrounding neighbourhoods; linkage policies that force developers to include concessions (such as including some affordable housing) have generally only been possible in cities like Boston, which tend to have hot property markets where developers plan to invest anyway. The unequal balance of power within PPPs and the increased risk assumed by local governments are particularly problematic given the often significant public support for private investment: incentives for developers such as tax breaks that cut into municipal revenues, combined with considerable investment of local public funds raised through redevelopment tools such as general obligation bonds and tax increment financing.

Special Purpose Districts, General Obligation Bonds and the Role of Credit Rating Agencies

Many regeneration projects in the US involve the establishment of special purpose districts. These districts are usually set up inside or alongside

municipal government and yet operate as institutionally separate from it. These districts have special powers and capacities to leverage private capital and raise public funds, usually by selling revenue bonds dedicated to a particular income stream (e.g., sales taxes and user fees). These bonds and revenues relate to the purpose for which the agency was established, such as delivering a mode of transportation, constructing a bridge or toll road, or engaging in conservation management. For example, the Denver Regional Transportation District is involved in financing a major expansion of its existing regional light rail system (see Figure 2.2). Known as the FasTracks project, it is financed by a complex package including an increase in the regional sales tax (approved by the district's voters in 2004), long-term revenue bonds and federal grants and loans amounting to a total of $6.1 billion (and rising).

In recognition of the fact that locally funding major expenses through 'pay-as-you-go financing' is not always feasible, US states have also enacted legislation to allow local governments to use debt financing to cover public

Figure 2.2 The Denver Regional Transportation District is using a mixture of federal, state, and local public and private finance to fund a major $6.1 billion expansion of its regional light rail system. (Photo courtesy of Andy Jonas).

expenditures such as infrastructure and initiatives to attract business. Long-term municipal debt can be incurred by issuing general obligation bonds. Most of these bonds are exempt from state, local, and even federal taxes; this means that they can be offered at lower interest rates, allowing cost benefits for the local government, while still being attractive to investors. General obligation bonds are additionally appealing to investors because they are backed by the 'full faith and credit' of a municipality's tax base. Consequently, the states usually impose debt limits and require municipalities to obtain voter approval before issuing general obligation bonds.

The major credit rating agencies—Moody's, Standard and Poor's, and Fitch—evaluate and rate the creditworthiness of local governments. This rating is intended to reflect how likely a municipality is to repay its debt in a timely manner (Hackworth 2002). As a result, the credit rating agencies influence how expensive it will be for a municipality to raise money through a bond issuance. These agencies also impact the overall spending of local governments because other expenditures that are not normally funded through municipal bonds, such as payroll, are affected; this is because the ratings are based on overall financial history (including past and current debt), economic outlook (projected growth), and administrative structure and history (including any record of mismanagement). Municipalities also have become increasingly vulnerable to the decisions of capital market gatekeepers like credit rating agencies because they have resorted to issuing long-term bonds to cover more and more of their expenditures as federal assistance has declined.

Tax Increment Financing

The use of tax increment financing (TIF) to locally finance regeneration efforts became increasingly widespread during the 1980s and 1990s as federal subsidies and grants for local economic development fell and raising taxes was not a viable alternative. TIF has become the first choice for locally financing redevelopment not only in cities but also in suburbs and even rural counties (Krohe 2007). Almost all US states (an exception is Washington) have statutes authorising local governments to use TIF for sites that are 'blighted' or where development would not occur 'but for' public expenditure. Contributing to a perception of 'redevelopment at all costs' is the characterisation of 'blight' or 'but for' as a generally pro forma exercise; this is because in-house planners, economic development staff, or specialised consultants can produce the needed evidence to come to a 'blight' or 'but for' conclusion for most sites (Dye and Merriman 2006). Moreover, recent amendments to TIF-enabling legislation in many states has redefined blight more broadly or made general economic development projects eligible for TIF.

Although there is some variation among states, TIF-enabling legislation generally authorises local governments to establish an agency comprising public and often private-sector and community representatives to administer redevelopment within a specified area. The kinds of redevelopment are quite diverse and include industrial, retail, commercial, and

housing projects. The usually quasi-public redevelopment agency designates a tax-increment district (TID) for a specified period (often twenty years), formulates a development plan, partners with private developers by means of development agreements, and typically raises money (often by selling bonds) to use in various ways to improve the development prospects of that district: property acquisition, site preparation, loans to developers and new businesses, capital improvements such as new roads and street lights, and new services, such as improved street cleaning and security patrols. As redevelopment occurs, property tax revenues rise, and the 'increment' (the tax above the pre-redevelopment amount) is designated to pay off the bonds. These bonds are usually revenue bonds (as opposed to general obligation bonds), which are issued without the need for voter approval because they are repaid from a specific revenue stream—in this case, the tax increment from the TID.

Although TIF sounds very attractive in theory—cost free for the local government because the tax increment, which would not have occurred without the redevelopment efforts, finances these efforts—it is not without potential drawbacks (see Case Study 2).

- Cities can find themselves in fiscal difficulties if the redevelopment does not produce the projected increment that has been earmarked to pay off the revenue bonds.
- As TIF involves a general cap at pre-TIF levels on assessed property value, other public entities that normally receive property tax revenues—school districts, library districts, special districts, counties—do not receive their part of the tax increment for the life of the TID or until the revenue bonds are paid off, even in situations where the redevelopment creates additional demands for their services.
- As for PPPs in general, the need to involve the private sector and to generate high taxes to pay off the TIF revenue bonds can lead to neglect for socially desirable projects like low-income housing that offer lower profit potential for private developers.
- If TIF is used unnecessarily—in areas where regeneration would have occurred in the absence of a TID—some or all of the tax increment represents revenue that the local government could have collected anyway and that now instead cuts into general revenue because it has to pay off the revenue bonds.
- There may be a lack of 'transparency' for ordinary citizens because TIF revenue bonds, unlike general obligation bonds, do not require voter approval. Moreover, the issuance of revenue bonds by quasi-public redevelopment agencies can allow municipalities to circumvent state-imposed debt limitations. Consequently, there can be concerns about high levels of TIF debt due to overuse, especially if the TIF-redevelopment increases vacancy rates that decrease property values and taxes. Moreover, as TIF use has become widespread, it increasingly fails to offer special advantages for the most 'blighted' sites.

Case Study 2: Redevelopment and 'Suburban Entrepreneurialism' in California

The suburbanisation of middle-class taxpayers along with retail and commercial property has often provided both a spatial context and a convenient explanation for the fiscal stress of America's central cities. In the theory of public choice, suburbanisation is the consequence of the rational decisions made by individual preference-seeking consumers (and producers) who, when confronted by a range of local jurisdictional service bundles, choose to relocate in order to satisfy lifestyle and service preferences (Tiebout 1956). Accordingly those local jurisdictions—especially wealthy suburbs—that are able to offer an optimal mix of services and land uses at lower tax rates are most likely to attract potentially mobile capital. In this respect, the fragmentation of metropolitan areas and associated with this, the endemic competition between local jurisdictions—cities and suburbs alike—are judged to be functional for maximising economic efficiency in the market (a view, moreover, which is replete with neo-liberal ideology). However, what this logical and self-serving argument overlooks is the role of institutional structures and problems of collective action associated with inter-jurisdictional competition (problems that in turn are highlighted by liberal critics of public choice). A case in point is the competition between local cities in the suburban region of the Coachella Valley in Riverside County, California.

The Coachella Valley forms a geographically discrete metropolitan area in the central part of Riverside County to the east of Los Angeles. It is comprised of nine incorporated cities, two native tribal reservations and a few scattered agricultural settlements close to the Salton Sea. The valley's urban population originally grew around the isolated resort of Palm Springs, with many wealthy and middle-class retirees initially attracted to its desert and mountain settings and the hot Mediterranean-like climate. When house prices in Los Angeles and Orange County sharply increased in the 1980s and 1990s, the valley experienced very rapid growth, especially along the I-10 corridor. Big-box retail, commercial and industrial developments quickly followed. The population of valley cities grew from 103,000 in 1980 to 172,000 in 1990. By 2005, the valley's population was approaching 350,000, representing an annual growth rate over a 15-year period in the range of 2 percent to 9 percent.

Despite the valley's youthful development trends, it has not been immune to regeneration pressures of a more longstanding nature. In the 1960s and 1970s, the cities of Indio and Palm Springs made use of California's 1947 Community Redevelopment Act to engage in

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Case Study 2 continued

slum clearance and urban renewal (in the case of Palm Springs, the urban renewal programme controversially relocated the local African American community to the northern limits of the city). It was not until much later that the fiscal regeneration potential of redevelopment became self-evident to municipal public officials and elected leaders—not until the passage of California's measure to impose limits on increases in the local property tax—Proposition 13—in 1978. This measure prompted all the cities in the valley—many suddenly faced with service demands and restricted revenue raising capacity—to get much more involved in redevelopment as a way of diversifying the local tax base. The solution was to use the redevelopment programme for creative or 'non-traditional' ways of combating urban blight, such as flood control, golf courses, retail and resort development, and industrial site preparation.

At this point, the competition among the valley cities to commence redevelopment project activities became fierce and only intensified in the 1980s and early 1990s as capital flight from Los Angeles accelerated. During this period, the cities of Palm Springs and Palm Desert competed to become the retail centre of the valley, with Palm Desert 'winning' by being the first local jurisdiction to develop a major regional mall. The response of Palm Springs was to redevelop its downtown into a fashion plaza and tourist district. Other cities likewise struggled to find a niche in the intense regional competition for tax revenue, with a strong preference for developing a local retail base to enhance sales tax revenue (Figure 2.3).

A study conducted in the mid-1990s found that 75 percent of public officials and economic development practitioners surveyed in the Coachella Valley rated redevelopment as the most important tool for promoting local economic development and fiscal regeneration, more important even than traditional zoning powers and the use of other, more established, fiscal incentives (Althubaity and Jonas 1998). Indeed, the fiscal rewards of redevelopment have been quite substantial with tax-increment revenue growth occurring for all the nine cities between 1984 and 2000 but especially significant revenue increases for the cities of La Quinta, Indian Wells, Palm Desert, and Cathedral City. In fact these particular cities now derive more revenues from redevelopment than from general sources. In two of these cases—Indian Wells and La Quinta—tax-increment revenue has been more than double the revenue from general sources. In Palm Springs and Indio, general revenues greatly exceed revenues from redevelopment. The fiscal differences underlay growing concerns that redevelopment is inherently spatially inequitable.

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Figure 2.3 Redevelopment has been used by local cities in the Coachella Valley as a mechanism for competing for and developing shopping malls. (Photo courtesy of Jim Sullivan).

In California's post-Proposition 13 era, local public officials, economic development practitioners and county and local redevelopment agencies work closely with state government around the provisions of the Community Redevelopment Act. The CRA gives local redevelopment officials a degree of fiscal control, creativity and autonomy often not enjoyed by other local officials, planners and practitioners. Moreover, the use of complicated financial instruments such as TIF as well as state mandates on what redevelopment agencies can or cannot do mean that local citizens are not always armed with sufficient knowledge to mount effective challenges to redevelopment projects, however controversial these often prove in the end. It is not surprising that successive governors in California have championed redevelopment—but often as a tool for creating jobs and reviving the flagging economies of older cities and inner suburbs even though it is most widely and effectively used by those by-in-large fiscally healthy local jurisdictions proliferating outside the state's major metropolitan areas. In short, under the CRA a new phenomenon has emerged

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Case Study 2 continued

in California, which has been called 'suburban entrepreneurialism' (Althubaity and Jonas 1998).

Besides fuelling suburban entrepreneurialism, redevelopment has other distributional consequences, which in turn have called for collective action. Tax-increment revenue from redevelopment projects must be 'passed through' by the agencies to other taxing authorities, including local school and community college districts. Facing revenue shortfalls and seeing the lucrative potential in redevelopment, school and community college districts have fought for a greater share of TIF revenue statewide, increasing their share from under 3 percent in 1980 to over 17 percent in 2000. However, the loss of tax revenue to redevelopment agencies remains a contentious issue for many local districts and other taxing authorities including cities in the Coachella Valley, and the state has struggled to design a more spatially equitable redistribution formulae. In fact, further complicating these fiscal trends, county governments are also engaged in redevelopment as a means to shore up the local tax base.

By law, redevelopment agencies must operate a set-aside fund for the provision of affordable housing (i.e., affordable for households with incomes below 80 percent of the county median income). This set-aside is currently set at 20 percent of a redevelopment district's total tax increment revenue from projects. Except for those cities with pressing affordable housing demands, most redevelopment agencies (and the cities) in the Coachella Valley prefer to use TIF to promote economic development rather than to meet local housing needs. Accordingly, some have chosen not to spend their set-aside within their local jurisdiction. As a result, the distribution of housing set-aside revenues has been a focus of conflict among the local jurisdictions and elected officials in the valley, and over the years various inter-jurisdictional agreements have been negotiated. These include agreements between the local cities not to sue each other's redevelopment projects. Notwithstanding such nascent metropolitan cooperation, local interest in redevelopment as a land use, fiscal and economic development tool has not diminished. Despite its association with corruption and inefficiency, redevelopment remains a highly-regarded regeneration programme among local and state planners, politicians and regeneration practitioners throughout the state.

Zoning and Special Districts

Special districts have been called the 'ultimate in neighbourhood zoning' (Babcock and Larsen 1990). A special district is an amendment to a city's

overall zoning ordinance, which creates a new zoning district in a particular section of the city; this special district has regulations that are tailored to its particular set of circumstances, such as the need for regeneration. Although open to criticisms of ad hoc outcomes, political fragmentation and parochial clashes at the expense of citywide solutions, the establishment of one or more special districts can be attractive to a local government: it avoids rewriting an entire zoning ordinance, which can be not only expensive but also politically difficult. In this connection, the setting up of quasi-public redevelopment agencies with the power to issue revenue bonds for special districts can allow state-imposed debt limitations and voter approval to be circumvented.

Special districts to achieve urban redevelopment differ from planned unit development districts (PUDs), which are usually established for

Figure 2.4 Problems of suburban sprawl, air pollution, loss of natural resources and inter-jurisdictional competition for tax resources have spurred attempts to implement New Regionalist approaches to governance in California. (Photo courtesy of Andy Jonas).

green-field sites. Special districts also encompass a wider range of problems than traditional historic districts or even business improvement districts (BIDs). The impetus for establishing a special district can come from government officials, residents, or businesses, whereas the impetus for setting up a BID, as the name implies, comes from businesses. A BID always involves the voluntary imposition of additional district-specific taxes or special assessments that companies and landowners agree to pay for business improvements that they select, such as street maintenance, security patrols, and efforts to attract shoppers, tourists and other companies into their district (Briffault 1999). This additional cost can make BIDs less attractive to some developers compared to a special district that can raise funds for expenditures (e.g., public investment in infrastructure) through revenue bonds and financed by user fees charged to all users rather than just to business and property owners.

A well-known example of a special district is the special theatre district in New York City, which included the redevelopment of Times Square through the use of such mechanisms as condemnation and tax breaks. Like many PPP projects and TIDs, special districts to achieve urban regeneration can include drawbacks like the displacement of low-income residents and housing units as well as concerns about accountability.

Community Activism and Engagement

By as early as the 1960s, it had become increasingly apparent that the federal urban renewal programme and the market-led results of the growth machines were not benefiting everyone equally. Although the quasi-public redevelopment agencies had been careful to enlist support from established neighbourhood organisations—indeed, they had to in order to qualify for federal urban renewal funding—they found increasing opposition from new organisations and coalitions of grassroots protest groups. Activist ministers, poverty programme employees, and ideologically motivated college students, to name a few, came together in opposition to redevelopment projects that involved displacement and the loss of affordable housing. Finding themselves outside the framework of both formal politics and the web of interdependent interests, which constituted the growth machines, these activists and their supporters came to represent the vanguard of urban social movements that were eventually successful in turning the tide of public opinion against market-led urban regeneration programmes and towards incorporating community-oriented and environmentally sensitive perspectives into urban politics.

Community groups gained representation on redevelopment agencies, accommodations began to be made and a few outright victories were achieved, such as the abandonment of construction of San Francisco's Embarcadero Freeway, which threatened to cut through several

established neighbourhoods. Equally important, the interaction between community organisations and city officials over redevelopment projects resulted in much stronger local leadership networks. Over time, these leadership networks became less preoccupied with fending off unwanted change and turned their attention to achieving positive change involving urban regeneration.

The new community-based initiatives included previously excluded constituencies in urban governance, attempted to link downtown development to neighbourhood needs, and established community development corporations (CDCs) and other not-for-profits, including, most recently, faith-based organisations. The second Bush administration began promoting greater reliance on faith-based organisations to address difficult social problems involving place-based economic development and affordable housing strategies (Krumholz 1999; Vidal and Keating 2004). A concern about the initiatives of faith-based organisations, however, is that they may exclude needy citizens or neighbourhoods that do not participate in church activities.

In contrast, the CDC movement was devised as part of the federal War on Poverty in 1966; Congress authorised a demonstration programme as an amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act, and the first CDCs began to receive federal funding in 1968. The CDCs gradually transitioned from anti-poverty organisations to economic development agencies (Blakely 1994). The grassroots mission of CDCs is to foster the physical and economic assets of their communities through their own projects (involving a variety of activities, but especially affordable housing) or through funding others through loans and technical assistance.

The CDCs have been able to survive, however, only by accepting assistance from outside their neighbourhoods: from private businesses, charitable organisations, and declining government sources. As a result, there is a constant tension between the often conflicting demands of being grassroots activist organisations accountable to residents, while also being professional organisations accountable to outside funders (Stoutland 1999). Likewise, CDCs can encounter difficulties as members of PPPs in which they seek urban regeneration for the benefit of their low-income residents while needing to accept the market-driven nature of the private-sector developer and the desire for improved tax base on the part of the local government. Although most CDCs involve residents in advisory positions and include them on boards of directors, achieving comprehensive community representation and participation can be a challenge, especially for the lowest-income renters. Moreover, although community-based initiatives can achieve successful economic development projects and bring people into the democratic decision-making process, they are not panaceas for social problems, and cannot replace the policies and resources that need to come from government at all levels (Edelman 2000).

THE REGIONAL RESCALING OF URBAN MANAGEMENT

A range of challenges continue to face policy makers across US cities. Notably, processes of neo-liberal urbanism and state withdrawal appear to be localising the challenges of urban regeneration and focusing it into parts of the global city. In response, there is a proliferation of new urban and community-based social movements around homelessness, health issues, and the living wage. These movements attempt to connect localised problems of (lack of) urban regeneration to wider national and global networks of political action and support. Yet there are other ways in which urban management geographically is being 'rescaled' upwards. A movement known as the New Regionalism has been coalescing around America's cities and metropolitan areas. Even as it strives to build more inclusive models of governance, this movement continues to internalise various localised problems of territorial fiscal inefficiency and environmental injustice.

THE NEW REGIONALISM

Regionalism is a long-lived concept in America, going back as least as far as the late nineteenth century. It has been reinvented over time as an approach to solving various urban management and regional land use problems across the US (Jonas and Pincetl 2006). In its early guises, regionalism is perhaps most closely associated with the work of Lewis Mumford and the Regional Plan Association of America (RPAA). Motivated in part by Progressive reformists' pragmatic concern for the efficient governance, rational land use and fiscal planning, the RPAA's solution to the question of metropolitan liveability and efficiency was arguably less pragmatic or political than Progressivism but no less idealistic. Subsequent waves of interest in regionalism include federal interest in metropolitan governance in the early 1960s, which led to the creation of regional councils of government (COGs) as bodies that would provide forums for resolving issues raised by metropolitan problems. The Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s saw metropolitan reform as an opportunity to desegregate the city on lines of colour and open up the suburbs (Downs 1973). More recently, the rise of the environmental movement and the passage of major environmental legislation, such as the federal Endangered Species Act, led to growing interest in regional conservation planning and growth management, not least in states and urban areas with significant concentrations of threatened and endangered species (Feldman and Jonas 2000).

Although questions of environmental and social justice are featured, today's New Regionalism is much more about building up the competitiveness of metropolitan regions than earlier liberal concerns for social justice, environmentalism and governmental reform. It has become linked to debates about the competitiveness and social integration of metropolitan

areas, which are nonetheless marked deeply by continuing problems of suburban sprawl, fiscal hollowing out through population and tax base decentralisation, traffic congestion, pollution, and so forth (Cisneros 1995b). Operating within a federalist model of governance, New Regionalists see themselves as activists, offering clear policy alternatives to the neo-liberal laissez-faire, albeit there are certain ambiguities about precisely how and in what form the regionalist project should be 'rolled out'.

In California, the New Regionalism grounds itself in the principles of public–private partnership or 'civic regionalism'. Distancing itself from the more functional and pragmatic governmental concerns that have driven past regionalisms in the state, California's New Regionalism melds a concern with liveability and a values-driven approach to governing regional economic development (Jonas and Pincetl 2006). It adopts a vision of sustainable regional economic development and takes into account contemporary discourses of equity and environmental sustainability. Operating at its most idealistic, California's New Regionalism amounts to no more than a desire to improve the attractiveness, creativity and livability of urban regions for the benefit of new economy business interests. In this respect, the New Regionalism resembles the New Urbanism, combining a concern with urban form and liveability with questions of the economic viability of continued fragmented government. However, as places in which to live in California's metropolitan regions remain plagued by problems of sprawl, air pollution, inter-jurisdictional competition for tax base, fiscal stress, and loss of valued natural resources, these problems in turn are being addressed through existing local, state, and federal governmental and regulatory structures rather than via New Regionalist forms of governance (Figure 2.4).

One distinctive characteristic of New Regionalism in the US is its lack of identity with mainstream political parties interested in promoting a federal urban policy or indeed a coherent political project of devolution, progressive or otherwise. The New Regionalism in the US may have borrowed from federalist models of politics and government adapted from the European experience but remains suffused with US political and social democratic values, including ideas of a limited federal state, active civil society, fiscal localism, and empowered communities.

Writing from a more abstract critical perspective, Brenner (2002) argues that US-style New Regionalism is not so much a coherent state-led political project or urban social movement as an incoherent outcome of a more deeply rooted crisis of US Fordism. Brenner argues that the kinds of distributional concerns that are at the heart of the metropolitan-regionalist project of governance reform are in fact symptomatic of deeper structural problems in territorial modes of governance resulting from economic crisis. In other words, regionalism is as much an outcome of crisis-driven regional economic restructuring as it is a call for greater cooperation among cities, suburbs and other regional actors. A case in point is the campaign to save

Chrysler's operation in Toledo, Ohio, in the latter part of the 1990s (see Case Study 3).

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

Infused with a sensibility towards sustainable urban and regional equity, New Regionalists are increasingly attuned to environmental issues, but the environmental justice movement itself has different origins and often other priorities. Title VI of the 1964 US Civil Rights Act established that any federal programme that causes environmental injustice is unlawful. Consequently, federal programmes, and indeed, any programmes funded by federal funds, must meet certain conditions:

> 'No person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance'.
>
> Civil Rights Act of 1964, US Code Vol. 42, secs. 2000d et seq.

The subsequent 1994 Executive Order 12898—Federal Actions to Ensure Environmental Justice in Minority and Low Income Communities—applies to 17 federal agencies, including the US Environmental Protection Agency and US Department of Housing and Urban Development, and requires that:

> each Federal agency shall make achieving environmental justice part of its mission by identifying and addressing, as appropriate, disproportionately high and adverse human health or environmental effects of its programs, policies, and activities on minority populations and low-income populations.

The growing attention for environmental justice is reflected in a burgeoning public policy literature and practice (see, for example, NEJAC 1996; Rowan and Fridgen 2003; Urban Habitat 2002). Environmental justice is based on a vision of a comprehensive, community-based, integrative approach to achieving healthy and sustainable urban and rural communities. It pertains not only to environmental threats but also to economic breakdown, infrastructure deterioration, racial polarisation, and social turmoil.

As brownfields—properties where expansion, redevelopment or reuse may be complicated by actual or potential contamination—are overwhelmingly concentrated in minority, low-income and otherwise marginalised inner-city communities, they are inseparable from issues of social equity, racial discrimination, and urban decline. These issues are evident in adverse land use decisions, housing discrimination, residential segregation, community

Case Study 3: Toledo Jeep and 'Competition at All Costs'.

In 1996, Chrysler announced that it needed to replace its Toledo, Ohio, operations with a new state-of-the-art factory on a bigger site. In such instances, automobile manufacturers often relocate to areas of lower-cost production, such as a southern US state or Mexico. The unusual aspect about the Toledo relocation was that Chrysler favoured locating the new plant within 50 miles of the existing facility to retain established advantages, such as its highly productive workers. The northwest Ohio/southeast Michigan regional economy would not lose the new plant's jobs, tax base, and other benefits. Nevertheless, a number of government jurisdictions within this region were prepared to compete with incentives for the new plant. In 1997, Chrysler announced that it would relocate to a site within Toledo. The City's *Keep Jeep in Toledo* public–private partnership efforts secured the company's $1.2 billion investment, but at a significant public expense—over $300 million alone in local and state incentives, including tax credits, loans, and grants. In theory, Chrysler's desire to relocate near its existing facilities shifted the more usual inter-regional or international scale of competition to an intra-regional scale. This scale distinction is important because it presented localities within the region with an opportunity to consider alternatives to the usual and expensive 'competition at all costs'. In practice, Toledo and other governments within this region, including across the state line in Michigan, entered into the typical cut-throat contest that occurs when a transnational corporation solicits incentive offers from localities across the US and abroad. The main obstacle to alternatives to individual competition, such as regional cooperation, was that the Jeep plant represented the retention of a high profile company for Toledo—not the attraction of new investment to the region. Some researchers argue that a unified competitive response stems partly from a shared local identity (Molotch and Logan 1985; Stone 1993), especially when there is a long association between a locality and a company, as with Toledo and Jeep (Gatrell and Reid 2002). This cultural assessment can be supported for Toledo by examining government and mass media creation of a pro-competition agenda. *The Blade* newspaper on February 14, 1997 contained Valentine's Day cards with 'Toledo loves its Jeep' for readers to display to 'show you really care'. The city rented a billboard to put the card on view outside Chrysler's annual meeting. 'Toledo keeps Jeep! The legend continues' was *The Blade* headline following Chrysler's decision. Yet this 'legend' is not a natural partnership between company and locality. For starters, the auto workers union had to agree to concessions at the new plant *before* Chrysler solicited incentive offers.

Case Study 3 continued

The impression of the community working together is a romanticised image, deliberately constructed by the local government with partners like *The Blade*. The competitive local agenda was accepted generally in 1997 as the only course of action because it was viewed as disloyal (anti-locality) not to join the 'united' effort to retain the company. The definition of 'success' in the [re]construction of the history of the competition

is problematical. Interpretations, such as 'the successful politics of the Toledo Jeep crisis' (Gatrell and Reid 2002:401), capture the reality that Toledo 'won' the bidding war, but must be viewed within the context of the negative aspects of this 'success' Total tax breaks cut over $92 million from the local rolls, while the city agreed to over $75 million in out-of-pocket expenses such as environmental cleanup and resident relocation and $26 million to cover loans. Concerns have been raised that the tax breaks have impacted public expenditures. The schools have been operating with reduced tax revenues; residential property owners may be shouldering higher relative taxes. The future of the plant is not guaranteed. In 2007, Cerebus purchased 80 percent of Chrysler, whose future now depends on the investment strategies of a private equity firm. The actual jobs—about 4,000—are less than the 5,600 in Chrysler's pre-existing Toledo operations, or the 4,900 originally 'anticipated' by the company, or even the 4,200 'estimated' in the development agreement between the city of Toledo and Chrysler. The city touted this project as the successful redevelopment of an inner-city brownfield. Downplayed was the city's destruction of environmentally sensitive wetlands to create a site large enough for Chrysler's needs. The city also razed a neighbourhood of 83 homes and 18 businesses to provide parking for the plant. While reimbursed for their property and relocation costs, a social equity issue is whether a public entity should displace its own citizens to benefit a private company. The city of Detroit set a precedent in the 1980s, however, when it razed hundreds of homes, 143 businesses, a hospital, 16 schools, and 12 churches in its Poletown neighbourhood for General Motors.

In addition to a cultural interpretation of the creation of a pro-competition agenda, the political–economic concept of a company's 'local dependence' on the locational advantages of an area is useful (Cox and Mair 1988). The Jeep situation, however, requires a re-conceptualisation of local dependence—not in terms of the formation of local business coalitions to promote economic development—but as local dependence exploited by a single company. Chrysler exploited its

continued

local dependence to extract incentives despite its intention to remain within the region. In this situation, Chrysler's local dependence was a liability rather than a basis for solidarity between the company and government agencies (McCarthy 2004).

The 'New Regionalism' literature has drawn attention to the region as an increasingly important political economic scale. Some analysts have even pointed to the resurgence of regions as the 'key economic units in the global economy' (Florida 1995:531). Indeed, the decision of a transnational corporation like Chrysler to remain within the northwest Ohio/southeast Michigan region testifies to the coherence of this region as such an economic unit, and to the competitive strengths of its regional rather than local economic assets. The notion of an institutional or political coherence for regions that is implicit in the 'New Regionalism' literature, however, is not applicable to northwest Ohio/southeast Michigan. The localities within this region do share similar cultural, historical, and other locational characteristics. As this regional economy evolved, however, the state line prevented the development of a corresponding regional 'institutional thickness' (see, for example, Amin and Thrift 1994) and relations of trust to withstand the destructive competitive pressures generated by the Chrysler relocation. Chrysler's desire to remain forced these local and state governments apart at an intra-regional scale, rather than pushing them together, as usually described in the 'New Regionalism' literature (see, for example, Cisneros 1995a; 1995b; Dodge 1996; Keating and Loughlin 1998).

At the same time, however, a factor that has not been adequately highlighted in the literature is the importance of US state governments in minimising wasteful competition among their own jurisdictions. The states play a significant role in assembling incentive packages for high profile companies because a single locality cannot afford to do this alone. The state government discouraged other Ohio jurisdictions from actively competing for the Jeep plant unless Toledo could not offer a suitable site. A policy implication is that the states would need to be actively involved in efforts to minimise wasteful competition between localities on either side of a state border. Yet this is difficult politically for two state governments in high profile cases involving a single new factory, not to mention the difficulties involved in needing to enact parallel legislation covering such cooperative mechanisms as inter-state tax base sharing, combined with the logistical difficulties associated with, at times, more than two states competing for the same project.

disinvestment, and infrastructure decay (NEJAC 1996). A major challenge for public policy then is to connect brownfield cleanup and reuse to sustainable development and environmental justice in order to achieve environmental and health protection, improved public safety, targeted jobs and training, inner-city regeneration, and reduced urban sprawl.

Most analyses of the potential costs and benefits of inner-city brownfield redevelopment versus suburban greenfield development, however, examine only the economic costs and returns for developers (Bartsch, Collaton and Pepper 1996). The findings of these analyses support the conventional wisdom that development at the urban periphery is cheaper and contributes to a more efficient private market for residential, commercial and industrial land. These analyses, however, discount the social costs of urban sprawl.

As a result, Persky and Wiewel (1996) undertook a cost-benefit analysis of central city versus suburban development in Chicago. They included the public costs of urban sprawl, such as federal and state highway expenditures, and social costs, like increased travel distances, air pollution and open space loss. Persky and Wiewel concluded that:

> deconcentration of development to outer suburban areas brings few or no net gains while presenting significant inequities in the distribution of costs and benefits. Firms locating in outer suburban areas reap most of the benefits, while most of the costs (or benefits foregone) are borne by unemployed city residents, commuters who bear the cost of congestion, accidents and pollution, and taxpayers who foot the bill for subsidies for transportation, home-ownership and other public subsidies. (1996:1)

Conceptualising the brownfield challenge then necessitates a regional perspective that links suburban and inner-city communities around social as well as environmental issues. This facilitates an understanding of how political fragmentation combined with past and current zoning, land use, and transportation policies have encouraged urban sprawl, created disincentives for inner-city investment, and deepened racial and social disparities. Some progress has been made in conceptualising brownfields within the wider context of metropolitan development and suburban sprawl. A small but growing number of US states now consider brownfield redevelopment and greenfield preservation as part of their 'smart growth' policies.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has considered whether or not there is or indeed ever was a single and hegemonic 'American model' of urban regeneration. To some,

it seems that US urban regeneration is tending towards a narrowly economistic or neo-liberal development model rather than a socially inclusive or participatory 'European model' of regeneration. That is to say urban management in America today is more about economic governance than social government. It is interested in capitalising upon the scarce fiscal resources, economic assets and social capital of cities to promote growth across metropolitan regions—no more, no less. Moreover for others, urban governance in America has undergone a profound rescaling. Redevelopment can both be at the disposal of and also be deployed to the long-term economic benefit of all the local communities, government, businesses and residents to be found across the entire city, metropolitan area or region. These territorially inclusive arrangements (sometimes known as regional collaborative initiatives) in turn must develop regional partnerships and political resources to tap into a range of new economic and fiscal tools that become available to municipal and county authorities through enabling state legislation. The mantra of urban regeneration in America today is that economic growth, social inclusion and environmental sustainability are built around a strong institutional and political culture of regionalism—one that exists independently of the interests and role of federal government but nonetheless is informed by a federalist model of governance.

However, we suggest that by looking more closely at American urban regeneration in practice, it is clear that there are many diverse models and approaches to redevelopment, reflecting the economic, social and environmental diversity of US cities. One common pattern may be the importance of governance and of constructing functional and inclusive coalitions and partnerships around regeneration in which suburban and central city players work together. If you are a professional urban manager, whether your city or suburb is economically successful or in decline, it is important to build partnerships—neighbourhood, urban, and regional—from the bottom up. Sometimes this new model of 'bottom-up' regional governance and participation represents no more than a thin veneer or gloss, which is used to convince communities they are involved and can participate in regeneration projects, projects which in turn often disrupt those communities and their livelihoods. Equally, however, new forms of regional governance can be mobilised to generate social and distributional benefits across a city or region.

No doubt the variety of models of neighbourhood, urban and regional governance will continue to preoccupy research in the US. Not least is the task of understanding the capacity of urban managers, businesses and ordinary people to shape institutional structures and spatial patterns of land development in ways that could produce economic, social and environmental benefits for the vast and growing number of people who live in America's diverse cities and regions.

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Part II

The Case Studies

Introduction to Part II

John Diamond, Joyce Liddle, Alan Southern and Philip Osei

KEY THEMES:

- Contrasting experiences of regeneration projects;
- Differences in approaches to policy development and practice;
- Managing implementation of initiatives and developing systems of accountability;
- Managing local and resident involvement.

LEARNING POINTS

By the end of Part II, we hope that you will be able to:

- Identify the different processes and models present across the case studies;
- Reflect upon the implicit and explicit theoretical debates that are present;
- Develop an awareness of and critique of the ways in which resident and community interests are represented within the examples chosen.

CONTEXT SETTING

The seven case studies that follow are illustrations of a variety of approaches and practices 'captured' by our contributors to this edited volume. We are aware that there are limitations inherent in any series of case studies. We do not want to over-claim their importance, but as Alan Southern discusses in Part III, they do provide a series of insights and reflections that we want to value.

The case studies are, themselves, quite different in their scale and focus and that too was deliberate on our part. We wanted to draw upon examples that offered different (and competing) explanations for why regeneration management approaches were present. At the same time, we wanted to

highlight particular features that appear to be common. These features appear to include: organisational models associated with the implementation of schemes or project, systems to ensure (or at least seek to ensure) local accountability, forms of governance and supervision that drew in elected politicians as well as career civil servants or regeneration management specialists and also a developing sense of the potential sites of conflict between local project managers and residents over the allocation of resources.

These common features are taken up in the case studies in their specific detail and reflect too their sense of space and time. We return to the common themes and the cross cutting questions raised by the examples in Part III.

3 Learning from the Experience of VISION 2020 in Kingston, Jamaica

Philip Osei

This chapter examines the peculiar nature of inner-city decay and the forces responsible for the dereliction of Downtown Kingston and the main business district of the capital city. Policy responses to regenerate or redevelop have been multi-faceted because of the complexity of the decay and have included proposals for new housing schemes, sanitation upgrading, crime prevention, social interventions, poverty reduction policies and road works. The chapter examines the multi-agency approach that has been adopted since the drawing of the Vision 2020 plan for the redevelopment of Downtown Kingston in 1994 and subsequent proposals. The findings are that the collaboration experience was varied and management had been structured by different configurations of financing, governance approaches and organisational arrangements, which had given regeneration a distinct character. An examination of the contributions of key agencies and actors was also carried out. These generally included key bilateral and multilateral development organisations typical of international development practice such as the World Bank, the United States International Development Agency, the Inter-American Development Bank and the UK's Department for International Development, European Commission and the Canadian International Development Agency. The local counterparts included governmental, private sector, nongovernmental organisations and community-based organisations. These local agencies include the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation, Urban Development Corporation, Office of the Prime Minister, Ministry of Local Government, Social Development Commission, Jamaica Social Investment Fund and Kingston Restoration Company. It was observed that partnerships for development and instrument choice have given the Jamaican approach a unique texture in the face of daunting and conflict-ridden processes, because of the diversity of interests involved in regeneration. Finally, it was recognised that there had been a succession of regeneration plans for the Kingston Metropolitan Area, and the reason for this is that implementation was not followed through holistically, due to the lack of champions to finance, lead and co-ordinate the projects in the longer term.

INTRODUCTION

Iterations of Urban Regeneration Projects

Urban regeneration has taken a different form in Jamaica, with international development agencies, private financiers and the state playing various roles in what could be described as a multi-faceted and multi-sectoral endeavour. Unlike, in the UK and the US, where urban development coalitions made up of central government, city governments, and private sector actors have provided organisational networks for regeneration, such leadership for risk taking and implementation has not been readily identified in Jamaica. Similarly, in the European Union and the US, where government subventions and regional development funds such as the European Single Regeneration Budget offered a sturdy stream of funding, and therefore ensured uninterrupted renewal activities, Kingston's urban regeneration could be described as having been subjected to fits and starts, depending on the availability of public funds, the vicissitudes of national macroeconomic policy and the ability of a lead agency to entice the private sector to take risks. As a sequel, there have been many successive projects. The succession of projects has reflected a lack of implementation and sustainability of plans as well as the intractability of the social problems in Downtown Kingston.

The deterioration of the recognised forty-eight inner-city Kingston communities has forced the government to initiate a plethora of development activities. This has taken the form of development planning and implementation of projects, with a lead agency responsible for coordination and collaboration. The diversity of issues has led to the establishment of numerous governmental and nongovernmental agencies with responsibility for different renewal schemes. The agencies include the Kingston Waterfront Development Company (1966), Urban Development Corporation (1968), Kingston Restoration Company (1983) and Kingston City Centre Improvement Company (KCCIC) (2003), among others. While each agency has its own mandate for urban development, each is aware that its individual resource capacity does not allow for the tackling of the myriad of development issues of the inner city in a holistic way. Resource availability is therefore a serious constraint to regeneration.

There have, however, been a few urban regeneration programmes in the Kingston Metropolitan Area (KMA) in Jamaica since the early 1990s and a series of single-standing policies and initiatives for the development of the road infrastructure within Kingston (the capital city) and the adjoining urban centres of Spanish Town (formerly the capital), Mandeville and Montego Bay (the 'tourism capital'). Aspects of urban governance, in the areas of crime control and social development, have been attempted using successive crime plans, a nascent community policing strategy and social protection initiatives. An Urban Development Corporation, formed in 1968, has been operating in the past forty years as the lead urban developer, specialising

in the management and construction of capital projects. There is therefore present in Jamaica, a plethora of policies and initiatives at any given time. However, in terms of comprehensiveness of coverage of urban development and regeneration, four key initiatives stand out. These are the:

1. Vision 2020 for the Redevelopment of Kingston, which was formulated in 1994;
2. Jamaica Urban Poverty Project (JUPP), implemented between 1997 and 2000;
3. Action Plan 2000–2004 for Inner-City Renewal Programme in the Kingston Metropolitan Area; and
4. The Highway 2000 Project.

Most of these projects have focused on Kingston, in particular, the Downtown area, which constitutes the oldest part of the city. Therefore, even though this chapter refers broadly to regeneration of the KMA, which itself includes many subentities such as Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation area and Portmore, much of the discussion focuses on Downtown Kingston. This is because that location is where the inner-city decay has been most critical. Downtown Kingston is a 'development area' on its own, according to the categorisations made by the Social Development Commission (see Map in Appendix 1).

THE NATURE OF URBAN DECAY

The practice of urban regeneration in Jamaica has followed an eclectic multi-agency approach, drawing on best practices in international development, business management, community development and urban governance. Inner-city redevelopment has scarcely been underpinned by a broadly defined theory, even though urban governance in the 1970s was underpinned by the democratic socialist ideals that were espoused by the People's National Party administration of the time. Partly due to the government's espousal of socialist ideals and the political upheaval that ensued, there was massive capital flight out of Jamaica. The 1970s also saw a period of political instability, in which the two dominant political parties reverted to violence as a means of girding political control. The instability spawned the growth of area leaders in the inner city, who came to be known as 'dons'. These dons controlled enclaves within the inner city, especially in Kingston, and garnered votes for either party through intimidation and terror. The dons, once created, found other means of shoring up their power, and they metamorphosed into independent actors as they were able to control the drugs trade, which was occasioned by the use of Jamaica as a trans-shipment port for the Colombian cocaine trade to North America and Europe.

The areas in the inner city that are controlled by dons are associated with homogeneous voting behaviour in which enclaves held by either party vote en-bloc for the relevant party during general elections (Figueroa and Sives 2003). These inner-city enclaves that are sustained by enforcers (the dons) of party loyalty are called political garrisons, in local parlance. The dons now controlled most aspects of social and economic life of the inner city including extortion rackets who extort money from businesses in exchange for protection. It has been noted that this situation in Downtown Kingston was encouraged 'by the stance of the security forces who have informally handed over much of their official responsibilities for security to the area leaders' (Anderson 2007:39). This alternative system of community control and justice in Downtown Kingston created a crisis of personal safety (Harriott 2003), which compelled many businesses to relocate to New Kingston and the general area in the north of Half-Way-Tree now unofficially called Uptown. As this phenomenon assumed permanence, the outflow of businesses, and associated general lack of new infrastructure and investment, violence, uncontrolled homicide rate and general ungovernability, left Downtown Kingston a derelict place. The foregoing underpinned the structural and social decay of the inner-city Kingston, a situation, which coupled with other social dynamics, has created an intractable problem for urban management and renewal.

The Kingston and St. Andrew (KSA) Parish Development Committee in its assessment of the situation has indicated that Downtown Kingston is threatened by a number of linked conditions, including congestion, disruption of vehicular and pedestrian traffic flow, unsanitary conditions, inconvenience and lack of visual appeal. A number of factors have contributed to the difficulties faced by the area. They include lack of employment opportunities, obsolete infrastructure, overcrowding and lack of a mix of income groups. Several factors have contributed to this state of affairs. These include the still unrealised potential of the new waterfront and a tendency among some generations to regard central Kingston as 'off-limits,' overlooking its significant cultural and urban design assets (Kingston and St. Andrew Parish Development Committee 2002).

Efficient and productive cities are essential for national economic growth and, equally, strong urban economies are essential for generating the resources needed for public and private investments in infrastructure, education, and health; improved living conditions; and poverty alleviation. Unfortunately, the growth and development of KSA has not expanded opportunities for all its citizens. At the same time, the lack of widely shared gains in living standards has had significant social and environmental costs. As a result urban poverty is growing in scale and extent. In 2002, poverty in the KMA stood at 10.4%, although this is approximately 15.1% percentage points below the national average (Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions 2002).[1]

Poverty in the KMA has many dimensions, with material deprivation (commonly measured in terms of income or consumption) as one important element. However, urban poverty has a broader meaning of cumulative

deprivation, characterised by poor living conditions, risks to life and health from poor sanitation, air pollution, crime and violence, natural disasters and the breakdown of traditional family and community values. Urban poverty entails a sense of powerlessness, and an individual and community vulnerability that undermines human potential and social capital (World Bank 2000).

TYPICAL NEEDS OF DOWNTOWN KINGSTON: NEEDS IDENTIFIED BY THE COMMUNITY

The majority of criminal activity is committed by males between the ages of 14 through 25. Within Western Kingston, where Trench Town is located, there was a 13% increase in the total crime between 2004 and 2005; while over the same period, there was a 9% increase in the KMA. In 2005, there were a total of 829 murders and only 44% of these were cleared up. As is demonstrated in the chart below, crime in the KMA has decreased from a high in 1998 of 5074 to a low in 2003 of 2547. However, this has steadily increased since 2004.

Crime has a negative impact on human and social capital and the economy. The persistence of high levels of crime and corruption affects investment confidence, especially to a fragile image-sensitive product like tourism, which Jamaica has become dependent on. In addition, many residents suffer from the stigma attached to residing within the inner city. Persons have noted that because of their address given on application forms they were denied jobs, mainly because of the perceptions on the part of the employer or out of fear of having them working in their establishment.

The development of human capital within these areas is also hindered as a result of having to close schools because of violence. This affects the quality of education children receive because of the calibre of teachers willing to teach in these areas and the psychological impact violence has on both students and staff in schools.

STRATEGY OF REGENERATION FOCUSING ON CLUSTER IMPLEMENTATION

The diagram (Figure 3.3) represents the picture of the regeneration strategy that emerges from an analysis of the major regeneration plans. Activities tend to cluster around six pillars (as seen in the diagram) and have been implemented on a seemingly compartmentalised cluster way, except that social interventions (such as poverty reduction), economic development, micro business initiatives and crime and public safety have tended to have interconnectedness and linkages. Governance and co-ordination are the glue that is meant to hold the seemingly disparate clusters together. The intensity of governance and co-ordination spells the degree of holism of the outcomes of regeneration.

Table 3.1 Essential Socioeconomic Characteristics of Kingston and St. Andrew (KSA)

Year	*Economic Growth Rate %*	*Inflation Rate %*	*Unemployment Rate %*	*Poverty (National)*	*Poverty (KSA) %*	*Crime National (i) %*	*Crime KSA (ii) %*
1998	-0.7	8.7	15.5	15.9	8.6	47763	4275
1999	-0.4	6.8	15.7	16.9		41456	3428
2000	0.8	6.1	16.8	18.7		39188	
2001	1.7	8.8	15.0	16.9		33595	2955
2002	-	7.3	15.1	19.7		29412	
2003	2.1	14.1	13.1	19.1	9.5	31298	
2004	1.2	13.7	-			35837	3077
2005	1.4	12.9	11.3			32777	3375
2006	2.5	5.8	10.3			31306	2757
2007	1.2	16.8	9.9			33358	2699

Source: Social and Economic Survey Jamaica, 1998–2007; Survey of Living Conditions, various years.
Notes: (i) Crimes reported nationally (all categories). (ii) Selected major crimes reported in Kingston and St. Andrew, which include robbery, burglary and break-ins, rape, carnal abuse, murder and shooting.

Table 3.2 Major Crimes Reported and Solved in the DA as a Percentage of Major Crimes Committed and Solved Nationally (2004–2006)

Major Crimes	*DA 2004*		*DA 2005*		*DA 2006*		*Nationally 2004*		*Nationally 2005*		*Nationally 2006*	
	Reported	*Solved*	*Reported*	*Solved*	*Reported*	*Solved*	*Reported*	*Solved*	*Reported*	*Solved*	*Reported*	*Solved*
Murder	14.9%	12.7%	16.0%	21.5%	16.1%	16.8%	1471	659	1674	752	1340	625
Shooting	18.9%	9.9%	21.3%	25.2%	17.3%	21.1%	1675	1341	1646	746	1341	601
Dangerous Drug Law	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	9222	9222	9015	9015	9034	9034
Robbery	10.2%	11.1%	11.4%	11.8%	9.1%	12.0%	2103	666	2210	631	2009	700
Sexual Offences	11.5%	8.8%	10.2%	8.6%	11.9%	6.3%	1269	636	1092	521	1142	644

Source: Corporate Planning and Research Division 2007 and Economic and Social Survey Jamaica, 2006.

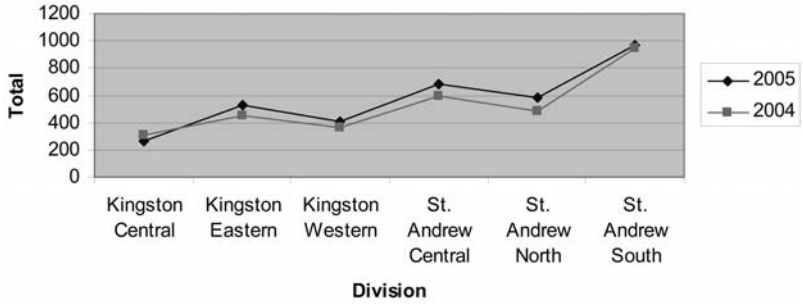


Figure 3.1 Total reported crime in KMA.

URBAN REGENERATION IN KINGSTON AND THE MULTI-AGENCY APPROACH

The Jamaica approach to regeneration has a number of distinct features:

- It has tended to be public sector led, normally without an overarching framework of urban policy that is sustained over the long term;
- Built around short-term pilot poverty reduction projects and community development initiatives;
- Multi-partnership approaches to planning and action;
- Partnership normally starting with a small core of actors and expanding to include new players, mostly international development agencies, who have stepped in and provided funding in a guided way, based on projected progress to be achieved;
- High level political involvement, historically expressed in the interest to provide housing for party supporters, leading to the garrisoning of communities;

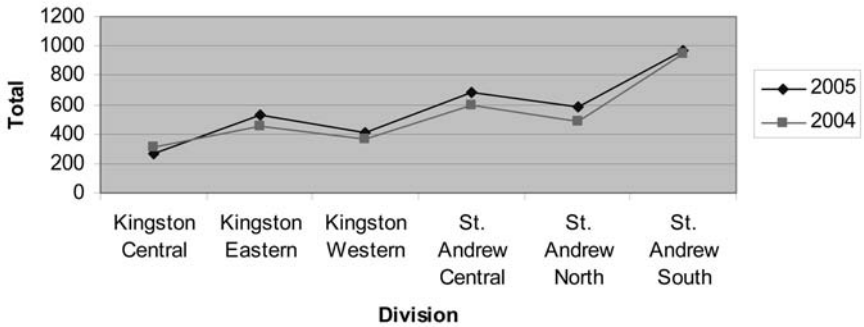


Figure 3.2 Total crime reported in the KMA by police divisions.

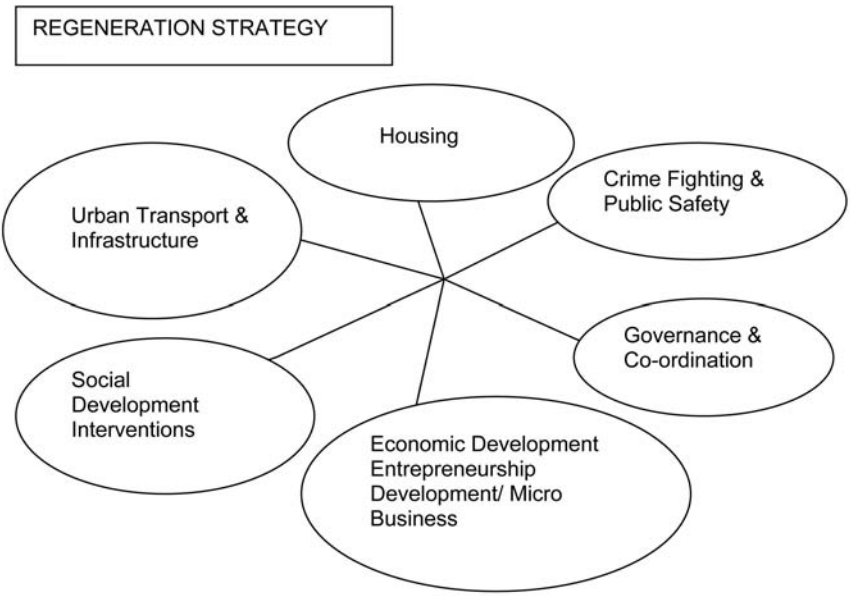


Figure 3.3 Regeneration and clusters.

- Real estate solutions have been seen as the nexus of the problem of urban regeneration, but affordability via the public budget has restricted the scope of action.

With an economy that has seen very little growth since the mid-1990s, the Government of Jamaica has been trying to convince the private sector and numerous agencies to engage in the urban development drive. A number of projects have been initiated in which different policy instruments have been tried including the following:

- The Tax Incentive Programme (TIP) in 1995 for urban regeneration, which encouraged co-operative approaches and joint working among multiple agencies. This project relied on different agencies to form the Incentive Recommendation Committee. These included the Urban Development Corporation, the Kingston Restoration Company, the Jamaica Chamber of Commerce and the Private Sector Organisation of Jamaica among others. In this instance, inter-agency relations were focused on cooperation as an important factor in renewal activities.
- Projects in poverty reduction, service restoration and community mobilisation and renewal including the Jamaica Urban Poverty Project. In this programme monetary and other resources were supplied by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID). This project attempted inner-city renewal using a single

implementation agency, the Kingston Restoration Company, an NGO, causing inter-organisational relations to take on a different role. The project concentrated on inner-city communities of Rema, Jones Town and Rose Town. It engaged in soft issues of poverty reduction rather than housing construction. It aimed at achieving sustained improvements in the quality of life of the urban poor by improving physical infrastructure and environment, encouraging the return of basic services such as sanitation and public transportation, facilitating access to credit, strengthening the capacity of local groups and promoting an understanding of better urban management techniques.

- The Kingston Urban Renewal Programme, 2003.
- Inner City Housing Project, 2002.
- The Inner City Basic Services Project.

In the four key regeneration initiatives outlined in the previous section, three main themes or sectors emerge. These include housing, poverty reduction and social development initiatives and urban transport infrastructure development. The rest of this chapter is devoted to examining how these have been managed in the Kingston Metropolitan Area in Jamaica.

HOUSING

Jamaica became independent in August 1962, with a commitment by the emergent government to adopt a policy of affordable housing for all. By the mid-1970s it had become clear that this goal could not be readily achieved. The economic downturn of the 1970s necessitated a decisive action in macroeconomic management in the form of devaluations and interest rate hikes, and this affected building costs significantly. In addition to this, real estate became a sector for active speculation and profiteering (Le Franc 1994:42).

The dereliction of Downtown Kingston was the direct result of the housing shortage in the Kingston Metropolitan Area (KMA) and the political disturbances of the 1970s that were associated with the national experiment with democratic socialism under the leadership of Michael Manley. This led to population movement out of the KMA and the growth of peri-urban settlements in Portmore and adjoining parishes. The KMA's share of the total urban population declined from 73% in 1960 to 50% by 1982 (Le Franc 1994:43).

From the mid-1970s, the state played a major role in the provision of lower-income housing. The state took responsibility for direct construction of housing units and the financing of public and some private sector construction. The government created the National Housing Trust (NHT) as an agency to provide low-income housing in collaboration with the trade unions and the private sector in 1976. Into the coffers of the NHT is paid

2% of the gross wages of workers and 3% of employers' wage bills for onward investment. It was through an amendment of the National Insurance (NIS) Act of 1976 that the NHT was entrusted with the mission to increase and enhance the existing housing stock, as well as to provide financial assistance to the most-needy contributors who wish to purchase, build, maintain or upgrade their homes. The NHT was subsequently granted its own charter in 1979, when Section 7 of the NIS Act was repealed to make way for the National Housing Trust Act. In 1984, an amendment to this Act shifted the NHT's focus away from housing development towards a mortgage financing role. However, since 1989, the NHT has consistently pursued its mission both as a developer and a financier. With the alternate control of national administration by the dominant two political parties, state housing development assumed a notoriety of being associated with partisan politics and the offer of housing in exchange for political support. Anderson (2007:54) notes that the phantom of this housing for political support has continued to hound the development of modern housing for Downtown Kingston till today. As Anderson notes, 'by the end of the eighties, the division of Kingston's inner city into communities of opposing political affiliation was sufficiently advanced that the decision to construct public housing within any constituency was de facto a commitment to a specific political group. Kingston had therefore become structured into a mosaic of political zones with housing provision serving to reinforce these divisions between communities' (Anderson 2007:54).

In 2003, the NHT embarked on a new programme of inner-city housing development as it had become clear that the degradation observed in Downtown Kingston made it a priority for rehousing. In housing, as in the other thematic areas earmarked for analysis in this chapter, the multidimensional nature of the work required partnerships to be formed as part of the organisational component of implementation. The Social Development Commission (SDC), as the government's most important community development agency, has been the prime mover in getting the stakeholders together to deliberate on issues and come up with strategies. The SDC organised a workshop for Downtown Kingston stakeholders to build a consensus for local area planning and monitoring in July 2007. The workshop was supported by three partner initiatives including the SDC-DFID Strategic Fund, the public–private supported Kingston City Centre Improvement Company (KCCIC) and the National Housing Trust (NHT) Inner-City Housing Project.

The SDC-DFID Strategic Fund supported the SDC to prepare and promote the use of community development profiles and plans in the Government of Jamaica's programme and budget planning systems, to promote the use of qualitative community-based data for monitoring progress towards development (including the Millennium Development Goals), to help communities to monitor policy impacts and to facilitate community policing initiatives in target communities.

The KCCIC was formed by the government and private sector partners in 2003 to accelerate and give direction to plans for the revitalisation of Downtown Kingston. It was to do this by spearheading the city's economic development, promoting job creation and improving the aesthetics of the area designated as the Business Improvement District (BID). Important aspects of the remit of the KCCIC included addressing security concerns, the facilitation of the provision of utility services, management of public transportation and traffic, the regulation of business activities and the creation of an entertainment and recreation centre. The purpose of these activities by the KCCIC was to stimulate social activity and reposition Downtown as a vibrant cultural and entertainment capital.

The housing and physical infrastructure development element of the regeneration declared Downtown Kingston as a heritage site, and plans were focused on improving the historical site by owners of property and by the NHT. Similarly, there were plans to introduce limited mortgage payment in prime real estate and give limited opportunities to people to own homes in order to prevent the perpetual dereliction of buildings in the area, and archaeological sites were to be opened to help make Downtown a tourist destination. As part of the preparatory work in the provision of housing, the SDC did a preliminary stock-taking of existing housing. Table 3.3 shows the number of dwellings and number of households found in ten communities across the designated area. The statistics show a level density and overcrowding.

The housing intervention in the Downtown regeneration through the Inner-City Housing Project attempted to deliver housing units for the following areas (Table 3.4):

Table 3.3 Total Number of Dwellings and Estimated Number of Households Across Ten Communities

#	*Name of Community*	*Number of Dwellings*	*Number of Households*
1	Jones Town	2570	2631
2	Rae Town	645	920
3	Rockfort	1516	2163
4	Central Downtown	1212	1224
5	Hannah Town	553	616
6	Denham Town	1487	1883
7	Tivoli Gardens	3902	3972
8	Fletchers Land	958	1123
9	Springfield Gardens	2526	2948
10	Rollington Town	1291	1871
	Total	16660	19351

Source: Social Development Commission Preliminary House Count, 2007.

Table 3.4 Planned Housing Solutions

Areas	*Number of Units*
Parade Gardens (South Side & Tel Aviv)	1200
Hannah Town	200
Denham Town	250
Rae Town/ Prison Lands	300 (Construction to commence Oct 2007)

Source: Social Development Commission 2008, p. 56.

Two and three bedroom units of approximately 650 square feet with internal bathroom and laundry were to be supplied together with adequate parking, green spaces and play areas. These were to be done in varying designs including row houses, single-family dwellings (detached) and 1–4 floor apartment blocks. The project is expected to last for three years ending in 2010. For various reasons, aspects of the inner-city housing project had been deferred (SDC 2008:56). There were 386 units that had been planned for Parade Gardens but were deferred because of scarcity of land in the area and the generic inner-city housing solution could not be applied. However, other solutions were being considered. Another 386 units had been designated for Mid Town in Tivoli Gardens, but no land had been identified for the project, and this raises an important question regarding on what basis the housing plan was done and allocations of units made to each geographic area without first ensuring that land (greenfield or brownfield) was available for the project.

POVERTY REDUCTION AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES

Urban regeneration in Downtown Kingston has now created a few truisms, and they are related to the nexus between a vibrant and modern city and socioeconomic development and crime. We have already noted that there was population movement outside of Kingston in the 1970s because of the violence and instability associated with national politics. However, the residential population that remained in this development area has not benefited equally from the meagre national economic growth that was recorded. Table 3.2 shows the crime figures of the area over the period of 2004 to 2006 and indicates the social degradation that has been perpetuated since the heady days in the 1970s. Congestion, unemployment, low educational achievement and violence are but a few of the vices that have led to a labelling of the people who live at these addresses.

The Government of Jamaica has realised that to make Kingston a tourist destination and facilitate vibrant commerce and development in the country

(as is presented in the various regeneration plans), a deeper and extended social intervention programme is required to make a dent in the notoriety that Kingston has acquired as one of the murder capitals of the world. As such, recent national security policies have admitted that policing strategies and crime plans will not work without related social development programmes. Some of the early social interventions from which a lot of lessons have been learnt include the Jones Town Redevelopment Plan. In a study by the Department of Sociology of the University of the West Indies (UWI), an attempt was made to develop a model for improving the quality of life of the residents in Jones Town. The researchers saw that it as necessary to ask residents what they saw as the pressing needs of their community.

According to Henry-Lee, urban poverty may in many instances be more severe than rural poverty, with the problems in urban areas being more particular because of the high levels of population concentration and densities.[2] These people live in a state of powerlessness, and are more susceptible to risk of life and health, poor sanitation, air pollution, crime, violence and natural disasters.

According to the Social Development Commission (SDC), substandard housing, poor sanitation and numerous environmental hazards are immediately apparent in the urban areas. There are problems of poor waste management, inconsistent electricity supplies, and access to piped water, toilet facilities and abandoned structures. This position of vulnerability according to the World Bank undermines human potential and social capital.

Urban poverty policy has attempted to deal with the issue of deprivation by addressing the following areas:

Access to land and housing: Land allocation, implementation of planning controls and zoning laws, attitudes to informal settlement and the way in which low-income groups can acquire land. These systems are often responsible for producing settlement patterns that are poorly coordinated, and the existing infrastructure systems limits the potential of the provision of infrastructure and services.

Provision of basic infrastructure and services; the extent to which low-income households are able to access basic services essential to health and education are poorly developed. Also the difficulty of providing services to, for instance, settlements on steep slopes, flood plains or those with unclear boundaries creates additional difficulties.

Moser identified different levels of urban poverty and the detriments associated with each level. These are highlighted in Table 3.5: [3]
Table 3.6, which was drawn from University of the West Indies research, confirms some of the observations of Moser (1995) made a decade ago and outlines these needs.

The Jones Town Redevelopment project was co-ordinated by the Kingston Restoration Company (KRC), a non-state agency. The KRC capitalised on its past experience with multi-actor partnerships and involved diverse groups and

Table 3.5 Urban Poverty

Level	*Detriments & associated indicators of urban vulnerability & well being*
Individual	- access to adequate nutrition and health care (infant mortality) - access to adequate education (drop out rates) - access to adequate income (income per capita) - personal safety from domestic violence - access to credit
Household	- household type - household structure in terms of members in productive reproductive and community work - stage in lifecycle - access to housing
Community	- access to, reliability and quality of basic needs of water, electricity, sanitation, roads, education and health care - personal safety from robbery and violence - capability and capacity of community based organisations

stakeholders including the University of Technology, University of the West Indies, the Planning Institute of Jamaica, Ministry of Water and Housing, Ministry of Industry, Metropolitan Parks and Gardens, Jamaica Promotions (JAMPRO), National Water Commission, Ministry of Transport and Works, selected professionals, the Jones Town Area Council and local residents, with the SDC providing a bridge between civil society and policy makers. The

Table 3.6 Community Needs Identified by Residents

Community Needs Identified by Residents	*Frequency (# of responses)*	*% of total responses*
Training/education	112	21.1
Jobs	130	24.4
Sanitation/environmental upgrading	50	9.4
Upgrading of houses	78	14.7
Providing an income to residents	13	2.4
Assisting the Elderly	27	5.1
Developing Small Businesses	24	4.5
Improved Garbage Collection	19	3.6
Sports/Entertainment facilities	42	7.9
Improve Physical Infrastructure	16	3.0
Security and Peace Initiatives/Greater Policing	11	2.1
Counselling services	10	1.9
186 persons gave a combined total of 532 responses	N = 532	100

Government of the Netherlands provided the initial financial support that boosted the project. As the partnership developed further, the multi-faceted project acquired a new status, especially with the granting of financial support by the Jamaican Government and the British Government through the Department for International Development. The emergent project was called the Jamaica Urban Poverty Project (JUPP), and it was launched in 1997.

The JUPP did not have a housing component. The purpose of the JUPP was to develop and implement urban poverty reduction initiatives that would respond better to the needs of men, women and children, which could be replicated in other urban areas and which would influence wider urban policies in Jamaica (Department for International Development 2004).

When the KRC first engaged Jones Town, 42% of the labour force there were unemployed, and most of the area's housing stock was dilapidated and abandoned. Garbage collection was problematic, and refuse had piled up high in the streets. These needs are reflected in the perceived needs expressed by citizens in the survey by the Sociology Department of the UWI. Public utilities (water, electricity, land telephone and public transport services) were non-existent or irregular. The public servants who served this area had abandoned their responsibility because of they feared for their lives. Taxi drivers were reluctant to ply those areas for similar reasons and for the fact that they could be mugged. Similar conditions prevailed in the other inner-city communities, which led to their virtual isolation from mainstream formal society.

To tackle these problems, the KRC adopted three main strategies to problem solving: inclusion strategies, penetration strategies and maintenance strategies. Inclusion strategies involved garbage amnesty and clean-ups, repair of primary schools and other public facilities. The penetration strategies involved the KRC and community leaders and representatives making contacts with the public utilities and urban transport agencies and inviting them to commence services into this area. The maintenance strategies included skills training, building bridges and trust with the police for purposes of community policing. The KRC helped the community to access micro-finance with a view to enhancing entrepreneurship and risk-taking and generating new jobs, which are engineered by the citizens themselves. The KRC produced a Community Action Toolkit and Training Modules for parenting, environmental management, mentoring, managing substance abuse, anger management and reproductive health management. Its participatory approach and capacity to meaningfully engage communities ensured that the practical action was recognised by International Development Partners, who accepted the model as appropriate for other problematic areas of the city. Through the JUPP, the KRC increased its capacity not only to find practical poverty responses with communities but was able to respond to strategic urban and poverty debates including the Government of Jamaica's poverty debates, and subsequently as key partner in urban livelihood considerations.

Similarly, based on its JUPP experience, the KRC went on to implement the Kingston Urban Renewal Project funded by the IADB in the Central

Kingston community of Parade Gardens; the Citizens Security and Justice Programme (CSJP) funded by the IADB and managed by the Project Evaluation Unit of the Ministry of National Security with educational programmes implemented by the KRC in the communities of Waterhouse, Denham Town and Hannah Town; the Peace and Prosperity Programme (PPP) funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and implemented by the KRC in the communities of Grants Pen and Cedar Valley/Stand Pipe (Department for International Development 2004).

In the Inner-City Renewal Programme, an aspect of the work is depicted as in the cluster of Figure 3.4 in which the Urban Development Corporation (UDC) took a lead role in regeneration. Some of the principal actors and their roles in the cluster are also presented in Table 3.7. The implementation of the ICRP is still going on but at a very slow pace such that in February 2008, the SDC felt the need to call a workshop of the partners to review and revitalise efforts.

The Urban Development Corporation acting as the technical advisers to the KCCIC launched, in August 2004, a Projects Concept Plan. The

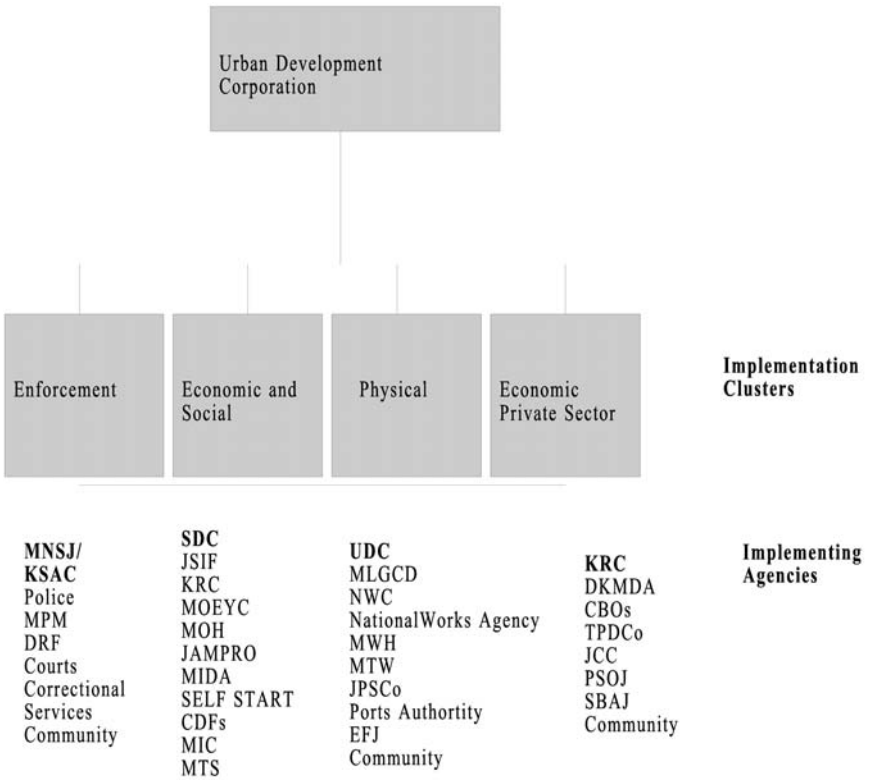


Figure 3.4 Urban Development Corporation.

> Concept Plan was informed by Vision 20/20, a master plan commissioned by the KRC for the economic and social revitalisation of the historic core of the City. Vision 20/20 was prepared through a series of fifty-three community discussions and presentations, including eleven public forums. Completed in 1994, Vision 20/20 languished until 2004 because there was no single institution charged with its implementation and the KRC lack the organisational capacity to undertake a project of this nature. (Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation 2005)

URBAN TRANSPORT INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT

The development of the urban transport infrastructure is closely associated with the shifting focus of the economy from primary production of bananas and sugar to a service driven economy in the country. With the advent of the World Trade Organisation and the Cotonou Partnership Agreement between the European Union and the African-Caribbean-Pacific (ACP) countries spelling the end of preferential treatment of the primary products of these ACP countries (Jamaica included), they have promulgated plans to diversify their economies and ensure competitiveness of their service sectors. Jamaica's focus has been on deepening its advantage as a tourist destination, and as part of the strategic plan, the National Transport Act was amended to allow the construction of an urban road network called the Highway 2000 using a model of partnership called Private Finance Initiative.

The Highway 2000 project is Jamaica's first tolled highway. It is a multi-lane road network connecting Kingston to Montego Bay through the parishes of St. Andrew, St. Catherine, Manchester, St. Elizabeth, Westmoreland and St. James. It is expected to make easier access to the tourism centres of the island as well as to open new areas for investment operations and facilitate the expeditious movement of goods between Kingston and principal population centres. It spans a total distance of two hundred and twenty six kilometres. Its construction is divided into two main phases. Phase one consists of a 74 km road network linking Kingston to Mandeville including a six lane bridge across the Portmore Causeway. Phase one is further subdivided into phase 1a—Old Harbour dualisation, Kingston to Bushy Park and the Portmore Causeway—and phase 1b (Sandy Bay to Williams Field). Phase two is an 85 km section from Mandeville to Montego Bay and a 67 km section from Bushy Park to Ocho Rios. The highway is presumed to be a 'four to six lane controlled-access tolled motor way with fully grade separated interchange and intersection built according to modern international standards'.[4]

The establishment of this project is through the mechanism of a public–private partnership by way of the 'build-own-operate-transfer' model. This model occurs when a private entity receives a franchise to finance,

Table 3.7 Principal Agencies/Institutions and Their Functions

Agency	*Function*
Public Sector	
Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation	Urban management; Planning Authority responsibilities; management of Urban Services Development Control
Metropolitan Parks and Markets	Solid Waste Management
Ministry of Water and Housing	Shelter Development; Water Resources Management and Disaster Management
Ministry of Transport and Works	Transport Management; Civil Works
Ministry of Land and Environment	Oversees all issues related to the sustainable use and development of land and environmental resources
Ministry of National Security and Justice	Enforcement of law and order, security and protection
Urban Development Corporation	Urban Development; Regional planning; infrastructure planning and development
Social Development Commission	Facilitating Community Development Committees/Parish Development Associations Committee, community capacity building
Natural Resources Conservation Authority	Natural Resource management; environmental planning
The Town Planning Department	Urban and Rural Planning
National Water Commission	Management of water and waste water services
Public Health Department	Public and environmental health control
Chamber of Commerce; Jamaica Manufacturers Association; Small Business Association of Jamaica	Investment; Commerce; Urban Service Delivery; Financial Management; Job Creation Services
Downtown Kingston Management District Association	Public Cleansing/Downtown ; Safety; Economic development
Kingston Restoration Company	Urban redevelopment; community housing and poverty eradication

Source: Planning Institute of Jamaica (2001 9) Action Plan 2000–2004: Inner-City Renewal Programme, Kingston Metropolitan Area. Compiled from: Institutional Process For the Downtown Kingston Revitalization Plan, 2000; Planning Design Quorum Ltd.

design, build and operate a facility for a specified period, after which ownership is transferred to the public sector. Under this specific project, after a competitive bidding exercise, Bouygues Travaux Publics was

awarded the contract to carry out the development of this project. A concession agreement was signed, granting to the concessionaire, a 35-year concession period after which ownership of the project will be transferred to the government at no cost.

The government opted for this method of financing and development of the highway because of a multitude of reasons. Indeed, this method was expected to create significant external capital flow into the country. In addition, the competitive bid process was anticipated to bring the best value for the money. The specific nature of the concession agreement: date-certain fixed price turnkey contract makes all risks of cost overruns as well as commercial risks to be absorbed unitarily by the concessionaire. The Highway 2000 public–private partnership would also facilitate the transfer of modern technologies and management expertise within the road construction and maintenance field to the Jamaican economy.

Phase one of the two-part construction of the highway commenced in 2000. The total cost of the first phase was estimated at US$390 million of which Bouygues was responsible for 72.5% or US$283 million and the government 27% of US$107 million. The latter was to be made available through a loan to be repaid with the funds generated from the collection of tolls.

The Partnership Arrangement

Involved in the partnership arrangement were two main entities. The government partner in the form of the National Road Operating and Constructing Company, who was responsible 'for the establishment, development, financing, operation and maintenance of a tolled highway'. (Ministry Paper 7/02:3). It was the main interface of the government with the private partner TransJamaican Limited Company. This limited liability company, registered locally and owned by Bouygues Travaux Publics and Autoroute du Sud des France (34%), was the awarded developer and was obligated to design, finance, construct, maintain, operate and improve phase one of Highway 2000.

The commercial framework (see Figure 3.5) indicates supplementary associates in the partnership arrangement. Foreign and local contractors as well as investors provided equity to the developer. Other important stakeholders included senior lenders and other parties, which were related to the developer.

Institutional Framework of Highway 2000

Institutions are often referred to as the 'rules of the game.' Institutional framework is therefore considered the structure in which these institutions operate. Klijn and Teisman (2000) assert that public–private partnerships are institutionally complex involving many interactive actors. Based on

this characteristic PPPs present several components to their institutional structure.

The decision to enter into a PPP arrangement between the Government of Jamaica and the French private entity was secured within the Concession Agreement signed on November 21, 2001. This agreement was the fundamental machinery that outlined the rules under which the French company could operate locally.

A significant component was the legal aspect. A proper legal network must be in place for the efficient and successful operation of the partnership. Without this, the partnership would be unable to perform. The 2002 Toll Road Act forms the legal foundation to operate a toll road within the Jamaican context. It details the functions of the toll authority, guidelines of the concession agreement, rules concerning the toll operator, appointment of inspectors, offences and penalties. This Act is not exclusive to the Highway 2000 project but is written to accommodate other transportation networks involving government and the private sector. An additional aspect of the institutional structure is the dispute resolution mechanism that was arranged through the rules of the Conciliation and Arbitration of the International Chamber of Commerce.

At this juncture, a detailed analysis of the Highway 2000 public–private partnership is called for. Given that an outline of the project has been presented, it is appropriate for an evaluation of the PFI policy process in the Highway 2000 project to be presented. The interactive model of implementation mentioned previously is used to assess the PFI policy process.

The Interactive Policy Process of Highway 2000

As the model illustrates, there are always a number of issues competing for space on the policy agenda of governments. In light of the limited resources made available to construct these ideas into concrete policies, there must be a set of criteria for choosing a specific issue to address.

The Highway 2000 project was not the first proposal of its kind that was made to address the inadequate road networks in Jamaica. There have been numerous studies and proposals conducted into the problem of roads and highways with a view to rectifying, for example, the Hunts Bay Causeway section, the Old Harbour By-pass and others, in 1994. These repairs and remodelling failed to bear fruit, but it was the reconceptualised Highway 2000 that was placed on the policy agenda of the Jamaican government and granted approval.

The Highway 2000 project is the centrepiece of a multi-year Millennium Programme put forward by the Government of Jamaica. The proposal was tabled in Parliament by the Prime Minister in 1999, as a solution to the inadequacies of the current road network and as a catalyst to economic development. It may also be recognised as a political landmark for the Peoples National Party. The basis of this decision lay within the need to increase

Jamaica's development capacity and 'advance Jamaica's quest for economic and social transformation.'[5] After much in depth review and consultations, the Cabinet in September 1999 approved the proposal. A number of consultations and meetings were conducted with the Project Development Unit, the Natural Resource Conservation Authority (now National Environment and Planning Agency (NEPA)), the Town Planning department, government tourism agencies, members of the construction industry, chambers of commerce, regional development boards, parish councils, environmental NGOs and other groups.[6]

The decision to build the highway as well as the finer details of the project however was not discussed with the masses of the population. In fact the public participation element of the policy process was incomplete. It is important to note that a number of studies were conducted to decipher the viability of the project and the private sector involvement aspect.[7] It is safe therefore to conclude that the Highway 2000 project went through the agenda setting stage without much delay and disruption.

After the decision was made to go ahead with the Highway 2000 project, tenders were sent out to commence the competition for the best-suited candidate to implement the project. On June 27, 2001, the Grantor (*the state*) appointed Bouygues Travaux Publics (*the concessionaire*) as the successful bidder. In November of that year both the developer the TransJamaican Highway Limited—the company registered locally by Bouygues Travaux Publics to be the developer of Highway 2000—and the grantor, National Road Operating and Constructing Company (NROCC), entered into a concession agreement to start the development of the Highway project. The TransJamaican Highway Limited comprises of a number of partners including the foreign contractor Bouygues Travaux Publics and other investors, including banks and multi-lateral agencies.

The first phase of the highway began construction in 2000. To date the Old Harbour dualisation has been completed and was opened to the public on September 22, 2003. The Mandela Highway to Bushy Park leg has also been completed and opened to the public on December 14, 2004, while work was still being carried out on the Portmore Causeway leg of the project. This particular leg of Highway 2000 represents a typical example of the interactive process at play. Indeed, by December 2004, there had been oppositions, areas of conflict and a need to reassess the policy in its current stage.

The interactive model suggests that opposition and reactions can occur at any point in the policy development process and from any angle. Throughout the policy process of the Highway 2000 project, there have indeed been evidence of reevaluations and reassessments of the original policy initiative. The Old Harbour Dualisation for instance had been completed but required a revision and addition of an overhead bridge to accommodate the movement of pedestrians across the highway, a factor that had been overlooked initially.

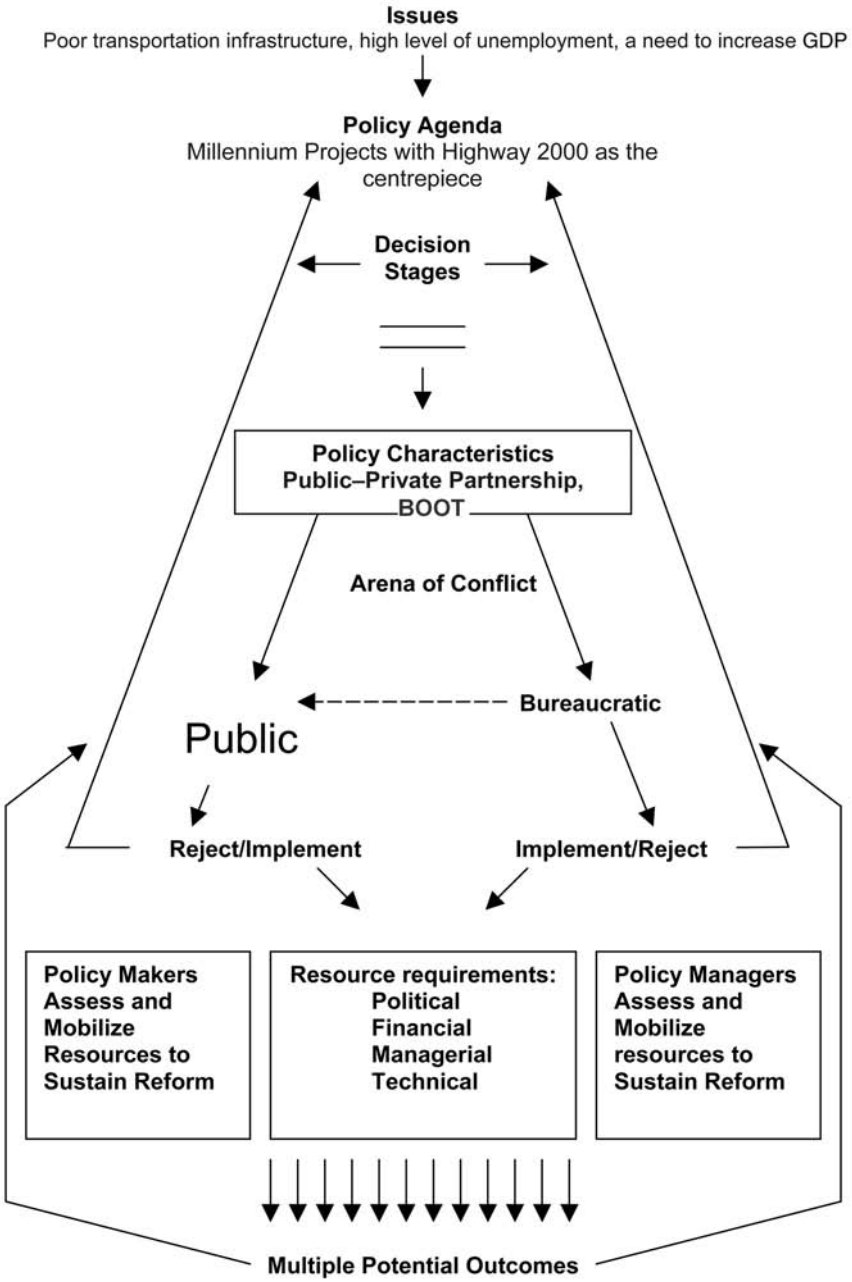


Figure 3.6 Policy choices. Source: (Grindle and Thomas 1991:127 amplified for the purposes of examining the Jamaican PFI: Highway 2000).

There has also been opposition to certain lands being transferred to the developer for use in the construction of the highway. The fishing village of the Portmore leg had caused some contention. The squatters located on this strip of land were removed to a nearby location—the Hunts Bay section of the land that joins Kingston and Portmore. After relocation, they were soon asked to evict their new premises as the land was not owned by the government or the developer but by the Port Authority of Jamaica. The vice president of special operations at the Port postulated that no consultation was held between them and NROCC, the government partner of the Highway 2000 project. Discussions were held subsequently and a compromise had to be sought to allow sufficient time for the permanent transfer of the fishing village to the Port Henderson section of the parish.

Another issue of contention was and still is the issue of tolls. The toll rates have had to be readjusted in response to the opposition presented by the citizens affected. In the case of the toll rates applied to the Old Harbour Dualisation leg of the highway, the toll had to be reduced to reflect a more reasonable rate for the end users. The setting of the toll rates was, according to the Toll Road Act (2001), a responsibility of the developer subject to the approval of the Minister and the Toll Regulator (Toll Road Act 2002). The handling of the toll situation has remained contentious because the affected communities felt that the setting of the rate should reflect their ability to pay and be consultative. In fact, within a couple of months since the opening of the Old Harbour Dualisation, and a few days before the opening of the Bushy Park leg of the highway, citizens were asked to pay more than double the previous amount charged for the toll. Where the charge was $50 it was increased to $160 for cars, for larger vehicles it increased from $60 to $200 and for trucks and larger vehicles from $120 to $400. The discontent of the citizens in relation to the toll rates is adequately captured in the print media and by frequent cries by the opposition.

The Portmore leg of the highway met with many challenges in the implementation process. Citizens, represented by the Portmore Citizens Advisory Council and the Portmore Joint Citizens' Association (PJCA) were opposed to the imposition of the highway passage and the toll on Portmore. Based on evidence from the field study, one may assert that this opposition was partly due to the lack of involvement of the end users (the public) in the conceptualising of the highway, especially with respect to the Causeway Bridge, which is the only designated route to traverse from Portmore to Kingston. The PJCA similarly warned that failures and lack of coordination and communication would occur if crucial information from public participation in policy-making was absent or ignored.

The argument posed by the citizens and their representatives was that the road was paid for by taxpayers and for that matter, belonged to the residents and users. Thus, there should be no additional cost attached to travelling on it. A recent study by the Stone team on the views of residents

towards the highway revealed that though a majority (77%) had a favourable view of the highway, they were not willing to pay the $65 to and from Kingston via the proposed toll Causeway. In fact, 21.6% believed that $20 was a reasonable charge. In addition the study reported that 39.6% of those interviewed would not use the Causeway leg of the highway if charged $65 for each way. The Stone team concluded that 'based on the findings we expect that the initial responses to the opening of the road would be negative.'[8]

A number of protests have been held to voice the disapproval of residents of the Portmore community pertaining to the replacement of the Causeway Bridge with one that is associated with a user fee. In a meeting held in June 2004, residents complained that the issue of tolls was being imposed upon them. The exclusion of the residents from this policy decision was illustrated in the statement made by the town's Mayor: 'with respect to what Highway 2000 is doing, I cannot speak to it because the municipality of Portmore has not been involved in any aspect of that operation, unfortunately'. [9] Two lawsuits were filed against the government in the Supreme Court on behalf of the Portmore Citizens' Advisory Association, Portmore Joint Citizens Association and five Portmore residents intended to affirm that the declaration of the Mandela highway, as an alternate route, was unlawful and that there should be prohibition of any toll charges proposed for the Portmore section of the highway. The absence of public participation in the designing of the highway resulted in much opposition, and the matter was referred to the Privy Council in London.

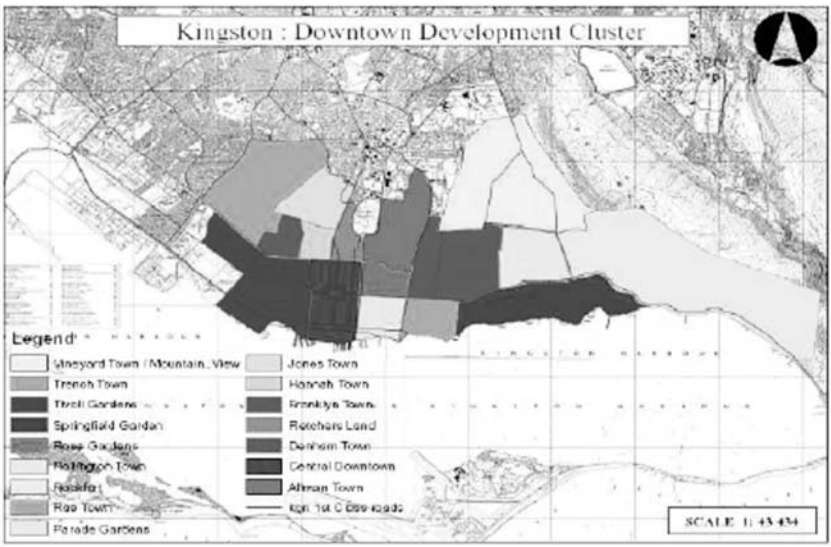
After much protest and debate, the Prime Minister ordered a report to be prepared, as part of his attempt to resolve the cause of the protests. The remit of the report, issued on March 10, 2005, was to examine the factors contributing to the dispute over the toll road rates by the residents of Portmore and the dismantling of the Causeway Bridge.

Grindle and Thomas (1991) in their model clearly stipulate that the policy process is an interactive one and veto points can be found at any stage in the process. The public should have been an important part of the public–private partnership and thus deserved adequate space to make their voices heard. However, as Bloomfield (2004) noted, the PFI and other models of public–private partnerships are actually long-term commercial or procurement contracts, and the partnership label is therefore not applicable. Considering the nature of such commercial contracts, it was the government and the concessionaire (financier) whose views mattered and therefore, were represented at the table, to the neglect of the ordinary citizens. It is imperative that any discourse that is trying to discover whether a window for public participation in PFI exists engage in a critical investigation into the constitution of PFIs. In such an exercise, one would be able to determine, if in fact PFIs, based on their general constitution, make allowances for public involvement throughout the policy process.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion, it emerges that regeneration management has taken on interesting forms including cluster and sectoral management and partnership approaches in terms of participatory and collaborative work among actors, as well as private finance initiative approaches to procurement. It was observed that because of lack of adequate holistic implementation of regeneration strategies and plans, there has been a succession of plans. The main reasons for lack of adequate implementation have been the shortage of financial resources from the public budget, low level risk-taking among private sector actors and a lack of champions who will stay the cause and co-ordinate and finance planned activities for the longer term. It was also noted that social development interventions have come to be seen as critical for reining in crime and disorder in the inner-city communities in Kingston. The ability of the Government of Jamaica to generate policies that will yield enough economic growth will be crucial in determining whether the city will have the needed peace to develop and regenerate the blighted areas.

APPENDIX I



Map 3.1 Map of Downtown Kingston. Source: (Social Development Commission 2008).

NOTES

1. The incidence of poverty is determined by the number of persons unable to satisfy predetermined basic needs as defined by minimum nutritional standards

with an additional amount of non-food items. The coast of meeting these needs (the poverty line) was estimated at J$178,906.5 (all Jamaica) in 2002 for a family of five.

2. Aldrie, Henry-Lee. 'The nature of poverty in the garrison constituencies in Jamaica'. *Environment & Urbanization Vol. 17, No. 2* October 2005. London: IIED.
3. Moser, Caroline. 'Urban social policy and poverty reduction. .' *Environment & Urbanization : Urban Poverty: characteristics, causes and consequences. Vol. 7, No.1.* 1995. p.167.
4. (National Road Operating and Constructing Company 2005)
5. (Ministry of Transport 2003:1)
6. (Ministry Paper 74/01:3)
7. A National Investment Bank study in 1994 concluded that the project was economically viable and financially feasible based on the proposed public–private partnership arrangement, a Property and Land Acquisition Report 1999 and other pre-feasibility studies.
8. (The Stone Team 2004)
9. Myer Jr., John . 'The Gleaner Portmore Protest Upset over imposition of toll charges' available at http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20040625/lead/lead4.html

4 Regeneration Opportunities and Challenges
Greece

Joyce Liddle and Ioannis Oikonomopoulos

INTRODUCTION

The Greek national government has introduced a number of reforms in the past thirty years, with the aim of altering the constitution and improving the management of its public sector agencies. However, despite these changes and the importance of EU funding, problems persist. Added to this, regional and local authorities in Greece face a number of important challenges—some are common to all—and others are specific to a particular locality. All are facing the effects brought about by globalisation, the shift in economic and financial processes to a global rather than national level, and the emergence of a new model of economic development with the local/regional as the locus of development. All European government strategies are now directed towards reconciling economic prosperity, social cohesion and environmental progress. Greece, as one of the poorer relations in the EU when measured on GDP per head, has been able to bid for and receive significant Euro Funding over the past twenty years, although under the current structural funding regime, its share of EU monies is reduced.

To all intents and purposes, the 2004 Olympic Games showcased Greece on a global stage, as it provided the stimulus physical for and property-led regeneration. This was especially true as areas of Athens and its hinterland benefited from some massive infrastructural projects. However, despite these welcome changes, Greece still remains a largely rural country that lags behind other EU regions, and there have been stringent attempts to develop the tourism industry throughout the country. Moreover, in some of the urban areas of Greece, a process of de-industrialisation, not unlike that found in Western European countries has frustrated the overall economic and social development, and created gaps where regeneration would benefit specific localities. The rural/urban divide within Greece is particularly acute as some areas (notably the Greek Islands and the farming communities) have benefited more from Euro funds for tourism or agri-development than some of the more semi-urbanised areas (examples are Kastoria, Lavrion and Naoussa). Kastoria, home of the fur beaver industry; Lavrion, a traditional mining area; and Naoussa, where weaving and textiles were

predominant, have all suffered from aspects of de-industrialisation, such as the loss of markets, poor investment and a concomitant shrinking of the employment base. All three have been subject to national policies and strategies aimed at ameliorating the decline of traditional industries.

This chapter will consider the importance of EU funding for regeneration of urban/rural areas of Greece by drawing on specific cases of growth and decline. The discussion will be framed within a context of existing national policies and plans to deal with de-industrialisation, as well as those focused on developing cultural/tourism and agriculture. The EU funding regime has led to the creation of various partnerships across the Greek mainland and Hellenic islands, but within such forums, clientelism and political parties, in particular, remain prevalent. The success or otherwise of regeneration efforts are significantly affected by the local and national elites involved in the change process.

Case studies on the Olympic Games in Athens, tourism and agriculture in rural areas, and de-industrialisation of semi-urban areas across Greece are introduced as a means of understanding uneven development; the particular role of national and local elites in shaping growth or decline; the significance of political parties and clientelism, partnerships types that have been created, and whether local or national/European solutions to regenerate specific localities have been more or less successful.

POLITICAL CONTEXT

The current Greek political system was inherited from the times of the Ottoman occupation in which the 'clientelistic' form of relationships between citizens and politicians was established. Clientelism is a form of social organisation common in many developing countries and characterized by 'patron–client' relationships. In such places, relatively powerful and rich patrons promise to provide relatively powerless and poor clients with jobs, protection, infrastructure and other benefits in exchange for votes and other forms of loyalty including labour. While this definition suggests a kind of 'socioeconomic mutualism,' these relationships are typically exploitative, often resulting in the perpetual indebtedness of the clients in what is described as a debt peonage relationship. Patrons are often unaccountable for their actions, thus clientelistic relationships are often corrupt and unfair.

This 'clientelistic' system of nepotism, alliances, family clans, were the ingredients of the Greek politics reality and society during the struggle for independence from 1821 to 1828 (Diamantouros 2002:30). This clientelism has continued to this day, resulting in family dynasties in central government such as the Karamanlis, Papandreou and Mitsotakis families who have continued their influence over large masses of the population and maintained their power base, since the 1950s. It is perceived in Greece

that voters would vote for parliamentary members in exchange for favours, and the chief favour of the moment is to give state jobs in exchange for votes (press reports). Politicians know exactly what to do to reform the system, but one term generally referred to by the Greek Press is known as the 'political cost,' and can be regarded as a hindrance to changing the existing clientelistic system. This deters politicians from bringing about drastic changes for fear of losing their positions and continued influence. The current Prime Minister was reported as saying 'we are not afraid of the "political cost" for reforming the social security system' (Whitson and Horn 2006). So there have been many recent attempts to reform the public services, with mixed success, as the following analysis reveals.

ADMINISTRATIVE CONTEXT

Administrative reform, or an induced systematic improvement of public operational performance came of age in the 1980s, and to meet the challenges of technology, globalisation competition, innovation, demographic trends and other forces, governments around the world, including Greece, designed and implemented reform projects (Mavrogordatos 1998).

Greece has a multitude of public agencies, such as public hospitals, schools, cultural institutions, state banks and public enterprises. There are also numerous agencies for economic development including 1,100 local development companies (LDCs) across Greece, and these arms' length, not-for-profit bodies, equivalent to UK quangos (quasi, non-governmental) are usually a 100 percent subsidiary of a local authority. The main objectives of an LDC is to be delegated tasks that the Local Authority cannot do, and under Presidential Decree 110 1994, public works less than 15,000 euros can be delegated, usually in the field of construction projects but in some cases surplus profits were devoted to 'softer services' such as cultural, artistic and social (Liddle 2001:353–376).

At the local level, local development companies, a mixture of business and local administration (central and local government agencies) are funded by local town councils to develop tourism, artistic and cultural life. Each development company is run by a board of appointed members and has the responsibility for identifying areas for development and growth to solve local economic problems and improve the living conditions for the inhabitants. In one town in SW Greece, a local development company was established to manage musical events and cultural festivals. The LDC operates as a business and involves respective stakeholders who may be local dignitaries, council members, civil servants or anyone else who can contribute skills or resources.

LDCs are one example of limited partnership working, in a country described as one that has an 'uneasy interdependence' on the EU and with a system of communes and municipalities. Local development companies

have the capacity to speed up economic development procedures, but they were seen by local authorities as vehicles for serving clientelistic activities, and as a result approximately 80 percent were in financial difficulties. Each is run by a board of local dignitaries including commercial and business interests, councillors, police chiefs, doctors and newspaper proprietors. They are relatively new and mainly focused on cultural activities but are in a period of transition. They could be required to either provide social services or survive in a more commercial market environment, without the protective public sector safety net afforded by local authorities.

In the late 1990s, the Greek government undertook several measures to improve the quality of public service agencies and make them more accessible and open to citizens. Citizens' Panels, call centres and one-stop shops were introduced, and frequently used public services had their opening hours extended. E-developments such as websites and intranets were launched as part of the national plan. There is also a pilot scheme to link all prefectures to each other and to a central database in the Ministry of Interior, Public Administration and Decentralisation (Greek Ministry of Public Administration 2000).

Prior to 1994, there were 6,000 municipalities, considered to be too many. This was inefficient, and there were not enough competent and high quality personnel to be politicians/administrators. Economies of scale were important, so under the Kapodistrias reforms since 1984, there were attempts to voluntarily merge communities into larger municipalities, but there was resistance to this, as local politicians were not willing to give up their power base. After 1994, the number of communities was reduced to 1,033. The country was divided into thirteen Peripheries, as shown in Table 4.1. The second tier of local government, above the municipality, is borrowed from the French system of Prefectures.

Members of parliament are reluctant to allow power to flow to the prefectures, so in effect, the system works by having the responsibilities of the first tier, the municipality and then a general statement, that anything does not fall into the first or third tier periphery must be dealt with at the second tier, the prefecture. Currently, the periphery is headed by the secretary general of the periphery who is appointed by the Ministry of Interior, Public Administration and Decentralisation, whereas first and second tier of local government are elected by local people.

Regional and local authorities in Greece face a number of important challenges—some are common to all and others are specific to a particular state. All are facing the effects brought about by globalisation, the shift in economic and financial processes to a global rather than national level and the emergence of a new model of economic development with the local/regional as the locus of development. All European government strategies are now directed towards reconciling economic prosperity, social cohesion and environmental progress, and there are a number of external drivers of change, identified by OECD (OECD 2001:13).

The Peripheries

1.	Attica	8.	Sterea Hellas
2.	West Macedonia	9.	West Greece
3.	East Macedonia & Thrace	10.	Peloponnesus
4.	Central Macedonia	11.	North Aegean
5.	Epirus	12.	South Aegean
6.	Thessaly	13.	Crete
7.	Ionian Islands		

Table 4.1 The Peripheries. Source: (Ministry of Interior, Public Administration and Decentralisation).

In most regions of Greece, a Bureau of Information on Unemployment and Business Enterprise aims to stimulate business development and help new business start-ups. It also collects information on existing businesses and presents a monthly report to the prefectural level of governance. Information is sold to businesses and any other agencies, as well as being disseminated in regular seminars on issues facing employers. Chambers of commerce and local associations of business are locally organised, rather than at a regional level, and are divided into specific sectors of manufacturing and commerce, industrial and commerce and agriculture and commerce. There are also local associations and local trade unions organised around trade and manufacturing and individuals share numerous informal networks and linkages. The scale of industrial and commercial activities, with many small and medium sized companies creates a level of informality, and the business community is strongly connected to the local banking system. Banking finance is very important to individual businesses, as government finance is rarely forthcoming for business development.

Most agencies to support education and training, such as NELE, are reliant on EU and other funding regimes. In each Periphery, there is a NELE, which is the main body for economic development. It is a combined training organisation and FE college, and its work is controlled by a prefectural committee, supported by a General Secretariat for Post Adult Education and Regional Development, and the Head of the Prefecture liaises with the Ministry of Education at the local level. Each NELE has seven employees with responsibility for all post education training in each part of the Periphery. A public announcement is made annually for tutors/teachers to come forward to help train local unemployed and to develop professional development and training. The main work is Continuing Professional Development and dealing with Euro Programmes to help long-term unemployed but it is also linked to schools in the area and can provide teaching staff where shortages are identified.

NELE obtains its primary and Euro funding from the local departments of the Ministry of Education and Employment. It has an indirect link with local councils through its relationship with the local development companies (financed by local councils, as previously discussed) but has a negligible relationship with local businesses or via the Chambers of Trade or Associations. However, despite what appears to be a minimal linkage to Town Councils and Prefectures, members of both bodies are also civic leaders with a myriad of business interests. The links between civic society and development are much stronger in Greece than in the UK, and the traditional linkages between business and political campaigns are still very evident in the way that board members of local development companies are appointed. The local press and media companies are run by business people with political affiliations, and there is evidence to show that business people fund political campaigns. Heads of police and newspaper proprietors are seen as very powerful players at both local and Periphery levels.

The Integrated Administration Agency is a quite separate body that has a direct link into the Ministry of Administration and has responsibility for ensuring that all administration of education, employment and trade are correctly implemented at the local and regional levels. The need to link local and regional administration with central government administration is essential if Article 18 of the Greek Constitution is to be correctly applied.

Article 18 of the Greek Constitution emphasises that local needs must be determined by the various community interest groups, and as a consequence of this legislative dictat, there is little expectation that finance will be readily available from the public purse. Poor agricultural and rural areas of Greece have benefited from EU structural funds, but there is limited support for business development from central, Periphery or local government sources. Instead there is an unwritten assumption that the civic leaders will gain the support of the local community, and more especially the backing of local banks.

The attempts by the Greek government to reform the various levels of governance and administration began in the 1980s and have resulted in increased decentralisation; more recently there have been changes made to improve

quality, accessibility and customer focused public services. Local communities are constitutionally allowed to determine the needs of their own locales, and local councils are putting economic development and business support as important features of overall development. However, the economic development and business support available remains rudimentary and limited.

In all Greek regions, linkages of business to business, or between politicians and administrators are informal, whether at the town or community, Prefecture or Periphery level. Civic leaders, usually owners of small or medium enterprises, work informally with different levels of governance/administration to determine what needs to be achieved. The importance attached to securing Euro funding; the dependence on agriculture, tourism and cultural activities; and the recent influx of large numbers of asylum seekers and gypsies from Balkan states has identified a need for new skills and a flexible labour force. Many educational and training programmes have been created to reskill the local population.

At the local level, labour syndicates are the nucleus of labour, whereas the union is a combination of syndicates. Workers in building, manufacturing, textiles and aluminum organise locally, then the Labour Union is organised at the second Level, and at tertiary and national levels the National Confederation of Workers (GSEE) is the main organisation. Normally the local unions (second level) will seek support from municipal and prefectural authorities and with local MPs. At this level, everybody sees this type of petition as a means of getting some action from national government. GSEE will join voices with the municipal and prefectural level to pressurise for action in the event of a factory or industrial closure. In agriculture, thousands of small scale business or farming interests express their interests through farmers' co-operatives or farmers' associations (the former is a set of voluntary arrangements to enable groups to seek markets for their projects, whereas the latter is a more formal forum to bring benefits such as agricultural social security schemes during times of hardship such as natural disasters of poor harvests, drought, forest fires and the capacity to draw down EU funds through CAP).

The Bureau of Information on Unemployment and Enterprise collects data, the Chambers of Commerce and Trade and other Associations of Business allow business people to network informally, whereas NELEs within the Periphery provide Continuing Professional Development and EU/central Ministry funded education and training programmes for unemployed (including asylum seekers and gypsies). NELEs have few connections with local councils though some are becoming linked to some of the newly established local development companies.

The evidence of strong civic leadership and a vibrant local banking system means that many of the agencies for economic development and business support have been absorbed into a very complex system of organisations (some commercial, some administrative and others are governmental), and it is quite difficult to ascertain exactly how each of them is financed.

It remains to be seen whether any of the existing agencies or programmes for economic development and business support can succeed because of the

complexity of the funding and administrative regimes, and the informal and ad-hoc linkages between agencies. Furthermore, the higher levels of governance at the prefectural, periphery or central government level cannot impose specific policies to combat the problems and the reliance on Euro funding means that choices are limited, and based on what the EU dictates.

Greece remains one of the poorer relations in the EU when measured on GDP per head. The country therefore has been able to bid for and receive significant Euro funding including programmes aimed at improving employability of citizens by offering training schemes that will develop a variety of skills. EQUAL is one such programme aimed at fighting discrimination and inequality in employment.

Modernisation of the Greek public sector is incomplete and still regarded as inefficient, despite recent attempts to introduce e-governance initiatives (Ministry of Economics and Finance 2006:17). There have been small changes to the Greek public administration and civil service, but despite these, the current government came into power with two major projects—to fight corruption and establish modernised governance (public, private and third sector)—but little has been done. Obviously it's the government's reluctance to introduce major changes because of the potential for an adverse reaction from citizens.

Some reforms have recently been attempted, but rioting in the streets ensued (2006 to 2008) as attempts to alter social security payments by merging the multitude of social security funds were introduced. In particular, syndicates of public sector workers reacted to the proposals as it was thought that the privileges Greeks believe to be their right were threatened. In spite of these riots, public polls still show that the citizens want the central state to act on their behalf in providing a 'safety net' when adverse situations confront them, but there is still a perception of inefficient and weak public administration. The central state has also maintained public control of universities.

The need to modernise government has been prevalent in Greek public administration, but bureaucracy reigns and there is duplication and overlapping responsibilities across the whole of the public sector, not unlike those found in other countries. There have been attempts to introduce new public management and especially with the use of IT to improve services and access. These services were aimed at facilitating day to day relationship of the citizen with the authorities. An example that citizens applaud is the EP system (Centre for Serving the Citizens) that is open throughout the day, afternoon and early evening hours so that people can carry out transactions with state organisations such as tax collection. On strategic issues, little has been done, other than the abolition of the Ministry of Public Order and transfer of all its responsibilities to the Ministry of Interior, which happened in 2007, but this reform is too recent to be evaluated. However, in planning for economic and social regeneration, the Greek state has been influenced by the requirements of EU funding regimes, as the following section indicates.

NATIONAL PLANNING FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REGENERATION

Greece has a National Planning Framework but also special spatial plans for tourism, industry, renewable energy, coastal, island and mountain areas (Balks 2006:16). Urban Planning acquired institutional substance after the destruction of Asia Minor in 1923, but urban problems began to emerge much later, after the Civil War in the 1950s. Athens grew at the expense of the islands and mountainous regions, and in the 1990s, there was a recognition the tourism could be exploited for national economic gain. Greece joined the then EEC in 1962, and during the 1970s the Five Year Plan and Urban Master Plans were developed for Athens, but in reality they were never fully realised. Instead, there were countless fragmented and unplanned developments. The year of the first National Model of Growth and a National Spatial Plan was 1972, and by 1976, an integrated national, regional, county and local planning system was created, under Law 360/1976. In 1983, the major cities of Athens and Thessaloniki developed Urban Plans, and despite plans for all Prefectures to develop similar plans, they never materialised.

Historically, Greece has always had impoverished or deprived areas, and the centralised Athenian state (commonly referred to as hydrocephalitic, a body with an overly large head). The centralised state, added to the aforementioned clientelistic system means that politicians take decisions on behalf of the whole of Greece, and so the EU has forced the democratic devolution of decisions to Peripheries, which are strictly and tightly controlled by central government.

Owing to the geographic location and difficult terrains, which do not produce primary sector produce, and their distance from the central decision-making in Athens, people in poorer areas cannot influence Central Government politicians, so do not have a voice in local and national affairs, other than through limited channels of engagement at local government. Neither do they have much input onto the local governance level, as engagement requires personal acquaintances between local and national politicians.

The difficulties in accessing many remote, mountainous areas with few natural resources has led to high levels of deprivation, and nowhere is this more prominent than in the Greek Islands, with especially poor access in winter months. They are deprived because of remoteness (in some cases having to cross seas to reach Athens), land is infertile and they don't have a voice, so they have remained marginalised until quite recently. Attempts have been made by socialist and conservative governments nationally, but the intervention by governments to deal with development was by means of formulating two main 'development' laws, with Presidential decree they are then implemented. Law 84/1984, was the first Developmental Law, and the new Developmental Law passed by the Conservative Party was 3299/2004. Both of these laws were aimed at providing initiatives to potential investors, national or international, to establish business activity there. These laws are aimed at improving the social, economic and environmental aims of the local communities.

Areas of Greece are divided into three categories, and depending on GDP they receive support to develop their local economies. This is why Thessaloniki and Athens, the two major cities, receive only limited central government or European support, in comparison to other areas. The GDP figures for the hinterland areas of Thessaloniki and Athens are skewed by being 'counted' in data collection, but some of the towns are equally deprived as some of the more remote areas of the country.

Article 158 of the Lisbon Treaty recognised the need to pay attention to regions with permanent and serious handicaps (like islands and mountain regions) as their relative isolation, lack of administrative capacity, small domestic markets, economic structure, insufficient social services, low development opportunities, conflicts on land use, weak infrastructure and sensitivity to natural hazards made them especially vulnerable (Firbas 2008)

All Greek regions qualify for Objective One of EU structural funds, and there are eleven sectoral, thirteen regional, four community programmes plus cohesion and rural development funds (NSRF 2006). However, regional distribution of funds under the Third Framework shows a disproportionate amount going to Thessaloniki, Athens and Piraeus. In 2005 and 2006, Greece received 25 billion euros from Structural Funds, and this had been an increase from the 19.27 billion euros received in the 1994 to 1999 period. It benefits from ERDF, ESF as well as EU Agriculture and Fisheries funds (European Commission 1999; 2006). Whereas all of Greece was designated as Objective One until 2006, from 2007 onwards, some regions will lose their status.

The National Development Plan brings together all EU co-financed national public investment programmes into NSRF 2007–2013, and all Ministries and regions have sectoral and regional operational plans (ROPs) as well as Task Forces for Finance and Regulations (Laoutaris 2005). ROP allows each region to draw funds from EU, from national support or by establishing public–private partnerships. New Development Agencies in each region, known as Anaptyxiakos Organismos Perifereias were established.[1] However, regional disparities are still in evidence. A process of restructuring the local economy is in place with a decline in manufacturing and a withdrawal from farming and agriculture in favour of a more diversified economy. This created an imbalance as activities were concentrated around Attica at the expense of remote mountains and island areas. However, the Greek Government is attempting to develop a more mixed strategy to encourage more private investment and to have differentiated and specialised regions that aid mountainous and island areas. The strategy is to distribute 82 percent of EU funding outside of Attica and the Athens areas.

Between 1987 and 1990, an EU Integrated Mediterranean Programme was introduced to deal with some of the effects of tourism on the environment, and this was a deliberate attempt to change from a rural model of hinterland development to multi-dimensional urbanisation by creating a spread of settlements, with new housing, tourism growth. However, this was all unplanned and irrational. In 1999, Law 2742/1999 Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development, created new authorities, bodies and

processes to aid development, social cohesion and protect the environment. There is now a 15 Year Plan for Regional Development.

The Ministry of Economics and Finance developed the NSRF for 2007 through 2013 and all Ministries, thirteen regions and municipalities had an input (Ministry of Economics and Finance 2006). Greece is still low on competitiveness, and this undermines self-sustaining growth with low employment rate, low R&D, high levels of poverty, especially in rural and remote areas. The Greek economy grew by 0.7 percent in the 1980s compared to 2.4 percent in other EU states. Demographically, the number of over-65-year-olds is set to increase by 30 percent between 2010 and 2050, with fewer people in employment. There is a massive expected dependency on social security and health care (Ministry of Economics and Finance 2006:12). Greece has the largest agricultural population in the EU, pre-2006, and the capacity to attract FDI is low. Many of the newer member states are taking jobs due to low labour costs and EU incentives. Subsidies and tax exemptions were paid in the deprived areas, but the collapse of the Soviet Union and opening of markets in the Balkans meant that all investors, big or small, decided to relocate their activities in neighbouring countries such as Bulgaria, FYROM (Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia) and Romania. This exposed deprived areas even more than previously, as the investors were given grants and then found cheaper labour elsewhere. Many Greeks feel aggrieved by the shift in EU funding, whereas others do feel gratitude for previous EU funding (interview, July 2008).

Since 2004, there has been a drop in most manufacturing output (textiles, leather goods, paper, office equipment, furniture), steady constant in food, beverages, oil with the only growth in tobacco, chemicals and plastic goods (Ministry of Economics and Finance 2006). Therefore, there is long-term stagnation in manufacturing and a state that adopts 'rescue-type interventions,' public loans and burdens. Shipping and tourism contribute 17 percent to GDP and employs 18 percent of the working population (Ministry of Economics and Finance 2006:23). The uneven development and a rural/urban divide within Greece is particularly acute as some areas—notably the islands and the farming communities—have benefited more from Euro funds for tourism or agri-development than others. Athens, in particular, has had massive infrastructure development, and the pace of transformation escalated in the run up to the 2004 Olympic Games.

MEGA-PROJECTS FOR REGENERATION: THE 2004 OLYMPIC GAMES

The Olympic Games, hosted in Athens during 2004, was hailed as a huge success by many Greek politicians, but it is a very special case, quite unlike the management of regeneration in rural and urban areas across the Greek mainland and the surrounding islands. The event was used to showcase Greece to the rest of the world and to allow the country to

prove that it had the organisational capacity and finance to host such a large event. Preuss (2000) talks of the positive and negative aspects of the Olympic legacy in terms of effects on key stakeholders in the Olympic hosting process and aftermath and classifies them as either 'winners' or 'losers'. The winners being businesses, city officials and hotel and tour operators, with the losers being the community stating 'many of the negative effects have an impact on the lower social stratifications and cites Atlanta 1996 as a prime example of this'. (Stone 2001; Zebulon Baker 2006; Andranovitch, Burbank and Heying 2001). Montreal 1976 (Burbank, Andranovitch and Heying 2001; Whitson and Horn 2006) is also exemplified as an economic disaster.

Whilst it is clear that the Olympics and other sporting mega-events can act as a catalyst to speed up physical regeneration in such host cities as Barcelona (Chalkley and Essex 1999) there appears to be no clear consensus as to whether or not mega-events, such as the Olympics act as a catalyst for social and economic regeneration change (Whitson and Horn 2006). However, despite this, many cities across the world, including Athens, have utilised what is known as a mega-event regeneration strategy (Hiller 2000; Chalkley and Essex 1999; Andranovitch, Burbank and Heying 2001), which may or may not leave a social and economic legacy (Hall 2006). However, two decades of social science research does not support the claims made that sports mega-projects benefit a city as a whole. Athens, as the capital city of Greece, continues to have a huge resource base, and the intervention and support from the central state was integral to the success of the Games. It was used as a deliberate 'place marketing' strategy, and despite its success on numerous criteria, the Games do not appear to have been the stimulus for further foreign direct investment.

So the Olympic Games, at a cost to the Greek national purse, did play a part in developing Attica and its hinterland, and the forthcoming Mediterranean Games in 2010 are to be held in central Greece, Volos and Larisa, close to the areas under investigation in this chapter. These areas are much less affluent than Athens and Thessaloniki, as we shall now discuss.

REGENERATING IMPOVERISHED AREAS IN GREECE

So far there has been no specific framework that will take care of problematic areas. The term 'problematic areas' is taken to mean where a considerable large number of employees became redundant in a relatively short period of time, although the National Planning framework, already outlined, is supposed to be the mechanism for equalising development across the nation. In the three following cases of Kastoria, Lavrion and Naoussa, there was a set pattern of decisions that followed each factory or mine closure. Once a place is deemed as being impoverished due to de-industrialisation, the Ministries of National Economy and Development declare an area as in need of support, then create a customised legal framework that

specifies in absolute detail (legally) what will be done so that both employers and employees will be aware of any support that might be forthcoming from central state sources.

The Ministries of Labour and Social Security work together to try to solve the unemployment problem, either by subsidising new posts or giving unemployment benefits to them in different, more favourable terms than the regular ones that apply in redundancies elsewhere, or employing a number of unemployed by the public sector, or subsidising early retirement when it comes to individuals that are near the age of retirement and will have a problem to find new employers.

Unemployment in the context of all three cases under investigation resulted from the impacts of globalisation. In each case, businesses either went bankrupt or moved to other countries where they could find cheaper labour; the Balkans was a popular destination to relocate a company. The detailed examination that follows illustrates how each locality faced the specific issues of social and economic decline and highlight some of the major factors to be considered for regenerating each area.

Kastoria

Kastoria, a rural area in the Northwest of Greece near the border with Albania, and contained within the Prefecture of Kastoria, specialised in the assembly and manufacture of fur clothes. USSR has always been a major customer, but the stock exchange crisis in 1987 lasted for four years and, given the fact that fur is a commodity, this created a huge crisis in the price of the raw material to make the products for sale on the world market. Generally speaking, fur goods are seen as being a luxury item, but for customers in Russia, Canada and China, where temperatures stay below freezing for large parts of the year, they are a necessity. During the 1980s, Kastoria was the world's largest producer of fur goods, with many expert tailors and cutters in its factory system. The factories assembled fur products for all the major fashion labels such as Dior, Chanel and Yves St Laurent, but the stock market crash reduced the value of stock by 70 percent and prices dropped dramatically overnight. There was a concomitant effect on jobs and employment in the town. The fur companies made hundreds of workers redundant, and some factories lumbered on until 1992 when the banks were offered a handout from the Greek central state to guarantee payment of 50 percent of debts with the proviso that the companies would pay the remaining debt between the following two years, between 1992 and 1994.

The collapse of the Soviet Union, far from exacerbating the situation in Kastoria, actually allowed companies to lessen the blow of job losses and factory closures because liberalisation of the economic system meant more business with Russia. Imported furs into Russia had been previously taxed heavily, but import tax was reduced—and in some cases abolished—so Kastorian fur companies benefited from the new fiscal system. This was salvation for the fur trade, given the growing anti-fur movement across the

world. As the customer base fell in Japan, the US and Korea it increased significantly in Russia. However, during the 1997 to 1998 period, when the rouble was devalued, Kastorian fur companies had to sell their goods to Russia at a 75 percent reduction, thereby erasing all the gains made in the previous period. Since the turn of the 21st century, with an economic crisis in the EU, Kastoria now has Russia as its single customer with over 90 percent of goods being exported there and vulnerable due to this reliance on one market. Exports to the US have all but ceased because of the Euro's position against the US dollar. Only 3,000 people still work in the fur trade, whereas in its heyday up to 35,000 of local people were employed. Fur companies provided the largest employment opportunities for the local population. More recent attempts by fur company owners to ask for more state aid resulted in a 'Programme of Integrated Employing of Unemployed People,' which includes a package of support for unemployed workers, as the central state pays 80 percent of social security payments and also attempts to place them into public sector positions.

Throughout the continued difficulties over a twenty-year period, fur company owners attempted to gain financial support from the central state, and as already explained, limited programmes for unemployed workers were introduced. In this case, as in most cases of de-industrialisation of a rural or urban area of Greece, it is normal for workers themselves who are facing job losses to approach the syndicate and union and pressurise them to lobby those agencies where assistance might be forthcoming. There will be considerable efforts put into lobbying the Mayor, the constituency MP and the Prefecture (but interestingly enough, not the Periphery as it is only manned by civil servants who are not considered to be influential) and for them to advise the separate Ministries of Development, Economics and Labour. This continued pressure from workers, through syndicates of labour, not from employers, led to the creation of the 'Programme of Integrated Employing of Unemployed People,' and whereas all local and regional and administrative agencies had variable involvement, the employer 'voice' was articulated through the chambers of trade.

Lavrion

Lavrion is a seaside town in East Attica, in the Prefecture of Attica, located just south of Athens. It has a port and became a magnet for foreign investment during the latter part of the 19th century, largely from French investors. It became the biggest industrial town in Greece with mines employing workers who relocated from all over Greece. There was no strain on public services as housing and other services were provided by the mine owners. The local community grew up around the silver, lead and iron mines that have been mined for thousands of years (3,000–3,500 years). It is known as a company town, and over the years spin-off trades and industries evolved to cope with the demand for products, but in the 1970s, the mines began to run out of minerals. All mines were closed during the 1990s, leading to 60

to 80 percent of the active population becoming unemployed. To face the crisis, locals worked together and decided that progress and development would return if they could get support from the local business community, develop and utilise the local port and further develop tourism and cultural activities. Owing to the centralised administrative system, when local people voiced their concerns, the central state was the main focus of their demands for support. At the time there was no second tier local administration that would act as the wider representative of the area.

A law was passed in 1994 that would create attractive conditions for investments in specified areas. However, the land owners raised the price of land too high. This factor acted as a deterrent to potential investors. Since then many investors took advantage of the subsidies and started up businesses, but most of them were opportunistic in nature and instrumental in aiming at the subsidies. They started and later either relocated or closed, leaving 3,000 unemployed people and only 150 remaining people working in the mining industry in the town. Some of the unemployed started their own small business, but others migrated out of the area altogether.

The local port, now a commercial and passenger port, received about 8.5 million euros as an EU subsidy for its enlargement and development in general, and another factor to consider is the relocating of Greek public services such as a National Electricity Company (DEH) power plant, which is now in operation; the National Arsenal Company (EBO); and PYRKAL, a nationalised ammunition plant. Other than these large companies, businesses in Lavrion remain as SMEs, whereas the neighbouring community of Keratea has always taken advantage of its own industrial area and is awash with new investment.

During the industrial decline of mining, syndicates of labour demanded that something should be done for their members, and the local labour union syndicate articulated a 'voice' in collaboration with other labour unions and individual syndicates (in the primary industries). The Lavrion case reveals that the chambers had limited involvement, and interview data indicates that employers were only interested if they considered that the local labour force might lose its purchasing power as a result of job losses.

There was clear evidence in Lavrion of fully integrated linkages between MPs, municipality, prefecture, local labour syndicates such as the mining industry went into freefall, but none of the demands for action from the central state seem to have been successful, other than some limited jobs provided in the public services, such as the aforementioned electricity power station and ammunition companies. After all this pressure, central government responded reactively and tried to deal with the problems after they arose, rather than giving much thought to planning for decline.

Central government also assigned the port of Lavrion the status as satellite port of Athens, Piraeus and Rafina, so that excess capacity in these two ports could be relocated. The main purpose was to use Lavrion as a link to various Aegean Islands with the major Athens area. Two further steps were taken; some areas were designated as industrial areas with EU support to

build up the capacity of Lavrion Port. By giving areas of Lavrion special status as industrial parks the central state hoped to ameliorate the decline but also to encourage new investment.

The problem was that land owners deliberately increased the price of land and it rocketed in price. This meant that investors were not keen on investing in highly priced land that belonged to small landowners and not to the state. The port as a satellite, after fifteen years, has not reached its average and expected operability. This needs decades to build such business from scratch.

The voice of the citizens was articulated through the municipality, and the only articulation was through the syndicates, or through local protests. People were mobilised to make the state take notice of their problem, but it seems that this mobilisation was through the syndicates rather than any individual protests in this instance. The Ministry of Development and Spatial Planning would have developed a local and prefecture plan, but they did not engage in pressurising or lobbying the central state; the lobbying was carried out through MPs. Normally what would be done for such cases is a result of the ruling party and the connections and networks between actors at the local and national level. Connectors would be MPs, local Political Party Committees. The role of Mayor will not be dependent on his institutional role but his capacity to get things done by being a member of the ruling party. The persistence of clientelism was as evident in this case as it was in the preceding case of Kastoria and the following case of Naoussa.

Naoussa

Naoussa, a town located in central Greece in the Prefecture of Imathiae, near Thessaloniki, had two major industries, the textile industry and fruit growing—apples and peaches. A primary concern was that textile factories were being closed due to cheap labour available in the Balkans, and the break-up of the former Yugoslavia changed the market for fruit, grown in Naoussa. The major motorway that led to Yugoslavia went directly through Naoussa and the break-up of Yugoslavia changed the geography of the target market. Croatia and Slovenia, as well as FEROM, were new administrative states created between Greece and Serbia. Goods being transported to Slovenia and Germany had to be shipped to and around these Croatia, Serbia and FEROM countries, which meant that Central European markets became difficult to access. The shifting political system meant that the shipment of fruit had to be sent via the Adriatic Sea to Italy and Germany, and this dramatically increased costs. Transport had to be arranged through an oligopoly of shipping companies, which increased overall operating costs for the fruit farmers.

In the 1990s, after the aforementioned break-up of Yugoslavia, Naoussa faced two particular problems. Firstly, there was relocation of its textile industries to the Balkan states, but secondly, fruit farmers also saw their incomes shrink, with many going out of business altogether. Workers in industrial and agricultural fields of activity lobbied state agencies to do something about this decimation of jobs. They pressurised the government for jobs in the public

sector, because there is a belief in Greece that if a private employer relocates then nothing can be done for employees other than rely on public sector jobs.

As firms in Naoussa continued to close, the central state offered, in a reactive rather than pro-active sense, some posts in government agencies. They were also offered the normal programme on offer to redundant workers, the integrated programme of vocational training to up-skill them for employability. Subsidies were also offered to existing companies to employ redundant workers, or individuals were offered finance to become self-employed. The local labour syndicates and unions of textile workers and fruit farmers and individual redundant workers articulated their concerns to the Ministry of Labour, which was represented at a Prefecture level by the Local Bureau of the Integrated Administration Agency of education, employability and trade, or OAED (Liddle and Oikonomopoulos 2001).

Generally this case followed the usual pattern, where the central state offered few incentives, as there appeared to be no solution to the problems (Greek Ministry of Labour and Social Security 1999). Redundant workers were offered limited positions to work in the public sector, but as ever, MPs, the municipalities, as well as civil servants at the prefectural level were involved in negotiating with central state agencies. Chambers were also involved in negotiating on behalf of the owners of SMEs and other businesses in the town, but employees relied on articulating their concerns through labour unions and syndicates.

In this case, as in the earlier cases, the central state introduced specific developmental laws for individual companies facing closure, rather than having a generally applicable law for all companies facing difficulties. Companies such as Piraiki Patraiki (textiles), MABE, Skalistiris (Bauxite Mines), Ellenit (Construction), Pindos, Softex, Agno (dairies), TVX (gold mines) and Cooperative Fertilisers had specific laws drawn up to assist them, but these special intervention measures were aimed at 'named' companies only; and there is no evidence as to why certain companies would be singled out for help, other than through lobbying and clientelism. Any intervention to support redundant employees was targeted on specific companies, and these policies and practices were seen to be discriminating and disadvantageous to employees in other companies where such specific measures were lacking.

Naoussa clearly suffered from existing Development Laws, which categorised the town as part of Thessaloniki, a rich zone in terms of GDP. It was, therefore, very difficult for people from the town to demonstrate how deprived they were, given that on national terms they belonged to a very rich part of the country. Central government was again seen as very reactive, and after pressure was placed on the Ministry of Labour, limited funds were drawn down from the Ministry of Economics and EU funding to formulate special integrated programmes for redundant workers in specific companies only. There are no general programmes for all redundant workers, only those specified in laws drawn up in a seemingly ad hoc fashion.

DISCUSSION

Molotch's (1976) original Growth Machine thesis that cities had coalitions of land-based elites tied to the economic possibilities of place driven urban change in the quest to expand the local economy and accumulate wealth does not apply in a Greek context for a number of important reasons. Businesses in Greece are very diverse with an over preponderance of SMEs and a lack of FDI. There appears to be no overall central state approach to FDI attraction. The country has a history of small co-operatives of farmers, a tendency for the FDI companies to take flight at any downturn in the economy, with the possibility of cheaper labour costs in the Balkans, Eastern Europe or the Far East. This was evident in all the cases under enquiry.

Business is very local in nature with limited lobbying of either municipal, regional or state levels of government. Business voices are expressed through combinations of chambers of trade representing manufacturing, service and professional sectors. Moreover, outside of the main cities of Athens, Thessaloniki and Piraeus, where chambers are separate for the three sectoral groups (manufacturing, services and professionals) in all other areas of Greece, including the three cases, chambers seek only to provide services to their members. There is limited evidence that they have any real 'voice' as lobbyists on behalf of a locality. However, many individual SME owners, who invariably own multiple businesses, have a 'voice' in the myriad of clientelistic relationships apparent in all cases. Many business people are also prominent local and national politicians. They act as mayors or politicians in the ruling party, or serve on local groupings of banking, finance or other business associations.

It is quite usual across Greece to find the mayor of a particular town who will also be a prominent business person. However, mayors are not seen as especially influential as their role is largely ceremonial, symbolic with limited executive powers, but the Party in power at national governance level, the local constituency member of parliament and the strong clientelistic relationships of the mayor, the MP and the ruling power is a key determinant of how localities are governed. At the national government level, there is a tradition of dynastic families continuing to hand over power to their children or other relatives, and this ensures continued patronage.

In agriculture, farming interests are expressed through a variety of farmers' co-operatives and associations; for example as wine, pistachio or olive growers they combine together to achieve preferential markets in local areas, or by using their power to bring down prices at local olive fruit pressing companies or supermarkets. They also work collectively for agricultural social security schemes during times of hardship, such as natural disasters of poor harvests, drought, forest fires and the capacity to draw down EU funds through CAP.

If location is socially produced (Harvey 1982) then Greek economic and social life exhibits complex global, national, regional and local interplays,

but rather than the 'growth regimes' evident in the US, Greek actors from various sectoral backgrounds make attempts to resist de-industrialisation and economic and social decline. So rather than a 'growth regime,' we see evidence of a Greek 'damage limitation regime'. Land is very important in Greek life, and the passing on of small plots of land across the generations of family members means that any business growth agenda would be dependent on age-old land ownership rights. In part, this explains the persistence of small scale family businesses and, together with an apparent lack of national policy on the issue, the paucity of foreign direct investment.

Whereas rentiers are seen as crucial to a US growth agenda, they are also important in Greece with regard to ownership and exchange of land, but auxiliary players such as media, universities, utilities and professional sports chambers have very complicated ownership in Greece. There is a confusing mix of publicly and privately owned companies, but the existence of a 'black' economy of private ownership, with many business people owning various businesses. This is especially true in the case of media and universities. Rather than unifying interests around 'growth' agendas, any unified approach is largely focused on managing decline. Citizens rarely exercise their demands, other than through the level of the municipality, which is considered to be ineffectual in the face of local mayors, who seek re-election regularly, members of parliament, officials at prefecture, periphery and central administration levels. The main way that citizens articulate their demands is through street protests, the latest of which were over social security payments and the Iraq War. Greeks readily take to the streets to articulate their unhappiness with central state policies.

There is little evidence of community solidarity around growth or decline, unless it affects individual workers whose jobs are in jeopardy or livelihoods threatened. Recent forest fires provide a recent case where farmers and citizens thought the Greek government could have done more to support them, but in the absence of state intervention, Greeks have a tendency to seek informal, familial and community solutions to problems.

It is important to pay attention to the political, economic and cultural dynamics of local areas (Molotch 1976) because it is the site for a gradual emergence of multi-dimensional representation of interests (Beauregard 1989). The local must be seen as embedded in, rather than separate from, wider scales of spatiality (Cochrane 1991), and in Greece we see a high degree of local action, but rarely is this matched with central state intervention, other than resorting to specific developmental laws or aiming to draw down further EU funding. The Greek state, based on a strong legal basis, remains heavily dependent on EU funds and is seemingly incapable of pro-actively developing an effective system for uneven development, although the National Planning Framework is supposed to ameliorate some of the problems of decline.

It appears that there is very little knowledge, owing to lack of relevant research, regarding the effectiveness of any state intervention measures taken. It also seems that the political and central authorities, who

inevitably act reactively, are pleased when complaints and lobbying about specific cases of injustice or uneven development subside. Moreover, union and syndicate leaders who do articulate the 'voice' of redundant workers are generally perceived as pursuing their own self-interest, by using their positions as stepping stones to national politics.

It is also questioned whether in fact the limited interventions that are in existence have any real impact. This is because certain measures for regeneration are difficult to comply with, as they have so many pre-requisites that local people are not fully aware of. Furthermore, for any business to set up or expand in a Greek town, there are numerous licensing documents needed, as well as the issue of land rights (an extremely complex web of family ownership developed over thousands of years), the grant regime is incredibly complex and the laws are almost impenetrable to understand.

CONCLUSION

Greece remains a highly bureaucratic, centralised state where legalistic solutions to deprived areas are always sought, and there is no way of measuring whether interventions have been successful. Partnerships for regeneration as we recognise them in the UK and US are unknown, and the only evidence of partnership working is when partners are forced to work together, as in the case of local development partnerships, to draw down EU funding.

Each of the cases under enquiry is embedded in its own social system; national political and economic system; and traditions and values that govern local action (Tickell and Peck 1992). With the exception of Athens, which it has been argued was a special case due to the support and resource base received from the central Greek state, the other cases of de-industrialisation demonstrate unique geographical trajectories based on history, location and the broader global, national and local changes that created different responses to the problems. The persistence of political clientelism and a complicated mass of inter-connections between local and central state organs and political parties severely constrain autonomous action at municipal level.

Mayors are highly visible individuals, as in France and Italy (Garrard 2007), but are not viewed as particularly influential in economic development as their counterparts in other states; rather their role is ceremonial, symbolic, and involves executive decision-making over a restricted suite of local services.

Greek central government policies and the global dimension impact on localities is much the same as in other countries' jurisdiction, but in Greece, the importance of clientelism cannot be understated. The long-established and complicated relationships between local and national actors constrains decision-making, and the scope for autonomy in local areas to bring about change is restricted. At local levels, where the effects of de-industrialisation are felt most keenly, there is a very dense mixture of actors who

are concerned with the 'political costs' of taking action or not. Voluntary approaches in response to changing conditions in specific areas are more prevalent than any coherent plans or strategies for deprived areas. The lived experience of citizens in community action is quite different to those experienced in the US, for example. This is because the local state is responsible only for basic services, and the party in control at the local level is under control of the national party machine.

Despite uneven development across Greece, any conflicts between national and local governments are mediated through the MP and regional administrators at the periphery level. Localities aim to be as pro-active as possible to shape their own local domain, but this proves difficult with a dominant central state and centralised political parties. Greece is regarded as a welfare state, but local politics cannot be entirely explained by delivery of services as most key services, such as electricity and social benefit payments are not paid by local government; instead they are paid by the regional arms of the central state. Few disputes arise on welfare spending at the local level, given the lack of local government responsibility and ineffectual administration. Most decisions are taken at the behest of the local mayor, and supported by low paid and inefficient personnel.

Unlike the situation in the US, where the local state organises and co-ordinates private capital accumulation by including other relevant actors (Mayer 1992). Greek private capital is much dispersed, and there are so many complex capital networks that capital organises the local state. There are numerous private banks operating across Greece, in addition to chambers of trade and commerce, and local business people are more liable to inject cash into specific projects than rely on state intervention. Coalitions of actors within economic development tend to be largely made up of MPs, local mayors and state officials. There is no consensual coalition of collaboration and municipal level, as large and small local businesses have their own representative organisations that are not part of the local decision-making and power brokering milieu. In the event of any factory closure, syndicates of workers will lobby the mayor, who will be under the purview of the national party and the local MP. Rarely does such lobbying succeed, and business representatives belong to quite small chambers (outside of Athens and Thessaloniki, at least) that provide only member services and do not regard themselves as lobbyists in the way that their UK counterparts do.

Business elites have not been empowered and given privileged access to decision-making as they were in the UK in the 1980s in partnership forums, and they have been granted no legitimacy to become involved in policy questions, even if those questions are focused on economic issues. The only partnerships in existence are across local authority boundaries between municipalities, prefectures and peripheries for local and regional administrations to satisfy EU funding criteria (Liddle and Oikonomopolous 2001) and interests beyond local government, such as business or syndicates of workers have limited involvement. The local Union of Municipalities of

West Attica, for example, is a partnership of mayors who come together to discuss infrastructure, tourism or other projects. Some special public–private partnerships are developing between municipalities and private construction companies. Furthermore, the media is not seen as a critical player either, because at both local and national level newspapers, TV and radio are regarded as a 'mouthpiece' for the ruling political party.

Place marketing strategies, as found in the UK and other parts of Europe and North America, are in their infancy in Greece, and then only rooted in tourism and cultural aspects of economic development. Little evidence exists to show that local, regional or national actors connect 'place marketing' to industrial investment. This is because industrial and service sector developments are seen in quite separate categories to those of tourism and culture. Moreover, there is little connection between economic development, which is seen as a local issue, and welfare services, a national issue. Most local authorities do not possess an economic development strategy, and efforts to use tourism and culture to aid economic development have been restricted to the islands. The Athens Olympics, with the associated property, infrastructure and cultural and tourism regeneration activities, can only be seen as a special case, mainly as Thessaloniki and Athens remain prominent cities in Greece. The other areas in need of development, such as Kastoria, Lavrion and Naoussa, all experienced decline and are all towns where state intervention has been, at best, fragmented and unsatisfactory.

In all three cases, the response of the Greek state was reactive, and there was no grand plan to solve the areas of decline. In the forest fires of 2007, it was proven that the promised help did not materialise because of inefficiency of state and lack of a grand plan. One year later, very little has been done, and people have been complaining. As there is no overall plan to regenerate deprived areas, when problems occur, those directly involved will act by obtaining peer support (other citizens or other syndicates or other employers' unions and will seek support by local authorities such as municipalities). MPs' behaviour will depend on which political party they belong to. If they are in the opposition party, they will ask official questions in Parliament. If he/she is in the ruling party there will be a promise to get government officials to do something about the problem. There continues to be no objective system for national, regional or local state administrations to take action in events such as a factory closure or any other aspect of de-industrialisation. The EU-funded, fully integrated support programme for education, employability and self-employment of unemployed workers is the one measure always used in such cases, but this is generally regarded as being ineffective and it only shifts the problem of unemployed people onto the public sector, either by making them dependent on social welfare or by employing them in low level positions on low pay.

Deprivation in specific areas of Greece will continue, in the face of increasing globalisation, the movement of financial capital between states and the availability of cheap labour in other jurisdictions. The importance

of regenerating run-down areas, such as those illustrated, will escalate as Athens and Thessaloniki maintain their prominence in the national psyche, and as the Greek central state continues to categorise other towns by their proximity to these two premier cities. The heavy dependence on EU funds will serve to accentuate the problems being experienced in many of rural and peripheral areas across Greece, as many of these local communities cannot be viable without some form of state intervention and some clearer overview of their specific needs (Diamond and Liddle 2005).

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Both authors acknowledge and thank the many Greek respondents who gave freely of their time to provide detailed explanations on regeneration activities of local, regional and state agencies and other organisations in Kastoria, Lavrion and Naoussa.

NOTE

1. These had been proposed by Michailidis, Georgiadis and Koutsommarkos in 2006 to aid regional competitiveness.

5 Regeneration or Redevelopment?
The Case of East Port of Spain, Trinidad, West Indies

Ann Marie Bissessar

INTRODUCTION

The primary aim of this chapter is to examine the proposal by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, West Indies, to redevelop one of the areas of the capital city, East Port of Spain. The chapter is severely limited in its scope since redevelopment of this city is still essentially a work in progress. As such, the chapter does not, or cannot, at this time, evaluate the outcome of the project. Rather, an attempt is made to provide explanations for the vast projections undertaken by the government. Two major theoretical frameworks are examined in order to arrive at an explanation, namely, the cultural approach (Smith 1984; Gottdiener and Feagin 1988), and the political economy approach (Clarke 2000; DiGaetano and Strom 2003). The chapter suggests that while the two approaches are relevant to the more developed countries, in a developing country such as Trinidad and Tobago the approach adopted is more eclectic—borrowing some dimensions from one or more models or approaches. The paper acknowledges, though, that in the case of the redevelopment of the East Port of Spain, the decision of the government has been influenced by a complex interplay of a number of factors including urban decline, the force of new ideology and economic as well as and political considerations. These influences have all converged to produce what has been translated into a comprehensive planning document 'Vision 2020,' which includes proposals for a major facelift of the capital city of Trinidad and Tobago, Port of Spain.

DISCUSSION

There is now a burgeoning literature on what has been referred to as urbanItalic governance (DiGaetano and Strom 2003; DiGaetano and Lawless 1999; Harding 1997; Jessop 1997) or sometimes as regeneration management (Diamond and Liddle 2005; Whitzman and Slater 2006; Ralph and Peterman 2006). While some may argue that the terms, while related and often interchangeable, are conceptually different (governance involving the state,

while management refers to public–private partnership), it is evident that both refer to a set of processes which taken together result in urban cities worldwide getting what may be described as a 'facelift.' The 'facelift,' however, is not only geared towards improving or rebuilding dilapidated housing areas or urban slums but extends to a number of other areas including the continued use of partnerships to develop and implement regeneration efforts (Taylor 2000). Other areas include the introduction of tax-based incentives to encourage urban regeneration, arts activity to support community-led renewal, as well as community and environment enhancement. Perhaps, one of the primary objectives in the whole process, though, is that of building and supporting partnerships involving not only business partners but also partnerships that extend to groups within the community as a whole. These partnerships or social connections, it is argued, constitute the dynamic that enables people to build communities, commit themselves to each other and to integrate themselves into a complex social fabric. Some suggest that it is this type of community building that is pivotal in preventing the emergence of social vices, such as crime and prostitution.

It is evident, then, that urban regeneration is a holistic process involving a number of institutions/agencies and actors. Yet, in the case of developing countries, there is often an eclectic approach to policy implementation, with sometimes the state adopting and introducing one aspect of a policy rather than engaging in all facets of the process. Thus, in the case of Trinidad and Tobago, urban regeneration so far has been confined to proposals for rebuilding of new houses while less emphasis is placed on the area of community partnering. Indeed, while initially there was a comprehensive plan that involved the 'partnering' of a number of international as well as local organisations, this did not materialise. The reason, some suggest, is that there was lack of funding to support the initiative. The result is that at present two major actors, namely, the Housing Development Corporation and the Town and Country Planning Division have been accorded the major responsibility for the development. The discussion that follows will accordingly present a historical account of the attempts to redevelop the city of Port of Spain with specific emphasis on the Eastern area of the city. It will also examine briefly two models that have been adopted to redevelop cities in a number of countries.

It examines, summarily, two approaches that have been advanced to explain urban regeneration attempts in a number of countries in order to ascertain the extent to which these were present in the case of Trinidad and Tobago. It first employs the political economy model, which is premised on the notion that urban politics is a product of the division of labor between the state and market in city affairs (Smith 1984; Gottdiener and Feagin 1988). In other words, this approach suggests that there is a 'bargaining' dimension to the renewal of cities that is driven by economic factors. Another approach that may be employed is a cultural analysis of the political system. What is useful in the 'culture' approach is the way in which the forces of globalisation have led to the adoption of a 'new' political culture

worldwide (Clarke 2000). According to DiGaetano and Strom (2003) with this approach, the old political culture of clientelism and class politics has given way to a new politics of greater reliance on private sector solutions to urban governance.

URBAN REGENERATION APPROACHES

There has now been an increasing focus on what writers refer to as urban governance, urban regeneration or gentrification. A number of explanations have been advanced to explain this fast-increasing phenomenon in cities throughout the world, and a number of comparative studies have been attempted. The major arguments offered, however, can be viewed from two levels. The first, which offers a broader unit of analysis, is that urban regeneration has been pushed from outside as a result of the forces of globalisation or what some may refer to as exogenous factors.

EXOGENOUS FACTORS: CULTURAL ANALYSIS OR WORLD CITIES APPROACH

One key paradigm in urban studies is the cultural approach, known as the 'world cities' thesis. Under the world cities thesis, the general argument was that advanced telecommunications, global financial markets and transnational corporations had led to a global division of labour and the rise of global or world cities. In other words, it has been suggested that the pressure for urban regeneration could come from outside a country. The cultural approach or the world cities thesis is accordingly predicated on a number of assumptions namely:

- That globalisation has been largely responsible for the introduction of urban renewal in cities world wide;
- That transnational corporations divest investments across boundaries in order to maximise capital accumulation;
- That transnational corporations operate in extensive global networks and depend on certain conditions including cheap labour costs and the development of new market territories;
- That the wider the scope of business of the transnational corporation, the wider the scope of business activities and the greater the need to have central locations for administrative functions, financial resources and supportive producer services.
- That the economic position of world cities is a function of where the cities rank in the system of world cities on international trade migration and capital flows.
- That globalisation has led to the emergence of a greater degree of political decentralisation.

With this approach, it is evident that what is being advanced is that the major actor is the transnational corporation. It suggests that when globalisation is adopted, the nation state plays a minimal role in the making of world cities. However, while writers acknowledge that economic globalisation and close interactions were influential on world cities, a number of writers have disagreed, on the basis of research conducted, that the transnational corporation was the major actor responsible for the push to urban regeneration. Tsukamoto and Vogel in a 2003 study of twenty cities found, for instance, that this would have been only relevant to seven out of the twenty cities surveyed. Similarly, Abu-Lughod in a 1999 study, compared New York, Los Angeles and Chicago and suggested that the urbanisation patterns of world cities differed. She conceded that economic globalisation and close interactions among world cities do have an influence on urban development. However, she concluded that the dominant socio-political culture of the community had greater consequence for urbanisation and development in the cities. Accordingly, further explanations have been advanced to explain the differences in urban regeneration in cities worldwide.

While these explanations all suggest that globalisation is indeed an important variable in the attempt to explain the phenomenon of urban regeneration worldwide, a number of internal factors also play an important role as well. Factors such as the need to redefine land areas and introduce proper planning principles are important—the need, with the advent of New Public Management and hence greater competition among countries, to have cities that may encourage investor confidence are all critical influences in the adoption of urban regeneration products. Irrespective of those factors, however, what has been argued is that urban regeneration cannot be implemented in a vacuum. Rather what is necessary is a 'push' from various actors. Actors such as the nation state along with community and other partners thus appear central in discussions of urban regeneration. In other words, 'bargaining' is important in the whole project of urban regeneration.

INTERNAL PRESSURES FOR CHANGE: THE ROLE OF THE NATION STATES, LOCAL GOVERNMENT, COMMUNITIES AND PARTNERS—THE BARGAINING DIMENSION

Writers such as White (1998), Hill and Kim (2000) also advance the view that local characteristics influence urbanisation patterns and that local leaders devise strategic plans and make political choices that shape the fortunes of their cities. However, when employing an approach using the role of the nation state as a unit of analysis we must remember that essentially what is actually examined amounts to a debate about power relationships between the central and local government level. It is clear, however, from a review of the literature, that from an urban regeneration standpoint, the primary

focus is on the community and community leaders. The main actor, here, is not the central government but rather, as Borraz and John (2004) argue, much of the present debate particularly as it relates to cities in Europe as well as the United Kingdom (Liddle and Diamond 2006) point to the politics of decentralisation, networks, participation, partnerships and bureaucratic reform. While the role of the central government is important, it is acknowledged that what is offered at the central level of government is confined mainly to policy direction and advice.

It appears, therefore, that in countries such as the United Kingdom, and in Europe as well, the urban regeneration of cities is essentially debated and introduced at the local government level. Indeed, in the case of the United Kingdom, the concerted effort of the central government to delegate much of its powers to the local level is evidenced by the introduction of the White Paper, entitled *Modern Local Government: In Touch with the People* (Department of Transport 1998), which was introduced by the Blair Government. This White Paper highlighted the need to reform and modernise local government advocating that local government should be in touch with the people, provide high-quality services and offer vision and leadership for local communities. Another White Paper, *Strong Local Leadership: Quality Public Services* (Department of Transport 2002),Italic in addition, provided support for local government to develop the democratic legitimacy and sound governance required to underpin community leadership and effective service delivery building on local strategic partnerships.

However, urban regeneration as this literature suggests, is not simply about devolving decision-making and implementation to local administrators. Rather as Syrett (1997) observes, what is critical is rather the asymmetrical power relations between differing partners. Indeed, it should be recalled that a major justification for urban regeneration partnerships was the view that agencies can create more together than they can separately (Hemphill et al. 2006). One of the key partners to emerge in this equation is accordingly the neighbourhood or the community, and in fact this is an arrangement that had been proposed by Liddle in 2001. Liddle, at that time, advocated the need for flexible arrangements, which facilitated decentralised decision-making and wider participation as the key aspects of contemporary regeneration management. Apparently, the concept of wider participation was one that the British government had been trying to introduce since the early 1990s commencing with *Bidding Guidance: A Guide to Funding from the Single Regeneration Budget* (Department of Environment 1993), and later the paper *Involving Communities in Urban and Rural Regeneration: A Guide for Practitioners* (Department of Environment 1997) and in the Social Exclusion Unit's *Bringing Britain Together: A National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal* (1998). Accordingly, in the case of Northern Ireland the need for collaborative planning at the community level has resulted in the establishment of neighbourhood partnership boards, consisting of representatives of key political, statutory, community,

voluntary and private sectors, which Hemphill and others (2006) suggest are the key vehicles for local planning and implementation of neighbourhood renewal.

BothBold the British as well as the European models of urban regeneration are thus clearly premised on the idea that there is a fundamental unity of interests among various groups and that urban regeneration is mainly based on what writers of Organisational Theory like to call a 'bottom-up' approach. The models accordingly entail a close relationship between elected representatives, especially at the local level, and community-based organisations. More than this, though, the model has a number of underlying dimensions:

- That the countries are so large that there must be a division of power between central and local government;
- That all citizens are stakeholders and willing participants in the process;
- That local government exhibits a strong administrative capacity;
- That practices of strong individualised or community-based leadership exists as it does in both the United Kingdom and European countries. For example, power and authority, in the case of the United Kingdom, is vested in the office of the mayor who acts as a broker between central and local actors. On the other hand, Northern Europe, prior to the Local Government Act 2000, tended to display much weaker models of local leadership and power and responsibility was vested in a committee-style arrangement;
- That there is a strong democratic process based on mutual trust between citizens and their elected representatives;
- That, like the Government of the United Kingdom, other governments also provide resources for building local government capacity and leadership;
- That there is a strong private sector with the capacity to provide public services.

While these operational characteristics exist in large countries in which there is a history of strong government and leadership, in small, developing countries, however, many of these features are either absent or inadequate. To a large extent, then, the academic literature on the political sciences, including public administration and more recently urban regeneration, while advancing explanatory approaches as well as prescriptions on 'how-to-do' often overlook the vast differences existing between the large, more developed countries and small and often divided countries like Trinidad and Tobago. As a result, neither the approaches nor the prescriptions offered are sometimes relevant in analysing the experiences of these countries.

It has been necessary to examine the history of the advanced countries at some length since it is necessary to demonstrate that given their advanced

economic status they were better able to avoid the tendency towards urban decline. In the case of developing societies such as Trinidad and Tobago it is important to recognise that it is only recently that its economic fortunes have dramatically changed.

THE CASE OF EAST PORT OF SPAIN, TRINIDAD

The twin-island state of Trinidad and Tobago, West Indies, is a small, divided society with a population of approximately 1.3 million persons. Its major city is Port of Spain in which a number of prominent businesses and government agencies are concentrated. In 1941, under the Slum Clearance and Housing Act, Chapter 33:02, Act 41 of 1938, the British Government constructed a number of multi-storey rental accommodation units with the majority of these rental accommodation units being concentrated in the East Port of Spain district. All of these rentals were allocated to low-income persons, and currently tenants pay a monthly rental of approximately US$15 per month, which is far below its market value. Despite this, it has been reported that many tenants have outstanding rents. Many of these rental units have fallen into disrepair, and it is believed that the area is one of the high crime areas within the inner city. In 1973, the Ministry of Planning and Development undertook a comprehensive assessment of the city, followed by a later reassessment in September 2003. In 2005, with the introduction of the Housing Development Corporation (HDC), the Government of Trinidad and Tobago proposed the redevelopment of the East Port of Spain area. The article will focus on the redevelopment efforts in East Port of Spain. It is proposed that this 'redevelopment' process will include 2,000 residential units, 300,000 square feet of commercial space, 2,500 parking spaces, community centers and ten acres of green space.

A number of departures from both the British and European approaches have emerged in the plan to redevelop the capital city of Port of Spain. Firstly, while the broader outline suggested that there was to be an overhaul of the broader community, the emphasis, in the case of East Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago seems to be on the 'housing' aspect. While it is true that there has been ongoing consultation with persons in the community, this consultation has not extended to the wider community or even the business fraternity who may have had an interest in the activity. Secondly, while in most cases of urban regeneration, after completion of the housing project, it is expected that tenants be asked to pay rental at the existing market rates—in the case of Trinidad and Tobago, this has not surfaced as a major issue. Rather, what has emerged is that the present government is now involved in the drafting of legal documents, which secures for the tenant the right to rental accommodation in that area once it has been completed. The government, also, has assumed the responsibility to place all tenants in temporary accommodation.

The development of the East Port of Spain area commenced in 1845 while the island was still under the colonial rule. Since then we can define the history according to two major periods—prior to independence in 1962 and after 2000, a period that can be categorised as the introduction of NPM in Trinidad. (See Table 5.1.)

As Table 5.1 indicates, the East Port of Spain area initially was used by the Colonial Government for housing many of its 'working class population'. From 1938 to 1941, it could be concluded that the emphasis by the departing colonials was to provide cheap housing in the form of a number of multi-storey buildings. Over time, illegal immigrants from other West Indian territories settled in the district as well, resulting in what over time became an urban slum. It should be recalled also, that the Moyne Commission was also investigating labour, social and economic conditions in the Caribbean at the time. What was amazing, though, was that very little effort was placed on upgrading the area, and it was not until 2003 that

Table 5.1 History of Housing Accommodation and Development in the East Port of Spain Area

Period	*Activities*
1845 to 1938	Housing accommodation in the city provided for low-income earners and units were barrack- style and located in Duncan, Nelson Street and other areas of Port of Spain. The features of the housing were poor ventilation, poor sanitation and over-crowding. In the 1920s the areas deteriorated into slums.
1938	Influx of persons from Port of Spain and other West Indian islands increasing the strain on the existing houses and other services in the city.
1941 2005	Report of the Foster Commission and enactment of the Slum Clearance and Housing Act and the establishment of the Planning and House Commission. The Act conveyed the power to acquire, reconstruct and manage areas declared slum clearance areas and redevelopment areas, demolish or repair unsanitary dwellings and provide housing accommodation for persons of the 'working class'.
February 2006	Construction of multi-storey rental accommodation 'The Planning' and single units mandated by the Planning and Housing Commission and subsequently National Housing Authority formed in 1962.
	The establishment of the Housing Development Corporation and the introduction of new Urban Development Strategy to improve the standard of living of the population, develop balanced communities in urban areas and stimulate development.
	Notice published in daily newspaper and Gazette advising the public that a resolution was passed in August 2005 declaring the area for redevelopment. Public consultations commenced.

Source: (Neaves 2006).

discussions took place on how to improve the landscape of the city. Two years later, with a windfall of revenue as a result of the increase in the price of oil and oil-based projects, under the Urban Development Corporation (UDeCOTT) the state proposed a grandiose project that boasted of 'revolutionizing' the city and enhancing its role as the financial capital of the region. Sixty projects were announced including the construction of what was referred to as the Ministry of Education Tower, the New Public Administration Building and a waterfront project boasting a 10,000 square foot multi-purpose room, two office towers and a public plan with a waterfront esplanade.

It was proposed that as sophisticated structures filled the west, the East Port of Spain backdrop was to be 'improved' by the government appointed East Port of SpainItalic Development Company Limited. The aim of the project was to create diverse housing options along with shopping and employment opportunities (Lawrence 2006). The overall responsibility for the project, however, resided with the Interim National Physical Planning Commission (INPPC). The INPPC was charged with the reform and devolution of the national planning system. The proposal initially agreed to consisted of a partnership agreement between a number of actors including the City of Port of Spain, the San Juan Laventille Corporation and the Communities of East Port of Spain (Mohammed 2003). According to Mohammed (2003), a lecturer in surveying at the University of the West Indies, a number of international partners such as the Canadian Institute of Planners and the Urban Management Programme of the United Nations were also involved in the venture as well; their major role was, however, largely limited to technical and financial support. It is clear, then, that urban regeneration had to await the advent of better times.

As Mohammed noted:

> The main focus of the process was to engender greater public involvement and transparency. . . . improving sectoral coordination and creating partnerships between government, business and non-governmental organizations. (2003:7)

He observed that this approach consisted of five key elements, which he listed as:

- Overcoming the historical legacy of top-down planning;
- Learning from international and comparative experiences;
- Experimentation and innovation;
- Working with key stakeholders;
- Reforming the existing framework.

There were thus five components to the exercise. The first component consisted of the Urban Revitalisation Council, which was essentially a

multi-stakeholder organisation whose major purpose was to coordinate the entire effort. It presented a forum that was designed to ensure that key stakeholders were afforded the opportunity to be involved with the formulation as well as the implementation of the exercise. The second major component was the establishment of a Community Leaders' Committee. Based on past experiences where there was an absence or often little or no input at the community level, it was felt that this Committee, especially since the Success/Laventille Committee, which was a strong Non-Governmental Organisation already existed, would allow for community involvement. Community Workshops were the third component, and these had a number of defined objectives. Firstly, they provided a means to educate the community about the intricacies involved in the process of planning. Secondly, it was hoped that the process would throw up a cadre of suitable leaders. In all a total of six workshops were conducted throughout East Port of Spain.

The fourth component consisted of 'pilot projects' in which the communities were to be involved in a 'needs assessment' exercise. With the assistance of the INPPC, a project was to be selected and budgeted for, thus providing the community with important skills such as decision-making. The final component was the establishment of the East Port of Spain Community Planning Centre in 2002. The major purpose of this centre was to share information with the government, the NGOs and the community. Clearly, then, during the initial phase of the exercise, some attempt was made to include a number of 'partner-type' arrangements. This, however, did not materialise.

Some suggest that the project was 'starved' of both financial as well as the necessary human resources. In terms of human resources, the entire process was dependent on planning interns from the Canadian Institute of Planners, student planners from the Masters Programme in Planning and Development of the University of the West Indies and the honorary staff of the Interim National Physical Planning Commission. The University of the West Indies thus had a marginal role to play in the whole exercise. Sustaining the involvement of the politicians and the planners in the process as well as gaining the support of those who controlled the finances did not take place, and both local government bodies, namely the Port of Spain Corporation and the San Juan/Laventille Regional Corporation never fully participated in the exercise.

Perhaps no other statement sums up the attempt to 'renew' the city of Port of Spain as that by a local architect Jennifer Smith (2003). She observed:

> 'The road to hell is paved with good intentions' and this expression comes to mind when reviewing the various development plans, action plans and strategic plans which have been commissioned for Port of Spain and which seem all to fail at the level of implementation and now lie gathering dust'.[1]

While it is true that the initial attempts to introduce a more collaborative approach to the redevelopment of Port of Spain has been stymied, it is evident that the government is forging ahead to develop the city using two major agencies, namely the Housing Development Corporation and the Town and Country Planning Division. It was clear that since funding and technical support was provided by international agencies the model introduced at that time emphasised a more collaborative approach. Yet, over time, this model took on a more political agenda and the local community, egged on by the Opposition, sought to maximise their benefits by demanding that government should not only provide them with accommodation but also 'purchase from the tenants the rental premises which they occupied'. Given the continuing confrontation, the government after a period of silence, simply 'shelved' its more grandiose plans and adopted a simpler approach for the time being, the limited objective of providing adequate housing.

It is merely academic, though, to ask why it was only in 2005 that plans were proposed to redevelop the East Port of Spain area. There can be no doubt that the area went through a period of urban sprawl and subsequent urban decline. Indeed, by 2006, it was reported that thirty-seven murders were committed in the area, accounting for 25.68 percent of the murders in the country. In addition, it was felt that the area was a 'hot crime area' and as a result according to the President of the Downtown Owners and Merchants Association, there was a migration of business out of the city towards more orderly districts, primarily shopping malls. This, however, was not the only consideration. Indeed, it appears that there were a number of factors that converged and perhaps influenced the government in its bid to revitalise this area in 2005, more than six decades after the area was developed.

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE REDEVELOPMENT OF EAST PORT OF SPAIN.

So far two main approaches towards the phenomenon referred to as urban regeneration have been discussed with reference to the more developed countries. The literature touched on the 'cultural approach' in which globalisation and the transnational corporations were the major forces for change. These, as this chapter noted, were external to the countries, and in two major surveys the thesis that was being advanced could not be sustained. Alternatively, it was proposed that endogenous forces such as the neighbourhood were also important. The literature suggested that cities could be viewed from the perspective of a bargaining context in which a number of actors were involved, which we may attribute to an extension of the political economy approach. The problem, though, as this chapter attempts to clarify, was that this 'bargaining context' prevailed in large

countries in which there has been a strong democratic and partnership culture over time.

Given the absence of this culture in a developing country and since the two approaches seem to have very little relevance in providing us with an appropriate explanation for the 'regeneration' exercise in the case of Trinidad, West Indies, a number of factors that may have contributed to the policy adopted by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago to redevelop East Port of Spain are accordingly explored.

URBAN DECLINE AND URBAN SPRAWL

A number of writers have considered the issue of urban sprawl. A useful definition provided by Peiser is that:

> The term is used variously to mean the gluttonous use of land, uninterrupted monotonous development, leapfrog discontinuous development and inefficient use of land. (2001: 278)

While, no doubt, a great deal of the academic literature comment on the issue of sprawl and decline (Chin 2002; Couch and Karecha 2002; Galster et al. 2001), the contribution has been merely to explain the process of sprawl. In other words, the literature has not suggested that 'sprawl' is a major contributory factor to urban renewal. Yet there must be a strong association among sprawl, decline and urban regeneration. Indeed, one argument that can be advanced to support the view that sprawl and decline may be important factors in considering the redevelopment of a city, is the size of a country. Whereas in large countries, the problem of regeneration may be solved by relocation of the community, in small countries with limited land space, this is clearly not an option. As a result sprawl and decline seem to be major factors when we consider the history and development of the East Port of Spain area, which was discussed previously.

THE FORCE OF NEW IDEOLOGY

In advancing explanations for proposing urban regeneration in the case of the East Port of Spain area, one factor, as Hood (1994) has often offered to explain changes or policy reversals has been what he terms the force of 'new ideology.' Indeed, like countries all over the world, Trinidad and Tobago, in 2002, embraced some of the guiding principles of a paradigm that took the world by force, often referred to as New Public Management, or NPM. Unlike the more developed countries, however, the introduction of NPM principles in Trinidad and other West Indian territories, including Jamaica and Guyana, was a condition imposed by

the multi-national financial organisations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in return for providing financial assistance to these countries. The principles and philosophies that accompanied NPM in the case of the United Kingdom, the United States, New Zealand, Australia and Canada were therefore, to a large extent, thrust upon a country in which the basic foundation upon which the success of such a model depended was weak.

The key tenets of NPM reforms included private sector involvement in public sector delivery. In addition, the new discipline stressed 'parsimony' in resource use, the continued vigilance of citizen groups and the insistence on performance. However, it should be recalled that when the IMF and the World Bank introduced structural adjustment conditions, although many of their recommendations were in keeping with the basic principles of NPM, their primary emphasis was on economic stringency and with 'turning around' the economy. In other words, 'parsimony' was the bedrock of the reforms proposed, and little if any attempt was made to focus on the well being of the society. But the reforms that accompanied the structural adjustment measures and later the NPM reforms were to achieve very little success mainly because the foundation on which to apply the reforms was simply not there.

Like many developing countries, the public sector had, immediately after the acquisition of independent status by the country, become an avenue of employment for citizens—particularly those loyal to the ruling party of the time. Adherence to stipulated times for arrival and departure and adherence to regulations that had not significantly departed from the Colonial Regulations of 1935 were stressed because salaries were low. In addition, the systematic planning of the economy, cities and of neighbourhoods had not been a major preoccupation of either the central or the local government, who more often than not were faced with the burgeoning problems generated by dynamic and often volatile economic and political conditions. It was not surprising, then, that given the absence of a 'culture' of performance and entrepreneurship, that major features of NPM were often ignored in the quest to reform the public sector. Clearly, then, ideology, in the sense of a programme of development, even when pushed by external forces, could not have been the most decisive factor in the decision to redevelop the area of Port of Spain.

ECONOMIC GROWTH AS A REFLECTION OF DISTRIBUTIVE PRACTICES

Theoretically growth, planning and development are irrevocably informed by the economy of a country. In the more developed countries, the United States, Britain and other European countries, particularly during the 1950s and 1960s, the Keynesian model was widely adopted. Keynes, an

economist, argued that economies slumped because of a crisis in consumer demand. In other words, if people did not have the resources to buy goods or if, according to Healey (2006:13), they did not have the confidence to invest, then production would decline. The solution offered by Keynes was to stimulate demand. A key element of the Keynesian model, then, was the maintenance of 'full employment,' and to a large extent many governments buttressed their social welfare policies to assist their citizens to acquire education, maintain an efficient health service and make housing available. In countries such as Britain and the United States, also, subsidies were provided to encourage people to purchase housing (Ball 1983).

In many of the more developed countries then, systematic planning of economies, cities and neighbourhoods became a primary focus of the state, and it is clear that the concept of planning was rooted in a much broader philosophical policy of social transformation. This kind of evolution was clearly absent in the case of ex-colonial territories. The history of these territories was a history of slavery and indentureship, of imposed policies and autocratic rule. With the attainment of independence, a major emphasis of the newly elected directorate, given the absence of basic amenities, was to build houses, develop roads, to educate a largely illiterate society and to promote and maintain stability among the various groups. To do this they had to embark on revenue-raising devices, in the first instance, depending primarily on income taxes. Nation-building, therefore, was largely attempted against a background of scarce resources, both financial and human, and with minimal technical or administrative support systems on which to draw.

In the context of the decolonisation process of the 1950s and 1960s, economic issues assumed a less prominent position than those concerned with international relations and issues of 'sovereignty,' 'exploitation' and 'statehood.' As Ramsaran (2001) observed, also, the Cold War and the ideological debate that it spawned not only complicated the international environment but also vitiated the role of aid and consumed energies and resources. Economics and politics became strongly intertwined. Ramsaran (2001:363) estimates that on average, per capita income of the Caribbean countries grew by between 2 percent to 3 percent. The 1970s, though, was the more difficult period for most of the Caribbean territories, and in many countries the growth rate fell and per capita income declined. Because of its oil sector, however, per capita income in Trinidad and Tobago grew at an average of about 4 percent.

By the 1980s, the increased costs of imports and with stagnant or declining earnings, external borrowings increased sharply so that in countries like Jamaica, Guyana and Trinidad, the growth rate was negative. External borrowing continued in the 1980s, but debt servicing emerged as a major problem for countries. Trinidad and Tobago, once a net lender during the 'oil boom' of the 1970s, had exhausted its fiscal savings by 1986, and financing the public sector investment programmes became increasingly dependent

on foreign savings. Following six years of economic decline between the period of 1983 and 1988, Trinidad and Tobago entered into two stand-by arrangements with the Fund in the late 1980s, and these were associated with stringent management policies. By 1991, the economy grew for the first time in eight years but declined in the following two years. In 1994, 1995 and 1996 it again returned to a positive growth path with unemployment falling from 19.8 percent to 7.0 percent per year. There is no doubt that the decline in its economic fortunes was bound to influence the policy decisions of government. Thus, economic decline was one of the major reasons why little or no consideration was directed towards the redevelopment of any of the cities in Trinidad and Tobago during the period of 1962 to 1996. It is thus understandable that urban regeneration would come only when the country could have afforded it.

At present, however, Trinidad and Tobago is facing a new energy boom, which is estimated to increase fiscal revenues considerably (International Monetary Fund 2003). The current boom is due primarily to large, newly discovered reserves of oil and natural gas. The expected increase in oil and gas production is projected to have increased by 100 percent. In 2006, unemployment fell to 5 percent down from 6.7 percent in 2005. Trinidad and Tobago is also making a transition from an oil-based economy to one based on natural gas. Manufacturing was also dynamic with 11.8 percent growth in 2006, led for the third consecutive year by food, beverages and tobacco.

The obvious growth in the economy has led to a stronger thrust on foreign relations. Today, Trinidad and Tobago has an 'open' investment climate since almost all investment barriers were eliminated in 1992 as one of the conditions accompanying IMF loans. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago has a double taxation agreement, a bilateral investment treaty and an intellectual property rights agreement with the United States. The stock of United States direct investment in Trinidad and Tobago was $1.98 billion as of 2005. Total foreign direct investment inflows average $700 million annually over the last decade. Among recent and ongoing investment projects are several involving firms from the United States: ISG Trinidad started operations in November 2004 in a plant that has the capacity to produce 500,000 metric tons annually of hot briquetted iron. In December 2006, Nucor began producing direct reduced iron for shipment to the United States at its plant in Trinidad, which has a production capacity of 2.0 million tons per year. The first major business-class hotel to be opened in several years bears the Marriott Courtyard brand. In addition Trinidad and Tobago is active in the Summit of the Americas process of the Organisation of American States. In 2004, it hosted a hemisphere-wide ministerial meeting on energy as well as an OAS meeting on terrorism and security in 2005. It also hosted a negotiating session in 2003 for the OAS Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and aspires to host an eventual FTAA secretariat (US Department of State 2007).

Given these kinds of considerations, increased economic fortunes in addition to huge foreign investments, it is quite easy to see why there is a

need to embark on regeneration or in this case the redevelopment project of the capital city. Not only will this project lead, inevitably, to a decline in the high level of crime, but in addition it is expected to restore the confidence of the local business community, who were leaving the city. There is no doubt, also, that a modern and planned city is expected to foster investor confidence at the local and regional as well as at the international level. Given also the announced policy of the government to make Trinidad the financial capital of the region, it was to be expected that some attention would be devoted to urban slums.

POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is often remarked that politics follows economics. Power is, however, a pervasive activity and focuses attention on who gets what, when and how. Some writers (Barrett and Fudge 1981) argue that politicians and officials often do not have a self-interest but rather seek ways to respond appropriately to real problems manifested in specific situations. Others such as Hotelling (1929) and Downs (1957) suggest that parties alter their position in electoral space to attract the maximum number of votes, and voters chose the party closest to their personal position on key issues. In developing countries, parties are perceived as investments. Much of the existing public choice models portray interest groups as quasi-commercial bodies, run on hierarchical lines by entrepreneurial leaders maximising membership. Group members depend on the leaders for start-up subsidies and creating organisational resources. With this type of arrangement, leaders are often directly elected by grass root members. Party supporters must therefore be provided for.

Of the two arguments offered, the second, namely that party supporters must be sustained, is more relevant in explaining political outcomes particularly in a small, divided society such as Trinidad and Tobago. The history of slavery and indentureship in the case of this country has given rise to divisiveness in the way people vote but on a larger scale, also informed employment practices as well as settlement. From as early as 1956, the two major racial groups, the Africans and Indians, have culturally maintained some distance from each other. This separation has also been reflected in the pattern of voting. It is to be expected that as an ex-colony of Great Britain, Trinidad would have inherited the Westminster–Whitehall model of Government, which differed from that operating in Britain, since it had a written Constitution that was supreme. It also was essentially a two-party system with voting based on the 'first past the post' electoral system. This has made patronage a very pervasive feature in the system. The dominant party in the urban areas, therefore, has to be responsive to the housing needs of its supporters.

From 1962 to 1986, the African-based party (the PNM) has maintained political power, largely because the East Indian Opposition party has been

unable to present itself as a cohesive force. It is true that the PNM lost the 1986 and then the 1995 elections, but overall it enjoyed political control for over thirty years. As the election statistics reveal, this party had a 'core' support mainly drawn from the area of Port of Spain and its environs. Indeed, out of a total of approximately 530,000 voters, nearly 30,000 reside in this area, and its support in this area has been consistently high over the years. It can be argued that merely to provide housing to the East Port of Spain, people, along with low-income opportunities, may not be a sufficient incentive for the group to vote. Yet, as Dunleavy argued in another context, the scale of benefits involved is typically small at the level of the individual voter. He observes:

> But for ordinary voters, their gains from supporting a particular party—for example, job preferment possibilities, better access to social benefits, or getting your property connected to basic services—can still outweigh the other factors considered so far. (1991: 88)

To assume that the PNM is now embarked on urban regeneration in this area to appease its lower-income citizens is thus plausible. To maintain, then, that in order to retain and maintain power any political party will place the resources at its disposal to benefit its supporters, is a more convincing suggestion.

CONCLUSION

This chapter did not attempt to evaluate the actual redevelopment of East Port of Spain, Trinidad, since it still largely exists at the very early stage. It attempted to provide explanations why the Government of Trinidad and Tobago was now embarking on such a large-scale project. It was pointed out early, however, that what may emerge is not 'urban regeneration' in the theoretical sense since the thrust is presently confined mainly towards housing. While a more collaborative approach to the redevelopment exercise was introduced during the planning phase, this quickly petered out. It was suggested that the problem had to do with insufficient funding to carry out the project. The larger issue, however, was that the Opposition Party stirred up contention within the local community that soon started placing increasing demands on the government. The result was that the 'partnering' and wider collaborative effort was shelved, and the exercise was downsized to the provision of houses.

In order to provide an explanation for the attempt to redevelop Port of Spain, the chapter looked at two approaches, namely, the cultural approach and the political/ economic approach. The two approaches, it was clear, may have been more relevant to cities of a more developed country, although many writers disclaimed the primacy of the cultural approach in

their comparative research. In the case of Trinidad, however, a number of factors were explored. These were urban decline, the force of ideology and economic and political considerations. It concluded that while it could not discount the force of a new ideology as playing a major role, it was clear that the pressures for change were partly due to the urban decline of the city coinciding with the rise in the economic fortunes of the country as a whole. Another important factor, too, may well be that Port of Spain provides the core support for the PNM, the present party. In this way, all three criteria are brought into play, involving the complex interplay of the content and context of political decision-making. Sadly, the discussion so far does not really lead to the conclusion that the Government of Trinidad and Tobago has adopted a 'governance' mode of administration. Rather, what became evident is that the political directorate is instead applying a rational approach to policy-making in which a number of options are examined and weighed, and benefits are to be derived, negotiated and calculated. To redevelop East Port of Spain would no doubt be highly beneficial to the country as well as to the supporters of the present government. In terms of the governance processes, which were supposed to generate relational networks, it is important to recognise it could only have been accomplished if there was a strong local government arrangement along with a vibrant private sector and socially homogenous communities. To conclude, then, the East Port of Spain case may merely be one of redevelopment rather than 'urban regeneration' as it is usually understood. This, however, is not to suggest that external models do not have an influence on adopted projects. After all, consultants, international contacts and 'advisories' and even local consultants do embrace some version of a model from elsewhere. What happens in practice though is that these models, like the celebrated 'agency model' are modified, reshaped or adapted to the exigencies of interests coalitions, political patronage or sheer political expediency. In India, as in Brazil and no less than in East Port of Spain, political calculations might suggest adaptation or downright retreats.

NOTE

1. (Smith 2003)

6 An Outline of Post-War Dutch Urban Regeneration Policy

Karen Leeming

INTRODUCTION

The Netherlands is a highly urbanised country with 80 percent of its population living in cities (Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment 2007). However, there has also been an immense and sustained pressure on the provision of housing stock since the Second World War. There are three major factors that have driven this, namely: the massive destruction and damage of housing during the War, the rapid post-War population growth and the lack of available land for housing. The combination of these factors has meant that housing is extremely prominent in Dutch approaches to urban regeneration. The first part of this chapter gives a brief outline of the various strategies the Dutch have utilised in tackling urban regeneration over the past sixty years and the role of housing associations within this. The second part of the chapter then examines some of the implications these policies have had for a large housing estate close to Amsterdam and will argue that the regeneration policies of the past two decades are an incomplete approach to urban regeneration.

AN OUTLINE OF POST-WAR URBAN REGENERATION POLICY

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the need for housing was immediate and urgent, but there was also a need to rebuild the Dutch population's faith in democracy as they now regarded the traditional institutions with suspicion. It was believed that local democracy could be the answer with citizens given a voice in the regeneration of their communities and the provision of services. This, in turn, would foster strong community links and engagement. This policy was followed until the mid-1950s by, for example, initiating neighbourhood councils in a number of cities, but its success was limited, and it eventually disappeared from the urban regeneration agenda (Priemus 2005).

A strong suggestion, as to its disappearance, is that essentially it was advocating the decentralisation of certain functions, and this clashed with the centralist tendencies of central government at the time towards urban regeneration, especially in the fields of housing, education and care. Additionally, there was the promotion of the idea of being a citizen of a metropolis as opposed to a citizen of a small neighbourhood (Priemus 2005).

In the 1960s and 1970s, there was a concerted attempt to tackle the chronic housing shortage. In the 1960s, the focus was on demolishing city centres and rebuilding them. However, this changed in the 1970s to the renovation of existing housing stock (Hulsbergen and Stouten 2001) and the building of a number of estates on the edges of towns and cities. Some of these neighbourhoods were so large that they could be considered towns in their own right. And, although initially the driving force behind them was housing provision within a centrist urban planning context, over time, other elements such as administrative functions, socioeconomic considerations and quality of life also became a focus of attention, and integrated neighbourhoods were once more part of the regeneration strategy framework (Vermeijden 2001).

In the mid-1970s this integrated approach to urban regeneration was at the heart of the new initiative for predominantly pre-War neighbourhoods in the major cities called urban renewal. Within the cities, areas were targeted for regeneration under the 1975 Building for the Neighbourhood urban renewal strategy (Hulsbergen and Stouten 2001), and the process was managed by project groups that were a partnership between local authority and housing association officers, retail representatives and residents. The projects were seen to be focusing on the needs of the particular neighbourhood. Additionally, housing had to remain affordable for the residents who tended to have low incomes (Priemus 1998). This neighbourhood approach was also bolstered by the attitudes of the Dutch population as it became more articulate about its needs in housing, socioeconomic equality and government citizen relationships including those in welfare policy. By the mid-1970s welfare policy had also been devolved to local government with a neighbourhood delivery mechanism based on a partnership approach with local care agencies and client representation (Priemus 2005).

The actual process of urban renewal was seen as a finite initiative to restore the pre-War neighbourhoods; however, it quickly became apparent that the renewal areas could still suffer from neglect and decay, as could post-War areas and that an ongoing strategy for continual investment was needed. This investment programme was called new urban renewal or urbanregeneration and differed from the preceding urban renewal approach in that it also adopted the theory of 'urban restructuring' as a means to regenerate communities.

This approach diversifies the housing stock within renewal areas so that there is more variety both in the forms of housing and in the rental and buying prices. This ensures that there is a reduction in the numbers of

low-income housing. The reasoning behind the policy is that wealthier new inhabitants will interact socially with existing residents and this will in turn act as a social and economic catalyst that will force the area out of its spiral of decline (Leeming and Shakur 2005). They do this by acting as role models, using local retail outlets and services and creating a demand for new services such as gardeners or cleaners that will provide employment for local people (Kruythoff 2003).

By the mid-1980s, worries about the national economy and rising unemployment meant that the national policy focus shifted into tackling the problems these were causing. With other priorities, the neighbourhood approach to regeneration faltered and more centralist tendencies took root. This was also echoed in the approach to welfare provision as the excessive bureaucracy that surrounded the initiative effectively stifled its efficacy, and the neighbourhood approach was abolished in the late 1980s (Priemus 2005).

Although the focus of national policy had shifted, this did not mean that there was no longer a need for neighbourhood regeneration initiatives; in some regions the need became even more acute as physical and socioeconomic problems intensified and became even more embedded. And, even though the more centralised, expert-led, top-down approach to regeneration adopted by central government appeared to be at odds with a neighbourhood approach that relied upon the actual experiences of those living and working in the area, a few were managing to square the circle. A notable example was the *social renewal* policy approach of Rotterdam, which was characterised by public, private and third sector partnerships that diffused tensions between the various agencies and led regeneration initiatives forward (Priemus 2005).

During the late 1980s and 1990s, the government introduced several major policies that laid the foundations for another cycle of the neighbourhood approach to regeneration. The first was in the late 1980s when the third Lubbers Government adopted social renewal as its slogan raising public awareness of its origins (Priemus 2005). The second was the new urban renewal investment programme, which was formally defined in the Urban RenewalMemorandum (Ministerie van VROM 1997). The third was the introduction of the Major Cities Policy in 1995, which provided a framework to mesh these first two policies together to tackle the socioeconomic and physical problems in four of the largest Dutch Cities. This was later expanded and now covers thirty cities, also known as the G30. The policy did not provide a regeneration blueprint; instead it focused on priority themes. In order to address the various themes, the individual cities and towns negotiated strategic goal-oriented agreements with the state. These agreements laid out the individual responsibilities of the state, municipalities, the cities and the Ministry of Affairs and that there was a need to involve the community and the private and public sectors in developing, prioritising and implementing area-specific, co-ordinated approaches to

regeneration (Kruythoff 2003). As to whether they would be neighbourhood based was left to the individual cities and towns. Other cities that want to join the new urban renewal policy have to negotiate their own covenants with the municipalities who are given the financial support to formulate and realise their urban renewal policy via the Investment Budget for Urban Renewal (Priemus 2005).

In 1998, the All the Neighbourhoodprogramme was introduced by the Ministry of Public Health, Welfare and Sport. This programme was based on the 1991 US Caring Community Initiative, which promoted inclusivity and community engagement and family involvement in planning practices and resource development (Caring Community Initiative 2001). The Dutch programme aimed to have a more cohesive approach to service delivery with a subsidiary remit of creating cohesion between other neighbourhood projects. However, over time, not only did the programme change into a model similar to traditional Dutch community work, but it also became apparent that the involvement of the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment was just as important as very often urban restructuring dominated the local policy agenda. The evaluation of the initiative suggested that national priorities and goals do not necessarily translate into successful area regeneration (Priemus 2005).

All the Neighbourhoodwas superseded in 2001 by It's Our Neighbourhood's Turnwhereby the G30 experimented with community participation in addressing a variety of problems in target neighbourhoods over a period of three years. This initiative had varying degrees of success; generally those projects that were innovative with strong leadership were the successful ones (Priemus 2005).

In 2003, fifty-six 'depressed neighbourhoods' in the G30 were targeted for priority funding. The neighbourhoods are all sites with a concentration of physical and socioeconomic problems, and they were required to develop a Neighbourhood Development Plan to tackle them. Within these areas, the majority of housing (60–100 percent) is owned by housing associations making them key actors in the urban renewal agenda (Priemus 2004; 2005).

Housing associations own and manage 75 percent of all Dutch rental stock. Their market share has steadily increased from the post-War period to date. For example, in 1947 and 1948 they controlled 10 percent of all Dutch housing stock, whereas in 2007, this figure is 35 to 37 percent. Although their original remit was to build, let and manage social rental housing—primarily for lower-income groups—this has since expanded. Now, they have to provide housing for the vulnerable, such as the elderly, and they are required to play a major role in the social and economic regeneration of any urban restructuring areas where their stock is located (Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment 2007).

From the mid-1990s, housing and urban policies combined reduced government support with increasing dependence on private initiatives

(Hulsbergen and Stouten 2001), and this was driven by three key developments that had major implications for housing associations. The first was the implementation of the 'grossing legislation' on the 1 January 1995, whereby the housing associations repaid outstanding government loans and replaced them with private loans guaranteed by the Guarantee Fund for Social Housing. The funding guarantee was divided evenly between central government and the municipalities. Additionally, new building subsidies, renovation subsidies and all exploitation subsidies were scrapped. Instead the housing associations received future state-approved property subsidies based on the future development of rents, inflation and interest rates as agreed by the government, municipalities and the housing associations. These were based on pledges over a fifty-year period. Essentially, rather than plan activities on a year to year basis dependent on the government subsidies available at the time, they were given them in advance in a lump sum, making them financially independent from central government (Aalbers 2003; Priemus 1995).

The second was the publication of the Urban Renewal Memorandum (Ministerie van VROM 1997), which set out the policy guidelines for the urban renewal investment programme. This document not only emphasised the role of urban restructuring in urban renewal but also the central role of housing associations. Prior to 1997, there were a large number of housing associations that owned relatively small numbers of units, often below one hundred. Post-1997, there have been a number of mergers, and this means that now less than 10 percent of the housing associations own more than 45 percent of the total rental stock. This merger trend is expected to continue (Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment 2007).

The third was the 1997 Market and Government Report that was published by the Cohen Commission. This outlined the problems of private housing associations that were fulfilling a public duty, such as public monies filtering into the market and the commensurate risks to the housing associations' public sector duties from their exposure to the market. To prevent this, Cohen recommended that each private housing association be divided into public and private organisations (Priemus 2005).

Additionally, because housing associations were private organisations so was the housing, and this meant that initiatives such as the UK's introduction of a tenant's 'right to buy' could not be implemented (Priemus 2004) although the Social Democratic Party had suggested its introduction several years prior to the Cohen report (Priemus 1998).

A change to this system was introduced in 2000, when the housing memorandum *What People Want, Where People live: Housing in the 21st Century* (Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment 2001) was published. This laid out Dutch housing policy for the next ten years and discussed the direction of future policy in further decades. Whilst there is emphasis on increased freedom of choice for the individual and the need for diversity in housing stock, there is also an acknowledgement that there

will be boundaries to this individual choice and housing diversity based upon the need to preserve collective community values such as social justice, safety, health and the protection of the natural environment, open spaces and water.

The document also makes it clear that the Ministry believed that many sitting tenants wanted to buy their property and that this should be promoted because:

> Owners generally have more influence on and feel more responsibility for their dwelling than do renters. They also tend to exhibit a higher level of involvement with their community or neighbourhood. Home ownership also helps to strengthen the cities . . . [and] will contribute to preventing the middle- and higher-income groups from leaving the city. (Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment 2001:19)

To enable this to occur, during the period of 2000 to 2010, the housing associations were expected to sell over 500,000 units within a balanced regeneration strategy.

Unfortunately, following this new strategy caused problems for the government because of the ambiguous position of housing associations, and it was not until the 2005 budget announcement of the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment that the Cohen Commission's recommendations were acted upon. The budget detailed changes to the rented social housing sector whereby housing associations would be required to divide into a parent organisation delivering its public duties and one or more other organisations that would focus on market activities (Priemus 2005).

Since the early 1990s, the private sector has also become increasingly involved in areas undergoing renewal as the continuing demand for housing means that not only is land for building housing at a premium but the policy of urban restructuring 'adds value' to an area due to a reduction in low rent accommodation and an increase in high value housing (Leeming and Shakur 2005). This has led to commercial developers acquiring land in renewal areas to build private housing and exploit the market forces.

If the developer conforms to the development plans of the municipality and provides for social housing and makes parcels of land available for individuals to build a house then the developments are usually as a public–private partnership (Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment 2007). However, some commercial developers do not conform to the plans and the strategy for this group tends to be based on rehousing residents elsewhere to the area undergoing development and demolishing the existing buildings and replacing them with high-value housing in an attractive setting. This may improve the physical environment but does not necessarily improve the socioeconomic chances of the remaining residents (Priemus 2005). For those commercial developers that do not conform to local development plans, legislation is planned for 2008, to recoup the

costs of the local authority in challenging their plans and to ensure that there is land available for social housing and for individuals (Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment 2007). Although national policy for urban renewal is geared towards demolition and the sale of social rented housing, the housing associations are finding that this is not what the existing tenants actually want. Most of these tenants cannot afford to buy a home in the renewal areas and instead would prefer that the housing associations renovated their homes and the surrounding environment and then maintain it. Some housing associations are following this path, but others are ignoring the residents and opting for demolition, the sale of renovated housing and the construction of owner-occupied housing. This is now leading to a shortage of low-cost rental housing and fuelling the charge that housing associations are increasingly acting like commercial developers (Priemus 2005). Additionally, those residents who are forced to enter a relocation programme because, for example, their current housing is to be demolished, supposedly are free to move wherever they wish within the region; however, the shortage of low-rent dwellings and the restrictions imposed by the housing associations mean that this choice is becoming ever more restricted (Kruythoff 2003).

The second part of this chapter will outline some of the impacts that urban regeneration policy has had on the Bijlmer, a large, multiply deprived region located several kilometres to the southeast of Amsterdam.[1]

THE MODEL TOWN WITH MANY TROUBLES

The model satellite town of Bijlmer (or Bijlmermeer) was designed to remedy the severe housing shortages that Amsterdam experienced after the Second World War. The town is situated to the southeast of Amsterdam on polder land. The initial plan was to separate working, recreational and living areas and vehicular traffic. Tall honeycomb shaped buildings were a key feature of the design; they would provide large apartments serviced by numerous lifts holding approximately thirty people, and the shape of the buildings meant that every apartment would receive the best possible natural light. Additionally, the ground floors of these buildings were intended to be shopping arcades for the convenience of the residents. The buildings were to be set within a parkland environment where families could enjoy various leisure activities, and this would be facilitated by the removal of vehicles via raised roadways on the periphery together with parking garages connected to the buildings by well-lit passageways (Kwekkeboom 2003; Luitjen 2003; Webbink 2000) see Figures 6.1 and 6.2.

The planners were targeting the white, Dutch middle classes who they believed would appreciate both the concept and the design of the development and that they would aspire to live in the district. However, when the first apartments were finished in 1968, although a small number of white,

Dutch middle-class people embraced the concept, it quickly became apparent that the tastes of the majority had changed and that they now aspired to low-rise housing with gardens in the suburbs (Luitjen 1997; Webbink 2000).

Almost from the beginning, the development experienced problems. This was partly caused by budgetary restrictions and partly through the ambiguity surrounding ownership of the common parts such as the park-land. For example, budgetary restrictions meant that the numbers of lifts were reduced, and their size was increased to hold around one hundred. This meant that if one was vandalised or suffering from mechanical problems, then the impact on the residents was magnified. The ground floor shopping arcades were shifted to the shaded side of the first floor with apartments on the sunny side. The ground floor became poorly lit storage spaces, and the cutbacks also meant that lighting in the parking garages and the linking passageways was severely restricted and together with the storage spaces they became shadowy, dangerous places (Projectbureau Vernieuwing Bijlmermeer 1987; Webbink 2000).

The abandonment or compromising of the 'quality of life' elements of the original plan extended into other areas. For example, because the development was managed and owned by fourteen different housing corporations, the responsibility for the upkeep of the parkland areas surrounding the blocks was unclear (Webbink 2000). So its maintenance slipped, and it became run down and dangerous due to discarded drug paraphernalia and 'fly tipping' and so was largely abandoned as a leisure amenity by residents (Leeming and Shakur 2005).

Interestingly, although the project had, in the main, lost its intended residents' base, this did not stop the developers attempting to maximise the potential income from rents by increasing the number of apartments. This was done by adding extra floors and incorporating apartments within the first floor shopping arcades (Projectbureau Vernieuwing Bijlmermeer 1987). The completed development had 23,000 almost identical, mainly large (100 to 125 m^2) apartments in identical high-rise buildings (Aalbers et al. 2003). The massive scale of these buildings, the hexagonal design and the alterations to the 'quality of life' aspects of the original plans meant that the finished buildings were extremely difficult to manage. It was the problems experienced in post-War areas such as Bijlmermeer that led to the realisation that the national regeneration policies regarding urban regeneration that were embracing socioeconomic considerations and quality of life issues needed to be extended to include post-war neighbourhoods as well as pre-War.

Within Bijlmermeer, many of the apartments were officially empty, but they quickly became homes to an itinerant population of 'unofficial'[2] residents, making it almost impossible to know exactly how many people were living there. The official figures showed just under 50,000 (Dukes 2002), but others believe that it was actually in excess of 100,000 (Markovic 2000). Because there were high numbers of 'officially' empty apartments,

this compounded the budgetary problems, and one of the ways in which the management team attempted to save costs was by reducing spending on maintenance and security. This meant that the storage spaces, car parks, aisles and walkways became sites where criminal activities, such as those associated with the drugs trade, predominated (Leeming and Shakur 2005).

Throughout the 1980s, the drug trade and associated crime became embedded in the Bijlmer, and Ganzenhoef became notorious for both. However, this situation worsened in the late 1990s when there was a concentrated effort made to rid the tourist hot spots within the city of Amsterdam, such as Central Station and the 'red light' district, of drug users. Many of these relocated to the Bijlmer, and the crime rates in the region rose in response (Aalbers et al. 2003).

In addition to the housing and crime problems, there was a lack of job opportunities and an integrated public transport system that would enable those living in the district to access jobs in other parts of the city, helping to fuel some of the highest unemployment levels in the Netherlands. The combination of these factors and an unfriendly media ensured that the area became infamous in the 1970s and 1980s, and this drove the high population churn as most residents wanted to move out of the area as soon as their economic and social conditions improved[3] (Webbink 2000). The area became home to those with fewest options.

Many of the residents were immigrants from the former Dutch colonies. The first to move in were from Surinam, and by 2003 they formed 40 percent of the population of Bijlmer-Centre and 33 percent of Bijlmer-East (Aalbers et al. 2003). They were followed by immigrants from the Netherlands (or Dutch) Antilles and North Africa. More recently, immigrants from Eastern Europe and Asia have also settled in the area.

Although there have been a number of surveys conducted to estimate the numbers of different nationalities in Bijlmermeer, there is still not a reliable figure. Residents can be reluctant to reply to official surveys for a variety of reasons, and this means that the estimates as to how many different nationalities reside in the area ranges from eighty to over one hundred sixty (Leeming and Shakur 2005).

This extremely diverse population of different cultures, experiences, languages and needs also had high levels of illiteracy and innumeracy, and large numbers—especially of the more recent immigrants—could not speak Dutch, further blighting their employment opportunities (Catling 1998; Leeming and Shakur 2005; Markovic 2000).

URBAN RENEWAL IN THE BIJLMER

The renewal of the Bijlmer started in the early 1980s and followed the expert-led, top-down approach now espoused by national government. It

began with the amalgamation of the various housing corporations into a new one called Nieuw Amsterdam, which received a cash injection of 300 million guilders (136 million euros) from the national government and the municipality (Luitjen 2003). And, although some effort was made to improve the living environment, such as splitting some of the large apartments into smaller ones, providing ground floor parking spaces in some areas and partly demolishing the vast and largely unused parking garages, the exodus continued. The acute vacancy rate of 25 percent brought the housing corporation to the point of bankruptcy by the mid-1980s (Kwekkeboom 2003; Projectbureau Vernieuwing Bijlmermeer 1987).

This led rise to the formation of the Work Group on the Future of the Bijlmer who in 1986 proposed to raze a large part of the development and rebuild it as low-rise housing and to improve the remaining apartments. This proposal met with immense resistance from the factions that believed in the original design and those that thought the area had a lot to offer once the problems, including those of disorientation caused by the high walls of vegetation and concrete with no landmarks, were tackled and the proposal was eventually dropped (Luitjen 2003).

The creation of the Southeast District Council in 1987 meant that Bijlmermeer had its own administrative executive and planning division, and over time it successfully argued that the Southeast, rather than orienting on Amsterdam, should be considered a second centre. It was helped in this by the completion of Amsterdamse Poort retail centre, also in 1987, and the extension of Amsterdamse Poort to the other side of the railway line. This new development—Amstell III—became part of a wider business complex called the Holendrecht/Amstel III business district with an adjoining leisure and entertainment complex in the Centre Area Southeast that abuts Bijlmer station. In 1996, the Amsterdam Arena—home to FC Ajax—was completed, and by 2001, the Holendrecht/Amstel III development housed over 55,000 jobs, with the expectation that this will rise to around 77,000 by 2010 (Bruijne 2003; Luitjen 2003).

However, although the economic regeneration of Bijlmermeer appeared to be underway, the Nieuw Amsterdam Housing Corporation was haemorrhaging money, and the authorities that had been covering the shortfalls decided that this state of affairs could no longer continue. So, in 1992, the Southeast District Council, the City of Amsterdam and the Nieuw Amsterdam Housing Corporation set up a Steering Committee for the Renewal of Bijlmermeer, and an action plan was formed. Later in the same year, the Projectbureau 'Vernieuwing Bijlmermeer' (Bijlmermeer Renewal) was established to co-ordinate the activities outlined in the action plan (Stadsdeel Zuidoost 1994).

There was a recognition in the action plan that there was not just a need for regeneration of the urban fabric but that there needed to be community development as well. So, the renewal strategy followed national

regeneration policy and was based upon three elements: spatial renewal, management renewal and social renewal.

Although an earlier proposal to demolish parts of the high-rise area and replace it with low-rise housing with gardens was rejected by residents, the increasing emphasis of urban restructuring within urban renewal by Dutch central and local governments meant that this was the approach proposed by the action plan. To date, this has meant the demolition of between 50 and 60 percent of the high-rise buildings, and this may increase.[4]

The spatial renewal has been on a colossal scale with more to come. For example, the Bijlmerdreef, a major high-rise arterial road, has been lowered to ground level between the Gooiseweg and Ganzenhoef and is now surrounded by low-rise housing. The drug-ridden Ganzenhoef has been demolished and replaced by retail outlets, housing, business units and community facilities—see also Figures 6.3 and 6.4. Amsterdamse Poort has been expanded and the meandering 'Street of a Thousand Cultures' links it with the Kraaiennest shopping centre. Roads have been introduced, more of the parking garages have been partly or completely demolished, more apartments that echo the honeycomb blocks have been built as have apartments in tall thin blocks, and transport links have been improved (Kwekkeboom 2003; Luitjen 2003; Webbink 2000). However, this has come at a cost to some of the original residents.

SOCIAL RENEWAL

From the earliest stages of the renewal concept, it was acknowledged that Bijlmermeer was host to fragmented communities consisting of large numbers of vulnerable people who often lived on the margins of society. These communities needed to be rebuilt so that they were cohesive and stable, which in turn would help to stabilise the tenancies and reduce population turnover. Additionally, this social renewal would give the community the tools to develop ideas and initiatives to address those needs that were either not being or in the process of being fulfilled by the private and public sectors. So, 'Social Renewal' was therefore to be one of the major planks of the redevelopment process.

In the early literature to come from the development, social renewal not only had a greater prominence than that of management renewal but it also had specific targets aimed at reducing illiteracy and innumeracy rates, for training residents for employment and for reducing the unemployment rates.

> At least as important as spatial renewal is social renewal in the district. In order to create a neighbourhood with a robust and broad-based social structure, schools and work are also important. It is also necessary to flesh out the concept of 'cultural renewal'. How do we create

Figure 6.1 New low-rise housing.

Figure 6.2 Redesign of high-rise block.

a cultural climate in the Bijlmer that does justice to the very heterogeneous population? It is clear that in any case religion plays a special role in the Bijlmer and that housing several congregations now hidden away, even in car parks, would contribute to the renewal.

- Opportunities for training and schooling in the Bijlmer are inadequate. A major lack is a regional centre for technical training. This could help halt school-students dropping out at 15 or 16.
- In the Ganzenhoef area, a centre for adult education will be set up in the near future.
- Newcomers are received separately by the local district council and put on the trail of adequate training.
- Preceding demolition, people do not just receive visits concerning the necessary rehousing, but are also offered help in finding training and work.
- A plan is being developed to involve (mainly immigrant) unemployed people in construction projects in the area. Training is also essential in this respect.
- Two hundred long-term unemployed people will be trained and employed on neighbourhood watch duties in the semi-public areas of the blocks. During the day but especially in the evening, they will serve to increase safety in the blocks and car parks. (Projectbureau Vernieuwing Bijlmermeer 1987: 9–10).

By the mid-1990s it seems that these intentions were still there, but there was a distinct lack of specification and very little reportage as to what had already been achieved. A typical example is:

> Secondly, social renewal: particular attention will be paid to the training of the underprivileged and to the promotion of employment in the Southeast.(Stadsdeel Zuidoost 1994)

By 2004, most of the focus of the renewal literature is on the spatial redevelopment, the leisure and retail opportunities and the availability of housing and apartments to buy or as high-end rentals. Social renewal has changed to socioeconomic renewal and a typical report is:

> The renewal operation also aims to improve the socio-economic position of the population. Education, supervision and work experience projects improve the labour market prospects of the long-term unemployed. Besides this, the population will be stimulated to take part in cultural and social life. New schools and business spaces improve the standards of facilities. (The development of Amsterdam Southeast, Vernieuwing Bijlmermeer 2004:3)

After almost twenty years of renewal, the implication is that the population is still waiting to be stimulated to take part in cultural and social life. And

there is very little evidence given in the literature produced by Amsterdam Southeast as to what has been actually achieved in reducing unemployment and whether there have been any real impacts on the community by the development of the adjoining Holendrecht/Amstel III business district. However, interviews with projectbureau managers and workers, residents and community activists point to some of the reasons as to why the social and to some extent the economic regeneration has not kept pace with the spatial regeneration within the Bijlmer.

In part, the reasons start at the very beginning of the project when social regeneration was so prominent. The projectbureau was firmly committed to social renewal or community development and social cohesion, as it is more commonly called in the UK. The only problem was that they did not know exactly how to start the process, and several projectbureau workers admit that these first approaches to the community may have actually alienated a number of residents. This is because it entailed interviewing residents as to what they wanted incorporating into the renewal process.

There were a number of problems associated with formal interviews. First, the interview questions were not only intrusive in that the residents were asked to give personal details such as age, ethnicity and salary but they were almost all of the closed variety. For example, residents were asked about elements of the spatial development but could only answer yes, no or unsure; there was little room for them to give their opinions as to how designs could be improved or where the residents thought that the designs would not work in reality.

Many residents refused to become involved in the interview process for a variety of reasons. For example, those who were there illegally through either squatting or multiple occupancy did not wish to be brought to the attention of the authorities as they could be evicted. Others could not speak Dutch or were illiterate, and others who had escaped authoritarian regimes were extremely suspicious of officials asking questions (Leeming and Shakur 2005).

Additionally, many of the residents who did take part in the survey felt that the formal questions with little room for their actual opinions meant that they would have very little impact on the outcome of the redevelopment; they were only 'tinkering at the edges' (non-white resident, interviewed 2001).

Another aspect that produced resentment in the residents was the way in which social housing was to be allocated.

From the beginning of the regeneration of Bijlmermeer, the goal has been to have a mixture of social, premium rent and owner-occupied housing. It was thought that this combination was the most likely to attract a black middle-class into the area (Webbink 2000). To achieve this, many of the high-rise buildings have been either redesigned by, for example, removing floors or demolishing sections of the honeycombs, or they have been completely demolished to make way for low-rise housing with gardens and other forms of apartment buildings. This has, naturally, meant a reduction

in the number of low-rent apartments—justified initially by the high numbers of 'empty' apartments. However, the adoption of the urban restructuring policy by Dutch housing associations has meant that this reduction of social housing in the Bijlmer has intensified.

This would not necessarily be a problem, as surveys conducted in each of the areas scheduled for redevelopment showed that around 25 percent of residents indicated that they would prefer to be rehoused outside Bijlmermeer (Projectbureau Vernieuwing Bijlmermeer 2001; van Beckhoven and van Kempen 2003). Of the rest, around half wanted to remain in the area with a quarter undecided at the time of the survey. Additionally, residents were and are reassured that they will not be forced to leave the area if they did/do not want to:

> There is room for everyone in the renewed Bijlmermeer . . . Sufficient council housing will remain available to people with low incomes . . . . (Projectbureau Vernieuwing Bijlmermeer 1999)

> Nobody will be forced to leave the Bijlmermeer.
> (Vernieuwing Bijlmermeer 2001:3)

> Can I stay in the Bijlmermeer? More than 50% of the people interviewed in the large residents' survey indicated that they wanted to stay in the Bijlmermeer. A suitable house in the Bijlmermeer can be found for all these people. (Projectbureau Vernieuwing Bijlmermeer 2001:15)

> Residents presently in the Bijlmermeer who must move are promised that they will receive a suitable and affordable dwelling if they wish to remain in the area. No one will be forced out of the Bijlmermeer. (Kwekkeboom 2003:93)

However, these assurances only apply to those who have indicated that they wish to remain in the Bijlmermeer, and the low numbers of social housing available in the redeveloped zones means that there is fierce competition so allocation is based on strict criteria. Firstly, residents must be urban renewal candidates. They achieve this status when they have been a legal tenant for two years or longer. Urban renewal candidates have priority when social housing is allocated, but they are not guaranteed housing in the area of Bijlmermeer where they originally lived. Secondly, the housing that they will be offered is that which is judged appropriate for their particular household based on income, household size and existing terms of residency. So, they may be offered housing that is smaller than the one that they had previously occupied. Additionally, those residents who are unsure as to whether they want to remain or not when the plans undergo public scrutiny, find it difficult to remain in Bijlmermeer if

they decide that they want to, even if they are urban renewal candidates (Leeming and Shakur 2005).

For those residents who are sans papiers[5] or who have legal status in the Netherlands but living in the Bijlmer illegally there are no such assurances. There is acknowledgement from the authorities that 10 to 15 percent of the residents of the Bijlmer were living there illegally; however, others have put the figure much higher. For this group there is little help from the authorities, and they are constantly moving from buildings undergoing renovation to those awaiting renovation (Aalbers et al. 2003) rather than leave the area and lose access to social and economic networks (Leeming and Shakur 2005).

Residents who have lived in the Bijlmermeer for less than two years are semi-urban renewal candidates, and they do not automatically qualify for housing in the Bijlmer area. They are given help to search the housing lists of Amsterdam and its environs and removal expenses (Leeming and Shakur 2005). Whilst many of this group eagerly take the chance to move away, there are also a number who want to stay. Semi-urban renewal candidates tend to include the poor, the young, the unemployed and recent immigrants. This group also tends to experience social and economic exclusion and as they have moved away from those fragile networks that supported them in Bijlmermeer, are likely to also experience isolation.[6]

Even those residents who are in the position to buy a home in Bijlmermeer have experienced problems. In the early 1990s, the price of properties in Bijlmermeer was much lower than nearby areas. Since then, the prices have soared, and even those with a middle income—approximately 20,500 to 38,500 euros per annum—are finding it difficult to get onto the property ladder without help from the city council (Leeming and Shakur 2005).

The projectbureau literature acknowledges that former residents would like to return to the area, and use this to show how popular the area now is, for example:

> A Place for Everyone . . . Many former residents would like to return to the Bijlmermeer.(Vernieuwing Bijlmermeer/Arena Boulevard 2004:2)

The projectbureau seems to be oblivious to the inherent contradictions in statements such as this, and it is very obvious to former residents that Bijlmermeer is no longer a 'place for everyone'. They may very well want to return to the Bijlmer, but they cannot because most of them cannot afford either the high-end rentals or to buy the private housing.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN RENEWAL

From the beginning, residents felt as if they were being sidelined in the regeneration process, and the authorities were not responding to their

needs. An example of this feeling of impotency occurred in 1991 when an El Al cargo plane crashed into two of the blocks killing the crew, a passenger and at least forty-three people on the ground (Smith 1999; 2000). The confused, contradictory and slow response to the tragedy by the authorities led many residents to believe that they were acting in this way because they were mainly poor immigrants (Sancton 1993). Even when the co-ordinated regeneration of the area began in 1992, residents felt that they were either rubber-stamping plans already made by others, or choosing 'either or' options without having any real input. It did not help that the majority of those in charge of the renewal were white whereas the vast majority of the residents were of a non-white ethnic background (Dukes 2002). An example of the resentment that this caused was the URBAN Bijlmermeer Programme.

URBAN was launched by the European Commission in 1994. It advocated residents' participation in project design and implementation and was a more integrated approach to regeneration. Bijlmermeer met the criteria and the URBAN Bijlmermeer Programme began in September 1995. The domination of white representatives on the Steering and Supervisory Committees led to black politicians together with representatives of local agencies and organisations forming the 'Black Consideration' Group to challenge their decisions (Leistra 1996).

The escalating confrontations between the two groups led to the suspension of the Programme in May 1996 for almost eight months whilst resolution was sought. This was finally achieved in January 1997 when religious institutions were given a seat and ethnic minorities were given four seats on the Uitgebreid Bestuurlijk Overleg, which replaced the Steering Committee. Ethnic minorities were also given two seats on the Supervisory Committee, and the project criteria were changed to reinforce residents' participation (Dukes 2002).

It was believed at the beginning of the renewal process that the colossal scale of the project would give employment opportunities to many of the local residents. Training facilities were put in place and there were thousands of applicants; however, the administrative system was such that there was continual miscommunication in the Job Centre and they could not find enough recruits.

In an attempt to address the problems with illiteracy and innumeracy, initiatives such as 'Dubbel Plus' were introduced. These are State subsidised jobs that pay 130 to 150 percent more than standard social security and offer opportunities to provide missing skills. They are open to those over 23 years of age who have been unemployed for a year or more and who are registered at the Employment Office (Aalbers et al. 2003). However, as most of the jobs are within Bijlmermeer and are fairly menial such as security guards, cleaners and caretakers, a number of those who have taken them believe that it is a way to make Bijlmermeer more attractive to outsiders very cheaply (Leeming and Shakur 2005).

There are also clashes around the cultural heritage of the residents. Many of the residents of Bijlmermeer come from a culture where they spend very little time indoors, they conduct day-to-day life on the street and feel that this clashes with the aims of those leading the regeneration strategy. For example:

> We're not wanted. We live outside, our culture is outside and this outside culture is off-putting to the middle classes. The Council allowed the place to deteriorate so much so that they have an excuse to move people out and redesign the place. At same time they're making people work for benefits so that the place is kept clean. These are things to attract the middle classes. No street culture, low buildings, and clean. (non-white resident quoted in Leeming and Shakur 2005:206)

This feeling extends to the retailers in the shopping arcades that offer traditional ethnic foodstuffs and products. A number strongly believe that they were tolerated when the housing association needed tenants to stop vandalism and arson attacks in the run-down arcades but that they were no longer wanted when the centres were regenerated. Several said that they believed the redevelopment of the retail centres was geared to more generic global brands that could afford the higher business rents. Again, they believed that this was because this would be more attractive to the middle classes than ethnic retailing outlets.

Projectbureau managers say that they do want to attract a middle class to the Bijlmer; however, they also want to retain the diversity of the existing community including the retailing. And, projectbureau literature does highlight the attractiveness of the colourful and heterogeneous markets and retail centres. It would appear that instead of wanting to drive away the ethnic retailing, they are actively promoting it as one of the attractions to living in the Bijlmer. However, the side effects of regenerating the Bijlmer are higher rents, private housing and more generic retail brands, and these are having an alienating effect on a number of the existing retailers.

CONCLUSIONS

There is no doubt that the socioeconomic renewal of Bijlmermeer has proven extremely difficult and the high population churn combined with the very high number of different ethnic backgrounds of the residents means that tackling the problem is very complex, but there are signs that the socioeconomic renewal is finally happening. The project managers have accepted many of the criticisms and have incorporated new strategies to try and address them. For example, literature is produced in a variety of languages, interpreters are available at public meetings and sometimes there are separate meetings for certain language groups. Children are asked their opinions on sports and

play facilities, those who do not go to public meetings are contacted during festivals or on market days and in 2002, a residents' advisory council for socioeconomic renewal was established. Each year brochures detailing all of the leisure, sporting and skills enhancement activities on offer for children and adults in the different districts are produced.

Entrepreneurs are being actively encouraged by the provision of small start-up units, some of which are in the old parking garages. The Entrepreneur's House offers advice, training, supervision and arbitration services, and the Arena Initiative is geared to matching job-seekers to employment in the nearby business district.

The Cultural Educational Centre has been built on what was the Grunder/Grubbehoeve parking garage. This houses educational facilities, the Women's Empowerment Centre and the Newcomers' Bureau and the True Teachings Church. Collective church buildings have either been built or are in the process of being developed whereby a number of different churches form a co-operative to share the same building. The 'Mi Akoma di Color' (My Colourful Heart) project was formed in 2001 whereby forty residents helped to design individual houses and then either rent or buy them. An urban farm that was started by residents has been rehoused in a purpose built compound and an initiative to train young people in vehicle mechanics has been built nearby, and statistics show that the unemployment rates are falling. For example in 1996 the unemployment rate for Amsterdam was 16 percent whereas in Bijlmermeer it was 32 percent. By 2002 it had fallen to 9 percent in Amsterdam and 15 percent in Bijlmermeer (Frieling 2004:9).

However, a note of caution should be sounded regarding these 'green shoots' of socioeconomic renewal. For example, the lowered unemployment rates may be in part due to the dispersal of unemployed former residents to other areas and the provision of special jobs through initiatives such as Dubbel Plus, as much as the training and education initiatives. Indeed, Musterd and Ostendorf (2005) directly attribute the lowering of the unemployment rates to the dispersal of residents that have a weak housing position in an area undergoing restructuring. However, other researchers attempting to distinguish which elements are having the greatest impact on the lowering unemployment rates found that the available data is unsuited to this form of enquiry (Aalbers et al. 2003).

Studies in other European areas have shown that there is no guarantee that demolishing low-rent social housing and replacing it with mixed housing stock will increase the social cohesion of a community or improve the socioeconomic standing of low-income groups. Very often there is little interaction between residents on low incomes and those on medium or high incomes (van Beckhoven and van Kempen 2003).

In some ways, the removal of areas of social housing can prove to be detrimental. For example, van Kempen and Priemus (2002) argue that in areas with concentrations of black and ethnic minority groups, social

housing forms an important focus for social networks for newly arrived immigrants it acts like a safety net and helps them find their feet in a new country.

So whilst there are signs that socioeconomic renewal in the Bijlmer is beginning to occur, it is not necessarily with the original community. The urban restructuring policy or social engineering has ensured that a large proportion of the original community has been dispersed to other areas. Some researchers even argue that as regenerated neighbourhoods within Bijlmermeer become more desirable places to live, those areas in the city where former Bijlmermeer residents have been dispersed to become less desirable (Musterd and Ostendorf 2005). This strongly suggests that restructuring is not solving the socioeconomic problems of Bijlmermeer, but it is merely displacing them into other communities.

Urban restructuring is a spatial approach to managing socioeconomic problems, but it does not get to the root cause of them in the way that, for example, education and training or specifically targeting threats to 'quality of life' can. Planning and managing communities in this way just disperses the problems into other, often similar neighbourhoods, intensifying their problems, perhaps to such an extent that they in turn undergo urban restructuring and thus urban restructuring effectively becomes an extremely expensive, continual process of shunting socioeconomic problems into new neighbourhoods without really addressing what are systemic faults. Whilst this may create more physically attractive neighbourhoods in regenerated areas for the ones that can afford to, or who are allowed to live there through rent subsidies, it also creates what Priemus (2005:9) calls 'urban renewal nomads'. These are people with weak ties to the neighbourhood housing market, who can only afford very inexpensive housing and amongst the first to be forced out by urban restructuring meaning they are constantly on the move as they can only afford to live in those neighbourhoods that are likely to be targeted with an urban renewal programme.

Successful urban renewal should address the physical, economic and social problems of an area by embracing the needs and wishes of all of a neighbourhood's residents and then reach a consensus of what the priorities are and how these can be addressed with a continual monitoring and feedback process. It can hardly be considered as successful urban renewal when the needs and wishes of a group of people never actually make it onto the agenda of the redevelopment agencies because they do not fulfil the criteria to live there afterregeneration has taken place.

NOTES

1. The research this piece is based upon started in 2001 and is ongoing. It involves regular site visits and numbers of formal and informal semi-structured

interviews with projectbureau managers, community activists, residents, ex-residents, members of the business community in Bijlmer-Central and Bijlmer-East and academics from the Vrije Universiteit. To date, thirty-seven formal interviews and fifty-three informal interviews have been undertaken and analysed.

2. Those people without legal residence status in the Netherlands.
3. There were exceptions to this exodus, namely a number of the original, white middle-classes who had settled there because they believed in the project.
4. The redevelopment is expected to be completed before 2010 but has no actual finishing date, and as the plans are subject to constant feedback this figure cannot be defined precisely.
5. Without legal status in the Netherlands
6. Several interviewees were former Bijlmer residents and a number of the interviewees had friends, relatives and old neighbours who were semi-urban renewal candidates who had been rehoused in other districts and who were experiencing difficulties and were desperate to move back into Bijlmermeer.

7 Local Economic Development, Urban Change and Regeneration in Turkey
Possibilities for Transcending Beyond Modernism

Hüseyin Gül and Murat Ali Dulupçu

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, there is an attempt to present urban change and development in its physical, spatial, social and economic forms in Turkey. In this context, change means urbanisation, urban development and urban regeneration. Development means national and urban economic development. Thus, the paper focuses particularly on a review and discussion of the policies of local economic development and urban regeneration in Turkey. The chapter argues that the public sector still plays a leading role in both economic and urban development in Turkey. This role seems to be shouldered especially by the Housing Development Administration (HDA or TOKİ in Turkish) and State Planning Organization (SPO) at the national level and municipalities (often in partnership with HDA) at the local level.

While commentators cannot come to an agreement upon a definition and policy toolkit on urban development (physical, spatial, social, economic, etc.) and regeneration, there already exists an implicit consensus that cities are living organisms and have different trajectories. Thus, environmental changes, especially globalisation, have a great impact on urban life and forms but cities also have the ability and capacity to adapt to environmental changes. Turkish cities are no exception. In this adaptation, while national borders seem to lose their significance, local spatial and social borders and consumption-oriented projects, such as the construction of trade and commercial centres, malls, gated apartment houses, among others, seem to have become dominant in city form and life.

All countries have experienced and are still experiencing major changes often related to or manifested in globalisation. And globalisation not only implies a new capitalistic regime of accumulation but also the proliferation of this regime. In other words, along with emerging techno-structures, new management and governance mechanisms along with neo-liberal policies have become globalised either by imposed rules and norms like in the case of the EU acquis for Turkey. Of course, all these changes have also had an impact on the life of the cities and forms of urban development as well as the way we see and approach economic development.

In the European and US contexts, it could be said that a kind of post-industrialism and globalism have been having impacts on regeneration approaches, which are also related to culture, tourism and technology (Galdini 2005). The re-utilisation of old industrial sites is, however, limited in the case of Turkey due to the economic trajectory of the country. Urban growth and change is mostly shaped by migration and the uncontrolled and unplanned urbanisation trends in Turkey. In most cases, developed countries follow the path of agricultural–industrial–service sectors respectively, in the 1990s. Turkey experienced a service sector growth along with semi-industrialised economic structure. This also included tourism, industrial heritage, but a rise of mass tourism, recalled cultural–natural–historical tourism in the memories of cities.

SOME UNIQUE ASPECTS OF TURKISH CASE

Any urban and regional studies scholar who attempts to study the Turkish case has to face some challenges posed by its historical heritage. First, western expansionism of Turkey made them more open to western influence, although Turks also had viewed (and to some extent still view) themselves as a part of Asian and Eastern cultures. In other words, the nomadic structure of Turkish society somehow involved a kind of 'hyper-mobility' of pre-medieval times, which could be easily seen in the movement of Turks along Eurasia. The settlement of Turks in Anatolia is relatively new and it may even be argued that this 'new' homeland is the space where nomadic life turned into settled and urbanised life.

Second, while Anatolia, as a homeland, has always been a bridge between western and eastern civilisations, it is also homeland for the very first settlements of human beings, such as Catalhüyük, Hacılar and Hasankeyf. Ironically, the land known as Anatolia was settled by nomadic Turks and had hosted a bulk of ancient civilisations and thus this land has been shaped by various cultures. It is worthwhile to mention that Turkish cities have also been affected adversely by earthquakes over centuries.

Lastly, it is important to remember that the Ottoman expansionism was invested in the Balkans, and, as a consequence, the rest of Turkey remained undeveloped. Ortaylı (2002) labels the Ottoman Empire as 'Third Romanic Empire' in which one can find economic organisation of land and political economy of Roman culture. This heritage has also influenced some of the cities.

During the establishment of the Turkish Republic, a modernist view was adopted that articulated the 'culture' and geography and the need for the establishment of new towns and the scattered pattern of settlements. This modernist solution of the past has now became the problem of today.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: FROM THE OTTOMANS TOWARDS 'CENTRALISM' OF REPUBLIC

The basic characteristic of economic development policies in Turkey is their centralised and state centred nature. Since the foundation of the Republic, economic development policies have been planned, directed, controlled and implemented by the central government. Centralism was inherited from the Ottoman Empire, which had transferred it from Byzantine (Kılıçbay 1995; Kongar 1999; Ortaylı 2002). The founders of the Republic perceived centralism as an effective tool in order to modernise the country and catch up with Western Europe. A centralist approach was also intertwined with a policy-making process which had a triple impact on urban life and development. First, new urban development emerged in line with a modernisation process. Several cities were erected by the central government. Ankara was the main urban project and represented the best example of the modernisation process and urban policy. As a part of this project, the state capital was transferred from Istanbul to Ankara. Secondly, due to centralism and statism, cities and towns had no opportunity to evolve into autonomous local entities until the 1980s. Finally, local and urban identities and cultures attempted to be melted into one pot to meet the needs of nation and state building and modernisation.

The result of the historical heritage of the Ottoman Empire along with a centralised restructure of the Republic functioned to increase expectations of the central administration by local communities (Kalaycıoğlu 1997), which led to further dependency on state. The overarching goals of all development policies, determined by the central government, were industrialisation and westernisation. This so called 'top-to-bottom westernisation perspective' was also demonstrated by Turkey's membership to the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Council of Europe and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) as well as in its candidature for full membership in the EU (Park 2000). In fact, the transplantation of the territorial administrative system from Byzantine could be regarded as the first significant step towards westernisation (Ortaylı 2002). However, the absence of both a capitalistic class and an industrial heritage brought about a process of state-led economic activities and the formation of a state-aided capitalistic class (Heper 1985).

Despite its aspiration for industrialisation and westernisation, the unique trajectory of economic development has differentiated Turkey from both western and central European countries. On the one hand, throughout the economic history of the Turkish Republic, liberalism and private economic activities have been welcomed; on the other hand, the state had been often regarded as the 'nanny state' due to lack of extensive capital formation that was assumed to be the key driving force of economic development. This double-headed nature of Turkish economic development, along with domestic and geographical political instability,

created a larger space for the state to both assume and play an important role in economic and social life even at the local level, including urban policies. From the 1980s and onwards, 'liberalisation' of the economy has transformed Turkey's economy. Ultimately, the liberal policies have only restructured the market economy. Since then, for example, privatisation has been the less successful component of liberalisation due to populist economic policies accompanied by bureaucratic and state-centred policymaking (Bulutay 1995; Kazgan 1994; Öniş 1995; Öniş and Karataş 1994; Öniş and Ercan 2001; Buğra 2003a; 2003b; Buğra and Keyder 2006; Keyder 2000; İnsel 1996; 2005).

The bureaucratic and state-centred policymaking approach is also evident in the policies of the State Planning Organization (SPO), particularly in its Five Year Development Plans (FYDP). The Turkish Development Plans, which have their legal foundation in the Constitution, have the characteristics of providing compulsory measures in the majority of investment decisions for the public sector and guidelines for the private sector. In this regard, the SPO aims to lay down development targets and assist the related government units in the decision-making process for economic and social development and natural resources management and to regulate and direct state aid for development. It also prepares public investment programmes and approves all public investment projects as well as those proposed by municipalities for financing by either domestic or foreign resources. This structure itself can be seen as an evidence of how centralised economic development planning in Turkey is (Dulupçu, Gül and Okçu 2004; Soyak 2003; 2004; 2005; SPO (DPT) 1996; Güler 1996).

As seen in Table 7.1, the SPO is responsible for the FYDPs, annual national implementation programmes and regional plans. Yet, some other central agencies and almost all ministries have the legal authority to interfere in the process of urban planning, which is supposed to be prepared and implemented by municipalities. Although the power and responsibility of urban spatial planning were devolved to municipalities in the 1980s, urban planning still continues to be under close scrutiny by the central government in Turkey (Ekiz and Somel 2005; Gül 1998; Günçe 1981; Küçük 1978; 1981).

In the evolution of its social, administrative and economic development, Turkey has conceived urban policy-making, especially urban spatial planning, as a 'residual' category. This can be observed in the local and urban policy of the central government, where the SPO ultimately sees centrally led and controlled local and regional economic development as an activity designed only for less-developed provinces. This has stemmed not only from the state-centred structure of the system but also from the prioritisation of national economic problems over local or regional policies (as in the cases of the nationwide industrialisation of the 1960s or the macroeconomic stability policies of the 1990s and 2000s (Öniş and Webb 1994; Göksu 2000; Emek 2004).

Table 7.1 Planning in Turkey

Level	*Administrative Body*	*Administrative Unit Planning Economic Development*	*Plan Type*
National	Central government	State Planning Organisation (SPO) (appointed)	Five-year national development plans (FYDPs) and annual national implementation programmes
Regional	Absent (Ad hoc exceptions aside)	SPO (appointed)	1. Integrated inter-provincial regional development plans (GAP, DAP, etc.) 2. Environmental regulation plans
Provincial	1. Provincial administration & field units of central govt. 2. Provincial local administration	1. Appointed governor and administrators 2. Appointed governor & selected head of council	1. Sector-specific provincial development plans (provincial tourism, industrial plans) 2. Organisational strategic and performance plans
Metropolitan	Metropolitan city administration	Elected mayor and council	Metropolitan spatial (physical development) and zoning plans
Local	1. Sub-provinces (districts) 2. Cities 3. Villages	1. Appointed sub-governor 2. Elected mayor & council 3. Elected head and council of village	1. Absent 2. Urban spatial plans 3. Absent

The priority given to the regional disparities and migration along with a lack of regional administrative body and decentralised policy-making approach has shaped the efforts and processes of regional development planning in Turkey. Strong centralism in Turkey is rationalised by putting forward the high degree of disparities among the geographical regions and the provinces. With respect to the geographical regions, the socioeconomic divide between western and eastern Turkey is relatively 'high'. Whereas the eastern half of the country accounts for 37 percent of the population, its share of GNP is only 22 percent. In contrast, the western part of the country, with 63 percent of the population accounts for 78 percent of GDP. GDP per capita ratio is 60 for eastern Turkey and 123 for western Turkey (Reeves 2005:2). The west and east divide also reflects the level of economic development of the country.

As a result of centrally prepared and implemented FYDPs, the provinces cannot lay out plans through collaboration and participation and implement them. Moreover, there is not an embedded tradition of local economic development planning. In general, the state and its field agencies are regarded as the sole engine of development by the local people. Therefore, these conditions, on the one hand, reduce public participation in regional development and urban spatial planning; and on the other hand, they help rationalise interventionist and centralistic approaches of the administration (Ertugal 2005).

CONCEPT OF URBAN REGENERATION

After the 1980s, the term 'urban regeneration' became to be used widely in order to refer to the complete transformation of empty lands, through reconstruction of multi-activity 'bits of the cit' and several projects were launched in many urban areas (UNEP 2004:7). Nowadays, urban regeneration is a common expression and almost a must in the vocabulary of urban policy. This is also the case in Turkey.

Urban development involves interventions on significant parts of the city, with the intention to induce specific effects on the city as a whole. As a major type of urban development, 'Urban regeneration policy and practice concentrates on places and "communities of places"' (Dickinson 2005:224–225). The object of urban regeneration is to improve the vitality of the economy, community, spatial, natural and physical environment in and around the city. The actors involved in regeneration activities are national agencies, local authorities, regional development agencies, urban development companies, private developers and other business interests, not-for profit organisations and grassroots groups (Dickinson 2005:225).

Urban regeneration strategies are generally seen as location specific. 'The aims of regeneration may, at first sight, appear obvious: a "renewal of lost parts" or the revitalisation of an area' (Dickinson 2005:225). Yet, Dickinson (2005:225–226) argues that urban regeneration requires a more pro-active and process oriented approach, which takes social aspects and unintended consequences of urban regeneration policies into account. Similarly, urban regeneration should achieve economic, physical and spatial goals without compromising social or environmental goals and sustainability (Hemphill, McGreal and Berry 2002:353–354; Blackman 1995). Achieving such goals does not necessarily require new or special procedures and techniques, and can be undertaken, in most cases, with the existing policy tools and instruments.

Regeneration involves a wide range of activities, such as fostering a new life and look in deteriorated areas, renovating buildings, refurbishing infrastructure, rejuvenating city centres, revitalising severely dilapidated urban districts or derelict urban neighbourhoods, restoring economic activities, improving the quality of life and the environment, conserving agricultural lands and cultural and historical heritage, improving available land for

urban uses, renewing or enhancing urban transportation, preventing illegal residential development, rehabilitating deprived squatter housing areas, etc. (Gibson and Longstaff 1982:12; Gül 2006: 1254–1255; UNEP 2004:7–8).

Although the literature (Stöhr 1990; Lichfield 1992) distinguishes the evolution of urban change as urban reconstruction, urban revitalisation, urban renewal, urban redevelopment, urban renaissance and urban regeneration respectively, one can see all approaches simultaneously in a much shorter time span in Turkey. A UNEP report (2004:7) states '. . . the concept of urban regeneration may be interpreted in a number of ways, depending on the level of development of the country'. Being an emerging market despite its huge regional disparities makes Turkey look like a laboratory in which one can test most of the assumptions of urban change and development.

URBANISATION, URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND URBAN REGENERATION IN TURKEY

Urban development has been experienced particularly since the 1950s in Turkey. However, urban regeneration entered into Turkish literature in the 1980s as more than half of the Turkish population started to live in urban areas, and neo-liberal economic development policies and globalisation became dominant (Dündar 2003:65–66). Large cities such as İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir, along with settlements in coastal regions, received a greater portion from the huge waves of the migration. While this trend still continues, recent data indicate that other medium to large sized Anatolian cities are also experiencing rapid urban growth, particularly those having universities.

Just to give readers a sense of the scale of migration, within the last two decades approximately 200,000 people migrated to İstanbul annually. Unplanned and uncontrolled rapid population and urban growth brought about major problems such as inadequate housing, poverty, insufficient social and urban services and infrastructure, land speculation, unemployment or employment in informal sector jobs, environmental degradation, etc. In cities receiving excessive migration, the rate of housing construction has not been able to match the rate of population increase. Many migrants end up settling in unauthorised squatter housing (*gecekondu*).

Thus, regeneration polices in Turkey could be considered as a response to the problems of rapid, uncontrolled and unplanned urbanisation and migration and their accumulated impact on urban form, life and environment, particularly the problem of squatter housing and concentrated poverty. Besides, providing shelter for the victims of natural disasters or the low-income families, relocating small industrial sites on the outskirts of cities, preserving or renovating historical sites or buildings in central city, among others, have also required urban regeneration operations. For instance, the 1999 earthquake in East Marmara had devastating social, economical and physical consequences and forced municipalities to use urban regeneration

Figure 7.1 Squatter Housing Areas in İzmir, Turkey.

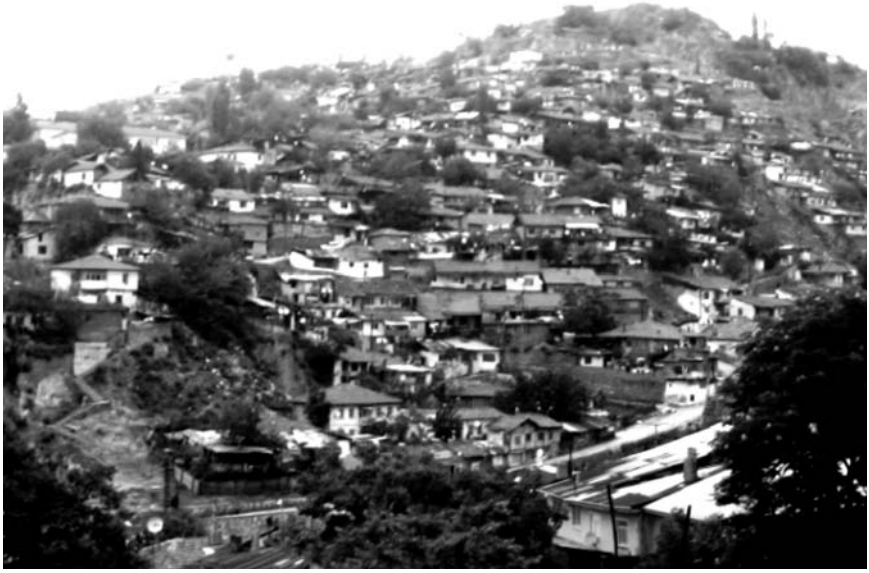

Figure 7.2 Squatter Housing Area in Ankara, Turkey.

policies to rebuild destroyed cities. Similarly, the risk of another strong earthquake around İstanbul is now forcing the Metropolitan Municipality to take measures to reduce the impact of any possible earthquake.

In Turkey, central government agencies and municipalities make decisions concerning major urban regeneration operations, organise necessary resources for regeneration projects or select the main contractors. As the main public contractor, HDA was created in 1984 (Law Number 2985) and given power to undertake urban development and settlement in Turkey. It is evident that urban regeneration policies have proliferated in Turkey after the Erdoğan government came to power in 2002. In accordance with the Emergency Action Plan of the government, a country-level mass social housing construction programme was initiated in 2003, and it is still in operation.

Many municipalities find urban regeneration as a gate to increase their attractiveness. Today some researchers and practitioners suggest 'marketing İstanbul' in the global market so that the flow of tourists, global funds and investment can be channelled to the city (Keyder 2006; Robins and Aksoy 1995). Similarly, many cities attempt to improve their attractiveness by building new hotels, golf and holiday resorts, commercial malls, entertainment centres, expo and fair centres and marinas where possible, among other initiatives.

The early examples of urban regeneration in Turkey were squatter housing clearance and mass housing projects, such as Orange Flower Valley and Dikmen Valley Urban Renewal Projects in Ankara. The clearance or rehabilitation of squatter housing areas is still common. These projects are often implemented by agreeing to the inhabitants of squatter houses remaining. Today 145 small- to large-size urban regeneration projects are implemented by working with HDA and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality in partnership with other related actors (municipalities, home buyers, private developers, construction firms, etc.) only within the borders of Ankara (Ulus, Keçiören, Altındağ, Mamak, Yenimahalle, Gölbaşı, Airport Protocol Road, Ankara Central Railway Station, Eryaman, Batıkent, etc.) (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality 2008; Housing Development Administration). It is almost the same in İstanbul (Beyoğlu, Küçükçekmece, Zeytinburnu, Eminönü, Sulukule, Tarlabaşı, Ataşehir, Bahçeşehir, Halkalı, İkitelli, Kartal, etc.) (Housing Development Administration; Kocabaş 2006) and İzmir (Mavişehir, Örnekköy, Uzundere, Ege Mahallesi, Yalı Mahallesi, Third İzmir, etc.) (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 2008).

MODELS OF URBAN REGENERATION IN TURKEY

Rapid Renewal Projects for Squatter Housing and Mass Apartment Housing Projects

Squatter housing area rehabilitation and mass social housing construction are the major types of urban regeneration in Turkey. The construction of

Figure 7.3 A View from Dikmen Valley Urban Regeneration Project in Ankara.

apartment houses for public servants and the construction of service buildings for public agencies, social and physical infrastructure development, urban land development, restoration, among others, may also be attached to regeneration projects.

The Emergency Action Plan declared by 58th and 59th Governments included housing and urbanisation as one of the main action areas. The prevention and rehabilitation of squatter housing areas in cooperation with municipalities and the provision of affordable and adequate housing for low-income groups are the two main types of urban regeneration in the Action Plan. In achieving these goals, HDA along with municipalities, is the most important public implementation body in realising urban regeneration policies as a fund and land provider and as an enabler at the local level. HDA can issue internal and external bonds and any kind of stocks; cooperate with private developers, home buyers or others involved in this

Figure 7.4 Uzundere Mass Housing Project by HDA in İzmir.

field; establish or participate in companies related to urban development and settlement; grant individual and mass housing credits; make interest subsidies for all such credits; grant credits for projects intended for the transformation of squatter areas, preservation and restoration of historical and regional architecture; carry out or subcontract others to carry out housing, infrastructure and social facility projects; and have made plans and alter these plans in areas determined as urban development and settlement regions. All the duties and the authority of the Urban Land Office have also been transferred to had (Soyak 2004). Based on this amendment, 64.5 million m2 of land has been passed on HDA's property portfolio. This law integrates the process of land development and housing production and facilitates the efficiency in housing and urbanisation implementations.

The aim of rapid renovation projects is to reconstruct illegally occupied and inadequate squatter housing regions through clearing and rehabilitating those areas by constructing modern, healthy and adequate settlements with schools, social and commercial facilities, better environmental quality, etc. In this model, not only is an illegally occupied squatter housing zone rehabilitated and renewed, but also a vacant area is planned for the purpose of providing modern housing units to transfer squatter housing residents.

As a first step in this model, municipalities identify illegally settled regions in their cities and cooperate with HDA through a protocol to rehabilitate those regions through an urban regeneration scheme. HDA

Figure 7.5 Apartment Houses in Dikmen, Ankara.[1]

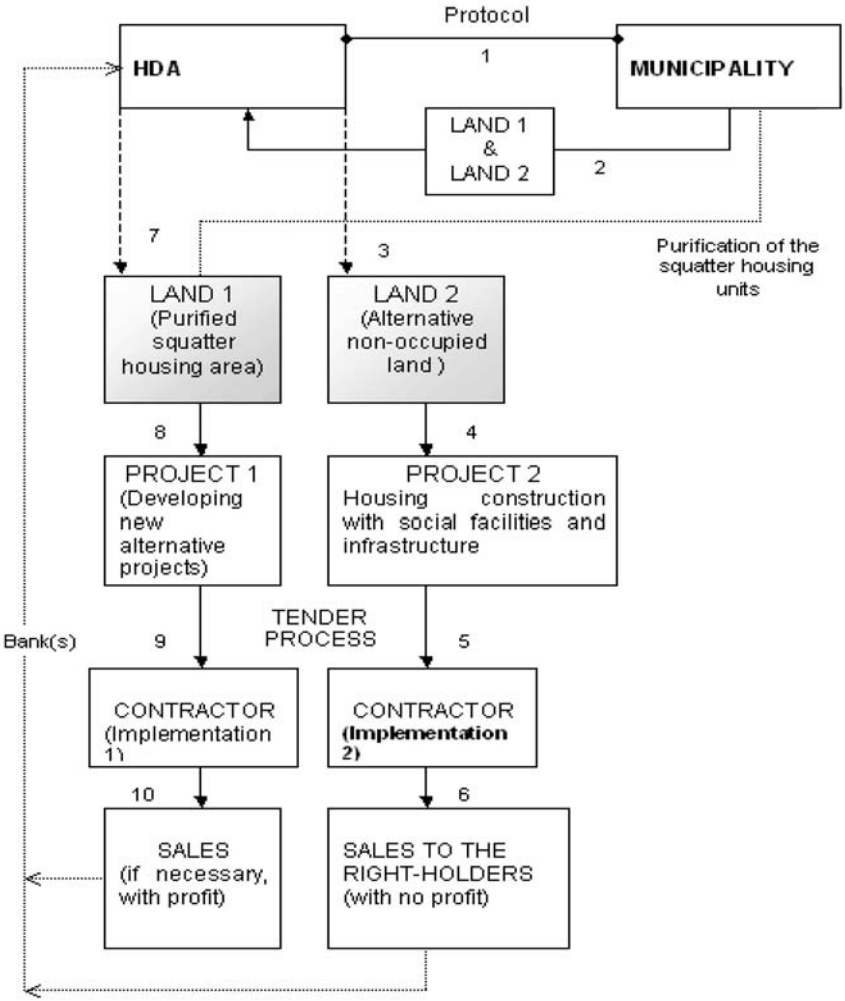

Figure 7.6 The Model for Renovation Projects for Squatter Housing Areas (http://www.toki.gov.tr/english/1.asp).

prepares a housing development programme to construct modern housing units for the squatter housing residents on a different vacant area generally provided by municipalities to HDA. On the other hand, municipalities identify illegally settled households to be evicted and then clear the occupied land. The cleared land, then, is used by HDA and the municipality and regenerated through urban renewal projects because such urban squatter housing areas are often located in the central city and, thus, are very valuable. Yet, the construction of houses is done by private developers selected through an open tender. To give an example, the inhabitants of the

Yalı Neighbourhood in Karşıyaka, İzmir, a squatter housing area, will be moved to a newly constructed settlement, called Örnekköy. The project is a joint initiative of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, Karşıyaka Municipality and HDA. The project will be carried out by a private contractor (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 2008).

Such projects may also involve relocating landfill or waste dumps, clearing old waste dumping sites, improving environmental quality and infrastructure, creating social and public facilities related to leisure, entertainment, public services, open and green space or commercial services, etc. For example, HDA and the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality are authorised (Law 5104, dated 4 March 2004) to improve the physical infrastructure and environs of Northern Ankara Entrance, named as the 'Protocol Road,' to beautify the areas and to provide a healthier settlement order. In the areas described by this Law, urban design, housing, social superstructure, environmental arrangements and the technical infrastructure projects and the constructions will be arranged both by the Municipality and HDA in coordination. A Company named TOBAŞ A.Ş. was established for the provision of controlling and consultancy services within the framework of this project. The company is owned by HDA by 49 percent (http://www.toki.gov.tr/english/2.asp). This project has a special importance due to its target region, which is an area alongside the road connecting Ankara to its international airport.

Some projects may also include the reorganisation and revitalisation of large derelict or deteriorated urban zones and the reuse of such areas for different functions ranging from housing, offices, public areas, leisure, entertainment, trade, etc. such as Anka-Mall and Panora Mall in Ankara, Kanyon Mega Shopping Centre in İstanbul, and Çiğli-Kipa Mall in İzmir, among others.

HDA are responsible for around 10 percent of the housing need in Turkey. In 11 years, from 1994 until the end of 2004, HDA has provided housing loans to approximately 1.2 million housing units. In addition to the loans given to cooperatives, municipalities are also supported by HDA loans. The goal is to facilitate municipalities in new housing development projects on lands they own for the low-income people (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 2008). Among the mass social houses provided by HDA, 31 percent of the housing credits has been used by workers, 30 percent by civil servants,7 percent by retired, 13 percent by middle tradesmen and 19 percent by others. Housing units are given to the applicants through a draw under the control of notary public. (http://www.toki.gov.tr/english/3.asp). Currently, in 81 provinces and 428 districts, the construction of 305,073 housing units and 9,419 apartment units for governmental employees continue. Twenty projects are also in stage of evaluation and tender process (http://www.toki.gov.tr/programlar/uygulamatakip/ilharita.asp).

Restoration or Renovation of Historical and Traditional Buildings or Areas

Metropolitan and district municipalities, HDA, universities, the Ministry of Culture, civic organisations, professionals, local residents, national (e.g., Cihangir Beautification Foundation) and international organisations (particularly UNESCO) are involved in renovation projects. Such projects are often implemented in dilapidated central parts of cities (e.g., Ulus in Ankara, Kemeraltı in İzmir, Beyoğlu, Galata and Eminönü in İstanbul). Old industrial districts with especially leather workshops (Kağıthane and Beykoz in İstanbul), derelict warehouses and inner-city industrial sites are also subject to urban regeneration. The goal is to conserve and upgrade the still inhabited traditional built-up surfaces and cultural buildings or rehabilitate and renew old industrial districts. In addition, the creation of changes in image; the increase in pedestrian traffic; the attraction of businesses, service activities and urban tourism; the creation of new facilities for local residents, improvement of the environmental quality of the neighbourhood; the beautification of some main streets; or the reorganisation of advertisement panels on the walls or streets may be other goals that these initiatives address.

If the public funding is not used, the project is funded by the increased value of the properties gained through renovation by the arrival of middle-class inhabitants and businesses as in the cases of Galata and Beyoğlu in İstanbul. Yet, this has the risk of partial gentrification. For the renovation of French Street in Beyoğlu, İstanbul, the municipality approved changes in

Figure 7.7 Renovated French Street in İstanbul, Beyoğlu (now renamed as Algeria Street).

the functional use of the buildings on the street in order to allow the private developers and owners to renovate buildings and reuse them as cafes, bars, restaurants, art houses, boutiques, beauty salons, etc. This method both helped the restoration and preservation of buildings and cultural heritage in the street and enabled the renovation to 'pay back' through functional use of buildings and the economic revitalisation of the street.

Despite the lack of state support in the cases of Kuzguncuk, Cihangir and Galata in İstanbul, where most residents are intellectuals and artists who look for a particular lifestyle, the renovation activities were undertaken by residents, promoting community participation in efforts to improve living environments. The social change prompted a change in the dwelling stock in response of increasing demand. Balat in İstanbul is also an example of institutional gentrification. The expectations of an internationally supported project, which promised investments in the neighbourhood, induced the prospective gentrifiers to stay in the quarter (UNEP 2004: 41).

Rehabilitation of Disaster Areas

In this type of urban regeneration projects, HDA or municipalities take the main responsibility. Yet, the design, engineering and construction activities are given to a private developer or contractor selected through an open tender. Such projects incorporate the relocation of the disaster victims, the clearance, rehabilitation and renewal of urban areas, the provision of basic urban services, social services and infrastructure in cities where earthquakes (Adapazarı, İstanbul and surrounding region), landslides (Ballıkuyu and Vezirağa in İzmir) and floods (some squatter housing areas in Ankara) are likely to happen.

Establishment of Business and Research Areas and Institutions

The implantation of high-tech businesses and research institutions are seen as vital for local development by politicians and almost all cities. These types of projects may involve the development or regeneration of new urban land and functions, the allocation of a specific urban area for industrial districts, commercial centres or malls, the creation of science parks and small-enterprise incubators, the enlargement of existing higher education institutions or establishment of new universities, the establishment of free zones, marina, airport, business centres, among others.

Such projects are very popular in Turkey in recent years and welcomed by local politicians, leaders, businesses, local residents and municipalities because it increases business opportunities, the number of jobs available and revenues for local municipality and restores the dynamics of the city economy. In fact, universities are called an 'industry without chimney'. Furthermore, higher education establishments enrich the quality of human resources in a city hungry for regeneration and make it more potentially attractive to external

investors. Thus, the current government has passed laws establishing more than 50 new universities in addition to around 50 existing public universities, meaning in effect a 100 percent increase. Now all 81 provinces have at least one university. The most important characteristic of urban development and regeneration through the establishment of new universities is that such investments, to a great extent, go to small- to mid-sized cities all over Turkey. This is also a government policy to shrink the disparities between the west and east as well as under-developed and developed regions and cities.

In the establishment of higher education institutions, new service buildings and housing for employees and staff are built, and old public buildings are transformed. These options are sometimes applied in combination and target the transformation of the urban fabric, the landscape, the functions, the image of the city and its attractiveness. Due to an increased number of passengers in and out of the city, the question of meeting the needs of commuters have been addressed, refurbishing railway stations or bus stations and reorganising public transport and urban transportation. Accommodation options have to be also considered in such projects. HDA, municipalities, the Ministry of National Education, Higher Education Council, national and local investors and developers, local residents, professional or civic organisations may all take part in such projects, varying according to the location, the economic potential of the city and the type of the project. HDA took the lead in the establishment of Sabiha Gökçen Airport, marina, Sabancı University and Istanbul Park-Formula 1 and cooperated with public, private and civic organisations (Kahraman 2006:95).

Tourism-Led Urban Development

The development of urban tourism in many coastal cities is an essential triggering affect for urban regeneration projects. It goes beyond the seasonal tourist visits to seaside cities. Conferences, exhibitions and cultural or sports events also attract visitors. The resulting financial revenues often represent the largest share of the local GDP, as in Antalya. As of June 2008 nearly 60,000 tourists arrived in Antalya daily. Yet, sustainability requires the improvement of transportation infrastructures (e.g., motorways, high-speed train, new or enlarged airport), the enlargement of investment in human capital, the enrichment of entertainment and accommodation options as well as innovative methods of tourism such as eco-tourism, culture tourism, golf and football training camps, the improvement of basic infrastructure and services available in and around historical sites.

CONCLUSION: LESSONS LEARNED

It is obvious that the formation of urban regeneration policies in Turkey has a different but a fruitful trajectory compared to European and other

developed counterparts. It is different because it includes huge regional disparities. Until recently a very centralised urban and local development policy-making, strong rural-urban migration and demographic change, and an overall service sector growth in Turkey has been only marginally affected by the industrialisation and does not present the same industrial urban derelict lands as many European cities, which makes Turkey a fruitful case. Also the speed of change in urban issues is much faster than many developed cities in western countries often manifested in the prizes won by the newly built shopping centres and the number of apartments constructed by HDA.

On the other hand, ongoing urban regeneration projects exhibit a lack of governance: the residents and the beneficiaries of urban development are not often involved in the process of regeneration. The local communities find themselves in a process in which they remain inactive in problem-solving and negotiation. These types of interventions have been seen as 'capitalistic' and as the commodification of space and place. The Erdoğan government now seems to be more willing to devolve more power to local governments in part as a response to this problem. But governance is two sided: devolution would be meaningful if the participation of the residents of neighbourhoods is increased and their capacity and skills to manage are enhanced. Thus urban regeneration may lead to possible unintended consequences. Gentrification and social and ethnic succession may take place as a result of urban regeneration initiatives. As a result of the upgrade in housing stock as well as public service and environmental quality, some low-income residents may be replaced by high-income groups. In many cases, due to such relocations, small family owned or mid-size businesses lose their pool of low-paid workforce since some of the regenerated urban areas are in or around the city centre.

The rapid rise of urban issues, particularly following the 2002 elections, contains a basic dilemma: response to urban needs in terms of physical development does not meet the changes in urban policy-making and is often indifferent to societal problems. Political atmosphere, fuelled by quick responses to either globalisation or the EU acquis, does reflect societal changes, with the exception of some cases in metropolitan areas. The changes in legislations do not turn into real changes in people's lives. Thus, the involvement of localities, the resolution of their social problems and local capacity building seem to be the most important missing points of urban regeneration in Turkey.

The cooperation between municipalities and HDA is afftected by the demand for housing; new business and social development are often regarded as residual category. Urban regeneration operations are intertwined with urban development of new land beyond the city limits particularly in the case of squatter housing clearance and apartment house construction for an ever increasing number of city dwellers. In other words, the 'brownfield' development often goes together with the 'greenfield' urban development.

Clearance of squatter housing areas, construction of mass social housing in the form of apartment houses and urban land development are still the main aspects of urban regeneration in Turkey. Yet dominance of housing construction in urban development does not permit the proportional creation of employment opportunities. The SME's support system and industrialisation policy, in a similar vein, are regarded as the weakest chain of economic development policies in Turkey, even as manifested in official reports (SPO 2007). Unfortunately, the law on the establishment of RDAs was brought to the constitutional court by the opposition party due to perception of threat that RDAs would harm the unitary structure of state. This case has postponed the establishment of RDAs for almost two years and caused to hold back both the acquis and governance component of urban regeneration. With similar concerns, a law proposal on urban regeneration could not be brought to the Turkish Parliament.

While the vast majority of the European cities perceive finding more competitive position in the global economy, as a major concern, the Turkish urban regeneration policies are still subject to physical development and modernisation needs due to absence of governance and limited awareness towards the needs of globalisation among policy makers, bureaucrats and the public. Although there has been a series of legislative changes towards devolution and decentralisation, the centralism still seems to be dominant. In the final analysis, one can find a huge room for capacity building in the design of urban regeneration policy in Turkey but this does lead automatically to effective solutions.

NOTE

1. The picture is obtained from http://gurselkorat.blogspot.com/2007/05/bir-toplu-konut-ankara-lkemizin.html.

8 Urban Regeneration Policies in Barcelona

Periods, Territories and Agents

Ismael Blanco

INTRODUCTION

The city of Barcelona has undergone profound transformations over the last three decades. To some extent, these transformations are but the mere reflection in the city of global changes, such as the shift to a tertiary economy, the labour market becoming more flexible or the migratory movements from poor to rich countries. Also, these transformations are related to the national political and social circumstances, like the establishment and consolidation of a democratic political system, the incorporation to the European Union, the adoption of health and education welfare or the progressive secularisation of society. Finally, however, we cannot fully understand the transformations that Barcelona has gone through over the last thirty years without analysing the urban public policies, their focus, their management and their impact upon the socio-spatial configuration of the city.

The impact of the policies and approaches adopted by Barcelona's city council in collaboration—and in confrontation—with other institutions of governance since 1979 have resulted in the 'Barcelona Model' (Modelo Barcelona). Under such a name, some key agents in Barcelona's urban renovation have tried to explain and promote in other European and South American cities, Barcelona's transformative experience. It has been carried out with a certain success, since the so called 'Barcelona Model' is today known worldwide as an example of urban development to be followed. In 1990, for example, Barcelona was awarded the Wales Prize in Urban Design by the Graduate School of Design of Harvard University for the improvement of the city's public areas throughout the 1980s. In 1999, the city of Barcelona was awarded the Royal Gold Medal in architecture by the Royal Institute of British Architects, it being the first time the prize was given to a city instead of to an architect. Richard Rogers repeatedly mentions Barcelona as the example of urban regeneration to be followed (1999).

Nevertheless, as to be expected, the 'Barcelona Model' has also had its critics. Particularly over the last few years, the city's academic elite

and local social urban movements have identified key problems with the model of transformation brought about by the Council.

Some criticism concentrates on the way architects and urban planners controlled the process, to the detriment of other types of professionals; the alliance of interests that has supposedly been established between the local government and the economic elites; the scant opportunity for citizens to participate in the design of the urban development projects; the urban transformation's gentrification effect in areas like the historic centre or the sea front; and, all in all, the high social costs of the such a model (Ute 2005; Capel 2005; Delgado 2005).

But what, does the 'Barcelona Model', actually consist of? Can we really talk about a 'Barcelona Model'? Both the most optimistic and the most critical seem to suppose so. The expression 'Modelo Barcelona' is nowadays commonly used when analysing the city's renovation over the last thirty years, despite the difficulty in finding a clear way of defining its main characteristics. The most frequently mentioned are: the use of major events—the 1992 Olympic Games and the 2004 Universal Cultures' Forum—as catalysts of great urban regeneration; design and implementation of regeneration projects of specific areas of the city, giving priority to the public areas as the ultimate urban and collective areas; development of a relational model of management, based on the coordination between different governing levels and the public–private partnership; creation of autonomous public agencies providing a flexible local management; territorial decentralisation and the participation of citizenship in public policy-making (Casellas 2006).

This chapter, however, questions the temporal, territorial and sectoral coherence of the so called 'Barcelona Model', as well as the acceptance of the local government as the only actor able to influence regeneration processes in the city. Barcelona's urban transformation has taken place in different periods, which are clearly differentiated. Territorially speaking, the urban renovation strategies have also been very varied. Finally, the networks of agents that have taken part in these processes of urban change have been significantly diverse.

With the aim to summarise this complex process of the city's renovation, this chapter is organised in two parts. Firstly, it offers an overview of the major stages of Barcelona's urban transformation and of the public policy strategies adopted by the local government in each of them. This is followed by a comparison of two cases of regeneration of underprivileged districts: the urban regeneration policies of the Raval, a district belonging to the city's historical centre and the Community Plan of Trinitat Nova, a northern suburb district. These two cases aim to illustrate the co-existence in the city, at least since the mid-1990s, of two main models of urban regeneration, somewhat opposed, carried out by different networks of actors. Finally, the chapter will close by pointing to some of the potential for the analysis and practice of regeneration that may be valid beyond the borders of Barcelona.

BARCELONA'S URBAN RENOVATION: DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION, URBAN DEVELOPMENT CHANGES AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

The model of urban development during Franco's regime, particularly since the second half of the 1950s, generated severe socio-spatial imbalances in Barcelona—(as in other large Spanish cities)—as well as urban conflict. Throughout the sixteen years that Josep Maria Porcioles was the Mayor of Barcelona (1957–1973) the city experienced a triple process of industrial, demographic and urban expansion. The establishment of large factories like SEAT in Zona Franca, Olivetti in Les Glories or La Maquinista in Sant Andreu, turned Barcelona into one of the main poles of Spain's Fordist industrial development. The city grew by nearly 300,000 during this period because of the migration waves coming from the rural and impoverished areas of the rest of the country. The strong demographic growth also caused an expansion of the housing stock.

Barcelona's model of urban development would have hardly been different to that of other European cities if it had not been for the particulars of the political regime under Franco. The lack of democracy, the scarce autonomy and very little capacity of management of the local authorities, the residual nature of its social policies and, above all, the subordination of urban policies to the interests of the major real estate companies and developers caused a period of anarchic urban development, which resulted in explicit social/spatial segregation.

Franco's urban policy generated a strong social mobilisation against it, analysed in detail by Manuel Castells (1983). He states that 'the social mobilisation concerning urban issues that occurred in the neighborhoods of most Spanish cities throughout the 1970s was [. . .] the largest and most significant urban movement in Europe since 1945'. He demands better social housing and the remodelling of the existing housing stock; improvement of public education, sanitary and health services; improvement of public transport services and road safety; more public spaces; more cultural activities; and political freedom. The alliance these movements made with urban professionals—lawyers, economists, architects, sociologists . . .—together with the leaders and militants of democratic political parties, ended up conferring upon them a very high political status and a large capacity of social mobilisation. Throughout these years some of these movements designed the so-called Planes Populares ('Popular Plans'), which were district regeneration plans devised with the residents' participation and the support of independent professionals, which intended to be rigorous alternatives to the urban development model under Franco's regime.

From 1976, Franco's regime encountered its full crisis. The death of the dictator Francisco Franco hastened political transition towards democracy. The first local democratic elections were celebrated in June 1979, with a radically new political period. Politically speaking, it has meant a long

period of stability. Since these first democratic elections, the social democratic party (Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya—PSC), has always been the city's very first political force. All of Barcelona's Mayors have belonged to this party: Narcís Serra (1979–1982); Pasqual Maragall (1982–1997); Joan Clos (1997–2005) and Jordi Hereu (since 2006). However, PSC has always governed with the support of an eco-socialist formation heir to Euro communism, Iniciativa per Catalunya—Verds (IC-V), before known as Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (PSUC). Between 1979 and 1982 Convergència i Unió (CiU), who nowadays constitutes the main opposition party, were involved in this coalition, as well as Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC), who after a long period without any representation in the local plenary, was brought back into the Council in 1995, again joining the governing coalition with the PSC and IC-V until the latest elections in May 2007.

Despite this political stability, the main public policy strategies in the city have experienced significant changes over the last 30 years. This will be analysed next.

1979–1986: THE CITY'S RECONSTRUCTION

The start of local democracy in Barcelona coincides with a situation of crisis. On the one hand, the world's economic recession caused by the double oil crisis in the 1970s strongly affected the city's industrial base, increasing unemployment. On the other hand, the 'developist' period conducted during Franco's regime has left as a legacy, a very unbalanced urban system, with extensive urban areas—both in the historic centre and in the housing areas of the suburbs—which suffered from severe urban deficiencies. All of which had to be dealt with by still very immature democratic political institutions and by a public administration with very limited capacities. This is how a triple regeneration challenge is set: political-administrative, urban development, social-economic.

From a political-administrative point of view—not only in Barcelona but on the whole, in Spain's local political system—the priority was given to the consolidation of the major political parties, as well as the strengthening of the representative political institutions—Mayor, government commission, local assembly (Brugué and Vallès, 1997). Efforts to restructure systems and processes of public administration were made, expanding technical teams, modernising procedures and adapting the organisation to new work schemes. However, the expectation that there would be enhanced citizen participation in the city's management were rapidly frustrated. The new government gave priority to the renovation of political and administrative institutions, as well as the resolution of the most urgent urban problems. A significant number of the leaders and professionals who had supported the neighbourhood movement in the 1970s now occupied political and

administrative responsibilities in the new Council. All this led to the weakening and a crisis for the neighbourhood movement, which gradually lost its former capacity to formulate proposals of social representation and mobilisation (Domingo and Bonet 1999; Calavita and Ferrer 2000).

From the point of view of urban development, the regeneration model conducted in this period broke from the 'developist' model carried out during Franco's regime. A seminal study by Oriol Bohigas, titled 'Reconstrucción de Barcelona' (Reconstruction of Barcelona) points out the basic characteristic features of this new model: the use of specific regeneration projects instead of global urban development plans for the city; the recuperation of the historical city's own public areas like squares and streets; the 'monumentalisation' of the suburbs through small-scale projects of innovative public equipment; public art and specific ground plans; and surface operations (Bohigas 1985).

All in all, it is a model of 'qualitative urban development,' which follows the tendencies of other European cities throughout the 1980s like Berlin and Paris (Monclús 2003).

Finally, the city's economic crisis at the beginning of the 1980s forced the Council to boost a number of public interventions in the fields of economic promotion and personal services (Gomà 1999). On the one hand, it started various employment and work training programmes orientated to the local labour markets as well as local programmes supporting technological innovation. On the other hand, the Social Services Area was created, the first social centres were built and a number of programmes concerning public health, youth leisure and the promotion of sports and culture were activated.

In short, throughout this period, the city's regeneration strategies were determined by a context of crisis and transition. The government's agenda was settled with very primary preoccupations. The regeneration formulas that were adopted had very few innovating elements. The shortage of resources hugely restricted the capacity to promote high standing regeneration policies. As an example, in Ciutat Vella, the urban regeneration strategy had very limited effects, to the extent that it was the neighbourhood movements, impatient because of the lack of significant transformations, who in 1987 ran a campaign under the slogan 'Aquí hi ha gana!' ('There's hunger here!') claiming more attention and more efficiency from the administration. The interventions carried out in the suburbs, as will be pointed out through the situation of Trinitat Nova, were unable to hold back the gradual decline of many of these areas.

1986–1992: THE OLYMPIC BARCELONA

Barcelona's nomination in 1986 as the city to hold the 1992 Olympic Games constitutes an important point of transition, in terms of the city's ways of

governing and its regeneration strategies. The elements commonly included in the 'Barcelona Model' are formulated and fully carried out during this period.

It is, without question, the period when Barcelona suffers the largest and most relevant urban transformation. The urban development policy goes through a change in its scale; despite the continuation of operations at a small or medium scale, the urban development policies now mainly concentrate their efforts to a more global city scale. Major urban development projects are designed and implemented underlying a certain strategy to transform the city. In other words, there is a shift from a period where 'qualitative urbanism' is predominant to a new phase of 'strategic urbanism' (Monclús 2003). Three main urban development projects are carried out (Esteban 1999:23–29; McNeill 1999:95–99): the Olympic Project, the Nuevas Áreas de Centralidad ('New Downtown Areas') and the infrastructure road plan.

The urban renovation project linked to the Olympic Games brings about the alignment of the city and the sea and the creation of new sports' facilities: the Villa Olímpica is created; the beaches of Barceloneta, Somorrostro and Mar Bella are restored; new leisure areas are created in Port Olímpic, Port Vell and Moll de la Fusta; sports facilities are restored and newly built in Vall d'Hebrón; and, very especially, in Montjuïch, which becomes the city's sports' area. The project of the New Downtown Areas intends to create new geographical areas of economical reference to concentrate equipment and services' activities, substituting obsolete urban uses. Some of these Areas are conceived as 'Olympic Areas' (Vall d'Hebrón and Vila Olímpica); others as central connecting areas by road (Les Glòries and Plaça Cerdà) and by railway (Sagrera and calle Tarragona); one as an extension of the area holding the biggest concentration of service activities (Diagonal); and, finally, Port Vell as the leisure area (Ajuntament de Barcelona 1991). Finally, throughout this period there is a strong boost towards the construction and remodelling of the road infrastructures: the construction of the Rondas, (major beltways) is the most emblematic project. It is also during this period that there is a new boost towards the regeneration of the historic centre: a good part of the renovation operations planned at the beginning of the 1980s are unblocked thanks to the adoption of new management techniques based on the collaboration between public and private entities and the coordination between different governing levels.

The development of major renovation projects forces the Council to adopt new urban governing formulas based on the shared relationship between different levels of government and between the public and private sector. One of the most emblematic formulas from this collaborative management model is *the Plan Estratégico Económico* y Social Barcelona 2000 ('Strategic Economic and Social Plan for Barcelona 2000'), passed in 1990 by the representatives of the Council of Barcelona, other local administrations and citizen institutions like the chamber of commerce,

the employers' organisation, the port authorities, the syndicates and universities. This model of coordination between public and private elites is also represented by the large number of companies of mixed capital, which are created, like Nova Icària S.A., (NISA) in charge of the construction of the housing in Villa Olímpica, Barcelona Promoción de Instalaciones Olímpicas S.A., in charge of managing some of the city's most important Olympic facilities, or Promoción de Ciutat Vella S.*A*. (PROCIVESA), whose mission is to regenerate the historic centre. In short, the strategic vision, the multi-level coordination, the collaboration between public and private fields are some of the most characteristic elements of this (Ajuntament de Barcelona 1999).

Throughout this time, other relevant events need to be analysed in order to understand the evolution of the urban policies. On the one hand, projects regarding decentralisation and citizen participation finally come to fruition. Already in 1984, the Reglamento de Descentralización de la Ciudad ('Regulation for the Decentralisation of the City') was passed and during the second half of the 1980s, the city was constituted.

The territorial decentralisation, the participative management and the consolidation of a broad Personal Services system are significant parts of this phase of the city's regeneration. However, there is no doubt that holding the most significant weight in the dynamics of urban transformation were the urban development policies. Furthermore, the network of actors linked to these urban development policies—councillors and urban development and economic promotion technical teams and the city's economic elites—is what acts predominantly towards the definition of what is already being called the 'Barcelona Model'. However, it is a period of extensive political and social consensus achieved through the Olympic project. Barcelona has conquered the map of global economy. Thanks to the Olympic Games, it caught the attention of the huge masses of tourists and a large number of commercial companies and services. The urban development renovation is unstoppable, and the protest movements against this process of change are marginalised.

1993–2004: THE POST-OLYMPIC CRISIS AND NEO-LIBERALISATION OF URBAN POLICIES

From 1993, after the Olympic Games, we encounter a new period. This phase does not have, from a public policy point of view, such clear characteristic elements as the former phase. It is rather defined as the deepening of certain earlier tendencies, which the initiatives had started. However, the end of the Olympic project saw a context of economic crisis until the mid-1990s and the strict budget restrictions imposed by the Council and the social tensions that emerged alongside, justify this period to be considered as a differentiated phase, in its own right.

After the Olympics, the Council decided to continue the model of strategic urban development that had begun in the former period. Some of the projects take on a metropolitan scale. The northeast of the city, formed by traditionally industrial areas—Poblenou—and by working class areas—Maresme, Besós, La Mina, La Catalana—show a concentration of the majority of this period's urban remodelling operations. The Avenida Diagonal (one of Barcelona's main avenues) is extended up to the sea, ending its traced line with a new hotel, residential and commercial resort called Diagonal Mar. As an extension of Vila Olímpica, the sea front is also opened up with new high standing residential surroundings. Nearly 200 hectares of the antique industrial area of Poblenou are remodelled inside the context of the Plan 22@, a project seeking the creation of new urban surroundings to favour the installation, cultural, information and communication companies basing their activities on the latest technology. A wide remodelling operation is carried out in Sagrera, where the new High Velocity Train station is to be located, and making the most of the dynamics that such an event will generate, it promotes the construction of a new commercial and services area.

The most emblematic urban regeneration project of this large urban area was the Foro Universal de las Culturas 2004 ('Universal Forum of Cultures'). Counting on the support of the UNESCO, the General Administration of the State and the Generalitat de Cataluña, the Council of Barcelona devised a new project context that, similar to the Olympic Games, intended to mobilise new resources for urban regeneration, attract new investments, new residents and new visitors. The project was fiercely criticised by certain political, social and intellectual sectors of the city because of its lack of definition as a cultural event. The majority of the population gave it a frosty welcome.

To sum up, the urban development regeneration strategies during this period still boost major projects as in the former period, although putting a larger emphasis on high profitable private projects, giving a larger role to private operators in the design and implementation of the regeneration projects and the clear weakening of public leadership.

This growing neo-liberal orientation of local politics was also confirmed through the new management techniques adopted by the Council. Therefore, during the 1990s, the local administration went through a series of reforms devised to apply to the public sector, principles, techniques and mechanisms traditional to business management (Ajuntament de Barcelona 1999:29–110): the role of a local manager was created—for each sector and each district—with an autonomous role capable of carrying out executive control of the administration; a number of new managing agencies were also created with legal status—local societies, mixed bodies and autonomous entities—characterised by being specialised and independent in the management of investment, expenses and income; the tendency to contract services to private companies became widespread; the management

of human resources was decentralised and the hiring and firing of labour became more flexible; finally, an ambitious programme of financial reform began to contain expenses, reduce tax burden and decrease financial debt.

This new privatising orientation that urban policies and their management model have taken up resulted in opposition to Forum 2004 on behalf of very relevant social movements, among which figure the FAVB, something unprecedented throughout the Olympic project.

On a different scale than the one represented by the conflict between major urban development operations and social movements, the 1990s brought about alternative dynamics to public policies. In part, these dynamics are brought about by public policies promoted by governing sectors that do not precisely belong to the urban development or economic promotion sectors. Throughout these years, for instance, a new environmental political line breaks out, which is related to the sustainability approach promoted worldwide following the World Agenda 21 in Rio de Janeiro (1992). In 1998, the Consejo Municipal de Medio Ambiente y Sostenibilidad ('Local Environment and Sustainability Council' is formed, and in 2002 after a complex participative process, the Compromiso Ciudadano para la Sostenibilidad—Agenda 21 de Barcelona ('Citizen's Commitment for Sustainability') is passed. Similar participation processes begin in other fields like in education, with the setting up of the Proyecto Educativo de Ciudad ('The City's Educational Project'), which is a strategic plan promoting new educational strategies for the city based on the co-responsibility of a number of key agencies. Although social expense starts decreasing after its boom in the 1980s, the Personal Services sector becomes solid during this period both in its socio-cultural and socio-sanitary aspects. New competences are transferred to the districts, new participation councils are constituted and participative management formulas for local equipment and facilities become more and more common. However, this sector also suffers from an intensification of the contracting-out of services both to private companies and entities of the tertiary sector.

However, it is in the northern part of the district of Nou Barris, built between 1950 and 1970, where the most innovating and alternative urban regeneration processes take place. A new alliance between the neighbourhood movements and a series of independent administration professionals—an alliance similar to the one brought about by the Planes Populares in the 1970s, together with the support of Nou Barris' Personal Services Area as well as other supra-local public organizations—Diputación de Barcelona, Departamento de Bienestar Social de la Generalitat de Cataluña—boosts the activation of several communitarian development plans in the districts of this part of the city. In this sense, the case of Trinitat Nova is the most outstanding, following others like Roquetes, Verdúm, Ciutat Meridiana, Vallbona and Torre Baró. Imitations of these types of processes will arise in some of the historic centre neighbourhoods like in Sant Antoni, Casc Antic and Barceloneta. They are, indeed, well-coordinated

transformation processes, coming from a communitarian action approach, which are conducted by networks of alternative actors to the ones leading the city's major urban development operations: independent communitarian processes coordinating the territory's social fabric which clash with the Council if necessary, despite receiving financial resources from different administrations, supported by technicians and professionals of precisely these administrations—as well as other external professionals—capable of carrying out regeneration projects.

2004–2007: AFTER THE FAILURE OF FORUM 2004 . . . DOES A NEW PERIOD BEGIN?

The preparation and celebration of Forum 2004 prompted a strong political crisis in the city. A series of social urban movements, led by FAVB, gave rise to a fierce opposition to the project. Within the government's own coalition, IC-V seriously exposed the possible expiry of an urban development model based on major events and demanded that orientations for urban policies changed towards the population's everyday needs. The citizenship, in general, reacted frostily towards the project, and far fewer entry tickets to the grounds were purchased than expected. This caused the Forum in the end to be loss-making for the council's finances, which was heavily criticised by the opposition parties.

In January 2005, another tragic event occurred, which intensified the political crisis: the collapse of a tunnel of an underground line in construction forced the evacuation of 1276 families in the district of Carmel and caused a succession of criticism of the public works management model. Carmel is a working class neighbourhood, created originally through waves of migration flooding in, workers coming from other parts of Spain and, as in other neighbourhoods of the city, was constructed thanks to the pure initiative of its own residents. This collapse, as had already occurred during the crisis of Turó de la Peira in 1991, again made 'the other Barcelona' become the centre of attention for media, political and social agents.

The 'Modelo Barcelona' seems to have come upon a critical period. This does not mean that it has been abandoned, because some of the major urban remodelling operations like 22@ or even the remodelling of certain areas of the historic centre are still on course and continue causing strong controversy in the city. However, such models have come into tension against another 'alternative' ones, already emerging in the 1990s, arising from the initiative of neighbourhood movements, which have been contemplated by some sectors of the council over the last few years. The Plan de Acción Municipal 2004–2007 (PAM) ('Plan for Council Action') explicitly expresses its commitment to an inclusive city, to the service of everyone. One of the products of the PAM is precisely the passing of the Plan Municipal para la Inclusión Social, 'Barcelona Inclusiva 2005/2010'

('Local Plan for Social Inclusion'), which explicitly acknowledges and diagnoses the city's excluding processes and expresses a series of strategic lines and actions to fight against exclusion. Social expense again rises considerably, and social policies are given a new approach. This way, in 2005, the councillorship of Social Welfare promotes the Marco Municipal para la Acción Comunitaria ('Local Framework for Communitarian Action') and mobilises new resources in order to support existing communitarian actions in the city and to boost future ones. Sixteen communitarian development plans are, at present, ongoing, co-financed by The Council of Barcelona and the Social Welfare Department of the Generalitat de Cataluña. Furthermore, thirty-seven communitarian projects related to social services are being developed and a number of communitarian exchange and solidarity actions are taking place. The district of Nou Barris is still the most active in this field, although the communitarian approach may be observed to be spreading territorially. The new Normas Reguladoras de la Participación (Participation Regulation Norms), together with a new process of decentralisation in the interest of the districts as well as the Plan de Equipamientos Municipales ('Local Equipment Plan'), may end up establishing a new urban policy model coordinated upon the principles of proximity, communitarian participation and social inclusion. The point at which this new model will establish itself and become solid will surely depend on the evolution of the correlation between the political and social forces in the near future.

ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF URBAN REGENERATION.

The analysis carried out to this point has allowed us to glimpse a certain duality in Barcelona's urban regeneration models, a duality that begins to strongly arise in the second half of the 1990s. On the one hand, the predominant regeneration model comes from the local government's initiative, specifically from the Urban Development Area, and it is based on a coordinating relationship between the urban development departments of the different levels of the public administration—local, regional, national, European—and between public and private agents—ground owners, estate agents, service companies. Citizen participation in this type of operations is usually scarce. This is the regeneration model detected, with significant variations depending on each case, in the city's historic centre, the sea front and, in general, in the areas lately named as the New Downtown Areas. On the other hand, throughout the 1990s, and in response to the evident social-spatial polarisation in the city, a new alternative model of regeneration emerges from neighbourhood initiatives and finds support among the very same public professionals working in the territory, the administration's independent professionals and the social welfare and participation departments of the different governing levels (including the local districts). The urban regeneration

policies in Raval are an illustrative case of the first model. The Community Plan of Trinitat Nova is an example of the alternative model.

SOCIO-SPATIAL CONTEXT

The districts of Raval and Trinitat Nova are clearly products of the socio-spatial segregation tendencies brought about by the urban development model throughout Franco's regime. Trinitat Nova is a small neighbourhood of about 7,500 inhabitants situated in the district of Nou Barris, in the northern end of the city, built entirely between 1950 and 1960 to fit in new immigration coming from the more rural and impoverished regions of Spain. The district was built following the initiative of a series of public institutions linked to Franco's regime. Like in the case of so many other areas built with the same aims and by the same institutions, Trinitat Nova was built without any type of previous urban development planning and without foreseeing the minimum conditions for habitability. The urban development deficiencies of the district were not solved until the 1970s and 1980s, although only in part and as a result of the pressure put in by the neighbourhood movement. However, during the years of democracy, new problems emerged related, among others, to unemployment, the population's aging and the deterioration of the buildings was affected by a series of architectural pathologies like 'aluminosis' or 'carbonatosis' (Tatjer 1995; Associació de Veïns de la Trinitat Nova 1997).

The origins of the Raval go back further in time. It is a neighbourhood located in the historic centre, in the district of Ciutat Vella, built from the second decade of the 19th century fully marked in the city's industrialisation process. In such context, it acquired a precise urban function: to take in the majority of the city's new industrial activities and massive groups of workers who were looking for job opportunities in the new industry. Throughout the 20th century and until the advent of democracy in 1979, the neighbourhood of the Raval was configured as a housing area for workers. Despite it gradually losing the majority of the industrial activities it had held at other times, it is now known for its extremely high demographic density, its narrow winding streets immersed in an urban chaos, lacking facilities and public areas and becoming a container for marginal activities like drug-selling and prostitution. Under Franco's power, the area suffered the speculative policy of development: on the one hand, the institutions planned—but never actually executed—the opening of major roads as a strategy to gentrify and let the tertiary sector merge into the territory, but in practice, the Raval ended up occupying a clearly residual position in the city's urban development agenda. Both factors explain the lack of both public and private investment in the neighbourhood throughout this period and its progressive physical, environmental and social deterioration (Artigues, Mas and Suñol 1980; Gomà and Rossetti 1998).

To this day, both neighbourhoods have historically occupied a very low position according to the city's social welfare indicators. The Índice Sintético de Desigualdades Sociales (IDSS) de Barcelona,[1] points out that Raval comes second but last between 1991 and 1996 and goes down to the last place in 2001. Trinitat Nova also figures among the seven territories with less quality of life in Barcelona (Blanco and Rebollo 2002).

URBAN REGENERATION POLICIES: SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

Despite many of the quality of life indicators maintaining a very negative position, both Raval and Trinitat Nova have been, over the last decades, the object of public urban regeneration programs. They both hold some similarities.

Firstly, the regeneration programs in both neighbourhoods are territorially focused. In the Raval they arise from a Plan Especial de Reforma Interior ('Special Interior Reforming Plan') passed in 1983, though some of the actions designed in this plan are enclosed in the global regeneration strategies of the historic centre acceded through Ciutat Vella being qualified an Área de Rehabilitación Integral (ARI) ('Whole Rehabilitation Area') and it passing in 1987 its Plan de Rehabilitación Integral ('Whole Rehabilitation Plan').

In Trinitat Nova, the regeneration operations form part of what is known as the Plan Comunitario y Social de Trinitat Nova ('Communitarian and Social Plan of Trinitat Nova'), promoted in 1996. It is a plan limited to the neighbourhood although it has, since 2000, tried to coordinate itself with the communitarian plans, which are starting up in nearby areas like Verdum and Roquetes.

Both cases part from a diagnosis that acknowledges the multidimensional character of the problems of these neighbourhoods. This is why the regeneration programmes intend to be inter-sectoral, although, as will be pointed out further on, Raval's case focuses on an intervention in the physical space, while Trinitat Nova has undergone much more all-round actions.

It has been the local agents who have led these programmes, although they have been developed thanks to a network of cooperation between different governing levels. The Council of Barcelona—specifically, the Local Urban Development Institute—has led the design and implementation of the regeneration undergone in the Raval and the whole historic centre, although other administrations have also participated in the process: the Comisión Gestora del ARI is formed by representatives of the urban development areas of the council and the Generalitat de Cataluña—as well as the representatives of each of the residents associations in the area of the historical centre; the central, autonomous and local administration co-finance the majority of the remodelling interventions; the European Union, through Regional funds, has co-financed one of the largest remodelling operations, the opening of the Rambla del Raval. In the financing of the

Plan Comunitario de Trinitat Nova different administrative levels have also converged: the District of Nou Barris; the Citizen's Participation Department of the Diputación de Barcelona; the Social Welfare Department of the Generalitat de Cataluña. Some of the projects promoted by the Communitarian Plan, like the urban development remodelling, for example—the so called Trinitat InNova project—or the Neighbourhood Educational Project have counted on the support of other supra-local administrations.

In both cases, a relationship of cooperation between public and private agents has been boosted. Among the network of agents promoting these regeneration programmes, we may identify different levels of public administration, different departments, shared or mixed capital companies, private companies, universities, independent professionals and also citizen associations and individuals. In other words, in both cases there is an awareness of the limits of the bureaucratic approach in the elaboration of urban policies and, therefore, an awareness of the need to articulate plural networks of many types of agents who share the responsibility of dealing with complex socio-spatial problems.

Nevertheless, the differences between the two cases are, at least, as important as the similarities, for example, in terms of the processes of insertion into the public agenda. The regeneration of the Raval, like in the rest of the historic centre, has since the 1980s, been one of major priorities for the new democratic Council. The first Plan Especial de Reforma Interior (PERI) ('Special Plan of Interior Reformation' was passed in 1983. The public resources assigned to the regeneration of this territory have been considerably more than those destined to any other part of the city (Abella and Brunet 1998). Trinitat Nova, however, comes into the urban regeneration agenda a lot later on. During the 1980s only limited urban development operations were carried out, and a few facilities were installed (Tatjer 1995). It was not until the beginning of the 1990s when a number of buildings affected by aluminosis and other architectural pathologies were detected that the Council started considering the need to elaborate a PERI. But the all-round regeneration of the neighbourhood, promoted through the Community Plan of Trinitat Nova, would not take place until the end of the 1990s. The PERI passed, thanks to a complex and tedious participation and negotiation process with the citizens, finally started in 2002. The government's commitment in the neighbourhood's regeneration process was very weak at least until the end of the 1990s.

The contents of each of these regeneration programmes are also significantly different. The dynamics of deterioration taking place in the Raval between the 1970s and until the beginning of the 1980s were seriously dysfunctional for an urban development model, which, in view of the industrial crisis, had to gradually rely on tertiary economic activities, especially on the attraction of tourism. This is why one of the major aims of the regeneration policies of this neighbourhood has been to achieve 'mixed urban uses and social groups' (Cabrera 1998). The strategy to

achieve it has been complex but, in any case, it has given priority to the interventions from the point of view of the physical territory: creation of new public areas; re-accommodation into newly built housing for the residents affected by urban development; benefits for the rehabilitation of buildings; strategic emplacement in the neighbourhood of new cultural facilities with a marked international projection, such as the Centro de Cultura Contemporánea de Barcelona (CCCB), the Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Barcelona (MACBA), the History and Geography Faculty of the University of Barcelona and the Filmoteca Nacional de Cataluña. For some years now, the district has undergone a major operation of housing demolition and the construction of a new hotel, commercial and office resort in the so called Illa Robadors, is being interpreted by many actors as the expression of a change in the orientation of regeneration policies towards more mercantile values.

In the case of Trinitat Nova, however, it is the traditional residual position of the neighbourhood in the public agenda that causes a pro-active attitude from neighbourhood movements. The aims of the Community Plan are much more coherent in terms of development of a local community. The regeneration process also has a more all-round perspective. This does not mean that the urban development interventions have not played an important role. In contrast to the PERI approach proposed by the Council, the neighbourhood movement, coordinated by the Community Plan, begins a participative process with the support of urban developers and architects external to the administration. The residents end up defending a project named 'Trinitat InNoVA,' which intends to turn the neighbourhood into an example of sustainable urban development in the city. The proposal was negotiated with the Council and with the government of the Generalitat, who both finally committed themselves to execute it. Remodelling the territory through the principles of an eco-barri ('eco-neighbourhood') is at present in process. However, beyond the urban development project, the Community Plan is also made up of actions from other dimensions: educational, socio-sanitary and economical ones.

Finally, another important difference between both situations refers to the ways of articulating regeneration policies. In the case of Raval, the institutional leadership is far bigger than in the case of Trinitat Nova. Moreover, a larger number of private companies interested in the profits that can be made through regeneration have been mobilised. One of the most important tools in order to implement regeneration policies in Raval and the historic centre has been PROCIVESA, a mixed capital society with forty-nine percent of the shares controlled by private companies like Telefónica and La Caixa. The citizen's participation in this process is limited to the Neighbour's Association of the Raval, an association with a long history in the neighbourhood, which however, is not able to represent the wide variety of social groups and associations in one of the most complex and participative territories of the city. The association has hardly managed to

guarantee the rights of those residents affected by the urban development operations in terms of re-accommodation in the area, adding to this fact that many of the people living in the neighbourhood are in an irregular legal situation, like illegal immigrants, and they have been expelled without the slightest defence from the Neighbour's Association. On the other hand, Trinitat Nova's Community Plan started from the initiative of the Neighbourhood association, who politically leads the plan, to this day. What is more, throughout this period a number of participative areas and processes have taken place. This does not mean that the process has been entirely autonomous: the support from different administration levels, from the territory's public services and equipment technicians and professionals and from independent experts have all been crucial in the communitarian empowering process, but it has all been combined with a strong associative and neighbouring prominence.

CONCLUSIONS. LEARNING ELEMENTS FOR THE ANALYSIS AND IMPLEMENTATION OF URBAN REGENERATION.

This chapter is intended to offer the complex vision of the process of regeneration of the city of Barcelona from 1979 until today. The analytical approach adopted may be considered 'complex', because it tends to simultaneously relate the different periods in which this regeneration process has progressed, of the different theme areas that urban development policies embrace, of the different regeneration strategies taken on in different areas of the city and, finally, of the different agents involved in these urban regeneration processes.

Such an analytical approach may be criticised for aiming to cover 'too many things'. However, it may also be a good antidote against certain simplified perspectives of the so called 'Barcelona Model,' focused almost exclusively on the physical side of the transformation projects in certain areas of the city, frequently referring to the Olympic Games or the Forum 2004. This type of view on the urban regeneration in Barcelona have been supported by certain Political Science theoretical approaches like 'policy communities,' 'growth machines' or 'urban regimes,' reflecting a supposed concentration of the urban political power in the hands of very specific political and economic elites, who also exclude other social agents from strategic decision-making (McNeill 1999). Other, more optimistic views on the matter, talk about the 'Barcelona Model' as an example of cooperation between public and private sectors in the strategic urban planning (Esteban 1999).

Against these types of approaches, the chapter has tried to demonstrate that Barcelona's urban regeneration has gone through very differentiated periods; the different local governing areas have, frequently, devised policies that have taken very different and even contradictory

courses—which may be greatly explained by the fact that all of Barcelona's local governments have been coalitions; that the urban regeneration strategies have also been diverse from a territorial point of view; and that the network of agents playing key roles in the regeneration processes have also been very different depending on the moment and the territory. The comparison between the situations in Raval and Trinitat Nova illustrates the temporal, geographical and political complexity of the city's urban regeneration.

At the same time, the Barcelona case, approached from a 'complex' point of view suggests other relevant aspects for the analysis of public regeneration policies:

- Firstly, concerning the territorial scale of the regeneration, the case of Barcelona suggests the need to adopt a multi-level perspective, through which the study of the city's global transformation projects can be combined with the analysis of other projects of a minor territorial scale. In other words, it seems important to consider the scale upon which the urban regeneration policy is acting, observing possible coherence and incoherence between the actions taken place both at a macro and at a micro level.
- Secondly, regarding the contents of urban regeneration, the 'Barcelona Model' invites a conceptual restriction of what type of actions comprehend regeneration policies. More specifically, it suggests the need to analyse not only those policies coming from programmes or projects who explicitly aim for urban regeneration but also all the routine actions that have an impact upon the territory, or even, the non-interventions or non-policies. In this sense, it is also important to adopt an analytical perspective not only covering the analysis of urban development projects—ground qualification, creation of public areas, infrastructures, facilities and equipment, etc.—but also those actions affecting, for instance, the social or communitarian opportunities of the inhabitants of the territory.
- Thirdly, regarding the agents of the urban regeneration, the case of Barcelona shows that any analysis exclusively focused on the action of public authorities—or, even worse, on certain areas of the government like the urban development departments—may lead us to avoid alternative public policies being devised—and perhaps effectively implementing—on behalf of 'alternative' networks of agents formed by social, urban movements, entities from the tertiary sector, experts and the territory's technicians and experts in the public administration—social workers, sanitary workers, educational experts. This type of alternative networks may be leading present urban regeneration projects, which, in the future, may become an example for governmental policies.

NOTE

1. The Índice Sintético de Desigualdades Sociales ('Synthetic Index of Social Disparities') is a tool used by the council of Barcelona to analyse and acknowledge the unequal territorial distribution—to the rate of thirty-eight statistical areas—of the city's human development levels. The index is based on the proposal the UN has carried out for the elaboration of the Human Development Index through the PNUD since 1991.

9 The Czech Republic's Structural Funds 2007–2013

Critical Issues for Regional Regeneration

John Shutt, Stratis Koutsoukos and Martin Pelucha

This chapter presents a case study of the Moravia and Silesian Region, which is currently undergoing transformation with the Hyundai car plant investment opening in 2009. This region is to be a major recipient of convergence objective funding in the 2007 to 2013 period. Ostrava and Yorkshire have been building common links since the Czech Republic joined the EU in 2004 sharing experience in delivering Objective One Structural Funds' strategies. Whilst process exchanges are important, there is still a long way to go before coherent regional strategies and plans begin to emerge in Czech regions, leading to implementation and new regional governance. One key question for regeneration management is whether coal and steel are to be replaced by advanced automobile manufacturing, which is in itself transitory and if a broader diversification strategy is required to build the knowledge economy in the Czech Republic.

It also looks at recent developments in the Czech economy and obstacles along the road to developing better regional strategies and regional policy for the Czech Republic. A key issue being now to build capacity in local and regional development in both the regional authorities and with key stakeholder agencies like the Czech Universities and the need to improve inter-departmental coordination.

INTRODUCTION: THE CZECH REGIONAL SETTLEMENT IN THE POST-COMMUNIST ERA

The Czech Republic became an EU member state in 2004 and has since this period, been a key recipient of Objective 1 EU regional policy assistance. In the new EU Structural Fund programming period (2007–2013), assistance is set to be several times greater than in 2004 to 2006. In order to understand what has already been achieved it is necessary to understand Czech regional policy under transition in the 1990s and before the revolution in 1989. This approach is necessary because crucial organisational and institutional impacts delivered from this period can still be observed today. The transformation process is still continuing and is, in motion, but there is an

inertia in the public administration system, which affects regional development policy-making. The current system and conditions for EU Structural Funds delivery in the Czech Republic is more or less dependent on the implementation structure and the system of public administration, which was established in the 1990s after the revolution, and the power of regional local government is still being negotiated.

Regional policy in the Czech Republic until the year 1990 was associated only with the centralised distribution and allocation of resources. Under Czech communism, no systematic regional policy was articulated as such. Significant social and economic transformations began in the 1990s in a situation, which as Vozáb points out, was one where 'the political environment for solving regional problems has not been too friendly' (1998:125).

Few substantial regional inequalities could be traced at the beginning of the 1990s. This situation was created by the previous socialist regime, which focused on the levelling of all issues in the economy. Some aspects of the transformation process presaged the severe problems that were to become evident and were associated mainly with the growth of unemployment after 1992. These were the substantial decline of heavy industry (coal, steel, textiles), the decline of the agricultural sector and associated employment, the very low skills and inter-regional mobility of the workforce and the presence of severe environmental problems in many regions and localities.

And these processes and outcomes have implications for the development and understanding of a regeneration strategy, which is located at a regional economic level.

The last decade has brought more dynamic and radical changes to the Czech Republic and the need for understanding of a modern regional policy.

The economic transformation raised the unemployment rate and highlighted its regional dimension (e.g., in the Moravia-Silesian region and the North West regions, which were most affected by the rationalisation of the steel industry, coal mining and textile industries). At the same time the Czech Republic started preparation for full EU membership, and the EU required the preparation and implementation of complex regional policy structures able to support the delivery of the Structural Funds. This was particularly problematical for the Czech Republic due to the absence of regional levels of public administration.

Thus from 1996, the economic recession and the impacts of economic transformation as well as the preconditions for EU membership acted as an incentive for the creation of a new regional policy in the Czech Republic.

The main outcomes of this situation influenced the significant institutional, programming and legislative changes that took place from 1996 onwards.

At the regional level from 1993 onwards, there was an increase in the number of Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) in the Czech Republic, grown with the initiative of local and regional actors but primarily with little central state support. In the case of new institutionalisation arrangement for regional policy developed by the MRD, the RDAs were not considered in

the original plans and were heavily dependant for their existence on the EU PHARE programmes of financial support (Vozáb 1998). At the same time, there was a transfer of sector programmes with a high regional dimension to the Ministry. The problem of fragmented agencies was still, however, not resolved, and was subject to considerable political debate that has been a lasting feature of the political landscape. The RDAs have continued to be developed, and their contribution is being increasingly recognised, but progress is uneven in a number of respects throughout the country.

THE 2006 CZECH ELECTIONS: A SUMMARY OF DIFFERENT PARTY POSITIONS ON REGIONALISM

In 2006, the Czech Republic had a national election for the Lower House (June 2006) and also one for local authorities of the municipalities (Autumn 2006) and one for the regional council of Prague city-region. It is useful to have a brief analysis of the different party positions on regionalism in 2006 as these prevailing positions and the outcome of the elections dictate the 'regional climate' for the context of the 2007 to 2013 period. There are several aspects that are mutually interconnected, and it is not easy to state that regional policy will necessarily be either strengthened or reduced after the elections in the Lower House. This is caused mainly by the proportional system used for the Lower House, which most often results in Czech Governments that are either coalition or minority governments or both, creating a situation of contested governance and fragmented programmes and policy focused only on the 'moderation of short-term difficulties'.

There is still a great deal of policy confusion and contested governance in the Czech Republic between the regions and the centre perhaps of the type that the UK experienced in the Thatcher years (Shutt, Colwell and Koutsoukos 2002, Lloyd and Meegan 1996), and often it is the agreement on vision, goals and objectives that are lacking or hard to achieve. More needs to be done to study a partnership and regional regeneration experience in other EU member states.

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF POLITICAL POSITIONS ON REGIONALISM

A further aspect of the regional level in the Czech Republic is that nearly all the regional authorities established since the 1990s have been governed by the opposition party (ODS—The Civic Democratic Party). This has created tensions between the Czech Socialist-Communist coalition national government and regional governments and has been a feature of Czech regional governance during the period of 1998 to 2006. Czech regions have been under the pressure of 'fiscal stress'. The devolution and decentralisation of competences has been faster than that of the devolution of

appropriate financial resources. The national government has been reluctant to give more power to the regional authorities in the period since 1998, propagating a greater degree of continuing centralisation in policy-making, even under the transformative process. Strong central control and Ministry delivery from Prague co-exists with weak regional governments. Table 9.1 charts the position of the major political parties and their approach to Czech regional policy in 2006.

Consequently, the 1998 to 2006 period was characterised by an uneasy truce over the role and presence of the Ministry of Regional Development. Tasked with delivering the first generation of Structural Fund programmes for 2004 to 2006, the new Ministry has struggled for control in the context of opposition parties advocating its abolition and other government Ministries, particularly the Ministry of Finance (MF), Ministry for Agriculture (MA), Ministry of Transport (MT) and Ministry for Industry and Trade (MIT), playing equally powerful roles in the delivery of Czech regional policy and programmes. This level of ministry 'clientelism' can be confusing to the external observer.

DEFINITION OF 'REGION' IN THE CZECH CONTEXT

In Czech regional policy since 2000, a further major difficulty has been the definition of the 'region,' in relation to the context of the Czech regional structure.[1] Fourteen Higher Territorial Self-Governing Units[2] or 'regions' were established on 1 January 2000 (NUTS III) and on the other hand eight 'cohesion regions' (NUTS II). Map 1 illustrates these divisions. It was necessary to group regions into 'cohesion regions,' in order to implement EU cohesion policy (with the exception of the City of Prague and the Moravian-Silesian and Central Bohemian regions, which are both on NUTS II and NUTS III levels respectively). Therefore, so far these 'cohesion regions' have only had a statistical role to play, and they are not active as they do not have any legal powers or competencies in delivering a role in regional policy. The new Regional Operational Programmes (ROPs) for the period of 2007 to 2013 required renegotiating the Act for the development of new regional support structures (248/2000).[3] This absence is now compensated by intensive activity and involvement of regions at the NUTS III level. Many of the RDAs operate also at this level. Therefore, there is a chronic institutional conflict of interests in defining the 'regions and the regional level' of the Czech Republic. The question still remains which level of the regional structure fulfils the definition of a region: the fourteen NUTS III regions or the eight new NUTS II 'cohesion regions'? From the point of view of EU cohesion policy, it is the 'cohesion regions,' but from the perspective of the Czech Republic's regional policy, the answer is the fourteen NUTS III regions. Table 9.1 and Figure 9.1 illustrate the complicated situation for each NUTS level and also the mutual interrelations to the other levels.

Table 9.1 Position of Current Major and Governmental Political Parties (2006) on Regionalism

Party	*Position*
Czech and Moravian Communist Party (KSČM)	A left-wing unreformed communist party. This opposes Czech membership of NATO and openly advocates the return of the pre-1989 regime. Successor to the former Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which was founded in 1921.
	This party is a strong advocate of specific regions, which are suffering a high rate of unemployment (caused by a huge decline in heavy industries, coal mining, textile industry, etc.), particularly the Northwest regions and the Moravian-Silesian region. Won 26 seats in 2006.
Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD) *Former governmental party to June 2006*	A left centrist party of traditional European social-democratic orientation, supports membership of the Czech Republic in NATO, strongly advocates Czech entry to the EU. Successor to the former Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, which was founded in 1878 and forced to merge with the Communist Party in 1948. Restored in March 1990. Established the minority Czech Government in 1998 and has been the leader of the majority coalition government 1998–2006. Now in opposition with 74 seats.
	This party is a founder of regional policy in the Czech Republic and strongly advocates regional development programmes. There was one big problem between the delegation of responsibility between regional authorities (currently mostly represented by the opposition party ODS) and the national government (ČSSD as the majority party of the Czech Government Coalition).
Christian and Democratic Union—Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-ČSL) *Former governmental party to June 2006 and became a coalition partner in 2007*	A centrist party of Christian democratic orientation represented in the government from 1990 to 1998 and a member of the current coalition. Advocate of a 'social market economy'. Supports Czech membership in NATO and in the EU. Won 13 seats in 2006.
	This party is focused in regional policy mainly for support of rural areas in the Czech Republic, so it strongly supports the importance of the Ministry of Agriculture. High success for KDU-CSL in Czech rural areas, e.g., Moravian and South Bohemia regions.
Civic Democratic Party (ODS) *Governmental party from 2007*	A right-wing conservative party. A dominating member of government coalitions between 1992 and 1997. The driving force of economic and political transition during the early 1990s. Supports Czech membership of NATO but holds a 'euro-sceptic' stance towards the EU and opposes the European Constitution. Founded in April 1991 by long-time former minister Václav Klaus, who stepped down at the end of 2002 (Václav Klaus is currently the president of the Czech Republic and is standing again for 2008–2013). The party won the election with 81 seats.

continued

Table 9.1 continued

	In the elections of 2006 this party advocated the abolishment, in the long-term, of the Ministry of Regional Development and the transfer of its competencies to the Ministry of Finance and other sectoral ministries (e.g., Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Trade and Industry).
Czech Green Party *Coalition partner from the 2007*	The Green Party in the Czech Republic was founded in 1990. Greens failed to enter the first elected Parliament but were successful in local elections. Currently they have one seat in the Senate, two regional deputies, over 100 municipal deputies and three mayors. Won 6 seats in the 2006 elections. The Green Party is pro-European party but tends to focus mainly on the environmental programmes and issues in regional development.

Source: (CERGE-EI 2005; 2007; own survey of each political party electoral programme for 2006 elections to Lower House of Czech Parliament)

The nebulous institutional structure remains a vexed issue and impacts on the confusion surrounding the delivery of Czech regional programmes, frequently making it difficult to establish strategies and priorities and affecting implementation. If the eight cohesion regions are to play a more meaningful role in EU Regional Policy delivery, they will need resourcing and capacity building. The Czech National Strategic Reference Framework

Map 9.1 Map of the Czech Republic's cohesion regions and independent regions. Source: (Ministry for Regional Development 2004–2006 CSF for the Czech Republic)

Table 9.2 Development of the Czech Regional Policy 1990–2006 and Preparation for 2007–2013

LEVEL	*1990–1995*	*1996–2000*	*2000–2004*	*2004–2006*	*2007–2013*
NUTS I	Regional policy is an integrated part of economic policy	1996 establishment of MMR	Act approved on regional development support (248/2000)[4]	MMR as a Managing Authority of the Community Support Framework (CSF)[5]	MMR is the Managing Authority of the National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF)
NUTS II	Absence of the level	Absence of the level	8 cohesion regions established by Act of Parliament in preparation for the 2004 accession to the EU[6]	8 cohesion regions established without legal powers (purely statistical regions)	8 cohesion regions with legal powers because of Regional Operation Plans (ROPs)
NUTS III	Regions were abolished in 1990, and competence transferred to the NUTS IV level of state districts	Absence of the level	14 regions	14 regions with legal power	14 regions implementing Regional Operation Plans (ROPs)
NUTS IV	Okresy (districts or counties)—state offices	77 districts/counties—state offices	Abolished in 2002 transfer of districts/counties competences to NUTS III and NUTS V levels.	77 districts/counties only as a statistic micro-regions for unemployment rate observing	77 districts/counties with statistic character and some micro-regions (grouped Municipalities)
NUTS V	Municipalities	Municipalities	Municipalities	6,250 Municipalities	6,250 Municipalities

Source: (Pelucha 2006)
Note: Shaded parts of the table show the absence of a specific level of the Czech regional structure.

(NSRF) was signed in July 2007, and the new regional operational programmes are to be operational from January 2008. The motivation of the new regional programmes across the eight cohesion regions presents a huge challenge and opportunity for Czech regional and central government if successful delivery is to be achieved prior to 2013.

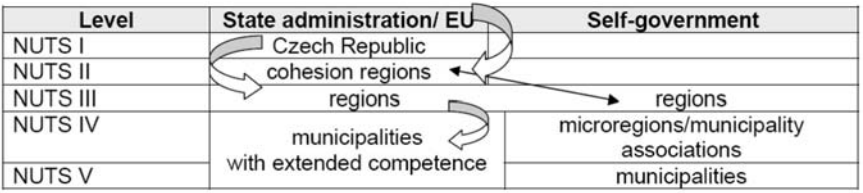

Figure 9.1 Function of the Czech Republic's regional policy levels.
Source: adapted from Wokoun (2003) and Peková,(2004). *Note:* Arrows show the influence of appropriate level on another level and also mutual relations.

MOVING ON FROM ACCESSION: THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND ITS REGIONS

A Case Study of the Moravian-Silesian Region: New Opportunities Arising from Globalisation?

Throughout 2006, a great deal of attention has been focused on the Czech Government and the CzechInvest success in bringing Hyundai, the Korean car manufacturer, to a 'greenfield' site in the Moravian-Silesian region. This region has experienced one of the worst rates of unemployment in the Czech Republic and fallout from restructuring in the coal and steel sectors. Ostrava has the Czech Republic's second largest airport, which has now been administered by the Moravian-Silesian Region since 1 July 2004. The Region was the national centre of the steel and smelting industries and historically has been the focus of black coal production, metallurgy and mechanical engineering as well as steel. The establishment of Nova Hut at Ostrava-Kunčice (New Steel Investment in 1951), made Ostrava the real 'steel heart of the Republic'. A metallurgical and steel colossus built on a then 'greenfield' site resulted in a pole of attraction for migrants not only from Czechoslovakia but also Hungary, Poland and Galicia (Ukraine).

After 1989, restructuring in the steel and coal industries led to considerable rationalisation and the closure of Nova Hut and the Vitkovice Steelworks, resulting in a massive increase of unemployment in the region. The subsequent concentration of political support occurred for both the Social Democrats (CSSD) and the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM). The company became a state enterprise in 1990 and then was acquired by Mittal Steel in January 2003 now Arcelor. The new management team set about transforming the company into one of Central Europe's premier steel producers. Mittal Steel Ostrava is now the largest integrated steel producer in the Czech Republic producing around 3 million tonnes of crude steel a year. In July 2005, Mittal Steel purchased a full 98.96 percent shareholding in the company arguing 'we are confident that the offer of

Mittal Steel is the best solution for the Czech Government, Osinek, VS [i.e., Vitkovice Steel] and the Ostrava region'.[7]

The biggest employers in this region are detailed in Table 9.3, and the importance of Hyundai addition cannot be underestimated.

An RDA was established in both the regions of North Bohemia and North Moravia as early as 1993, but throughout the 1990s operated without central government support. Since 2005, however, RDA support has increased, and the Moravian-Silesian RDA currently focuses on a range of activities that include:

- Providing services to inward investors;
- Developing real estate for businesses;
- Creating the conditions for the use of EU funds;
- Supporting small and medium sized businesses;
- Coordinating policies;
- Marketing activities.

The RDA is actively involved in helping the Region prepare and implement development of the Structural Funds in 2007 through 2013. Its Regional Operational Programme has begun to develop strategic goals for the region and begins the task of clearly formulating priorities. In 2006, CZK 15 million was earmarked for a series of communications and image change initiative—producing the first ever Moravian-Silesian Region marketing strategy. However, it still remains the case that Regional Strategies are poorly implemented and need much more development and investment. Suchacek (2005) draws attention to the difficulties in regional spatial strategies and the numerous financial resources devoted to the restructuring of the Ostrava agglomeration all of which often 'suffered from minimal coordination. This [. . .] heavily influenced by an ignorant attitude of central government'. Region and central government tensions persist on a variety of levels.

Table 9.3 Five Biggest Employers in the Moravian-Silesian Region in 2006

Employer	*Activity*	*Numbers employed*
OKD a.s.	Coal Operations	17,000
Mittal Steel	Steel Manufacturing	9,000
Trinecke Zelezarny a.s.	Steel Manufacturing	5,500
Autopal a.s.	Production of accessories for the car industry	4,000
Sevevomoravska energetika a.s.	Energy Grid	2,000

Source: (Ostrava Regional Development Agency 2006)

One advantage of the Moravian-Silesian Region is that it forms a separate NUTS II Region, whereas the often smaller regions face complex political mergers for NUTS II purposes. Regional policy is now formulated by the Deputy Governors Division for Regional and Economic Development, and the Regional Development Agency (RDA) is the implementation arm and has the key role of delivering structural fund strategy and projects.

Pavel Drobil, Deputy to the President of the Regional commenting on the new regional marketing strategy points out how things are changing:

> 'The Region is no longer what it once was. New industry is springing up all over—auto companies came here even before Hyundai. And we have other investments too, such as Bang and Olufsen, the "Rolls Royce" of the electronics sector, who chose to locate in Koprivnice and are now planning to expand in the Ostrava Science and Technology Park with a new development centre. The Science and Technology Park is already home to other expanding companies, such as the Finnish/Swedish IT company TietoEnator. The Region needed a "kick start" from the Hyundai investment. This year's news coverage has begun to change. Everybody has seen the world's seventh largest carmaker had no problems in negotiating in the Ostrava area. Both politics and business often work according to rather irrational principles. For fifteen years, local representatives promoted their industrial zones at many international trade fairs, without success. In the last few months, though this situation has turned around completely, and investors are now fighting for a place here'.[8]

INDUSTRIAL ZONES IN MORAVIA-SILESIA

There were twelve industrial zones prepared in the Moravian-Silesian region, ten of which were accredited within the framework of the national programme to support the development of industrial zones. Within the twelve, the Science and Technology Park in Ostrava holds a special position and was established to support R&D, and high-tech industries, located next to Ostrava Technical University.

The government provided Hyundai with a tax relief worth an estimated CZK 1.3 billion, CZK 200,000 for each new job, CZK 350 million for staff training and a CZK 740 million discount off the price of the 'greenfield' land site.[9] Building work on Hyundai started in the summer of 2006, and production at the Nosovice plant is to be launched in autumn 2008 with a capacity to produce 200,000 to 300,000 cars per year. The RDA, in conjunction with the Regional Chamber of Commerce, has been to Seoul preparing business and culture training programmes on South Korea and Central Europe for prospective South Korean suppliers, and the Hyundai case has served to underline the importance of Asian investment in the Czech Republic. The Mayor of Ostrava, Ales Zednik, pointed out:

> 'Ostrava is moving from its traditional role in heavy industry, towards a future that is bright, but not all that clearly defined, yet. The city is like a fast car with a large windshield and a small rear-new mirror. The 'golden' days of coal mining are long gone. Times have changed and the city must as well in all respects'.[10]

In 2007, a detailed impact study of the Hyundai investment and evaluation of direct and indirect impacts was completed for the government and Regional Authority. This concluded that the Hyundai plant will create 3,500 jobs by 2011 and up to 8,420 jobs indirectly in the supply chain.[11]

Times seem indeed to have changed for Ostrava, and there is both fresh optimism and realised potential. However, what the Ostrava case also begins to reveal is that perhaps too much reliance on inward investment and on the automobile sector in local and regional economic development strategies is insufficient in itself. Inward investment is only one arm in the local and regional development portfolio. One of the difficulties overall in each region is the absence of comprehensive long-term regional strategies, which need to be more than marketing strategies and longer term visions of what EU regional policy is designed to achieve by 2020. There is also an urgent need to build regional capacity and policy-making, particularly to deliver the wider EU-Regional Policy Agenda for 2007 to 2013, which focuses more on the knowledge economy and building human capital investment. The Moravian-Silesian RDA has insufficient resources currently to develop such a role.

Moreover, even where new investment is occurring, as in Mittal Steel (which currently still employs 9,000 local people) Czechs must beware of falling into a trap of thinking that global inward investment acquisitions provide future certainty in manufacturing employment. Commenting on the Steel Industry of the 21st century for example, Lakshmi Mittal points out that 'the overall industry is highly fragmented and needs further consolidation. What needs to happen now is more global consolidation. Three to four companies producing 80 to 100 million tonnes need to emerge, with a footprint in all the main global regions'.[12] New capital investment will bring fewer but higher quality jobs in the future, and Czechs must be prepared for further restructuring of manufacturing industries and the upskilling requirements and demands of the new global industries.

In the Moravian-Silesian region steel may currently have a new future, but the region still needs to diversify into the 21st century regional economy, and much more remains to be achieved.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND ISSUES FROM THE 2004–2006 PROGRAMMING PERIOD

One overarching conclusion from the 2004 to 2006 assessment is that capacity to deliver needs to be increased throughout the Czech Republic

Table 9.4 Direct and Indirect Job Impact of the Hyundai Investment in the Moravian-Silesian Region 2007–2011

Category of employees	*Situtation 06/07*	*2007 (new 07–12/07)*	*State 12/07*	*2008*	*2009*	*2010*	*2011*
Direct job impact							
Top and middle management	72	5	77	100	100	100	100
Lower management and administrative position	60	133	193	250	250	250	250
Technical positions	70	300	370	400	400	400	400
Handicraftsmen	0	290	290	750	1,250	2,250	2,750
Total	202	728	930	1,500	2,000	3,000	3,500
Indirect job impact							
Top and middle management	102	50	152	204	215	216	217
Lower management and administrative position	90	184	274	410	496	527	527
Technical positions	120	334	454	626	770	818	828
Handicraftsmen	890	491	1,381	3,156	4,720	6,258	6,848
Total	1,202	1,059	2,261	4,396	6,201	7,819	8,420

Source: (Berman Group 2007:65, 67)

and its regions. To do this, however, requires a different regional settlement and much greater capacity building measures.

CONCLUSIONS

Learning the Lessons from 2004 to 2006

In the Czech Republic from 2004 to 2006 there have been five operational programmes. For the 2007 to 2013 programming period there are twenty-four operational programmes. The system will be more complicated and will need to be more transparent. The problem is not only in the organisation of the system as a whole, but also in the capacity of the involved institutions to develop an implementation structure, with the means to be capable and competent to deliver within the objectives of European regional programmes and policy.

The capacity problem is to be seen in the increased inter-institutional competitiveness in securing its own personnel (professional) capacities

(Pelucha 2005). The very growth of the Czech economy has resulted in the poaching of public administration and university employees among all institutions, which has brought about strong shifts of personnel between the public and private sectors.

This problem is caused mainly by the absence of any Act for state and public/community services and also by the very low level of financial earnings for those in the Czech public administration. Nonetheless, there are cases of very flexible motivation systems for public sector employees (e.g., the very comprehensive motivation system developed by the CzechInvest Agency). However, without greater thought to the question of how to build capacity in local and regional economic development and how to further reform the system of public administration, there is a risk of continued erosion of the public services management and capacity as the Czech economy booms. Alongside tackling the regional question, much greater thought needs to be given to urban and regional education development, training and capacity building in each region and public service management and performance.

There is thus a high fragmentation of the European regional public interventions. There is a need to ensure responsibilities are clear between each operational programme and ministries (e.g., on innovation and R&D). The European Commission has raised its own requirements on monitoring evaluation and reporting for the programming period of 2007 to 2013, all involved institutions in the implementation structure have to prepare conditions for continuing closer integration and mutual relations between Ministries. Thus, for example, rural development policy alone demands a high level of coordination in perspectives between the Ministries of Agriculture and Regional Development respectively, in order to produce the rural strategies that are required. The Ministry of Industry and the Ministry of Education will need much closer cooperation with the Universities if the Lisbon Agenda is to be 'placed in motion' with regard to research and the knowledge economy.

CHALLENGES AHEAD: 2007–2013

What can we conclude about the future of EU regional policy in the Czech Republic. The first challenge is that the Czech Republic is now going to have to spend three times its financial allocation per year than in the period of 2004 to 2006 (Table 9.5). This places huge governmental and departmental pressures at the national level on Ministries to bid for receiving the largest portion of the financial sources allocation for their specific Ministry and approved operational programmes.

The second conclusion is that the system of EU regional policy in 2008 in the Czech Republic is still conducted more at the national level than at the regional level (especially in financial allocation terms). The main reasons for this are:

Table 9.5 2007–2013: Financial Perspectives for the Czech Republic

The proposed allocation for the Czech Republic 2007–2013 in line with the outcome on the Financial Perspectives in December 2005.

Total allocation CZ 2007-2013: € 23.633 billion

- Convergence: € 25.883 billion (country except Prague)
- Structural Funds € 17.140 billion
  - Cohesion Fund: € 8.819 billion (country, large scale infrastructure projects)
  - Competitiveness: € 419,093 billion (only Prague)
- Cooperation: € 389,051 billion (cross border cooperation)

Source: Ministry for Regional Development of the Czech Rebublic websites (2008)

- The Czech public administration reform started in 1997, but in fact major reform on regional policy was delayed until 2000 when the 14 independent regions were established (at the NUTS III level). However, even though power at the regional level is growing steadily, regions still need more competencies and financial sources decentralised to them. The decision remains one of whether to further enable

Table 9.6 Division of Financial Resources Among Operational Programmes for the 2007–2013 Period

Convergence objective	*Original version*		*New version*	
	share	*EUR mil.*	*share*	*EUR mil.*
OP Environment	20,00%	5176,7	19,00%	4917,9
OP Transport	21,50%	5565,0	22,25%	5759,1
OP Business and Innovation	11,75%	3041,3	11,75%	3041,3
OP Research & Development, Innovation	8,00%	2070,7	8,00%	2070,7
OP Human Resources and Employment	10,00%	2588,4	7,00%	1811,8
OP Education for the Competitiveness	7,00%	1811,8	7,00%	1811,8
IOP	7,50%	1941,3	6,00%	1553,0
ROP	13,25%	3429,6	18,00%	4659,0
OP Technical Assitance	1,00%	258,8	1,00%	258,8

Source: Ministry for Regional Development websites (2008), www.strukturalni-fondy.cz

the eight cohesion regions to act as the main point of reference, or whether to increase consolidate power and strengthen the fourteen NUTS III level regions;
- The EU regional policy is to be implemented on NUTS II level, so counties were grouped into 'cohesion regions,' which have no legal identity (status) and where regional stakeholders need to be brought together to focus delivery and strategies and new partnerships;
- The question now to consider as the Czech EU Presidency approaches is whether central EU regional policy delivery is continuing to delay the transformation process and whether ministries are still being kept in powerful silos when further regional devolution and stronger regional governance is still required.

Text originally prepared for the RSA International conference, Leuven, June 2006, Theme: Strategic approaches to Cohesion Policy: the new Community Strategic Guidelines 2007–2013.

NOTES

1. A map of cohesion regions and independent regions is shown in Map 1.
2. The Basic Territorial Self-Governing Unit is the municipality. In the Czech Republic there are three types of municipalities varying according to competencies transferred from central government.
3. The draft of the Act is now in preparation and will be considered after the 2006 election.
4. The Act on Regional Development Support defines (248/2000) objectives, measures, rules and conditions for the implementation of regional development support policy and for the functioning of bodies at the central as well as regional and local levels.
5. Managing Authority of Community Support Framework (CSF)
6. Act No. 245/2000 on regional development support established eight cohesion regions as statistical units in 2000, in preparation for the 2004 accession of the Czech Republic into the EU.
7. (Otradovec 2005)
8. (Moravian-Silesian Regional Development Agency 2006) Pavel Drobil quoted April 2006.
9. The signing of the agreement between the Czech Republic and Hyundai was marred by the embezzlement and slush fund scandal gripping Hyundai in Korea. The Hyundai Chairman was placed under arrest on 25 April 2006, and this led to fresh doubts as to whether the new investment would proceed.
10. Mayor Ales Zednik in Ostrava Metropolitan Autumn/Winter 2005, Ostrava City Council
11. (Berman Group 2007:65, 67)
12. Lakshmi Mittal 21 June 2005—Steel producers now have the opportunity to create an attractive and sustainable industry in the 21st century.

Part III

Making Connections

Introduction to Part III

John Diamond, Joyce Liddle, Alan Southern and Philip Osei

KEY THEMES

- Exploring the policy and practice debates over the management of conflict;
- Reflecting upon the potential lessons for practice;
- Examining the ways in which regeneration management represents a discourse within public management.

LEARNING POINTS

By the end of Part III, we hope that you will be able to:

- Locate the experiences of the case studies in a theoretical framework;
- Identify the ways in which regeneration management practice can facilitate resident engagement or not;
- Reflect upon the ways in which regeneration managers can be described as a 'community of practice'.

CONTEXT SETTING

These last three chapters (Graeme Chesters, Alan Southern and the editors' conclusion) are an attempt to draw together some of the broader theoretical, conceptual and policy questions raised in the collection of chapters. We wanted in this last section to draw upon some of the literature that might locate regeneration managers as part of the discourse on 'communities of practice'. We want to suggest that it is important to place the experience and the patterns of working promoted by regeneration practitioners within this 'school'.

There are a number of reasons for suggesting that this is an appropriate way of framing the discussion. Firstly, it seems to us that the Academy and

through its universities and programme teams, occupies an important place in promoting and actively encouraging ways of working. But, they can also restrict, deny or narrow the spaces within which those debates are heard. And there is a risk that such actions result in an ethnocentric view of practice. The legacy or the impact of the New Public Management initiatives in the 1980s are evident in some of the case studies and would appear to confirm our concerns, but we want to suggest that the Academy can provide a space for critical dialogue and conversation. This is the second reason why we want to frame this series of reflections in this way. We have been influenced by the work of Burns (2007) with his discussion of how action research approaches combined with (or informed by) participatory ways of working can draw together a larger constituency of 'actors' than traditional models of evaluation. In the context of a number of the case studies (and the broader context within which regeneration practice is situated) this seems to us to be necessary as part of a deliberate process of learning.

Thirdly, we want to use some of the work of Howell (1998) and her analysis of the weaknesses associated with the discourse of the 'learning organisation' as being a neutral space. Howell's insights are important reminders to us of the 'politics' of change management. And finally we want to draw upon the work of Amin and Roberts (2008) and their bringing together of a series of essays that locate this discussion in a richer theoretical context than we have. Their work (and that of their contributors) provide an important space within which we can explore the significance of reflection, dialogue between practitioners and how shared values are constructed, negotiated and played out. It is in this latter context that we can observe the 'politics' of regeneration management in action and from which we need to explore contemporary practice and decision-making.

10 Social Movements and Regeneration

Graeme Chesters

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will introduce and analyse the relationship of social movements to 'regeneration'. It will chart the recent emergence of a genuinely global civil society, within which the global and the local interpolate each other in complex ways, and it will focus upon the actions of networked movements with the capacity to shape and contest our understanding of social, economic and environmental change. It explains why these developments are important for those working on the management of regeneration processes and gives some examples of how a sensibility to the issues raised by social movements might allow for critical reflection on the ideological and normative logic behind regeneration processes associated with the new urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey 1989). It also argues that regeneration has to be conceived of as a field of relationships that are always open to new inputs—energy, knowledge and resources—and that social movements are potential bearers of such inputs. Whilst these might be considered as challenging to corporate led or entrepreneurial models of regeneration, the argument here is that the confidence to embrace these inputs allows for the emergence of potentially novel solutions and innovations, which might otherwise be overlooked or perceived solely as sources of conflict and struggle.

The chapter begins by describing the emergence of a self-aware global civil society (GCS) where 'antagonistic' forms of collective action are increasingly evident as issues of social, economic and environmental justice move centre stage in the context of resource depletion and climate change. The argument here is that global civil society fosters highly networked social movements with the potential to communicate and multiply examples of participation and self-organisation. These movements are involved in introducing and popularising examples of social and economic practices that run counter to, or are highly critical of, the norms and expectations that underpin market-led models of economic development and regeneration. Particular examples include opposition to corporate led economic regeneration on environmental and social grounds and the spread of alternative models of economic decision-making, such as participatory

budgeting, which are increasingly becoming globalised. Finally this chapter moves on to look at the utility of the 'urban movement' concept (Castells 1983) and to reflect upon how its application has illuminated other forms of urban meaning and helped us to understand something of the field of relations that is opened up by regeneration initiatives. It proceeds to argue that although the category urban movement is still empirically useful as a descriptor, the concept itself fails to reflect the globalisation of strategies for organising and action and the justificatory discourses that originate in global processes and through which local actions are increasingly framed. It concludes by looking at the challenges faced in managing regeneration processes including social movements and suggests some possibilities for responding to those challenges.

THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF CIVIL SOCIETY.

It is widely argued that civil society has the potential to reinvigorate democratic processes due to its reflexive, dialogical and deliberative character (Beck, Giddens and Lash 1995; Inoguchi, Keane and Newman 1998; Lash and Urry 1994). This argument has been given renewed impetus by the much-heralded decline of participation in formal electoral processes, indicated by declining electoral turnouts across social democratic states (Gray and Caul 2000) and the increasing dissatisfaction with elected representatives indicated by survey data resulting in political parties of all hues promising ever-greater participation as a means of augmenting representative systems.

Research produced by the Democratic Audit of the United Kingdom (UK) and funded by the Rowntree Reform Trust shows that participation levels in the 2001 general election were the lowest ever.[1] Commenting on this, the ESRC British Election Study Team suggested that 'if this is not a crisis of domestic politics in Britain, then it is hard to know what would be' (Whiteley et al. 2001). Further research indicates that the 2005 General Election barely registered any improvement, with participation just scraping in at 61 percent, a 1 percent increase on 2001, but with a notable decline in youth participation, another increasingly common feature of social democratic states (Jeffery 2005). More alarming for politicians is that qualitative data from the Democratic Audit of the UK indicates the public 'do not believe they possess the power they want through conventional politics' and are therefore becoming 'increasingly sympathetic to direct action' (Dunleavy, Margetts and Weir 2001). This is a potentially worrying departure given what Jeffery (2005) calls New Labour's 'extravagant claims made in the 1990s about a new politics of better participation for ordinary citizens'. Such observations and the research underpinning them add weight to proposals emphasising the need to reassess fundamental questions about the nature of the state and governance in a globalising world and to the calls

of those who argue for a rethinking of democratic structures and processes (Monbiot 2004; Stiglitz 2002; Wainwright 2003).

These developments have combined to provoke anxiety amongst political elites about the degree of legitimacy conferred by electoral processes and have led to a further increase in the number of initiatives to increase political participation in local and national government, as well as attempts to seek out alternative means of engaging with and addressing this 'democratic deficit'. In the UK, these initiatives include mandatory classes in citizenship for younger people, experiments with information technology to provide ease of access to polling and a proliferation of inclusionary forums based around deliberative processes. In practice, this attempt to revive participation has been expressed through 'new' deliberative processes, which are introduced alongside 'older' democratic institutions. These experiments in deliberative democracy (Benhabib 1996; Dryzek 1990; Elster 1998) include citizens' juries, citizens' panels, in-depth discussion and focus groups, consensus conferences and round tables. Unfortunately, these proposals are subject to, and often frustrated by, the constraints of the framework within which they take place and the lack of institutional means for carrying them forward (O'Neill 2001; 2002).

The impacts of disaffection with the political class and non-participation in the electoral process have been further complicated by changes to the composition and form of national civil societies that are well documented (Foster 2001; Scholte 1999; Scholte, Schnabel and Crockett 2002; Shaw 1996; 1999). In the UK, nationally based civic associations representing particular class affinities have declined with the fragmentation of their bases of support and the advent of post-Fordist restructuring, whilst organised religion in all but its more fundamental guises has declined as an effect of its marginality to consumer capitalism. Two outcomes flow directly from this. First, the capacity of civil society organisations to assimilate conflictual currents within pseudo-state forms is diminished, giving rise to a decline in the legitimacy of social norms by civil society (Etzioni 1993; Putnam 1995; Wolfe 1989). Second, there is a rise in new opportunities for disaggregated forms of political expression that challenge familiar modalities of power (state/corporate) through the creation of what Simon Critchley calls 'interstitial distance within the state' (Critchley 2007:111). This includes the formation of 'new political aggregations in specific localities' (Critchley 2007:112), which have to find new and different ways of articulating their interests and mediating their relationship to traditional political forms.

In some instances this has occurred through self-organised alternatives, protest and direct action, where campaigning and networking occur outside the 'invited spaces' (Cornwall 2002:24) for consultation and participation established by various authorities, including government, the private sector and non-governmental organisations. In the UK, this has included campaigns against road and runway building, the corporate enclosure of public

space, the privatisation of public infrastructure through private finance initiatives, the erosion of civil liberties and many other issues. What is interesting here is that whilst the opposition is disaggregated and unrepresentative in class or party political terms, the focus of their opposition is frequently to defend the hard won social infrastructure of support embodied by the Welfare State, whilst resisting economic 'development' as an environmentally damaging and socially dislocating force. For these reasons, a regeneration strategy that fails to account for the social and political forces at work in this post-industrial and post-representative era can invoke passive or active resistance. If this resistance is ignored or goes unmediated, the risk is that a lack of ownership and control is embedded, thus alienating people from the process, its outcomes and perhaps even their own localities.

THE EMERGENCE OF GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY

These new 'political aggregations' and their emergent social movements are engaged in local and situated collective action, but many have also found common cause in international networking on issues from transport to food to housing to social justice, fair trade and peace. The mobilisation of these movements in globally coordinated networks of interest, affinity and action has contributed to institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Trade Organisation (WTO) becoming publicly contested in a previously unimaginable way. These institutions, which had been used to critical engagement with civil society institutions closely linked to nation states and embedded in national political cultures, are now increasingly besieged by organisations and networks seeking to construct and deepen a counter-hegemonic account of globalisation to which they respond in confused and often contradictory ways. This is primarily because of the multivariate and conflicting demands articulated by this emergent global civil society and serves to demonstrate one of the dilemmas at the core of theorising GCS as a normative ideal. That is to describe and account for the potentially transformative and counter-hegemonic challenges posed by the emergence of GCS whilst considering the underlying question of whether a domain experimenting with and committed to radical pluralism could or should ever attempt to be hegemonic.

However, the confused response of international financial organizations such as the World Bank, IMF and WTO—which frequently results in a default mode of non-engagement and repression—is in part due to their previously effective model of instrumentalising civil society participation to legitimize neo-liberal reform and restructuring. This has been combined with ambivalence to the destabilising effects those reforms might subsequently have for nationally based civil society organisations. Thus, the growth of civil society networks that extend beyond the regulation of individual states and that engage in conflictual action represents a new set

of problems that were previously mediated at the national level. This is one of many unexpected outcomes of globalisation, which also include changes to the role of the state in international relations and the rise of GCS (Eschle and Stammers 2004).

> 'Anti-globalisation activists understand that sympathetic and mutually beneficial global ties are good. But we want social and global ties to advance universal equity, solidarity, diversity, and self-management, not to subjugate ever-wider populations to an elite minority. We want to globalize equity not poverty, solidarity not anti-sociality, diversity not conformity, democracy not subordination, and ecological balance not suicidal rapaciousness'. (Albert 2001)

The academic concern with globalisation has reached near saturation point during the past decade, and it is not my intention to needlessly prolong these debates here. It should suffice to say that despite differences in accounts of the origins, patterns, and prognosis of globalisation, surveys of this literature point to a remarkable level of agreement amongst commentators on the challenge globalising processes pose to the state-centrist assumptions that are familiar from previous social science discourses (Held and McGrew 2000). The idea of the nation-state as the principal organising unit of political and economic life is called into question by the growth of extra-national administrative bodies, trans-national corporations, and the liberalisation of capital and investment flows (Held 2000; Hardt and Negri 2000; Strange 1996). This has led some commentators to the conclusion that 'global networks' (Castells 1996), 'scapes' (Appadurai 1990) and 'flows' (Urry 2000) should be the primary focus of investigation in the social sciences as these are the 'true architectures of the new global economy' (Castells 2000:61). An economy that has catalysed a marked acceleration in the disparity between rich and poor along a number of axes: hemispherically from south to north, regionally between 'peripheral' and 'core' countries, and nationally across class and ethnic boundaries (Castells 1996:66–150).

This marks a break with the conception of civil society as channelling conflictual impulses towards resolution within state structures and the beginning of the opening out of multiple avenues, audiences and opportunities through which to exercise conflictual relations, including the targeting of corporations and international systems of governance, and the possibility of self-organised, localised and specific alternatives. Add to this the enlargement of international communities of interest and affinity facilitated by computer mediated communications and the rise of issue-based networks that integrate virtual and real campaigning and we can begin to get a sense of what this emergent global civil society might look like.

The implications of these perspectives are that one must look outside the state at networked processes of interaction between state and non-state

actors. This does not mean that the state is no longer important, but rather that we must consider the meshwork of national and extra-national political institutions, corporate and civil society actors that co-produce the effects of the 'global.' As Burawoy argues:

> The dense ties that once connected civil society to the state are being detached and redirected across national boundaries to form a thickening global public sphere. Yet these connections and flows are not autonomous, are not arbitrary patterns crossing in the sky, but are shaped by the strong magnetic field of nation states. (Burawoy 2000:34)

This 'magnetic field' and its complex effects are observable in the challenges posed to NGOs and other civil society organisations trying to develop campaigns and mobilise around a range of issues including trade, agriculture and health. Invariably these organisations need to apply pressure through the state as well as to attempt to gain leverage within global governance structures. The proximity of NGOs to these processes and their capacity to deliver a wide range of social goods often ends with their participation in restructuring programmes, where the state rescinds its duty to provide essential services leaving NGOs to pick up the responsibility of care, often in the face of rapid and aggressive marketisation. The apparent ambivalence of some NGOs to their assimilation within this neo-liberal framework of 'development' and their professionalised concern with the 'realpolitik' of aid delivery has led to accusations that they are in danger of becoming 'the shock troops of the empire' (Clark 2003:78)—an accusation directed particularly at those NGOs who have been instrumental in the management and delivery of economic and social 'development' programmes such as those initiated by the World Bank.

The assimilation of NGOs by the neo-liberal emphasis on free trade raises a number of questions about the potential for social change contained within GCS. The political possibilities of civil society are often inferred from a Gramscian theoretical framework that originally privileged civil society because of a presumed continuity and overlap between the institutions of civil society and the apparatus used for reproducing the state through the transmission of normative values and disciplinary mechanisms. Civil society according to Gramsci (1976) was composed of organisations rooted in both state and people, thereby making it a privileged domain for political contestation. However, as observed previously, these traditional forms of civil society organisation are declining and are being replaced by newer organisations—many of whom are less embedded in everyday social and cultural activity. As such, their transformative potential is limited to the symbolic contestation of dominant social codes often expressed at the extra-national level, rather than with the revolutionary transformation or seizure of the state. Add to this the interpolation of the private into the state and public spheres, and deciphering whether GCS is potentially a transformative domain becomes increasingly problematic.

Consequently, our attention is drawn again to the precise characteristics of what is being referred to within our discussion of global civil society. A number of questions are pertinent here, and they suggest an important agenda for research. Is it possible or desirable to envisage a domain that operates as a counter-power to the forces of neo-liberal globalisation, a domain that is conscious of itself and that seeks to deepen connections across movements, organisations and networks? How might it be organised, what forms could it take and where would we look for it? Furthermore, do the established NGOs, trade unions and newer social actors best represent this global civil society, those whose challenges are potentially reconcilable within capitalism's systemic capacity for assimilation and mutability? Or, are those who adopt more openly confrontational repertoires equally, or more acutely 'representative' of GCS, presuming therefore that they express some deeper antagonistic conflict? More interestingly is whether we can perceive this hybrid combination of individuals, movements and organisations, this networked domain of social solidarities as a unified or unifiable opposition, or whether indeed, we would want to?

GLOBAL NETWORKS ANTAGONISTIC MOVEMENTS

Castells has demonstrated how the rise of 'network society' means that societies are increasingly structured through 'a bipolar opposition between the Net and the Self' (Castells 1996:3) meaning that 'global networks of instrumental exchanges,' international financial organisations, transnational corporations and the like, have the capacity to selectively 'switch-off' groups, organisations, and even countries and regions from global networks. The prevailing logic of economic networks in an era of neo-liberal ascendancy has been to demonstrate this capacity to excess. However, at the same time the impact upon communities of having been 'switched off' and abandoned to the fate of marginality, has also facilitated a return to the self, in the form of self-reliance and the valorisation of particularistic or 'local' identities, hence the polarisation between 'Net' and 'Self' in Castells' account. The network form is not unique to corporations, however, and the evolution of networked relationships between diverse social groups has been an increasing feature of protest and social activism. Increasingly, the threat from 'fluid' capital in an era of 'liquid modernity' (Bauman 2000) and its capacity to organise the means of production in dispersed locales without external controls or regulatory frameworks has led to the expansion of oppositional networks, which are necessarily international and increasingly global in character (Edelman 2001). These networks are sometimes facilitated through direct contact but are increasingly maintained through computer mediated communication, and such networks have been successful on a range of issues including opposition to the WTO Doha Development Agenda and the previously proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investment.

These networks have employed confrontational, imaginative and highly symbolic repertoires of collective action based upon the ethos of 'direct action for direct democracy,' and they have generated ripples beyond their obvious impacts upon international trade summits and related policy forums. The militancy and participative character of these movements has been significant in catalyzing reflection amongst civil society actors, including some prominent NGOs. Greenpeace International, for example, professed to feeling 'outflanked' by the effectiveness of these movements and consequently re-oriented its campaign structure to take more account of social justice issues.

What is being described here is the emergence of an antagonistic current to GCS, which is composed of networked actors often in dense national or regional clusters, connected into global affinity structures maintained by computer mediated communications and reconfigured during intense periods of social interaction around specific protest events or reflexive gatherings. However, attempts to understand this have been hampered by the over concentration on the 'novelty' of large-scale summit protests, which belies the prior existence of these international networking processes.

What emerges then is the articulation of an antagonistic disposition towards social and economic restructuring enacted through forms of 'governance' that involve the disciplining of peoples and communities to the logic of private capital and corporate interests. Whilst this antagonism is locally variable and differentially expressed, we can identify something of its character by reference to the typological distinction between different forms of social movements and the political/social/economic systems they invest (Melucci 1996).

Melucci defines a social movement as a collective action that: (i) invokes solidarity, (ii) makes manifest a conflict, and (iii) entails a breach of the limits of compatibility of the system within which the action takes place (Melucci 1996:28). This last point appears somewhat ambiguous, until we examine Melucci's definition of the 'systems' within which action might take place. He identifies four differing types of social movement, which are defined symbiotically in relation to the system invested by these forms of collective action; consequently, in elucidating the differing types of social movement, he is also describing the four different systems. These systems are unable, by definition, to absorb the challenge of the collective action without substantive change to their internal logic or organisational form. This typology is analytically useful as a means of differentiating between the differing instrumental, purposive, and expressive orientations of the social movements that help constitute GCS.

The first type of social movement Melucci identifies is described as 'conflictual networking' and takes place within the 'lifeworld'. Primarily, he argues that 'forms of popular resistance are always present in society, creating a free space that precedes visible action' (Melucci 1996:34). These forms of popular resistance do not necessarily involve challenging the production and

appropriation of society's resources. They are, instead, the series of conflictual social relations that are characterised by challenges to normative values and behaviour within everyday life. Beyond this field of action, Melucci recognises three further movements that he terms claimant movements, political movements, and, ultimately and most abstractly, antagonistic movements.

A claimant movement is normally situated within an organisational system and seeks a different distribution of resources, roles and rewards. It might be mobilised to seek or defend a set of conditions and rewards that it has, itself, internally defined as appropriate, thereby pushing the conflict beyond the operative level to the level at which norms are produced. Examples of such movements might include campaigns for disabled access to public buildings and transport, or the campaign for same-sex marriages.

A political movement breaches the limits of compatibility within the formal political system, by challenging forms of representation, influence and decision-making, thereby endeavouring to create new avenues for participation and expression and drawing attention to previously excluded interests. Historically examples of such movements in the UK would include suffrage campaigns such as those conducted by the Chartists and the Suffragettes, whilst a contemporary example would be the campaign for parliamentary proportional representation.

An antagonistic movement is more theoretically abstract in that it challenges the production of society's resources in the most fundamental way, not only in terms of the allocation of resources but in the very nature of their production, distribution and exchange. Whilst no movement can ever be completely antagonistic, that is, without recourse or relationship to existing formal systems of social and political representation and decision-making, an antagonistic orientation may be empirically observable within certain movements, and might become increasingly manifest in circumstances where organisational or political systems attempt their repression through a process of criminalisation.

The rise of social movements within global civil society that are opposed to 'neo-liberal globalisation,' is indicative of this last category, an expression of a fundamental conflict over the form of production and distribution of crucial social, economic and ecological goods. This 'movement of movements' (Mertes 2004) or 'network of networks' (Melucci 1996) represents a 'new' and distinctive voice, which has attempted to militantly redefine GCS as a constituent space of counter-power, critique and contestation, giving succour to those seeking a new agent of social transformation. A position most readily apparent in Hardt and Negri's work:

> 'Civil society is absorbed in the state, but the consequence of this is an explosion of the elements that were previously coordinated and mediated in civil society. Resistances are no longer marginal but active in the centre of society that opens up in networks; the individual points are singularized in a thousand plateaus'. (Hardt and Negri 2000:25)

The difficulty for antagonist movements is whether they should, or can, translate their opposition into a socially rooted network of contestation, which connects with the everyday lives of a broader constituency of support, without being assimilated into the accommodative strategies of governance. Without this, the likelihood remains that antagonist movements will remain dependent upon the mediation of established political actors who will distil their radicality into a form that is acceptable to the prevailing institutional frameworks of political decision-making. These strategies of accommodation, which allow social movements to generate new elites and administrative cadres, can also effectively subdue any threat to the structural integrity of the system that antagonist movements challenge.

The development of strategies in social movement networks to move beyond this impasse returns us full circle to their involvement at the local level in popular forms of democratic regeneration. Here they must try to balance their desire to simultaneously energise the process whilst seeking to avoid the 'trap' of recuperative assimilation, where their capacity for collective action is reduced to the role of self 'governance' and their capacity for collective action is diminished. It is to one such example we now turn, in order to flesh out those activities that have emerged from the desire of movements to weave an antagonistic orientation, informed by global networks, into locally situated collective action.

INSTITUTIONALISING ANTAGONISN?—PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING

> 'Participatory Budgeting is a process of direct, voluntary and universal democracy, where the people can debate and decide on public budgets and policy. The Citizen's participation is not limited to the act of voting to elect the executive or legislators, but also decides upon spending priorities and controls the management of the government. S/he ceases to be an enabler of traditional politics and becomes a permanent protagonist of public administration. The PB combines direct democracy with representative democracy, an achievement that should be preserved and valued'. Ubiratan de Souza, PB advocate and organiser, Porto Alegre, Brazil

Perhaps one of the most interesting examples of a regeneration and economic management process that has gained favour amongst civil society and social movement networks, local and national governments and global institutions (the World Bank) is Participatory Budgeting (PB). PB is a concept that instantiates much of the discussion previously, being illustrative of the possibilities and energy that can be introduced to the field of regeneration by civil society and social movement participation combined with the educative and deliberative benefits of managing such a process. It also

illustrates the struggle for meaning that takes place around regeneration and development, the interpolation of the global in the local and the challenge to social movements of becoming involved in processes that require them to 'institutionalise' their capacity for collective action. One might also remark that any idea that can simultaneously be claimed as an effective means of municipal governance linked with 'sound macroeconomic policies' by the World Bank[2] and as a potentially revolutionary mechanism for social change is surely worthy of further investigation.

Participatory Budgeting refers to the process of giving citizens control over the budgetary processes that affect them. In the most ambitious cases, this means that local government and city administrations allow their overall priorities for budgeting and investment to be set by citizen assemblies of one form or another. At this end of the spectrum are extremely large and sophisticated decision-making processes such as those undertaken in Porto Alegre, Brazil, and at the other end of this spectrum are participatory grant making processes such as those undertaken in a number of British and European cities. In the latter instances, particularly within the UK, the process has normally been linked to specific regeneration funds rather than mainstream tax revenue. Interestingly, this innovation in fiscal governance has also gained an audience in China, where the state envisages it as a partial solution to the problem of accessing local knowledge whilst maintaining central control.[3]

The origins of PB are rooted in the Brazilian context and emerge out of the connections between social movements, trade unions and neighbourhood associations and the Worker's Party—the 'PT' (Partido dos Trabalhadores), which is now the party of national government. PB came into existence in 1989 after the election in 1988 of the PT in Porto Alegre. Between 1989 and 1997, a number of cities in Brazil experimented with PB, and during the following three years it was consolidated through its adoption in one hundred and thirty cities, Porto Alegre being the most successful and well known of these. Since 2000, PB has spread outside Brazil and Latin America (where it is most popular in the Andean region), and it has been taken up and adapted in various ways in a number of cities, including examples in Europe (UK, Spain, Italy, Germany and France), Asia (Sri Lanka) and Africa (Cameroon and Kenya).

PB, at its most sophisticated, involves processes of education, democratic deliberation and decision-making. Citizens come together in meetings and assemblies organised by geographical area and/or through existing community organisations. In these meetings community members are informed about ongoing public works and services and previous cycles of investment, and they identify spending priorities and elect budget delegates to represent their neighbourhoods. Public employees provide support and technical assistance to budget delegates as they transform community needs into achievable project proposals. These are then considered and voted on by all participating community members and weighted according to thematic

priority, population, relative deprivation and urgency. The municipal authorities then implement the successful projects and the process of evaluation, planning and budgeting begins again.

THE PRINCIPAL STAGES OF A PB PROCESS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

- Local and Sectoral Assemblies—the municipal leadership presents the investment plan from the previous year and the procedural rules for the budget. They also report on progress from the last budget and report on achievements. Territorial and sectoral (thematic or issue-specific) delegates for the PB are elected or designated based upon criteria established in the set of rules.
- Local and Sectoral Meetings—These are meetings between the delegate and his/her community, with or without the presence of local government officials. These are the meetings where participants decide upon their priority projects.
- Municipal Level Assembly—The PB committee officially delivers the list of priority projects to the municipal leadership, and the members of the PB committee are officially installed.
- Design of the Budget Matrix—The municipality and the PB committee design the budget matrix and weight priorities according to thematic priority, population, relative deprivation, urgency and other factors. The investment plan is put together, distributed and published, in order that it can be monitored.
- Evaluation of the process—On conclusion of the process the PB rules of procedure are evaluated and adjusted. These rules will then be applied next year.

The time frame for this process begins when the first cycle starts with the local and sectoral assemblies in March and is finalised with the approval of the budget matrix in October or November. The second cycle, which is implementation and oversight, begins the following year with technical studies and ends with the inauguration of the approved projects.

For PB to be successful, a number of preconditions are necessary. The first is sufficient political will on behalf of municipal power holders and decision makers. Secondly, the process requires engaged citizens and the interest of civil society organisations and social movements. Thirdly, all parties must agree to clear and binding rules, which are arrived at through participation. Fourthly, there must be a commitment to capacity building that facilitates participation including the education of both citizens and municipal officials. Fifthly, the prioritisation of demands within the budget should be linked to existing shortfalls in public services. If these conditions exist, the evidence suggests (Shugurensky 2001; Bruce 2004) there is the potential for a number of exciting and socially progressive

outcomes. These include increased public participation in civic life, rising interest in local politics, transparent and more equitable public spending, greater accountability of local government to their constituencies, increased satisfaction with public services and a willingness to support increases in some forms of taxation as long as they are linked to democratic participation and control.

The benefits for Porto Alegre of PB have been considerable; it now has the highest standard of living and life expectancy of any Brazilian metropolitan centre, nearly every home has piped water and most have good quality sanitation and drainage (De Sousa Santos 1998). Resources targeted at the most deprived areas have increased significantly, and investment in infrastructure is apparent from water provision to road building and paving. This has resulted from, and in turn provided a rationale for, further involvement from those in the poorer socioeconomic groups who now provide the bulk of the budget delegates and budget councillors (Baierle 2002). This is a considerable contrast from the traditional domination of municipal politics by economic elites, and it goes hand in hand with the reduction of clientelism and corruption in Porto Alegre and the sense that people not only have access to public goods, they also no longer need the mediation of politicians between themselves and those goods (Souza 2001). Whilst these changes might have been expected to provide a culture in which civic activism flourishes, there have been concerns that PB has helped construct a concept of civil society activism that is problematic from the perspective of the more radical of social movements. Some question whether activists have come to depend upon the municipal government for funding and jobs and are therefore more likely to acquiesce to the priorities of the state at local and national level (Baierle 2003). There is also some evidence to suggest that those who participate in the PB process are those with the most needs and that when those needs are met their participation reduces (Wampler 2002). However, this has to be qualified by the recognition that some constituencies are outside the PB process altogether and as such, the pacification through participation Wampler (2002) observes is unlikely to be completely effective. For example, the municipal authorities in Brazil are legally inhibited in their provision of services to those living on illegally occupied land (Baierle 2003), and therefore the scope for participation and implementation of projects for some of the most marginalised is reduced, meaning the retention of the capacity for collective action remains important as a means of being politically recognised.

In summary then, an interesting feature of PB in its original guise has been its emergence as a driver of the participation of socially deprived and (some) marginalised communities in civic life. This municipal innovation was brought about by a political force built upon the energies of social movement and civil society activism and has led to considerable gains according to quality of life indicators, as well as in improvements to civic infrastructure and democratic access to resources. It has also opened new opportunities for

civil society and social movements to help construct a culture of participation and deliberation, in turn locating regeneration as a dialogical practice within the democratic process. This positive feedback loop within the system of local governance has led some to argue that these forms of engagement offer an alternative to the model of 'city entrepreneurialism' (Anderson 2004; Cento Bull, 2005), which is common to a number of regeneration models. In this way, PB acts as a 'symbolic multiplier' (Melucci 1996), a reference point for those concerned to democratise regeneration processes and outcomes, and a model for how the participation of civil society and social movements can reinvigorate local democracy, build inter-community solidarity and shape collectively owned and understood decisions.

The implications of the opening of 'political opportunity structures' (Tarrow 1998) through the now widespread experiments in PB are difficult to ascertain. The form and application of PB varies greatly, and the opportunities it provides will be differentially experienced according to the particularities of the local context. It does, however, illuminate a problem that is increasingly common to municipal authorities in the northern and southern hemispheres. Under conditions where neo-liberal economic orthodoxy has become axiomatic, how does government respond to the complexity of local variability in demand for services and resources using a mixed economy of public–private provision in the context of a growing disconnection between elected representatives and those they govern? If participation is invited and extended to afford real power to neighbourhoods and communities, then the interstitial spaces between local democracy and public action are further opened to contingency and to forms of engagement and contestation that have the potential to reshape urban meaning in ways that are outside easy assimilation within the discourse of corporate-led entrepreneurial models. This high wire act must be performed by regional and local governments, and it begs a number of questions. How can government effectively access local knowledge to aid efficient service delivery, extend participation and renew the democratic contract between people and politicians without losing control of the outcomes of public action or encouraging the antagonistic politicisation that these processes potentially involve? This is a particularly interesting question in situations where the tools emerging for resolving this problem (e.g., PB) are an outcome of movements of opposition to the market solutions suggested by neo-liberalism. In the UK, such an 'opportunity structure' is denoted by the Community Empowerment Action Plan (2007) and the attempt made by government to symbolically claim Porto Alegre as a radical antecedent, whilst simultaneously (re)presenting PB as a participatory mechanism for allocating small amounts of grant money, rather than a mechanism for widespread public engagement. This apparent contradiction between the desire for participation coupled with an unwillingness to cede control was evident in the speech given by the UK Minister for Communities and Local Government, Hazel Blears, speaking at the launch of the Community Empowerment Action Plan, at the National Council of Voluntary Organisations (2007).

> 'Participatory budgeting—asset transfer—joining up the dots to make it easier for people to get involved. Just three great examples of what can be done—and three great examples to learn from. This is just the kind of thing I want to see, and believe communities deserve, not in some places, but everywhere'.
>
> ' . . . Or take participatory budgeting. Where places like Sunderland and Bradford have led they way, I want to encourage more places to follow. I see no reason why, in five years' time, there shouldn't be a *community kitty* in every local authority'. (my emphasis)

One might ask whether a 'community kitty' for distribution using a participatory process can really be described as participatory budgeting in the way it was originally conceived and practised.

The challenge then to those wishing to open space for the emergence of creative and specific solutions to the problems of local regeneration is how to work in the interstitial spaces such rhetoric creates in order to mobilise other narratives of urban meaning and to access the possibilities that the participation of social movements might bring. In order to understand such possibilities we turn to consideration of how such urban movements have been conceptualised and the limits to this model given what we have already explored in relation to the emergence of global civil society.

CONCLUSIONS: NEW MEANINGS OF URBAN MOVEMENTS & NEW MOVEMENTS OF URBAN MEANING

The Mexican theorist Manuel Castells (1983) developed the term 'urban movement' in the context of a particularly intense period of urban renewal associated with wider economic restructuring. The term was applied to grassroots movements whose aims included a systemic change in 'urban meaning' or the prevailing political and economic status quo. Urban social movements transformed 'urban meaning' by appropriating a significant degree of control over urban processes through negotiated goals of collective consumption (e.g., housing provision; service provision), community culture (e.g., resisting unwanted redevelopment; inward migration) and political self-management (e.g., participation and influence over planning decisions, tenants control over public housing). Urban social movements were conceived as agents of systemic transformation distinct from preservation societies and community associations for example. However, mobilisations seeking to preserve community culture by resisting 'undesirable incomers' illustrate how urban social movements are neither *necessarily* radical nor emancipatory.

Maintaining the analytical distinction of urban social movements as agents of systemic change contesting the prevailing political and economic status quo immediately became a challenge. This was further complicated

by the range of empirical examples of urban activism in Western Societies between the mid-1970s and 1980s. This resulted in significant debates about whether any one of these exhibited the three definitional dimensions of a social movement introduced previously—i.e.:

- invokes solidarity;
- makes manifest a conflict;
- entails a breach of the limits of compatibility of the system within which the action takes place (Melucci 1996:28).

Examples ranged across Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, West Germany, Britain, Australia, the US and beyond. The associated practices included squatting and radical community initiatives, resisting property developers, tenants action groups and urban riots often associated with poverty and ethnic tensions. During these debates, even Castells wavered on the issue of whether urban social movements existed or not. However, regardless of these definitional difficulties, the concept remains useful precisely because the number of emancipatory struggles pursued by informal social organisations using forms of collective action in urban locations is on the increase in *both* the North and the South.

This resurgence in urban activism reflects two linked phenomena associated with the contemporary wave of global restructuring and deregulation. In Western Societies, the current wave of urban regeneration initiatives are transforming the urban fabric of major cities, raising significant issues of urban meaning, power and control. Regeneration is one response to the transition to a knowledge economy within which cultural activity, service sector and immaterial labour replace manufacturing activity in the context of heightened migration rates.

The corollary of this is an accelerating rate of urbanisation in the so-called developing nations, predominantly in the southern hemisphere. As elements of telesales and support, financial services, computing and design work have augmented the boom in manufacturing in the south, urban growth rates, often associated with shanty town developments, have accelerated rapidly. Southern urban social movements have become numerous and diverse in Latin America, South Africa, India and elsewhere. These movements typically embody the primary characteristics of western urban social movements being grassroots associations pursuing self-help strategies via direct action and the pursuit of political influence if not control.

Urban communities are thus confronted with significant new challenges to established meanings and patterns of life, and social movements are responding to these challenges in a number of ways. These include the invocation of knowledge–practices designed to question the discourse of regeneration through the utilisation of alternative concepts such as 'precarity,' the 'new enclosures' and 'regenecide,' which serve as the basis for mobilisation and solidarity between groups and networks.[4] For example one aspect of

'precarity' is a focus on the precarious nature of life under conditions of neo-liberal restructuring where opportunities provided by inward investment in situations of regional competition are uncertain and temporary and where such investment is often premised on large direct and indirect business subsidies, social segregation and the erosion of informal solidarities.

Other movement knowledge–practices include the opening of new political spaces to discuss potential solutions to the crises of peak-oil and climate change. In the UK, the Transition Town Network[5] is growing rapidly in its mission to unleash the 'collective genius' of neighbourhoods and communities as a means of coming up with creative solutions to mitigate the worst impacts of climate change and to build civic resilience through dialogue and deliberation.[6] Elsewhere, examples of networked contestation abound, drawing upon concepts iteratively elucidated in global networks. The 'South Central Farmers'[7] of Los Angeles have utilised a discourse of opposition to the new enclosures of public space by corporate interests to defend the South Central Gardens and to insert questions of food sovereignty and security into discussions on the meaning of the urban (Beaumont 2004). Meanwhile the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP) continues its 'direct action' casework against the 'social cleansing' of the homeless, which it sees as part of the gentrification process underpinned by a neo-liberal model of city regeneration.

In many of these instances, local struggles are consciously framed by movements as resulting from the global dynamics of neo-liberal economic restructuring, intensive competition and the normative logic of market solutions combined with a disciplinary culture of auditing and evaluation. In their mobilisation of opposition, tactical repertoires are circulated and exchanged, and the possibility of an insurgent global civil society emerges as an effect of the iteration of local actions. This in turn offers positive feedback to those involved, who can situate themselves within a wider struggle and benefit from the effect of these virtual solidarities distributed through computer mediated networks. These movements draw upon countervailing logics of renewal and change that are concerned with the integrity of public space, the importance of informality, association and effect and the possibilities for collective intelligence leading to cooperative problem solving that stem from greater participation in civic life. Their continued presence and growth seems unquestionable given rapidly increasing rates of urbanisation, struggles around local and regional responses to global competitiveness and the growing capacity of global civil society to multiple sites of collective action. Therefore, if we are to take the challenge of regeneration seriously, as a problem of reenvisioning the urban environment as potentially inclusive and just, ecologically balanced and sustainable and capable of producing participation, self-organisation and empowerment, we can ill-afford to ignore those for whom these values are central. If we are to take regeneration seriously, we need to revisit not just our practices of inclusion, but our critical stance vis-à-vis the norms that limit what those practices might become.

NOTES

1. Excepting the 1918 election that came immediately after the chaos of the First World War.
2. http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTPOVERTY/EXTEMPOWERMENT/0,,contentMDK:20266219~menuPK:543261~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:486411,00.html
3. Experiments in PB in China are currently being funded by DfID, the IDRC (Canada) and the Ford Foundation. See: http://reseau.crdi.ca/en/ev-84263–201–1-DO_TOPIC.html
4. See *Mute* magazine's 'Regenicide Reader' at: http://www.metamute.org/en/node/7192
5. http://transitiontowns.org/Main/HomePage
6. Similar attempts at reenvisioning the urban environment from the perspective of social and environmental activism are proliferating at a bewildering pace. As brief illustration, in my own region of the UK we have: http://www.sustainablefuturesleeds.co.uk and MERCi: http://www.merci.org.uk/
7. http://www.southcentralfarmers.com/

11 International Perspectives on Regeneration Management

Common Themes and the Making of Value

Alan Southern

INTRODUCTION

Since the inception of this volume and the writing of each respective chapter, the world has indeed changed. It is something of a rhetorical statement and undoubtedly through hindsight we will know for sure, but it seems that the financial crisis to hit the world in the second half of 2008 represents a major discontinuity. This will have an impact on regeneration and has already been seen initially through the slow grinding to a halt of some major physical redevelopments. Perhaps the main impact will occur through what Nicolas Sarkozy has allegedly called the end of the dictatorship of the market, opening up a new debate on the role of state intervention and aligning once again the word 'political' with 'economy'. The recent financial crisis is a good reminder if one was required that the context and scale of regeneration is dynamic in character, and in this chapter we are able to reflect on the international perspectives offered by authors and to take into account a number of common traits they have each identified.

Seeking to provide an international definition of regeneration is problematic. The perspectives put forward by respective authors here come from a range of different practices and empirical cases and are reflected in the different explanations of regeneration in situ. In a generic sense, we can say that there is evidence of regeneration as a global phenomenon and simultaneously as a local experience. For some, this may be typical characteristics of globalisation (Dicken 1986; Held and McGrew 2002; Savage and Warde 2003), a global-local relationship (a concept that has been overworked in the recent past) that provides the context in which regeneration takes place.

Elsewhere, Diamond and Southern (2006) suggest the term 'regeneration' is an ambiguous one, noting that in the UK experience, the responsibility for regeneration has vacillated between departments of government. Thus, the role of the nation state has often created roles and responsibilities among actors that seem opaque. Diamond and Southern argue that regeneration has come to be 'positioned in the consciousness of the general public mainly through localized prestigious physical building such as waterfront transformation' (2006:189). Whether the waterfront of Baltimore or the

canal networks of Birmingham in the UK, this form of regeneration has a locally tangible impact—one that is perceived and literally touched.

We must take care not to slip into a simple form of global-local explanation of regeneration. As we reflect on the management of regeneration, it is too easy to appear to demonstrate something of a dialectic in our examination. To suggest regeneration is global but at the same time local without paying due attention to aspects of authority, responsibility, decision-making and involvement would provide a limited analysis. By comparing the cases put forward in this volume, we can see a number of common themes and international perspectives that have emerged around context and practice. Three characteristics in particular can be assigned to what we understand as regeneration: these are economic restructuring, political morphology and civil society. This chapter looks at each of these in turn with the aim being to provide further clarity on some of the most crucial features in the management of regeneration, features that are evidenced across national boundaries. It is argued here that these are integral to the way in which we should understand regeneration. While each of these three is examined individually, there are clear points of overlap between them. The final section of this chapter introduces the concept of regeneration as a value-driven process and seeks to demonstrate how traits of entrepreneurialism, managerialism and idealism are contained within regeneration.

INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON REGENERATION MANAGEMENT

In each of the preceding chapters we see evidence of regeneration and its management situated within a context, whereby major processes of globalisation are at play. No one would deny the importance of globalisation. Although necessary in our analysis, there is little advancement to be made by over-emphasising global processes. For example, we should be wary of seeing the effects of capital movement, shifts in global production and degrees of cultural and political homogeneity as the raison d@tre for regeneration. Urban and rural depletion cannot simply be explained through the work of such structural forces, important as they undoubtedly are. At the same time, surely few would deny that recent events have shown the consequences from intense levels of economic and political interconnectedness. As even the most rudimentary of studies would make us aware of globalisation, as stated in the opening chapter of this volume, it is important that we understand other contexts of space such as local, sub-regional, regional and national as important to regeneration.

Here in this volume, the work presented confirms globalisation as a focus for attention yet simultaneously also recognises the importance of agency operating at different spatial scales. Respective authors by default have brought these together as key influences in the need for regeneration,

whether in places described as 'advanced' such as in the US or UK, in a former centrally planned state in Europe or whether it takes place in a nation such as Turkey. This is demonstrated, for example, in Chesters' argument where he attempts to explain and highlight the importance of local circumstance and provide evidence of locally situated collective action informed through global networks. It is also evident in the work of Jonas and McCarthy, who note the importance of legacy and institutional structures in the revitalisation of US cities. In many of the chapters in this volume, there has emerged a degree of commonality. This commonality now requires a process of synthesis and perhaps a framework that would allow us to consider some of the outcomes and effects of the global–local dynamic at work.

It is intuitive to suggest that such a framework would include regeneration not only as an outcome of globalisation but also regeneration emergent through localised circumstances. Through such a framework, there may well be something new to say in the way places have been transformed and the way people in those places have experienced regeneration as a positive or negative transformation. For instance, we can see some difference between those places where decline appears to be ubiquitous and the pain of degeneration and deprivation appears to be slowly drawn out. This compares with those places that have managed to demonstrate a more optimistic and favourable experience when decline has been followed by a period of resurgence. This difference—and there are many points to note between the two poles indicated here, throw up for examination questions about why if there are common attributes to regeneration, things work in one place and not in another.

Far from finding localised circumstance to be an aspect that has been neglected, it has already received much attention. We might also add that evidence of local institutional 'overheating' is more problematic than the lack of institutional thickness, a concept introduced by Amin and Thrift (1994) who explained the instrumental role of local partnerships and governance agencies in local economic restructuring. Certainly in the UK, there is an argument that local agencies and institutions can also work in ways that congest the environment for regeneration (Pemberton and Lloyd 2008). The idea of local institutions operating to create a dense environment as the foundation for the development or alternatively operating in a manner that means institutions effectively 'crowd out' other institutions is one of the reasons why some regeneration is seen to be 'better' managed and therefore more successful than other types of regeneration. This inevitably leads to perceptions of variation in the delivery, operation and outcome from regeneration that in turn influence the way we assign value to regeneration.

In the Introduction to this volume, we argued how an explicit discussion on the theoretical frameworks to define the context within which regeneration management takes place is important. We cited scale and context, systems and structures of administration and management and civil society as three key elements. This is developed further now, and in turning to local

circumstance, we look at the collective of international cases presented here to consider local economic restructuring, local political morphology and local civil society.

THE TANGIBLE CHARACTER OF LOCAL ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING

Local economic restructuring is clearly demonstrated through, for example, strategies that are adopted and pursued for local economic growth. These can have quite different philosophical underpinnings, although they often manifest in some form or other around a narrative of local economic aspiration. Typical elements of local economic restructuring might be through physical renewal, foreign direct investment, support for indigenous business growth, the development of human capital (such as the focus on education and training) and attention turned towards particular themes, for instance, environmental sustainability, new technology sectors, knowledge, innovation and creativity. We may find different actors taking the lead and will often find a defence of local economic restructuring as an overwhelmingly dominant discourse in regeneration.

It is the view of Jonas and McCarthy that cities, as they began to compete for new levels of mobile capital and offer new forms of consumption, gave up on urban managerialism and moved towards a form of urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey 1989). This theoretical framework implies that the gate-keeping role, of urban managers identified by Pahl, became redundant as resources for new development became increasingly scarce. However, Pahl (1975) argued there was a theoretical gap in understanding the role of the urban manager to such an extent that their operations further embedded inequity and worked against the eradication of poverty. The very nature of their localised operation has meant that urban managers, as understood in their original conception, meant that they 'do not systematically work together to reinforce, reflect or recompense inequalities engendered through the productive process' and as a consequence it was impossible to sustain the view of a generalised urban manager (Pahl 1975:270).

Jonas and McCarthy represent a number of authors who utilise Harvey's conceptual shift towards urban entrepreneurialism. They note how urban entrepreneurialism has manifested itself in local officials who believe it is critically important for their respective place to be involved in global society and that this has become a key aspect of urban redevelopment. If we accept this analysis of a transformation of the local public official, of the regeneration manager, from urban manager to urban entrepreneur then we cannot disentangle it from local forms of political administration. To follow the logic of this argument one step further, public officers have a civic responsibility that ultimately ties into civil society, for she or he must surely be accountable in some form.

Returning for a moment to the positive externalities that Jonas and McCarthy refer to, that is, participation in the global economy over and above public service delivery, we see these are explicitly being sought in the case offered by Shutt, Koutsoukos and Pelucha. Their focus has a regional spatial scale in the context of political intervention through the involvement of the European Commission. The experience that Shutt, Koutsoukos and Pelucha point to is one of a region undergoing acute industrial restructuring and concomitant moves to attract new foreign direct investment in the form of a major car plant. This is, to paraphrase Jonas and McCarthy, the pursuit of growth at all costs. One might also note that this experience is indeed quintessential, an outcome of the competition between those places in the US and Europe that have managed to secure such mobile capital in preceding years.

The evidence presented by Gül, Dulupçu and Okçu (2004) confirm in a different way the common features of economic restructuring through regeneration. While the authors point to exceptional difference based on the history and experience of the nation's interaction with west and east, they outline the continued dependence of this particular place on a centralised policy-making process to support economic development. For Gül et al. regeneration has been considered a necessary process in the move towards a western form of modernisation. This simultaneously limited the scope of urban areas to develop their own autonomous trajectory and economic restructuring to become part of a national state-led modernisation process. Such a constrained scope to regeneration as experienced in the Turkish case must lead to a particular form of limited local political administration and local engagement by communities.

A further indication of how local economic restructuring has remained as a dominant discourse in regeneration can be identified in a report recently highlighted in the UK. In this, the authors of the report suggested:

> 'Current policies mean that poorer towns will continue to get poorer relative to the rest of the country. When the national economy is doing well, and money for regeneration is plentiful, they will get gradually poorer. When the national economy is doing badly, and money for regeneration is hard to come by, they will get poorer much more quickly . . . [adding] Children growing up in these towns will not have the same experiences—and perhaps not even the same expectations and aspirations—as those growing up in places that are more typical of Britain'. (Leunig and Swaffield 2008:23)

This report, produced by the Policy Exchange, a right-wing lobby organisation on urban regeneration, indicated a particular hubris when it was argued that a more liberalised planning system would see a natural movement of population towards London and its surrounding region. We can relate such a concept back to theories of cumulative causation and, for

example, the work of Gunnar Myrdal (Myrdal 1957; 1998) whereby an explicit value premise underpins a virtuous or vicious circle of economic development (Fujita 2006) where degeneration and depletion become self-reinforcing by virtue of the market working as it does. The market fails and the economic rationale is to leave well alone and allow places to subsequently break down.

However, the 'you can't buck economic geography' approach adopted by Leunig and Swaffield (2008) provides a much less rigorous perspective than many other academic papers available on regional development (see, for example, Armstrong and Taylor 1999) and reinforces a particular neo-liberal discourse in a very simplistic manner. We can see that local economic restructuring, whether a pursuit of publicly appointed urban entrepreneurs, nation state officialdom or market-led idealism, is a common theme in regeneration and its management. This emphasises not only a dominant discourse but also an issue of 'value'. This perception of a particular type of value attached to regeneration is determined entirely in respect of economic development, and it is this that is under threat from the Sarkozy-type of abstracted theorising that suggests a new role for the political.

THE METAPHOR OF LOCAL POLITICAL MORPHOLOGY

A second feature from the international cases presented in this volume that we can suggest is common to regeneration is local political morphology. This is pertinent whether in East Port of Spain, Trinidad or in Barcelona. That regeneration needs to be managed does not mean that regeneration management is apolitical. Attempts might be made to take the politics out of regeneration, but there must be some form of political morphology in which regeneration takes place. The metaphor of morphology complements that of regeneration in that the creation and renewal of places depends on those relationships and structures between local and national and sometimes supra-national governance structures that operate, enable and limit regeneration.

On the other hand, the term 'political administration' does not do justice to the structures created within the local political morphology that, for example, form a conduit between economic restructuring and the aims and objectives of civil society. What the cases here show is that in those places where the political morphology is strong, then the institutions involved in regeneration are able to determine locally how the processes of intervention should take place. Conversely, where the political morphology is weak, the institutions operating locally are likely to be recipients of policy- and decision-making that has been formulated and determined by others elsewhere. The previous section has in fact already alluded to such.

If we pick up again the theme developed by Jonas and McCarthy, who imply that local political structures legitimise the public sector, we can

juxtapose three aspects of renewal that they use through the concept of urban entrepreneurialism. For this, Harvey (1989) identified a compelling shift in local politics as the role of the public and private partnership took shape and was to become, in a general sense, a type of collaborative relationship that encompassed local economic development. As a consequence, local partnerships became illuminated through a language of economic growth. This, in turn, was situated as an attractor for new forms of investment. Harvey then suggested such partnerships are entrepreneurial because their attempts to stimulate economic development are often speculative in design and operation. The third aspect of entrepreneurial governance therefore refers to the manner in which regeneration is often shaped to improve the potential for wealth creation, and in this way the public sector assimilates the risks that go with local economic restructuring. We can see clearly the association of local economic restructuring with local political morphology through Harvey's concept and the way it is used by Jonas and McCarthy.

Yet, useful as this is, it is a limited lens from which to develop an international perspective on regeneration. The cases presented here also demonstrate the structure under which institutions, whether they are an arm of the state based locally or a locally formulated agency, enable, regulate or minimise the affects of regeneration. Of particular note is the chapter on Barcelona by Blanco. The profound regeneration of this city is regarded in the European planning world as a quite particular and positive model, the 'Barcelona Model' and importantly, Blanco highlights a key historical starting point for this. He talks of the lack of democracy and the scarce capacity of regeneration management that was evident as the Franco regime ended in Spain. Implied here is a constrained demand or pressure for local engagement and political activity from the grassroots that previously had been subdued. What emerged therefore was a particular strength for urban renewal attributed to some extent to a reformed local political morphology. Whether the 'success' of Barcelona can be attributed to this is a debatable point; however, it certainly contrasts sharply with the lack of localised grassroots movements noted in other chapters in this volume.

The example presented by Bissessar concerning Trinidad tends to demonstrate how a lack of a developed localised political arrangement resulted in a centralised system of intervention. Scale is obviously a consideration in this although indeed, Bissessar tends to echo the points made earlier by Gül and Dulupçu, who outline the Turkish experience, when she notes the significant role of the political directorate, that is the part played by central government, in attempts to develop East Port of Spain, Trinidad. Additionally, in the case of the Moravia and Silesian region of the Czech Republic that has been put forward by Shutt, Koutsoukos and Pelucha, there is again demonstrated an immaturity of political institutions from the regional scale down towards 'street level' civics. Here, clearly lacking is a certain type of local politics that can take hold of and shape industrial

restructuring as local players become absorbed within the European Commission asserted influence, the latter of whom, through their deployment of significant resources via European Structural Funds, assign a specific tag to places as socially and economically 'peripheral'. Peripheral in this case becomes an unfavourable term that reinforces both the need for intervention from agencies beyond the local and the value associated with intervention in the interest of the local economy.

In a contrasting manner, the chapter presented by Leeming identifies the strength of local politics and potential for local partnership working. Her focus on social housing in the Netherlands, which she rightly notes, act as a nexus in the Dutch experience of urban regeneration, demonstrate central-local relationships and the bureaucratic and possibly alienating character of local political intervention. This is different from the idea that a shift in the political morphology of places simply serves one particular interest, for example, capital, over and above others. We may find evidence of partnership working at a local level to raise the profile of places and to place market. In turn, this might be theorised as the public sector assimilating risks to create places that exhibit capital-friendly trading arrangements as implied previously. However, Leeming notes the social and cultural processes of partnership; the exclusionary methods that take place as partnerships are formed, with, for example, a public administration that acts intrusively or ignores the views from people who she shows, are with legal status within the nation but living illegally within the regeneration area. Leeming refers to this as 'sans papiers' writing about the Bijlmer area of Amsterdam, noted for its Surinamese community.

Additionally we may turn to Rowe (2007), who provides a useful examination of partnership practice and in this regard, demonstrates the limited explanation of regeneration viewed simplistically through a lens of economic restructuring. Rowe argues that we often find regeneration imposed on local institutions that result in partnership arrangements that 'are not voluntary formed around a shared understanding of purpose' (2007:54). Take, for example, the ideas offered by Leunig and Swaffield (2008)—should the logical conclusion of their line of reasoning be followed, then the values embedded in policy would not be, as Rowe notes, voluntarily accumulated through debate among partners. We often see this take place albeit not necessarily reflecting the extremity of values espoused by Leunig and Swaffield.

Rowe (2007) types partnerships through a social and cultural examination noting how professionalisation restricts new approaches to solving complex problems. In this regard, the evidence put forward in Leeming's work indicates some level of consistency with that of Rowe. The latter would no doubt regard Leeming's example as a type of partnership that is paternalistic in character and proof of the local public administration adopting a position of 'knowing best' with a consequence that local communities become unadorned recipients of regeneration. Rowe (2007)

develops his typology further showing a difference in some types of local partnership where the main aim is to secure resources, regardless of the needs or demands of local communities. The search and competition for resources becomes an end in itself for this type of regeneration partnership. Other types of local partnership maintain local authority control through forms of community engagement that regulates involvement and strives to present an image of innovative engagement as a deliberative and manipulative approach to regeneration. In such an instance, far from communities being seen as able to lead regeneration, their influence is perceived as a reason behind local authority control being lost, with a contested or even vacant space within the political morphology.

Rowe's partnership typology is a useful schematic for understanding the dynamics at play when a number of institutions operate at such a local scale. No doubt there are occasions when, according to Rowe (2007:51), 'the presence of dissonant voices on the partnership' underline a degree to which the local authority should adopt a paternalistic approach. Paternalism may well be present and exhibited during the allocation of resources to support regeneration, and when this is the case, there are clear implications for the advocacy of community involvement in decision-making. This overall emphasis on partnership hides the variance within the partnership model that Rowe has attempted to uncover. Perhaps, therefore, we have over-emphasised the importance of partnership in its singular sense and sought to over-explain the 'model' by using terms such as 'partnership,' 'governance' and 'policy' in an almost interchangeable manner.

Within the local political morphology, there exist common scenarios of private sector influence and entrepreneurial governance. There is, more than on occasion, an influence at play far from the local that radiates degrees of control and autonomy. We therefore see the management of regeneration operational anywhere along a continuum, a sliding scale from the efficient use of resources to community empowerment and local street-level politics. This is why we need to try and comprehend how the constitution of local political morphology is relevant. It is important therefore that we turn to the notion of local community engagement and local civil society.

IN PURSUIT OF LOCAL CIVIL SOCIETY

A third feature evident in the cases presented in this volume, concerns local civil society. This concept is referred to, explicitly, in the first chapter when it is suggested that the management of regeneration encompasses processes and functions that relate directly to the institutions of civil society. We then have less explicit references to civil society than to either local economy or local administration, but we see many implicit references to this aspect of regeneration. In his chapter, Chesters looks specifically at this aspect when he examines the role of social movements in regeneration. Elsewhere,

the editors of this volume have suggested that regeneration has been used in an attempt to revitalise civil society (Diamond, Liddle, Southern and Townsend 2007) through, for example, efforts to bring into play organisations from the voluntary and community sectors that otherwise would not have been involved in the many aspects of regeneration that exist.

It is implied in the prior section that regeneration *is* political precisely because of the role of local civil society. This is because the engagement of groups who may be under represented in regeneration can play an important role in the structures and relationships that bind together those important processes and functions of regeneration. In this sense, civil society, where not mentioned specifically in the chapters in this volume, is most definitely implicated in regeneration and is related to the local political morphology of place and local economic restructuring.

Chesters' positioning of civil society through the notion of social movements is an intriguing one that is worthy of specific attention. Two distinct aspects of this can be noted. The first is the idea of a global civil society and, for this, Chesters points to the emergence of institutions such as the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation. These organisations, according to Chesters, operate through a method of general non-engagement and on occasion, even resort to overt repression. The second aspect, however, is raised when Chesters considers the manner in which local communities are engaged in regeneration and how the activities of engagement can be interpreted as a means of legitimising the role of the state at the local level. Thus, Chesters points to a notion of local civil society that is similar to the global-local analysis that was noted previously.

Starting with the second point, the question is what is the effect of more community engagement on the operation of regeneration. Does this, for example, produce more efficient regeneration for the state through the legitimising role of community involvement? If so, is this necessarily antagonistic to the empowerment of local people? For Amin (2005), community engagement is an assumed benefit from regeneration based on the premise of a consensual political community. Amin argues that the search for civil society, which is pursued against a backdrop of market-based cultures of local intervention, appears to offer a creative means of securing an increase in local participation. However, he cautions that such engagement

> 'promises a democracy of misplaced assumptions and expectations, one that will fail to both tackle the root causes of spatial inequality and deliver the expected local returns . . . that in practice will be assailed from all directions and will be modest in its economic and political returns, especially in the areas in which it is most expected to deliver'. (Amin 2005:618)

Amin's view is not inconsistent with ideas about the way existing connections between places, between the local, the nation and the global, can

reinforce inequity. This is not that people in depleted communities are disconnected from opportunities for social and economic inclusion but that the connections they have access to, being the same as in other places, work in a different manner and therefore produce a different set of consequences.

Amin (2005) is correct to point to facets of idealism existing within the search for local civil society. How, then, do we avoid a defeatist interpretation that suggests local civil society simply works to legitimise the state and maintain the structures of existing power? The response is certainly that such a view is a singular and perhaps too simple interpretation. Certainly, it is the conclusion made by Mayo and Rooke who, reflecting on their evaluation of participation, are of the view that such an approach 'is likely to be more honest and ultimately more fruitful, for the development of strategies to promote community empowerment and democratic social change for the longer term' (2008:380). These matters can certainly be positioned within the debate around 'participation as tyranny' (Cooke and Kothari 2001) although without doubt, we must have an obligation to derive from critique, modes of action to support change.

Should civil society be demonstrably active at a local level then we may expect to see regeneration as a contested local space with competing 'voices' articulated by local stakeholders; we may see public–private partnerships taking an active role in regeneration with associated relationship and network management undertaken as if it were a common part of the local political morphology. The dynamics at play as the use of space is contemplated, and the allocation of resources planned will mean a range of actors with a local interest, becoming involved in regeneration. However, should local civil society be less well developed then its relative absence would also play a crucial part in the regeneration process, not least because we may expect to see less local engagement and the concentration of authority and decision-making among fewer and more powerful interests.

Certainly we see in the chapter written by Bissessar that something along these lines occur. The space for local civil society becomes dominated and populated by stronger elements of the local political morphology, such as the nation state operating at the local level or similarly, when dominant private sector developers are active. In the case of regeneration in the East Port of Spain, renewal appears to have taken place without realising the potential from local communities engaging in the redevelopment process. For Bissessar, this is a matter of political administration and strong local government—or lack of thereon in. Hidden in her analysis, however, is a suggestion that the generation of strong 'relational networks' through local government would provide the basis for an emergent civil society. Civil society is noticeable by its absence in this case.

Additionally, Osei, through his examination of the Jones Town Redevelopment identifies the importance of a 'multi-actor partnership' and the key role of the Social Development Commission (SDC) in regeneration. Elsewhere, in a study of the Jamaica Social Investment Fund Bowen (2008) argued how

> 'projects based on needs identified by a local community will be valued by its citizens and will consequently have a greater likelihood of success.Moreover, a community that fully participates in an enterprise is most likely to claim ownership of it, demonstrating the wisdom espoused in the enduring principle that 'people support what they create'. (Bowen 2008:69)

If Bowen (2008) and also Mayo and Rooke (2008) exhibit an idealist approach to understanding participation, Osei draws us back to the formalised structures of governance as if to demonstrate the ambiguity in determining the notion of 'civil' and 'civic'.

It was the operation of SDC who, according to Osei, became the most important government community development agency and who were able to act as a bridge between civil society and policy-makers. The SDC brought together stakeholders essential to developing a strategy for renewal and enabled communities to raise concerns over matters such as crime. Yet what is slightly unclear in the examination offered by Osei and by Bissessar is the difference in what might be referred to as civil society and civic society. In this sense, it would seem that both Osei and Bissessar are searching for a model of administration involving local government that is demonstrated in the US by Jonas and McCarthy. This is more comparable to ideas about local political morphology rather than participation and local action. In contrast, Chesters' work is more about engagement with activists, and perhaps local activists in particular, rather than political morphology. These distinctions are important not least because they help us to analyse regeneration and specifically help us to separate those managerialist functions that operate within regeneration from aspects of civil society.

To return to Chesters' first point, the emergence of global governance structures is countered by the rise of civil society networks that transcend borders. This is consistent with the idea raised by Castells (1996), who noted the enhanced capability from information and communications technologies as social movements from different parts of the world raised their individual profile and cause, while simultaneously, they became increasingly networked with others who shared similar values. For Castells, it was often localised social movements who were able to overcome different cultural settings through new technologies and in this sense became a leading wave in the signs and symbols of 'real virtuality'. It is in fact worth considering for a moment the ideas set out by Castells as these actually lay the basis for understanding the work by Chesters in this volume.

It has been noted elsewhere that Castells recognised, in his unique style, the sequences and interactions between actors in organisations and institutions shaping spatial logic, albeit in the context of new technologies (Southern 2000). This was Castells suggesting that the growth in networks of solidarity and information exchange through information and communication technologies would challenge the state and provide another arena for

the emergence of new social movements. In essence, Castells combined his notion of 'grassrooting' as the potential for local action becoming increasingly networked (Castells 1997) with his earlier work on urban social movements (Castells 1977). Castells work helps us to understand the global-local dynamic by demonstrating the potential for collaborative action that would involve a wide range of cross-class alliances in new social movements. It is this important principle that is picked up by Chesters when he speaks of 'multiple avenues, audiences and opportunities through which to exercise conflictual relations' that come to challenge global functions of governance and raise the possibility of localised alternatives. Chesters' cry is a belief in human agency—that local people can shape their own destiny and at the very least, this belief is an essential aspect of local civil society.

So at this point, it becomes pertinent to consider Blanco's analysis and his assessment of the reconstruction of Barcelona between 1979 and 1986 and, particularly, how this occurred alongside the emergence of a new form of local democracy. As mentioned earlier, so soon after the end of the Franco regime, opportunities arose for political representation in fresh ways at the local level. At this stage, according to Blanco, those who were concerned with raising the new potential for citizen engagement became frustrated. This was a consequence of the city's renewal being led through a joint imposition of administrative structures and the search for new economic prospects. The incorporation of previous activists at the local level into the new political administration actually weakened the capacity of local civil society in Blanco's analysis, much in the way that Chesters has implied, through an inclusion of activists and activism in the functioning of the state. With the selection of Barcelona as the site for the 1992 Olympic Games, the designation of such a prestigious event acted to extend the period of transition in the political morphology of the city and at the same time provided an end to the severity of the economic crisis experienced by Barcelona and by many major western cities at the time. In this sense, the potential for new forms of local civil society was not the primary determining feature in the regeneration of Barcelona.

After considering the range of international cases presented here, the idea of local civil society forms a third part of what might be referred to as the 'model' of regeneration. In a very general sense, we might show local civil society as an aspect of regeneration, simultaneously as a global phenomenon and local perception. The evidence in this volume suggests we need a fluid interpretation of what constitutes local civil society in operation. We may also reflect upon the point at which engagement and community participation becomes empowering through civil society and when it starts to become a legitimising aspect of state authority as Chesters suggests, as this is, as yet, not clear. The next section takes the three aspects of regeneration—that of local economic restructuring, local political morphology and local civil society as a means to explore regeneration as a value-driven process.

Liddle and Oikonomopoulos suggest in their chapter on Greece that we can see how institutions (or indeed civic society) became the place for dispute and debate between competing levels of government. The idea that the quality of the civic institutions needs to be 'protected' in such complex relationships is often unexplored or examined. In this particular set of examples, the framing of the relationships and the observations on lines of accountability and the distribution of decision-making alert us to how in some places, regeneration projects have become alternative sites of decision-making. The extent to which powers may be decentralised or indeed contested illustrates how significant such initiatives have become. We might anticipate that such conflicts would be accentuated over time, and in the present context, we might expect a slight reduction, according to scale and type, but the notion that civic, as opposed to civil renewal, can be an outcome of regeneration processes is reflected in this contribution.

REGENERATION AS A VALUE-DRIVEN PROCESS

These three common components of regeneration and its management help us to understand how regeneration is becoming a value-driven process. We may say that the value of regeneration is historically and spatially situated, but we also may point to the cultural interpretation of what constitutes good or bad regeneration. In this age of target setting, audit and client satisfaction, it would be limiting to try to comprehend regeneration in a way that would mimic the value-driven approach of the commercial world. However, in the marketplace the commercial interpretation appears to be both empowering and exploitative at the same time. The very idea of regeneration having a 'value proposition' appears to be counter-intuitive although perhaps it is worth considering how, in principle, applying this notion should enable the organisational product or service to be closer to the requirements of the person living in a depleted community. How relevant such a concept is in the operation of regeneration requires further thought with a simple introduction to this now presented.

Despite the points made by Amin (2005) the intuitive argument would be that there exists a synchronisation between the public good, regeneration and empowering local communities, many of whom are farther away than ever from the general well being of society and therefore, so common sense reasoning goes, such places or groups are in need of intervention. Here we have the logic and rationale of using the term regeneration as a metaphor for renewal. Yet in regeneration, there is indeed a need for the notion of a value proposition and it does in fact exist. The value proposition in regeneration is contested through the complexity brought about by different actors contributing to what we understand as regeneration. What we often see is a hybrid. Some aspects of regeneration encompass entrepreneurial behaviour, other aspects demonstrate strong functions and

processes of management, whereas strong claims to idealism remain within the interventionist policies of regeneration through the search for greater levels of participation and community empowerment.

Let us be clear about what it is we are saying as we examine this further. From the review of international cases of redevelopment presented here we can identify three common aspects to regeneration. These aspects do not form a 'model' as such of regeneration, but typically we would expect to see them in most cases of intervention and renewal that fall under the generic term of regeneration. In this sense, each of these convey a value-driven approach to the processes and functions of regeneration. We can consider this through each of the three aspects.

That the economic is situated within regeneration is without controversy. There is no question about the legitimacy of local economic restructuring. Places may follow a particular type of economic renewal or may place an emphasis on particular sectors associated with a restructured and innovative image. As local economic strategies are formulated and implemented we find places that have clearly been led by an agenda that is market-oriented, that strives to be inclusive of business representation and of those who exhibit entrepreneurial traits and actions. Shutt, Koutsoukos and Pelucha show the struggle to stimulate this type of value-driven behaviour in the case of the Moravia and Silesian region of the Czech Republic. In contrast, the more developed mode of regeneration demonstrated by Jonas and McCarthy is analysed through aspects of urban entrepreneurialism.

The reference point for this is local political morphology. Indeed, in this sense partnerships and broader civil society do encompass business leaders in a wide range of regeneration activities. Yet with the idea of engagement and civil society in mind, what is not essential in this process is that such participation within the institutions and structures of regeneration should be representative of any particular constituency. In fact, it is clear that the involvement of business in local economic restructuring will by-pass any claims to be representative and will instead highlight claims to be anti-bureaucratic and entrepreneurial. These are the values that drive this component of regeneration.

In turn, the situated character of the political can be traced back to economic legitimacy. In this sense, local political morphology has a wider base of involvement as partnerships form, operate and close in pursuit of a wider set of regeneration goals that may, for example, include environmental concerns or social concerns. We can evidence this to the many partnerships that come to represent different forms of regeneration albeit often under a broader auspices of local economic improvement. Examples of this would include training for young people, drug rehabilitation programmes and reclamation of polluted spaces. We have seen in this volume how central-local relationships can produce regeneration that tends towards the bureaucratic, and in some cases there is an alienation associated with local

political intervention. Such a case was demonstrated by Leeming in her work on housing in the Netherlands.

We have also seen the impotency of local political morphology in cases such as those in Jamaica and Trinidad presented by Osei and Bissessar respectively, but also through the work of Gül, Dulupçu and Demirel, who speak of the beneficiaries often finding themselves passive observers in the processes of regeneration. Political morphology therefore becomes instrumentalist, and a key aspect is the manner in which partnership and regeneration projects become managed. Here is where we will identify the professional actions associated with managerial types of behaviour. Therefore, and somewhat contradictory, as we scope the local political morphology in the context of regeneration we see behaviour that is often managerialist in essence.

The situated nature of civil society is much less clear. This is about engagement, accountability and representation in regeneration and, initially, has had less of a priority then the drive for local economic restructuring or the need for efficient administration and management. The association of local civil society and regeneration is opaque, is often a desire from groups who may represent particular interests and at best involves patchy levels of participation and engagement. As we have seen however, local civil society is influential if not pivotal, such as in the case of Barcelona. There is surely no coincidence that where a democratic deficit exists, followed by an opportunity for engagement through civil society, that plans are debated, actions occur and behaviour is changed; each in itself is a basis for transformation. Local civil society is important to regeneration, and the debate on engagement as we have seen, takes place within a liberal democratic framework that will always struggle with an idealist pursuit of participation in light of economic and political inequalities.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The impact from the second half of 2008, with the emphasis on the financial crisis, will be relevant to regeneration initially through the generic characteristics of globalisation. Whether national governments manage to restructure global institutions remain to be seen, but it is here where we can expect to see an emergence of political arguments alongside the market-driven rationality of recent years. If the dictatorship of the market has come to an end, then we will need to assess what this means for regeneration some time soon. The common themes we have seen in this volume from cases of regeneration in various selected locations are centred on local economic restructuring, the local political morphology and local civil society.

Local economic restructuring is a visible and tangible part of regeneration. This is often, but not always, associated with physical building and redevelopment and with policies that seek to structure national, regional and local economies in certain ways. Here the evidence suggests that the loudest voices,

the strongest discourses on regeneration, are to be found in local economic restructuring. The market-driven approach leads to some contrasting logics, such as those put forward that suggest a cycle of depletion and deprivation cannot be broken by regeneration interventions and that therefore inequalities will persist. While this is contested within such a dominant discourse of regeneration, what is essential within the processes and functions of local economic restructuring are values that bring forward entrepreneurial and anti-bureaucratic traits and behaviours in regeneration.

The second theme, that of local political morphology, is a metaphor used to synthesise the way that regeneration is dependent upon the relationships and structures that exist among local, national and supra-national governance agencies and institutions. This is more than political administration and the strength of local government. While Rowe (2007) shows the variability at play in the partnership model, with many competing types in operation, others perceive the partnership prototype as key to enabling local economic growth and therefore are subject to the dominant market-led discourse. We should not expect local political morphology to be anything but different, and evidence within the book suggests different degrees of development with perhaps the more sophisticated demonstrating stronger aspects of local decision-making and authority. The values evident are focused around public sector organisation and associated managerialism.

Local civil society is a less tangible aspect of regeneration. As a result, this is something that is both explicit and implicit in the chapters in this volume. Generally speaking, we are looking at levels of local engagement and participation by community groups and the voluntary sector in the processes of regeneration as we try and scope and define what is local civil society. There is a strong element of belief in the power of human agency in respect of this matter. By equal contrast, there is a strong degree of cynicism about the levels of local engagement that can be achieved and whether this is truly empowering for local communities or whether it forms part of a process of legitimising the state in efforts to address the more dominant groups and institutions that determine key aspects of regeneration. While much work on local community involvement in regeneration exists, more effort to juxtaposition this alongside the two other themes presented here will help us to analyse how it might move regeneration away from idealist values towards concrete examples of decision-making and local control by communities for communities.

As we conclude this chapter the question of whether we can truly identify an international perspective on regeneration continues to be problematic. The cases presented in this book demonstrate the structures of globalisation and, in some cases, the very localised experiences of regeneration—both of which are essential to understand what happens when regeneration is put into operation, administered and managed. If we are to develop a framework to understand typical redevelopment and renewal then we must pay attention to the local economy, to local political structures and relationships and to the inclusion or exclusion of local people in the processes of regeneration.

Conclusion

Reviewing the Debates and Anticipating Change

John Diamond, Joyce Liddle, Alan Southern and Philip Osei

REVIEWING THE DEBATES

In preparing this edited volume, we hoped that we could reflect the scale and diversity of regeneration initiatives present within advanced industrial economies. At the same time, we are acutely aware of the gaps in the material presented. Despite the gaps, we would claim that we have reflected the critical policy and practice questions that are explicit in some regeneration projects and certainly implicit in all. In the preceding chapters we have—with the assistance of colleagues—sought to explore those questions and to identify particular challenges and questions that are part of the language and discourse of regeneration management but in the current crisis of neoliberalism, need to be framed differently.

It seems to us that the particular sets of questions and issues we set out in the introductory sections of this volume remain valid and need to be located within any systematic process of learning and reflection for regeneration management practitioners. These questions or sets of ideas and issues that informed how we organised, structured and invited contributions to this book were:

- The extent to which we can identify or describe a 'North American model' to regeneration;
- The ways in which schools of management (or business) or public administration have responded to the growth of regeneration initiatives and the extent to which there is a 'school' of regeneration;
- The potential for regeneration managers to act independently of local social, economic and political pressures;
- The extent to which liberal democratic institutions are 'fit for purpose';
- The absence of a theoretical/conceptual debate.

In addition we set out to reflect upon the extent to which place and history 'matter' in framing regeneration projects; the extent to which local administration and management are shaped by their relationships to local needs

and expectations; the place and significance of civil society and/or civic society to act as an 'independent' actor in the restructuring of localities and neighbourhoods; and the concept of the 'failed' neighbourhood. We discussed some of these overarching themes and ideas in the previous chapter on Reflections, and in their different ways, the contributors to this volume have sought to locate their observations and analysis in a place defined by these core themes.

We discuss next the extent to which we think we wish to revisit the ideas and questions that have shaped this edited volume. It seems to us now that the daily evidence of the impact of the financial and banking crises on localities and neighbourhoods illustrates the competing and conflictual nature of the relationships within advanced economies. As discussed in the separate chapters and in particular, the case studies, the conventional wisdom has it that regeneration projects are based upon an analysis that seeks to place the responsibility for the crisis within the locality whereas the solution sits outside. The active presence of a spatial element to all these relationships is important—if only as a shorthand to convey the complexities of the discourse—and it is the extent to which these spatial relationships are shaped themselves by another layer of power that we now turn to.

We want to reiterate our claim that cities and urban centres are in another stage in their processes of development. Specifically, we have argued that whilst it was possible to categorise the relationships between cities and city-governing institutions (city hall) in a particular set of relationships throughout the post-1945 period to the economic crisis of the 1970s, we need to extend or modify the categories we use. In Chapter 1, we suggested that it was possible to observe how cities entered into a period of competition between themselves as part of their strategy to secure external investment in order to manage their transition from industrial to post- industrial places. We are aware that developing and then imposing labels or definitions is not without significant risks. We want to suggest that these labels provide a necessary (and important) framework within which we can contextualise the discussion. Our second label relates (broadly) to the period from the 1990s onwards to the present and this phase we have described as a period of 'coalition building'.

It seems to us that across those urban and industrial and post-industrial cities, the impact of neo-liberalism has been profound. It is not that the impact has been to write off the place of city hall but rather we can observe a redressing of the relationship(s) between city hall and the business/economic and service sector interests present within the city. The need for 'coalitions' comes both from city hall and the financial/business sector. To some extent, there are elements of the need to provide support and reinforcement of the legitimacy of each set of institutions or interests. Neither sets of interest groups are able to draw upon their history (histories) to secure their authority with each other or with their constituencies.

The past thirty to forty years have been a period of political and social crisis in cities, for city hall and the concept of liberal democracy. Across the advanced industrial economies there is a wealth of experience and evidence that suggests the 'political administration' of cities or civic leadership have failed their residents and their communities. Indeed, arguably as we have shown, the place of urban regeneration and the discourse of regeneration management are predicated upon securing the renaissance or the renewal of the city as places where liberal democratic values and processes are legitimised. Thus, coalition building has now become, we argue, a necessary part of that process of securing the authority and scope of city hall and local civic leadership. At the same time, the experiences and practice of the past thirty years has created alternative sites of debate, and these have sought to contest the claims made by city hall. The focus on current coalition building is, we suggest, towards the corporate sector. The extent to which more localised and alternative voices and competing social/political values are given a place in city hall is open to debate. We want to reflect upon that process in the final section of this conclusion.

We suggested that part of the underlying rationale for this edited collection was to explore the extent to which we could assert that there was a 'North American model' to regeneration and, as a consequence, regeneration management. In their chapter, Andrew E. G. Jonas and Linda McCarthy provide a clear and thoughtful analysis that rejects such a claim and then goes on to argue that even within the terms of a US approach, such a set of assumptions is poorly conceptualised. They make a number of important points that they place both within a regional and subregional setting but also by reference to US forms and structures of governance.

The importance of locating regeneration projects not only in a spatial context but also by reference to existing or changing forms of governance and decision-making reminds us of the 'politicisation' of regeneration initiatives. The assorted and sometimes competing claims or expectations associated with regeneration programmes brings into sharp focus the relationships between places, economic development, individuals and communities. These competing sets of relationships also provide a way of examining or exploring decision-making processes at different levels or scales of the state. Whilst we might wish to locate regeneration management processes and approaches in a particular 'school' within the Academy, we need to explicitly examine its links to (or potential to inform or be informed by) political theory and models and concepts of public administration.

We think that the rich and diverse set of case studies, with their strong focus on reflecting the narratives or accounts of particular places illustrate some of these tensions and questions. To some extent, they do and questions of methodology may remain. We do need to be both explicit and more reflective on the value or contribution of these case studies to a broader enquiry and reflection of the processes of regeneration. Each of the case studies provides a way into reading the particular experiences described.

From a methodological perspective, we would contend that a series of descriptive narratives, which are rich and deep in their accounts and offer an insight into the particular place, its policy-making processes, its history or histories and its sense of 'movement forward' do provide a powerful set of accounts that can inform our understanding.

We think that, in the material set out in this volume, we have been able to draw together such a rich and diverse set of accounts, experiences and reflections. What remains interesting for us is the extent to which we can interpret from these case studies the emergence of dominant or powerful ways of conceptualising or making real regeneration initiatives. To some extent, we can see that each of the case studies, in their very different ways, illustrate the tensions between local or regional regeneration managers and their points of accountability. This raises the important question of the extent to which such individuals or their projects can act independently of the local. We would want to suggest that in each of the case studies we see either very clear examples of where independence (in that sense) is not an option or it does not seem to have been a factor or we can see (as with Ismael Blanco's reflections on Barcelona) examples where there are quite real and livid tensions and conflict. In a number of the other chapters, conflicts are expressed through tensions between communities and residents and the policy-making processes.

We do think that this absence (in some cases) of conflict or certainly the discussion—at the local level—of autonomy or even relative autonomy over decision-making is revealing. It is linked, also, to the extent to which existing institutions of liberal democracy are 'fit for purpose'. We can provide an elaborate and detailed summary of how liberal democratic institutions are failing and that they are no longer (if they ever were) able to cope with the needs of their communities and the broader civil society. The weaknesses associated with elected processes across the advanced industrial world (not withstanding the 2008 US Presidential election) at a city or neighbourhood level are not encouraging. On the contrary, we could argue that the grassroots/community organising perspectives present in the 1960s in the US and the UK provide an alternative model.

In the chapters, it is important to note how the questions of local politics, local decision-making and sites of decision-making are framed, understood, acted upon (or with and by whom) and how such questions inform or are informed by regeneration projects. We would argue (as we have done earlier) that the absence of such a discussion within and between practitioners contributes to the negative perceptions of practitioners and policy makers. The 'politics' of regeneration management is real and, therefore, also needs to be informed by and contribute to the theoretical and conceptual debates.

The essay by Graeme Chesters does, we think, provide both an empirical as well as an intellectual space to situate such a discussion. Throughout this collection, we have looked to make explicit the connections between

institutions of civic society, local neighbourhoods and community-based organisations (civil society), the corporate and welfare sets of interests present within a region as well as the particularities of space, place and time. We think that by seeking to draw out those sets of relationships, we can contribute to the theoretical and political sets of questions on agency and the capacity (or not) to frame practice at the local level.

It is this question of agency and the potential to act to change practice or policy that we think sits at the heart of some of these debates. At a neighbourhood level and certainly within city hall it appears as if such opportunities or places are closed or absent. However, as the different case studies suggest, there are a set of experiences that have the potential to suggest a different set of outcomes. We are living in more interesting times than we might want, but the range of possible choices twelve months ago on banking and housing reform looks very different at the time of writing. The practice of regeneration management is clearly not a set of neutral processes but in specific localities and neighbourhoods, we can see examples of where groups and local residents have offered an alternative voice, and it is this representation of different but localised voices that contemporary practitioners need to listen to—not incorporate or co-opt but listen and reflect upon.

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