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Policy Development

Good policies and practices to tackle urban challenges

Synthesis

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1. Introduction

The context of the study

This study synthesises ten case studies completed in the framework of a reflection process on the 'Cities of Tomorrow', organised and managed by DG Regio. The main aim of this process was to highlight the main challenges for European cities over the following decade and to identify the main objectives, instruments and methods they can deploy when tackling them. These questions have been discussed within three workshops with the participation of approximately 20 experts on urban development, representing different European cities and different sectors.

The demand

Closely linked to this process, the DG Regio launched a tender for providing case studies on cities and their policies to underpin the results of the discussions process by presenting 'good practices to tackle urban challenges'. The tender required a proposal for a long list of 20 cities, out of which ten would be selected for study.

The case studies were aimed at providing positive examples on successful urban policies and experiences responding to the challenges identified by the experts group. It was also required that the experiences reveal some important learning points for future cohesion policies. By the time a first series of exchanges between the consultants and the Steering Committee were held, ten cities had been selected¹, based on the following criteria:

- ✓ a wide spread of the challenges defined by the expert groups;
- ✓ the cities represent the European cities network and give a balanced selection regarding geographical position and population size;
- ✓ the cities should represent good examples that can bring some useful learning points for other cities or for European programmes in the future.

The ten cities studied are as follows:

¹ Eight were initially selected from the list of 20 cities: Amsterdam, Barcelona, Newcastle, Seraing, Plaine Commune, Leipzig, Gliwice and Prague and a further two were suggested by the Steering Committee: Florence and Växjö. Later on, following some discussions with the Czech experts, Prague was considered less relevant and so was substituted with Brno by agreement with the Steering Committee.

Table 1: The case study cities according to their size, location, main functions and main challenges they have tackled

City	SIZE* / population	Location in Europe	Main functions	theme/challenges
Amsterdam (NL)	Big 767 773	West	international metropolis	Re thinking diversity policy to strengthen social cohesion and tackle the risk of segregation
Barcelona (ES)	Big 1.6 million	South	international metropolis	Transportation as part of urban cohesion policies
Brno (CZ)	Middle 370 000	East	traditional regional industrial centre	Upgrading the international position of the city and its region by attracting highly qualified people and activities
Florence (I)	Middle 368 901	South	city of cultural tourism and cultural heritage	Reorganising cultural industries and revitalizing local manufacturing traditions in order to redefine the city's international position
Gliwice (PL)	Middle 192,000	East	industrial and mining city, secondary hub in a metropolitan and industrial zone	Improving and integrating local SMEs in order to sustain the economic revitalisation of the city based on knowledge society
Leipzig (D)	Middle ² 520 000	West/East	shrinking city and regional centre with strong international connotation	Grounding new actions on the lessons learned from the URBAN experience and finding innovative ways to develop the west and to start regenerating the east.
Newcastle (UK)	Middle 278,000 (+200 000 with Gateshead)	West	regional hub and traditional industrial centre	Response of a city to the financial crisis
Plaine Commune (FR)	Middle 346 209	West	cooperation of 8 communes as part of the Paris Metropolitan region	Capacity of a group of cities to attract diverse economic activities, among which many service industries, in the view of providing employment to local dwellers of a deprived area in transition
Seraing (BE)	Small 61 000	West	small industrial city as part of the Liège agglomeration	Urban foresight based on public participation as a tool for integrating local residents' requirements on their own neighbourhood into the Master Plan of the city
Växjö (S)	Small 83.000	North	Small regional centre	Sustainable energy policies as part of a model for managing complex urban change

*groups created by the authors of this report:

- small: up to 100,000 inhabitants
- medium: 100,000 – 500,000
- big: over 500,000

² The population of Leipzig is a little less than 500,000. Thus the status and functions of the city led us to define it as a middle sized city, although it is the second largest city after Berlin in east Germany

Methodological remark

The aim of the study is clearly to show where, when and how policies match the challenges cities are facing and how actions decided in the framework of such policies fit. In addition to the term “policy”, the case studies report, and this synthesis often uses, the term “strategy”. Where this is so, “strategy” should not be interpreted as a full-fledged urban strategy such as a Master Plan for instance, but rather as the process of constructing a system of devices involving different actors and aimed at tackling the challenges faced by the cities. As already mentioned, such challenges are complex and so tackling them in the long run may require complex policies that can only be derived from a process of strategic thinking.

2. The method and the difficulties encountered

A first step: Identification of the main challenges

In the call for tender, eight direct and three transversal challenges were identified and the consultants were asked to suggest one city representing one challenge. From our perspective, the complexity of urban development suggests that cities are generally facing several challenges simultaneously. In addition, importantly the study has been carried out in the framework of integrated urban development. Therefore, policies and practices implemented to tackle one main challenge can only be looked at in the context of interrelated challenges and through complex policies and practices.

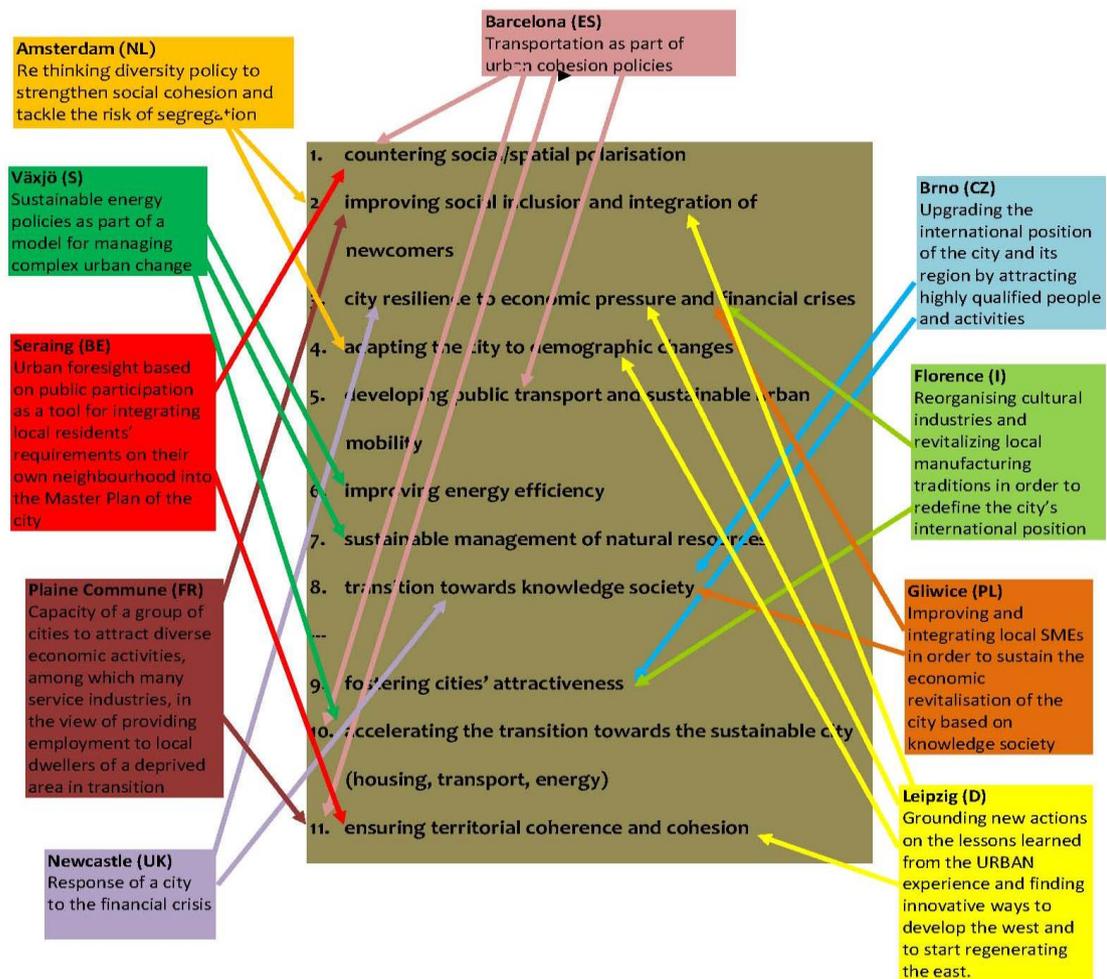
However, the Steering Committee confirmed its preference to define one challenge for each city in terms of the integration of the case studies into the final report to be prepared on the “Cities of Tomorrow” reflection process. Therefore a compromise was found: all cities would be dealt with from the point of view of one key challenge, but this challenge would be expressed in a more precise way than originally set out in the bid. This approach proved accurate, helping in the following ways:

- to focus on one specific experience and,
- to place this experience in the larger context of the entire city (and in the relevant cases, of its surrounding metropolitan area) taking into consideration the complexity of urban development.

Definition of the concrete challenges of the case studies was achieved in two steps. A first proposal was made at the start of the study and it was subsequently modified and articulated according to the results of interviews.

Figure 1 shows in the case of each city, the path from the general challenge(s) identified in the tender, to the more comprehensive ones identified during the study.

Fig.1: Match of the cities with the general challenges identified in the bid



Preparation of the case studies

- ✓ Two pilot case studies (Plaine Commune and Seraing) were prepared as the first part of the project.
- ✓ On the basis of these pilot case studies and the meeting with the Steering Committee, guidelines for the further other cases were established.
- ✓ Case studies are based on two-three days long field work in each city consisting of approximately eight interviews with the main actors of the city related to the given experience. In principle the interviews were made with:
 - one or two high elected representatives of the city
 - local technicians, and experts
 - related companies or institutions
 - representatives of NGOs, inhabitants' associations
 - an external expert, researcher.

However, this scheme was, of necessity, flexible and adapted to each case as appropriate to local circumstances.

Difficulties encountered

1 -Although the main aim consisted of the analyses of ONE experience per city rather than analysing the complex strategies and actions likely to be evident in the cities, it turned out to be almost impossible to adhere to this rule. Even when concentrating on one concrete challenge, several answers, actions and policies may be found contributing to a response to this challenge in each case. Moreover, a sustainable response towards one challenge assumes the cooperation and complementary actions of several actors within the city. As a result, we aimed to present the most important actions, strategies and policies and to see in what measure they are complementary to each other. In the case of Florence for example, the experience is concentrated on one main action (the Florens2010 event), but the case study also shows how this action was related to others (especially, to the city strategy).

2-Following the in depth analysis, in some cases it turned out that the case study city cannot be regarded ONLY as representing a positive experience. Therefore, in certain case studies some critical conclusion had to be formulated (for example, on the sustainability or the possibilities of integration of the given project) in spite of the desire of the Steering Committee to concentrate only on the positive lessons. Nevertheless we consider that highlighting key problems and obstacles for a given policy or action is a realistic and potentially useful approach because it can inform the learning process and ultimately transferability.³

3-Assessing the transferability of the case studies proved to be a difficult matter. As mentioned in the Leipzig report: *"you can transfer ideas but every place has its specificity"* (p.15). As a result, and in agreement with the Steering Committee, the initial plan to analyse the conditions of

³ In the case of Brno the risk of a two speed development was highlighted, and in Gliwice, the lack of articulation between the actions, etc, was an issue.

transferability were altered and so it was decided to focus on the main lessons learned from the case studies, and their possible uses in other cases.

4-The fact that all studies were prepared following similar guidelines represented advantages but also some difficulties. On the positive side, it made it easier to develop the initial focus and preparation of the questions that would form a commonly used discussion guide. More problematic was that cities and their experiences of different types and sizes had to be integrated into similar frameworks, with the inherent risks that this activity poses.

3. Synthesis of the key characteristics of the case studies

In this part of the report there is an attempt to synthesize the cases studies with regard to the following key characteristics:

- ⇒ Size of city (see table 1), functions, international position and networking
- ⇒ Territorial and administrative levels
- ⇒ Actors involved in policies and practices tackling the challenges
- ⇒ Strategies
- ⇒ Actions
- ⇒ Financial framework
- ⇒ Monitoring

Naturally the results of this analysis cannot be regarded as being representative for all European cities. Instead, they provide ideas and reveal questions and issues that provide a useful basis for reflection on the methods, tools, strategies, actions, etc, of the European cities of tomorrow.

City sizes, international position and networks

As has already been shown in the presentation of the ten cities, two of them (Amsterdam and Barcelona) are large cities (above 500,000 inhabitants), six are middle sized cities (Brno, Gliwice, Florence, Leipzig, Newcastle and Plaine Commune), and two (Seraing and Växjö) are small cities with less than 100,000 inhabitants in their administrative territories.

The international positioning of the ten cities is very diverse: Amsterdam and Barcelona have complex international functions (including culture, economy, tourism) as well as being important international metropolitan hubs of Europe. Florence has a particular international function as a world city of cultural tourism. For the other cities, the international functions are difficult to evaluate. As this question was not a key part of the study, no special indicators were developed concerning it. However, we attempted to give an impression on the connectivity of these cities through their participation in different European programmes and networks (URBAN I and II, URBACT and Eurocities working groups). Apart from Amsterdam and Barcelona, Brno, Leipzig and Newcastle are the cities expected to participate or have already participated in the highest number of European projects and networks. Florence's international activity is much less extensive. The two smaller sized cities (Seraing and Växjö) and the special urban conurbation area (Plaine Commune) have virtually no network connectivity via the European programmes and networks.

Table 2: The cities according to their participation in URBACT, URBAN and Eurocities networks

Cities	Size	URBAN and URBACT	Cities networks
Amsterdam	Big 767,773	URBAN I and II, URBACT (1 pjct)	CLIP, Eurocities (14 working groups)
Barcelona	Big 1.6 million		Eurocities (20 w. g.)
Brno	Middle 370,000	URBACT (1 pjct)	Eurocities(18 w.g.)
Florence	Middle 368,901	URBACT (2 projects)	Eurocities (2 w.g.)
Gliwice	Middle 192,000	URBACT (1 pjct)	
Leipzig	Middle 520,000	URBAN II, URBACT (2 projects)	Eurocities (13 w.g.)
Newcastle	Middle 278,000 (+200 000 with Gateshead)	URBACT (2 projects)	Eurocities (14 w.g.)
Plaine Commune	Middle 346,209		
Seraing	Small 61,000		
Växjö	Small 83,000		

Territorial and administrative levels covered by the case studies

In terms of the areas covered by the case studies it is possible to differentiate between the following three levels:

- the administrative city level (the territory within the administrative boundaries of the cities),
- the metropolitan or agglomeration area that is very often not an administrative level but only a statistical unit,
- the County/Province/Region, the administrative level above the city named in different ways according to the different countries.

The administrative cities are evident in all cases except in Plaine Commune, where the urban experience is related to the *Communauté d'Agglomération* (administrative grouping of cities promoted within the French legislation) which comprises a group of eight cities, each of them active member of the group. In Newcastle the strategies and actions in response to the economic crises have to a great extent involved the Newcastle-Gateshead Partnership (signed in 2007), covering the two neighbouring cities but not extending to the entire city-region comprising three other local authorities.

The county/province level is referred to in almost all cases as being a larger framework for interventions. As the metropolitan level does not form any administrative unit in the majority of

the cities, planning and other interventions crossing the borders of the city may intervene through the county level. The number of the cases where the county plays an effectively active role in the experience is smaller. For instance, in the case of Brno, the county and the city strongly interact and share common goals and policies.

Seraing is the only city where the **neighbourhood** (Molinay) appears as an independent territorial level and located at the heart of the experience.⁴

Table 3: Territorial and administrative levels covered by the case studies

Cities	Administrative City	The closest metropolitan area	County / Province / Region
Amsterdam	x		X
Barcelona	x	x	X
Brno	x		X
Florence	x		X
Gliwice	x		
Leipzig	x		x
Newcastle	x	Newcastle-Gateshead	
Plaine Commune		Plaine Commune	x
Seraing	x (+ the neighbourhood level)		
Växjö	x		x

Source: The ten case studies

The actors

In the following section the main actors participating and taking an active role in responding to the challenge are mapped and their roles and interrelations highlighted for each case study. Finally, the way the actors systems will be examined.

Table 4: The main actors in each case study

Cities	Municipality	Metropolitan structure / counties, regions	Municipal companies	Universities	NGOs and grassroots org	Private enterprises	Other private investors
Amsterdam	x			x	x		
Barcelona	x	x	x		x		
Brno	x	x	x	x			
Florence	x			x	x	x	
Gliwice	x		x	x	x		
Leipzig	x	x		x	x	x	x
Newcastle	x	x	x	x	x		
Plaine Commune	x	x		x		x	x
Seraing	x		x		x		
Växjö	x	x	x		x	x	

Source: the ten case studies

⁴ This typology did not take into account the role of NUTSII regions that appear in almost all cases as the main authorities for the allocation of European cohesion funds.

Table 4 shows that in each city a relatively wide range of actors are active in responding to the main challenges. Nevertheless, their interactions and their place in the overall experience are very different in each case.

Local municipalities are the lead actors in all cases and they normally identify the main challenge and prepare a first strategy and an initial set of actions as response to it. Their role as “lead actor” is nevertheless different according to the cases. In city-regions or in *communautés d’agglomération*, a supra local actor may take this place, as is the case in Plaine Commune.

Modes of participation when the territorial administration is the lead actor

In some cities, the municipality prepares a strategic framework, identifies the main challenges and objectives of the city. However, following this activity, instead of identifying concrete actions and priorities it tends to play an intermediate role, leaving other actors to define their own policies and actions but helping them find partners and financial resources. This is particularly the case in Leipzig, for example, where the municipality considers its role more and more as one of moderation, relying on the one hand on inhabitants of the areas under regeneration, and on the other hand on private investment. But this by no means suggests a diminution of the role of municipal technical support.

Amsterdam is presenting its citizenship and integration policy as deeply grounded in people’s participation. The “Amsterdam District approach”, for example, is aimed at encouraging the citizens’ expression of and demands for municipal support for their projects, with the help of local participation developers and under the coordination of the Central Municipality.

Växjö is also a case that emphasizes citizens’ participation through a citizen’s panel and a citizen’s forum, the latter being organised once a year in all neighbourhoods and in every rural community. It seems, nevertheless that the main outcome of this forum is to give the opportunity to listen to questions from residents and to answer them, rather than to launch any collaborative actions.

Plaine Commune, as an agglomeration of eight cities does not take on a direct relationship with all stakeholders. Rather it relies on its 58 elected member Community Council to be aware of the wishes and demands of citizens. The community counsellors in turn implement participative actions according to their own local focus.

In other cases, municipalities play a stronger central role acting as the real “manager” of the policies that have been object of the study. In these cases, the intermediate role is one of tightening, with the local authority becoming directly involved in the realisation of the key objectives of its policy. This active role is often coupled with the creation of municipal companies that can act in the market place as independent economic actors, although mainly financed from the public budget. This model is applied in several cities (Brno, Gliwice, Newcastle, Seraing), but with different degrees of intervention by the local municipality. In Brno, for example, the local and the county (regional) authorities have created a wide network of actions and project companies in order to put in practice, action by action, the regional innovation strategy. The competences of the municipal companies are also different. In Newcastle, for example, the intervention of 1NG is also extended to the preparation of a long term intervention plan (called the 1plan). By contrast, in Gliwice, the Local Development Agency is set to become an entirely independent actor, with no municipal support.

In Barcelona, the strategies and the related actions are managed by two special authorities, the Mobility Services Department at Barcelona City and the Metropolitan Transport Authority. Instruments of democratic innovation are experimented within the City Council Mobility Pact, with working days, conferences, and training and dissemination activities.

Modes of relations when the lead actor is non municipal

Among the ten cities, there are only two cases, Seraing and Florence, where the lead actor is not a local municipality. In Seraing, the participative planning experience took place on the initiative of a national level NGO, called CAL for *Centre d’Action Laïque* (Secular Action Centre). In Florence, the ‘Florens2010’ event was organised and managed by Confindustria, a representative association of private entrepreneurs. In both cases financing of the project was achieved with resources independent from the city budget and this gave a relatively large degree of freedom for the actions that could be taken. Interestingly, however, in both cases the main objectives and principles identified by the independent lead actors were approved – but not financially sustained – by the local Municipality.

The types of the identified challenges and the answers given by the cities

One of the first questions in the interviews was to reveal how the challenge we identified for each case study was understood by the different actors and how they responded to it.

The strategic answers tackling the challenges may be classified according to the following two series:

1. Regarding their development in time, there are two categories as follows:
 - ✓ policies shaped as a result of a long term urban policy regarding the specific question,
 - ✓ policies developed in reaction to a crisis (economic, social, financial...).
2. Regarding contents, two types of orientations in strategies can be distinguished as follows:
 - ✓ policies related to the need for improving or deepening the integrated development and social cohesion of an urban area;
 - ✓ policies related to sectoral policies such as economic restructuring or social issues.

Table 5 roughly presents where each city’s strategy stands within both series.

Table 5: Types of strategic answers given by the cities to the identified challenges

City	theme/challenges	type of answer 1: according to time	type of answer 2: according to content
Amsterdam	Re thinking diversity policy to strengthen social cohesion and tackle the risk of segregation	result of long term policy	sectoral policy, social cohesion
Barcelona	Transportation as part of urban cohesion policies	result of a long term policy	improving and deepening integrated development
Brno	Upgrading the international position of the city and its region by attracting highly qualified people and activities	reaction to a crisis	sectoral policy, economic development
Florence	Reorganising cultural industries and revitalizing local manufacturing traditions in order to	reaction to a crisis	sectoral policy, economic (cultural) development

	redefine the city's international position		
Gliwice	Improving and integrating local SMEs in order to sustain the economic revitalisation of the city based on knowledge society	reaction to a crisis	sectoral policy, economic development
Leipzig	Grounding new actions on the lessons learned from the URBAN experience and finding innovative ways to develop the west and to start regenerating the east.	reaction to a crisis (in the frame of a longer term policy lasting for more than ten years)	improving and deepening integrated development
Newcastle	Response of a city to the financial crisis	reaction to a crisis in association with a long term development plan	sectoral policy: economic development and social support
Plaine Commune	Capacity of a group of cities to attract diverse economic activities, among which many service industries, in the view of providing employment to local dwellers of a deprived area in transition	result of a long term policy	improving and deepening integrated development
Seraing	Urban foresight based on public participation as a tool for integrating local residents' requirements on their own neighbourhood into the Master Plan of the city	reaction to a crisis	sectoral policy: social cohesion
Växjö	Sustainable energy policies as part of a model for managing complex urban change	result of a long term policy	improving and deepening integrated development

Source: *The ten case studies*

In terms of **the time criteria**, the information in Table 5 may be considered too schematic when in fact in four of the cities the observed policies are clearly a result of long term planning. However, among the other case study cities, the process of constructing policies in reaction to a crisis meant that in two of them, the policies launched were only possible because they were grounded on a long term approach. In this respect, an important asset lies in the internal organization of municipalities and in previous experience of dealing with crises.

Cities ranked for their long run policies initiating their current strategies are mainly re thinking their previous policies in order to find new and more adequate answers or new partners. In contrast to this process, the strategies that can be observed currently in some cities are a direct response to recent important threats. Florence and Newcastle formulated specific policies because they were facing transformations stemming from the financial crisis as well as some longer term structural weaknesses. In the case of Florence, the situation is even more complex due to the fact that being a city with strong tourism potential, it is facing a challenge pointing more to the need to improve the immediate situation than to find a possible and urgent way out of the economic crisis. In Newcastle, as stated in the case study report, *"in a sense the city has been in a process of change and adjustment for many years and the financial crisis and ensuing recession were simply more external shocks they had to deal with – albeit significant ones. Therefore the response from the key stakeholders was both short-term to ease the situation for*

those affected, but also strategic over the next 20 years, with the view that the city needs a long term plan that would hopefully transcend these short-term disturbances. Furthermore, a city with a solid strategy should be better placed to withstand these shocks in the future”.

With regarding to the **contents of the policies**, the distribution is similar with six cities grounding their strategies on a sectoral approach, while four of them aim at improving and deepening integrated development. Within those following the sectoral approach, four concentrate on economic development and two on social cohesion.

The improvement and deepening of integrated urban development is the objective of a quite heterogeneous group of cities, embracing very different and sometimes opposing ways of strategy making. Bottom up foresight (a micro strategy) in Seraing can be regarded as the opposite of the complex strategy making found in Barcelona for example, where the focus is on departing from a specific field of action (transportation) to tackle the main challenges of social and spatial integration on the city as well as on the metropolitan level. Florence also may be considered as part of this group because of its strategy aiming to *“bring closer the historical centre to the local inhabitants”*.

Brno and Gliwice are tackling the challenge of how to make their post industrial restructuring sustainable. This is a relatively new question for Central and Eastern European cities, demanding not only infrastructure but also know-how and human resources development that require both strategic programmes and financial investments. For these cities, the different European funds (especially the cohesion funds and FP7) with their own systems of priorities and objectives, have a particularly strong influence on local strategy making.

The actions

The actions found in the policies among the case studies are highly varied but can be divided into two basic groups according to the number of actions included in their urban experience:

1. There are only two cities where the experiences are based on one specific action – or one central action that is accompanied by secondary ones: Seraing (participatory foresight as the main action), and Florence (Florens2010 as the main action).
2. In all the other cities several parallel actions were and/or are being realised.

Interestingly, the cities where only one action has been implemented in the framework of the challenge are the same ones where the lead actor was not the municipality but a private actor or an NGO. This can be explained by the fact that in these cities the action is not directly coming from a municipal strategy (on the contrary, in the case of Seraing for example, the aim of the action was to change the municipal strategy). In the other cities, the multiple actions, to some extent, correspond to the main policy orientation of the city. However, at the same time the actions tend to be very different. Table 6 provides an overview of the types of actions engaged in by the cities.

Table 6: Types of actions in the 10 cities related to the challenges

City	types of actions
Amsterdam (NL)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. creating institutional framework 2. financial support to NGOs and informal groups
Barcelona (ES)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. regulation (status of roads, etc.) 2. introducing financial incentives (tariff system, tax reductions, etc.) 3. physical investment (road development, etc.) 4. events (participatory meetings, etc.) 5. education, training
Brno (CZ)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. creating institutional and organizational framework (municipal project companies) 2. introducing financing incentives (grants, vouchers, etc.) 3. physical investment (technologic park, buildings)
Florence (GR)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. main action: event (Florens2010) 2. related action: creating institutional and organisational framework (Florens association)
Gliwice (PL)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. physical investment (New Gliwice project, Technologic park) 2. training, education (training and advice programmes)
Leipzig (D)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. creating institutional and organisational framework 2. interaction and cooperation between inhabitants, technicians, politicians, professionals, investors 3. Municipality as moderator of private initiatives 4. physical investment in urban regeneration
Newcastle (UK)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. creating institutional and organisational framework (1NG, Newcastle science city, Local Enterprises partnership) 2. physical investment (city centre, linking town centres, etc)
Plaine Commune (FR)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. creating institutional and organisational framework 2. democratic urban planning in association of 8 cities 3. interaction with economic actors
Seraing (BE)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. main action : event (participatory meetings) 2. related actions: physical investments (investments in Molinay as a result of the participatory planning)
Växjö (S)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. physical investment (cleaning the lake, energy efficient construction, roads) 2. creating institutional and organisational framework (project company)

Source: The ten case studies

It is difficult to assess the types of actions engaged in by the different cities, as they are mostly depending on the challenge, on the existing structures of the city determining the needs of intervention, or on their financial capacities. Nevertheless the frequency of the different types of actions can be informative. Creating institutional and organisational frameworks (especially, the creation of project companies for the realisation of certain projects) and different types of physical investments are the most frequently appearing actions. The latter is, of course, a basic element for urban development. Regulation and the creation of financial incentives are less

frequent actions, perhaps because these actions demand specific know how (legal and financial knowledge). Interestingly, education and training, as well as events are not much represented, although these actions (potentially demanding less financial investment than other actions) may bring very high added values in various fields of urban development (social cohesion, know-how, participation, etc). It seems likely that in a period of reduced subsidies from public sources, low cost actions will be given more attention and this was confirmed by some interviewees stating that they were thinking of ways of adapting their strategies to this situation.

Financial tools

It was not possible within the parameters of the case study analyses to provide a detailed analysis on project budgets, though where possible information was given on the approximate costs of the main projects and on the main financial tools and their allocations. However, a deeper financial analysis of the actions taken to tackle urban challenges was out of scope to this study.

Table 7 attempts to summarise the main financial resources in each case study city.

Table 7: The main financial resources related to the challenge

City	municipality	county / national level	European Union							Private		ONG / inhabitants	
			EU (ERDF, ESF) 2007-2013	ROP FP7	EU 2006 URBAN ERDF, ESF	2000-!-!,	Interreg	URBACT !!	Pre adhesion (Phare)	other	PPP		direct investment
Amsterdam	X	x			x			x					x
Barcelona	X	x	x										
Brno	X	x	x	x				x	x		x		
Florence		x						x				x	x
Gliwice	X	x	x					x	x			x	
Leipzig	X	x	x		x		x	x				x	x
Newcastle	X	x	x					x		x (Jessica)	x		
Plaine Commune	X	x	x								x		
Seraing	X	x									x		x
Växjö	X	x	x							x (Intelligent Energy E.)	x		x

European financing

The importance of the ERDF and ESF as financing instruments for urban policies and integrated development in cities is clear. Regional Operational Programmes have a strong influence on local strategies in various ways, including:

- ✓ in Brno or Gliwice, the main orientations and priorities of city strategies have been adapted to ROP's priorities;
- ✓ in Leipzig, the strategy had to be adapted according to the new ROP priorities not only because of the considerable decrease of support compared to the URBAN programme (from € 20 million to € 5 million), but also because *"URBAN allowed a more complex and integrated approach. The three dimensions (economic-employment, social, housing and urban) were each given approximately the same amount, whereas the ERDF operational programme is split into 50 per cent of the subsidies on building and environment, and 50 per cent on social and economic actions."*⁵

Apart from the above mentioned cities, ERDF and in general EU funding has been mentioned as being of particular importance as follows:

- ✓ in Växjö : *"EU-funding has become part of the routine of financial planning in the renewal of the municipality"*⁶;
- ✓ in Newcastle: *"ERDF in particular has contributed towards major infrastructure projects including roads and bridges, but also key developments such as the emerging Science Centre in Newcastle city centre"*⁷;
- ✓ in Barcelona: for the construction of metro line 2 and *"a specific lane for public transport and high-occupation vehicles in highway C-58 (in construction); Volpalleres station (completed); El Prat de Llobregat intermodal station (in tender process); and Gràcia station in Barcelona (in construction)"*⁸;
- ✓ in Plaine Commune, through the "In Europe" Programme, with the objective of reducing intra urban disparities, promoting social inclusion and equality of opportunity.

Other European programmes are playing an important role in a more dispersed way, but only in certain cities.

In six cases, cities are engaged in at least one URBACT II network (Barcelona had been participating in the URBACT I programme). As has been mentioned in Gliwice, URBACT was an important experience for them as *"an instrument permitting the development of new visions for cities and to strengthen the relationship between local stakeholders and the dialogue with the Managing Authority."*⁹

⁵ Leipzig report, p.9

⁶ Växjö report, p. 11

⁷ Newcastle report, p. 11

⁸ Barcelona report, p.14

⁹ Interview with Katarzyna Kobierska

Furthermore, European financing may also contribute in less “traditional” ways to the realisation of certain experiences. In the case of Seraing for instance, the participatory foresight project was partly financed in the framework of the Futurreg (Interreg) project as a result of the collaboration with foresight experts from the Destrée Institute. Thus the project was integrated into the Interreg programme by one of its partners. Being part of an Interreg programme was not only a helpful financial contribution to the project, but also offered a good opportunity to open the project and to obtain relevant professional support.

Private investments

In most cities, the contribution of private investment is of secondary importance in the realisation of the actions responding to the urban challenges. The already mentioned exception is the case of Florence, which is, in itself, an example on how an initiative involving important local entrepreneurs may promote the development of a local city strategy.

Interestingly, Public Private Partnership forms of investments have not been highlighted in the cities although they have been mentioned in many of cases (Table 7 shows this in those cities where it is clear. However it is safe to assume that this form of private investment appears in other cities as well), they rarely appeared as being a basic instrument for local development.

Main results, impacts and evaluation

Follow up of outputs and outcomes of policies and actions by their actors

The aim here is not to summarize the results of the policies implemented in the ten cities, but rather to sum up what kind of observations and evaluation systems are attached to policies meant to tackle the challenges cities are facing. This seems relevant since outcomes from this study should help inform how to link the various policies within urban integrated development as a major dimension of cohesion policy in cities. However, in order to reach this objective, evaluation is needed, and not only evaluation but the use of its assessments on the methods and devices which helped achieve outputs. But in reality the use of such tools is quite rare, at least in the internal management of policies and actions. The European Commission has systematic evaluations made on programmes implemented with the support of structural funds. In these cases, cities, regions and national administrations may benefit from these evaluations and may also rely on them to adhere to their objectives and methods or to partly re design them. However, it may also be beneficial if the European evaluations are aggregated in some form of meta-evaluation based on these local evaluations.

During the course of this study, the interviewees gave little information of the assessment tools used in the development of their policies and actions. It seems that policies develop mainly through empirical knowledge and according to financial opportunities and political expediency

It also seems that when specific actors are engaged to manage programmes and actions in association with municipalities but not part of them, they may be in a more favourable position to assess results. This is reflected by the role of the CAL (Secular Action Centre) of the Liège province, for example, working with the Molinay residents in Seraing.

In Amsterdam, where there is no systematic evaluation practice, one programme called the ‘District Approach’ benefits from a follow up process thanks to the University of Tilburg whose in depth research programme explores the voluntary action and people’s empowerment through this approach.

Plaine Commune is assessing its policies on two levels, internally and externally. Inside the Community services, thought is given once each year to all launched actions and discussions among officials allow them to indicate in their annual report reasons for the success or the failure of actions, although these reasons are not always stated. On an external level, Plaine Commune being less in contact with citizens than the communal institutions, is very interested in possible feedback from inhabitants and from people coming to work in the area. To gather their views, questionnaires are used in certain circumstances, but no systematic evaluations are done.

4. The main lessons learned

Strategies and policies

The ten case study cities have occasionally implemented specific policies to face specific challenges, while some of them have been engaged in broader strategies in urban development, which may be binding, depending on the individual cases.

Leipzig, for example, has experienced integrated urban renewal in two different parts of the city, firstly in the West with URBAN II, then in the East with the ERDF *Stadtentwicklung* (urban development). Based on these processes, the Municipality decided that an integrated development plan for the whole city was needed. A master plan (SEKo in German abbreviated form) was prepared, covering the entire city. Under this plan, priority areas (namely Leipzig West, Leipzig East and Leipzig Grünau) have more detailed plans. The Master Plan will apply in the long run. However, the state of Saxony is now asking municipalities to define very small programme areas that will not be allowed to overlap with other programmes such as the Soziale Stadt.

In another case, **Brno** is involved at three strategic levels as follows:

- The City strategy was approved in 2002 and its updated version in 2007. The strategy is based on the vision of how the city should be in 2020 - a city with a positive image, good economic performance and a good quality of life, offering an optimal environment for innovation and knowledge based activities. This vision is supported by three main axes of development called "pillars": (1) turning local economic development from industry to business; (2) developing a good quality of life and (3) promoting a new dynamic for the city through the development of research, innovation and education.
- The Regional Development Strategy, South Moravian Region (DSSMR), 2007 up to 2016 has been prepared in the frame of the National Development Plan for the Czech Republic in 2006. It is an updated version of the «Development Strategy for the Brno Region» written in 1999. It defines the strategic targets for the development of the region as a whole and its functional parts, and specifies the important measures that should lead to the fulfilment of the targets in question. In this respect the DSSMR is a starting point for the updating of other programme documents in the region. Priority areas are: Economy, Environment, Human resources, Population centres, Transport and technical infrastructure.
- The Regional Innovation Strategy (RIS) is a Strategy and Action plan for the period 2009-2013 with the objective to rank the SM region among the first fifty most innovative regions in the EU: The plan identifies actions to be led, in part, by (1) the SM region, (2) the City of Brno and (3) by other actors. All actions are detailed according to the following: the initial problems they respond to; the main activities; the target group; the impact of the project; the estimated budget

according to the main resources; and the company or other unit responsible for the project management.

In **Florence**, two documents exist: the Structural Plan (Piano Strutturale) and the Strategic Plan (Piano Strategico).

- The Piano Strutturale of 2010 has as **its** main objectives to fight urban sprawl, to bring back the historical centre to the inhabitants, and to improve the quality of life and the urban environment. It also aims at reinforcing a sustainable urban development and at improving the position and attractiveness of Florence to Italy and on the international scene, through the development of local economies and tourism.
- The Piano Strategico of, 2009 was signed by the municipalities of those cities constituting the Florence Metropolitan Area, as well as by other private and public partners. It is a document dealing with the development of the whole area under the main objective of creating a pluri-centres area instead of the mono central area as it is now. Several axes have been implemented: culture, arts and crafts, tourism, sustainable development, social cohesion and governance of the metropolitan area.

Gliwice has a Development Strategy 2002-2022, updated in 2007 with the following priorities:

- Building the economic structure
- Improving living conditions
- Developing metropolitan functions
- Strengthening the spatial attractiveness
- Building civic society

It also has a Strategy on Social problems for the period 2006-2015 whose goal is the increase of employment through the training of those starting their enterprise, promoting entrepreneurship and programmes for the creation of jobs.

In addition, Gliwice is part of the Regional Strategy of Innovation for the Silesian Voivodeship 2003-2013, which identifies, among other goals, the objective of developing SMEs.

Seraing adopted a Master Plan in 2006 and reviewed it in 2008. The main objective of this is to enhance the economic and spatial features of the city which have been strongly affected by the process of industrial decline. Altogether more than 300 projects have been identified. The Master Plan is a classical urban plan, based on the consideration that spatial intervention in certain core urban areas would enhance, in the long run, the economic attractiveness of the entire city.

In Seraing, Molinay 2017 is the result of the participative foresight project, identifying the main challenges of the Molinay area within Seraing until 2017. It did not define any action plan.

The effects of the financial crisis

The problem posed by reductions in national public funds is not only occurring in the cities where strategies are directly conceived to respond to the financial crisis (such as Newcastle) but in others situated in countries also significantly hit by the crisis. In Barcelona for example, *“some planned transport infrastructures might not be entirely completed in the following years. The next metropolitan Mobility Master Plan in 2012 will manage demand but will not be able to provide supply*

*tools until 2013-2014, due to the financial crisis,”*¹⁰ In Amsterdam *‘maybe the concept of diversity and citizenship was just a way to lower or even stop financing ethnic groups’*¹¹. In Florence the initiative for changing the city’s economy coming from the enterprise sector was also a reaction to some important cuts in national financing towards cultural issues that affected the city.

Apart from cuts of direct subsidies, the financial crisis has also hit cities through the continuing problems in financial services and in particular restrictions on bank lending. This is a particular question for cities that initially had a relatively small budget and so had to obtain loans for covering the co financing part of European projects and was particularly mentioned in the cases of Brno and Gliwice.

Another noticeable effect is the growing impoverishment of people living in deprived areas, making it even more difficult to achieve the goals of social cohesion in the cities.

Finding ways to react to this funding difficulty either by withdrawing some actions at the city level or by trying to compensate for the lacking financing from other resources are important current challenges for cities.

Participative systems in public policies

Participation appears in many of the projects, but through very diverse structures. Some public policies are more oriented towards the participation of citizens than others, and among them social policies. However, generally speaking, it has been assessed that policies, programmes and projects are all the more successful when beneficiaries have been involved in their management, or even in their conception. This issue can of course have a different focus, depending on whether beneficiaries are inhabitants or enterprises, though sometimes, this difference is overcome through a territorial approach.

What seems meaningful for the lead actors is to understand that participative approaches may take more time than when only experts and politicians are involved in projects. In reality, this apparent time loss is in the end advantageous because actions tend to be more deeply grounded once implemented. It is an obvious factor in terms of social cohesion, when participation processes are conducted through debate with all stakeholders involved. Nevertheless, despite all these positive features, participation is often neglected or replaced by mere communication or consultation.

Regarding multi-actor participation, the Leipzig case represents the most significant system here. The Neighbourhood Forums are places and moments where and when inhabitants think and talk with technicians, academics, elected bodies, business people, etc, ... over concrete issues and projects right up to the point of decision making. The same type of experience is presented in the case of Seraing, where a complex foresight project was implemented through the interaction of the population, experts and politicians. In such processes, the role of specialized intermediaries is crucial because they know immediately the lead actors orientations and strategies, what each category among other actors stands for and what should come out of contacts and cooperation with all of them together.

¹⁰ Barcelona study, p.17.

¹¹ Amsterdam study, p.16.

In some other cities, the concept of participation is the opposite and taken into consideration as an obligatory part of a planning process in order to have the approval of citizens to the projects. This is often the case in Central and Eastern European cities where public debates are often held after the preparation of the plans - a method that is at odds with the principles of participation.

The risk of duplication of projects

In cases where several activities are going on simultaneously, it is important to question to what extent they complement each other. In some cases, when actors follow very similar objectives and methods, there is a risk of duplication, especially if these actions are coupled with uneven participation and/or a weak monitoring system. In Gliwice for example, the parallel functioning of actors and their strong dependence on EU OP financing explains the over representation of the same types of projects and with similar methods. As a result of a lack of an overall monitoring system and coordination between the actors, it has not been assessed if there was any overlap between the target groups or the main activities. This might also be levied In the case of Newcastle where the lack of coherence and coordination of initiatives has been mentioned as a problem in the past.

The importance of the local factor

Several cities provide lessons on how important the 'local factor' is for the successful implementation of urban programmes and this can be considered in various forms.

In the case of the role of private investment, it lies in the involvement of locally embedded entrepreneurs who show a direct engagement and interest in the development of the locality. This is clearly revealed in the Florence case and this necessity had also been taken into consideration in Leipzig, where one objective of the URBAN regeneration programme was to attract SMEs in order to reinforce local development. This is also the lead principle of the Fin-Urb-Act network that is attended by two of the analysed cities (Leipzig and Gliwice).

Apart from local economy, the local factor may also embrace for instance:

- ✓ innovative and original actions, responses to the local challenges (for example the Guardian Houses system in Leipzig);
- ✓ strengthening of local cultural actions and actors (arts and crafts, as in Florence, Plaine Commune, and in Leipzig);
- ✓ processes of participation (as in Seraing, Barcelona or Leipzig).

Innovative actions

Some actions or devices launched in the process of trying to tackle challenges can be considered innovative. This tends to be when they promote new methods to solve problems that many cities and organizations are facing without being able to go beyond a certain point.

The current main urban challenges are often said to be hindering social cohesion and a better distribution of wealth and of power. Thus, innovation is particularly sought in the fields of social change, of better relations between different social groups, and of cooperation between inhabitants and authorities.

From this perspective some examples from the case studies include the following:

- *The “Enterprises –Territory Charter for Plaine Commune economic actors”, promoted by Plaine Commune in France.* This initiative follows a strategy aimed at creating a spirit of citizenship among new enterprises coming into the territory. With this Charter, Plaine Commune is asking companies to agree to their responsibility in social cohesion along with economic growth and to demonstrate this agreement in concrete actions. Some 24 types of actions are suggested in the Charter, each company being free to choose from them. In return, Plaine Commune is engaged in several actions aimed at improving access to the zone for the staff of companies. There is an institutional innovation in developing an agreement which includes mutual obligations between the private and public spheres. It is difficult to make a definitive statement on the results from this approach because it is relatively new and also it tends to lead to cultural changes on both sides. However, an assessment could be made at some point that evaluates which specific difficulties are encountered by both sides, but also what achievements are likely to be observable in the long run and on which conditions they depend.

- *The foresight methodology used in Seraing to insert a part of the city into the Master Plan.* The first version of the Master Plan essentially left the Molinay neighbourhood almost completely untouched until an association, (the CAL, Centre of actions for secularism) launched a participative foresight process called *Molinay 2017*. With the help of foresight specialists, the Destrée Institute, the CAL worked with the inhabitants of Molinay towards the definition of a better future for the area. Here, the main innovative aspects are the role of civil society and the duration of the process. The foresight process is the result of cooperation between an association and inhabitants of a rather poor neighbourhood and professionals used to working at a macro level. Particularly note worthy in this case is this type of alliance formed and the length of time for the process. A third characteristic also deserves to be noted -the fact that this process has been validated by the municipality and its results included in the Master Plan.

- In Barcelona, innovation stems not from one specific action but from the process of linking the transportation system to social cohesion. If the concept of better access to mobility is often dealt with in social cohesion policies, its fulfillment is not so common. What can be underlined in the Barcelona case is the integrated concept of mobility, which is made concrete through various modes of transportation that are conceived on the basis of a deep knowledge of the population’s needs. This knowledge is reflected in the fact that in order to promote the social right to an effective mobility with the best available transportation mode, The City of Barcelona guarantees a public transport station within 200 meters. On that basis, the transportation policy reaches a visible point of social and urban integration because all Barcelona neighbourhoods have been effectively connected. Although this can be considered a loss-making policy, it nevertheless is one squarely aimed at social cohesion.

Monitoring, evaluation and transferability

An important focus for this study is the possible competence transfers from the ten case study cities to other cities or city-regions facing similar challenges. However, the main lesson may be that no example can be replicated exactly and what can be transferred is a method of analysing a specific situation and of deriving from that analysis guidelines for action.

Monitoring

Therefore, it seems important that policies are monitored to enable local actors to check if outputs are coherent with the initial objectives and if not, to make the necessary adjustments. An example is suggested by the case of Brno where innovation seems to be a main part of the municipal policy, even though it may not always be beneficial to all social groups. If key indicators are agreed and established when an action is launched, then they can form the basis of subsequent successful project monitoring. In Växjö, where an annual environmental account is implemented by the Municipality as part of the economic planning of the city, monitoring is also considered important.

Evaluating

Evaluations may be a good basis for transferring experience and policy lessons, under certain conditions as follows:

- ✓ Comprehensive evaluations giving a sense of the complex processes at work (multifactor qualitative analysis).
- ✓ Evaluations taking into account the historical roots of present day policies and actions.
- ✓ Evaluations attempting to explain why some actions are successful and others fail; this implies the use not only of quantitative indicators, but also qualitative ones – the latter representing a greater challenge but essential for a deeper understanding, in particular to identify negative effects such as deadweight, substitution and displacement.
- ✓ It would be important that assessment protocols for European programmes include qualitative indicators, which they do not always do.

Considering conditions of transferability

Actors in several cities are conscious that when considering transferability it does not mean a total replication of an approach. This is clearly stated in the case of Newcastle where it is said that only certain elements of the approach can be transferred rather than the whole policy.

Another issue is the size of each city. In the case of Växjö for example, the transfer potential tends to be towards cities of similar size or smaller towns. This raises the question of whether a small city could have experience to transfer to larger ones, and the answer could be in the affirmative, especially in dealing with actions on a neighbourhood level. However, it is necessary to take into account the internal administrative organisation of cities and this may be very different according to the size and status (city, city-region, metropolitan area...) and may dictate what is feasible.

Determining the real conditions of transferability would benefit from further research and assessment in the future.

Inevitably the ten case studies underpinning this study did not intend to provide an exhaustive picture on European city development. Nevertheless, the results may give some important feedback

for reflection on Cities of Tomorrow from the practical and local perspectives. They may also contribute to this debate by highlighting some new points to be explored further in any possible follow up of the reflection process.

Annex: Experts involved in the study

ACT Consultants (www.act-consultants.fr) is the lead company in the preparation of the present project. Two consultants are at the core of the study team:

- Krisztina Keresztély kerkrisz@lunart.hu
- Sonia Fayman sonifayman@gmail.com
- Pierre Meyer has contributed as special advisor pierre-meyer@act-consultants.fr

In addition to the core group, three external experts were invited to prepare case studies as follows:

- Barcelona case study: Jordi Pascual and Frederic Borja, Barcelona jpascual@pangea.org
- Newcastle case study: Kenneth Walsh, Training & Employment Research Network, Worcestershire, UK, www.tern-research.co.uk ken.walsh@btconnect.com
- Växjö case study: Liisa Horelli and Heikki Kukkonen, ITSU Ltd. Helsinki, Finland liisa.horelli@tkk.fi

The ACT Consultants core group was responsible for the methodological aspects of the study (including writing the bid, the pilot case study reports and the guidelines for the following reports), as well the implementation of seven out of the ten case studies and for relations with the steering committee. They are also the authors of this synthesis report.