



**AGAINST
DIVIDED
CITIES**
IN EUROPE

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Editorial

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Abstract

This paper was produced by the URBACT workstream *Against divided cities in Europe*. The aim of the group is to help European cities to rethink existing policies concerning spatial and social segregation in urban areas. The paper intends to provide an overview of the concept of urban segregation and related public policies that have been studied and explored within URBACT. The objective is also to bring forward some of the most interesting practices from URBACT partner cities working on integrated sustainable development, which have implemented innovative policies against segregation. On the basis of these practices, and taking the results of academic research into account, different alternatives for horizontal policies and area-based interventions are explored, and the links between these are discussed at length. The paper ends with recommendations for cities how to deal with segregated and deprived areas. In addition to the choices cities can take by themselves, those aspects are raised which cities cannot determine directly: influencing national and regional policies through lobbying and campaigning for appropriate planning and implementation frameworks. Finally, the novelties of the upcoming Cohesion Policy and Structural Funds regulations are mentioned, showing their potentials for the cities to fight segregation in their urban areas.

Keywords

socio-spatial segregation, area-based interventions, social mix, integration of policies



Executive summary



Segregated areas should be managed for as long as possible through policies to increase the opportunities and the quality of life of residents, avoiding direct interventions in the housing and social structure of the area.

Europe is witnessing a trend towards an increasing socio-spatial segregation of urban populations. In many cities this trend is directly linked with a rolling back of state intervention, retrenchment of welfare support and weak social housing policies and planning regulations. Segregation is also a result of planning failures in the 1960s-1980s, when large mono-functional housing estates were built, often in a rush, using prefabricated techniques, to meet the needs of the growing urban population. Over time, these estates became unpopular and were used by housing officials to rehouse disadvantaged groups including among others newcomers.

The evidence of the negative side-effects of segregation differs according to the type of segregation. Self-chosen segregation in upmarket gated communities has fewer direct negative effects, although it is as visible as other forms based on lack of choice (e.g. through market discrimination or lack of income). A number of case studies and qualitative studies show that living in problematic areas can become an additional burden for already marginalised groups because of territorial stigmatisation, poor physical accessibility, limited access to credit and environmental degradation. This is exacerbated when public services are missing or of a bad quality. As a consequence, residents of these areas can have fewer opportunities for higher education, better jobs or upward social mobility. Furthermore, the interests of deprived communities tend to be underrepresented in local political decision-making structures.

City strategies against segregation have changed significantly. Although there is less and less social housing being built and weaker housing market regulation to prevent the problem, area-based regeneration projects are being put in place to mediate and manage the effects. Area-based initiatives give a boost to development and a signal that the area is looked after, but they cannot replace high-quality mainstream sectoral policies. Interventions are needed across the whole urban area to ensure diversity and equality in the use of the city's assets and to provide better choices for people living in deprived areas.

There are cases of 'hyper-segregated' areas when no other choices are seen than drastic intervention and physical restructuring of the neighbourhood. However, examples of demolition and enforcing a social mix show controversial results and questionable outcomes. Segregated areas should be managed for as long as possible through policies to increase the opportunities and the quality of life of residents, avoiding direct interventions in the housing and social structure of the area. Above all these areas need high-quality and accessible services – affordable housing, education, childcare, health, public transport – so that they become less segregated and able to fulfil their role as places of integration, just as all other parts of the city.

The situation differs widely between cities across Europe, due to differences in geographic location,



housing stock, demographic trends, local labour markets and policy approaches. However, there is a common set of instruments that can be applied and tailored to the local situation:

- a solid knowledge base (measuring and monitoring segregation)
- land-use and housing strategy across the whole functional urban area – the ‘de facto city’ (European Commission, 2011) – that prevents the development of extreme segregation
- specific efforts in public services provision in areas showing a higher number of social problems
- education and school policy that promotes equal quality of education and social mix of students in all schools
- economic interventions to improve employment, support start-ups and enhance training opportunities
- social housing policy that makes affordable housing available in all parts of the city
- planning regulations against the development of gated communities
- mobility policy that guarantees equal opportunity of access by public transport from all parts of the city to the job centres and major facilities.

These sectoral-type interventions are crucial to fighting segregation in deprived areas. However it is important to recall that many problems do not originate in deprived areas, but result from wider societal structures and developments. Thus they cannot be solved exclusively in the areas where they are more visible: they require a multi-level intervention method, within which cities have to apply very different types of measures.

- There are tools city authorities do not have access to but should fight for, by influencing national policies: more housing rights, control

over rents, control over land prices through land banks, taxation of increases in land value, social housing policy, equal opportunity in education, high-quality public transport;

- Innovative cities aim for more cooperation between neighbouring municipalities in the functional urban area, initiating ‘bottom-up’ agreements on the most important planning issues and regeneration strategies;
- Finally there are tools that cities can create by themselves, by approaching the integration of policies across the urban area, especially in deprived areas, and by avoiding separated sectoral interventions which can divide the city even more deeply.

Socio-spatial segregation is a complex process, whose drivers and challenges need to be properly analysed, so that appropriate and effective interventions can be developed. Analysis must be carried out in transparent and participative ways. The first task is to understand the types and problems of given areas – for example are they dead-end or transitory areas? The second is to understand the dynamism of the processes – in which direction are they heading? This has to be followed by an analysis of the reasons behind the dynamic mobility processes of population groups. A typical mistake cities make is to judge neighbourhoods on the basis of static measures, and to focus on policies which undermine the role the area plays in the city in a dynamic sense.

Fighting against the division of the city is a cyclical process, involving the phases of analysis, understanding, deciding on actions based on a careful mix of sectoral and area-based tools, implementation and evaluation. A new mindset has to be built in the city, resulting in long-term policy-making which is independent of electoral cycles. Planning and interventions across the whole city (which includes rich areas, so as to persuade them accept the role they have to play in city-wide

diversity) are needed. Long-term visions can only be built up in dialogue with citizens, allowing them influence over local policy-making.

In recent decades European policies, especially Cohesion Policy, have started to address the problems of divided cities. The Structural Funds started to promote and apply innovative tools for integrated policy-making which spread across the cities of the EU. The current financial crisis and public budget cuts, however, threaten the loss of the integrated approach. The increasing focus on energy and growth policies should be applied with care, allowing for cities to understand development in a broader sense, putting economic aspects in the context of growing social problems and the spatial division of cities.

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1. Introduction: increasing residential segregation in European cities – a challenge to social cohesion?



Often ... area-based initiatives do not address the wider reasons and drivers of the spatial processes, such as the deregulation of housing markets, a shrinking welfare state or anti-urban tax incentives that promote suburbanisation.

The European city often has a strong social mix, compared to other much more segregated models of urbanisation in other continents. In its report *Cities of Tomorrow* the European Commission promotes a view of European cities as places of advanced social progress: ‘... with a high degree of social cohesion, balance and integration ... with small disparities within and among neighbourhoods and a low degree of spatial segregation and social marginalisation ...’ (European Commission, 2011:10). Inspired by reformist movements in the early 20th century, in many cities social housing and planning policies in various shapes have striven to achieve a balance between rich and poor.

Social cohesion is, however, threatened by the increase of social polarisation, which is a consequence of many parallel processes: an increasing income polarisation since the 1980s, a decreasing security of employment (due to raising global competitiveness challenges) and a huge increase in migration to Europe and its cities (complemented by internal east-west migration within the EU). Consequently, inhabitants have begun to cluster in their milieus with tangible (gated communities) or less visible dividing lines between the neighbourhoods.

The reactions at EU, national and local levels typically encourage direct interventions in those areas which are considered ‘problematic’. Often, however, these so-called area-based initiatives do not address the wider reasons and drivers of the spatial processes, such as the deregulation of housing markets, a shrinking welfare state or anti-urban tax incentives that promote suburbanisation. As a result, they only touch the surface but do not reverse the underlying trends. Instead, they can even give rise to negative externalities for the already disadvantaged parts of the population. Some sociological analyses show that urban policies have become harsher towards marginalised groups. Neighbourhood regeneration projects often pay lip service to social inclusion whilst in effect accepting rising land values and house prices which displace less affluent inhabitants.

These examples show the complexity of regeneration projects. Such projects have to balance conflicting interests (social inclusion versus economic competitiveness) and need to be supported by a broad range of public and private actors (public agencies, landlords, residents and businesses) to be effective. There is also an issue about time: while politicians often favour quick and visible interventions that show immediate effects,

neighbourhood change takes time and often softer, incremental measures would be more sensitive and in the long term more effective. Unfortunately, very little communication between policy and research communities takes place on this important matter.

In the following sections, we provide an overview of the phenomenon of segregation and policy responses to it. We base our findings on a literature review, interviews with leading scholars, a review of various URBACT products and a series of workshops carried out in the summer and autumn of 2012. In these workshops, representatives of four cities volunteered to be visited, assessed and used to illustrate what is happening in a variety of cities in Europe. These cities were Berlin, Malmö, Vaulx-en-Velin (Lyon) and Naples. In addition, experts, officials and elected representatives from Lille, Paris and Salford were included. We are thankful for their openness and for the contributions of all participants in the workshops.

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2. Segregation: different meanings and problems

Segregation, in its broadest sense, refers to a situation when the elements of a system are not mixed and tend to disintegrate and polarise, with elements of one kind in one area, and elements with other features in another area. Transferred to populations, the concept means that a specific group of people lives in one area whilst people of another group do not live in that area. Indeed, cities always have been characterised by segregation: their walls separated city dwellers from peasants in the countryside, while inside the city walls people found their place according to their caste, religion or craft.

The sociologists Häussermann and Siebel (2001) wrote that 'spatial segregation is the projection of the social structure on space'. In the 20th century, European cities countered segregation by building social housing, along with other public policies and regulations, but today, almost all European cities face growing problems of spatial segregation. Although Europe still has relatively less polarised and segregated urban structures compared to cities in other parts of the world, segregation affects prosperous, growing and shrinking cities alike.

Despite the intense academic research and policy practices dedicated to this topic all over the world the urgency of dealing with it is again at the top of the agenda of European cities. This is so because policies have often failed and issues of segregation have never been eradicated. It is therefore crucial to understand the nature of segregation and the different experiences in the urban realm, before attempting to give some order to the policy practices ranged against divided cities.

2.1 Different dimensions of segregation

Literally, **segregation means separation**. Residential segregation refers to where people live. Other

dimensions can refer to schools (educational segregation) or work (workplace segregation). Segregation can relate to all social and demographic aspects: age (old people in one place, young in another), class (working class areas versus upper class areas), ethnic background, religion, income and social class (rich in one place, poor in another), or a combination of these.

According to Van Kempen (2012), **segregation is closely linked to concentration**, which implies that there is an over-representation of one group and an under-representation of one or more other groups in a certain space. However, from a societal perspective, the spatial concentration of people with, for example, the same ethnicity is not necessarily problematic in itself. Although segregation has been often approached through racial analysis, there is no 'tipping point theory' (Schelling, 1972) able to prevent segregation happening.

Vranken (2012) deploys the concept of **fragmentation**. Cities have visible spatial differences which result in fragmentation. If these fragments become inaccessible then we encounter segregation into ghettos, gated communities and other manifestations of **hyper-segregation**. The most **extreme examples of segregation might take the form of polarisation**, in which different parts of the city fight against each other. These are degrees of segregation which are not only static but also sequenced and depend on timely development.

Over the years, segregation literature has been dominated by the **racial-ethnic debate**. This, whilst important, has tended to overshadow **other dimensions of segregation**, and particularly those linked to rising **economic and financial inequalities**. Unemployment, flexible labour markets, growing precariousness and weaker welfare systems have lowered the living conditions of some groups, and

are among the main reasons for the reproduction of spatial segregation.

The point of reference in discussions about urban development looks at the dimension of **residential segregation**, which refers to where people live. The residential discrimination of certain groups both in social and private rented housing market is well documented (Galster, 1992). The analysis of Aalbers (2011) on redlining practices in selected European cities shows that exclusion may become more evident when citizens are denied access to mortgages or restrictions by financial institutions are enforced in some parts of the city. These economic discriminations affect both the social and private rental market as well as home ownership, creating new pockets of urban segregation and problematic areas. Garbin and Millington (2011) show, taking the example of a Parisian *banlieue*, that how individuals are treated by the state and employers is a consequence of the image of the place where they live, and that this reinforces segregation. On the other hand, the evidence on the 'place effect' is questioned by many authors.

The explanations sketched here of segregation as concentration or fragmentation, analysed according to many dimensions, do not suffice to explain why segregation exists as a process. Above all, **segregation might be a deliberate choice**, a voluntary congregation of certain groups of people, or a **separation by coercion** enforced on people as a result of a number of social, political and economic impositions.

2.2 Is segregation a problem?

Urban spaces incorporate all dimensions of segregation: people can cluster with their fellows of their own free will, but they can also be forced into certain areas against their will. These different forms translate into the fast-paced development of rich

areas such as gentrified areas or gated communities, that are chosen forms of self-segregation, and into the growing deprivation of poor areas, the most extreme form of forced segregation being a ghetto. Linda McDowell has suggested a three-fold set of mechanisms which drive segregation: the market, state regulation, and 'prejudice'. (This latter could also be named 'assimilation', as people sort themselves into spatially differentiated groups which may be through prejudice but could also be in order to access to culturally-specific goods, services, knowledge and networks.) The gated community and gentrification would be about market power, while other forms of self-segregation might involve access to cultural capital.

There are no universal rules to determine what is 'still acceptable' and what is 'an extreme' level of segregation, but it is clear that both extreme forms of self-segregation by the rich and coerced forms of segregation of the poor are part of the problem of an unequal society and 'unjust' urban development.

According to Van Kempen, it is important to understand that areas become problematic not because of the concentration of an ethnic group, but owing to a combination of socio-economic and physical problems and specifically bad housing, poor education, lack of mobility and public transport, and criminality.

"In Utrecht there is an area called Kanaleneiland,¹ seen as one of the most, if not the most problematic area of the city. There you have this combination of bad housing – in objective and subjective terms – a lot of criminality, dirt on the streets, a

¹ It was created in the massive expansion of the city in the 1960s. Today it is listed as one of 40 'problem neighbourhoods' that require extra attention by the Dutch Ministry of Housing.



concentration of low-income households, not-so-good schools, many single mothers, and indeed 82% Turks and Moroccans. But if you ask the people how they evaluate their housing conditions, their neighbourhood, a lot of people are just satisfied. So it is the definition of the municipality and, in the Netherlands especially, the housing corporation, in the eyes of these institutions, it is said that this is a bad neighbourhood, we should do something. And immediately, it is framed in a framework of demolition. That is the way to solve things, but that's been the way of Dutch thinking since 2007." (Van Kempen, 2012)

The argument about concentration has often predominated, and been dangerously misused to justify policies that deconcentrate the residential structure in one area in favour of dispersal and relocation of people, causing high human costs.

Segregation is caused by economic, societal and political structures operating on both lower and higher scales. At local level, it appears as a result of locational choices – where people choose to live or are forced to live. These locational decisions are taken within the societal, demographic, economic and political context of their countries and regions. First, these include the housing markets (Van Kempen & Özüken, 1998). What housing stock is available? Where is it? And to whom is it distributed and how – by the market or through other allocation mechanisms? Are there practices of discrimination? Second, there is a question of income, taste and need, how much one can or wants to afford, where one wants or needs to settle down (distance to work, to school and other facilities) and what is the support provided by the welfare state? And thirdly, there are land use regulations that influence who can live where. It is evident that such factors go well beyond the local level, and a multi-level analysis of housing choices will be needed to fully comprehend the interplay of the broad range of structural and individual

factors. It also means that the production of inequalities at local level needs to be understood in its context of dependency on multi-scalar factors.

"The welfare state at the national level, the labour market and economy at the regional – and global – levels, and the social networks at the local levels, probably they all play a role in understanding what is happening at the very local level. Therefore, individual, neighbourhood, and wider context variables should be incorporated simultaneously." (Musterd & Andersson, 2005)

2.3 Measuring segregation

The unequal distribution of a population across space can be observed in various ways. A classic measure for residential segregation was proposed by US sociologists in the 1940s and 50s looking at the distribution of black and white inhabitants across a city². The most prominent measure that stemmed from that debate is the Index of Dissimilarity (Duncan & Duncan, 1995a; 1995b) which looks at the relation between two groups (in the US debate it was white and black) and shows how many people of one group would have to move to achieve complete desegregation. The Index of Segregation treats all other inhabitants as a reference (e.g. one ethnic minority versus the rest of the population). (Van Kempen, 2005; Van Kempen & Musterd, 2005)

Such indexes are always prone to statistical problems related to composition, size of statistical units and not least underlying theoretical assumptions, which have inspired an intense methodological debate among urban sociologists. (Taylor et al., 2000; Winship, 1977)

² At that time a value of zero was used to indicate an equal distribution across statistical units, whilst a value of 100 represented total segregation, whereby each block was either inhabited solely by white or black residents.

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Some recent studies have been looking at cities within certain EU Member States, a good example being the study by Friedrichs and Triemer (2009) who analysed data for 15 German cities. An overall trend that they found is that cities tend to be increasingly socially polarised. Social segregation grew between 1990 and 2005 while ethnic segregation dropped, and the higher the amount of immigrants in a city the lower their segregation.³ For Great Britain, Finney and Simpson (2009) take a thought-provoking look at myths and misleading public discourse. Analysing census data, they show that ethnic segregation is declining and that, on the whole, minorities prefer to live in mixed neighbourhoods. On the contrary, they argue that ‘the only concentrations which are anything like ghettos are of white people’.

Whilst public administrations in Europe do not equally engage in measuring residential segregation, some local authorities have developed sophisticated monitoring systems that enable them to see how the composition of the population in its neighbourhoods changes over time. A prominent example is Berlin, where such a model was introduced in 1998 as an ‘early warning system’ that would help to identify problematic trends that could then be addressed. The indicator set has constantly been improved since and distinguishes between ‘status’ indicators that describe the social situation in an area and ‘dynamic’ indicators that depict population change (Res Urbana, 2011). The six status indicators include data related to unemployment, welfare benefits and migrant background. The six dynamic indicators look at mobility (relocations) as well as changes

to status indicators over time. The indicators are composed to create a ‘development index’, which is the basis for a ranking of all statistical areas. In a final step, the areas are allocated to four groups, with Group 1 being the least problematic and Group 4 the most problematic cluster.⁴

The interpretation of such data is critical and sensitive, as it constructs areas as ‘problematic’, and it is this interpretation that will inform policy. Statistical data are weak on causes and effects. What does it tell a policy-maker if there are more unemployed people in one neighbourhood than in another? Is there a tipping point until which individual interest based choices can be accepted? Does a ‘neighbourhood effect’ exist that impacts on the behaviour and life chances of residents, or not? Numerous attempts by social scientists to address these questions all point to the importance of the local context, and qualitative research is generally seen as an important complement to statistical analysis in painting a meaningful picture of an area. And in the end, a solid knowledge base is important to inform policies, but cannot replace political deliberation.

A useful guide to monitoring urban development was produced by the German Federal Ministry of Transport, Construction and Urban Development (2009). This guide was intended to inspire monitoring exercises that feed into integrated local development plans. It distinguishes between indicators related to the physical environment (e.g. age, tenure and quality of housing stock), social context and demographic data (e.g. age, ethnicity and dependents) and quality of life and social chances (e.g. income, employment, educational attainment levels and health). Further examples of monitoring systems for Duisburg, Gelsenkirchen and Nijmegen have been compiled by the URBACT project RegGov (2010).

3 Unfortunately, their study does not distinguish between different minority groups. A major explanatory factor for segregation is certainly the composition of the housing market and the allocation of houses. Economic growth, on the other hand, does not trickle down to the poorer parts of the population, so the authors argue, but to some extent reaches the migrant population. (Friedrichs and Triemer 2009:117)

4 A similar approach, but one based on a wider data set using 37 indicators and a different statistical method, has been used by the city of Hamburg as a knowledge base for its integrated neighbourhood development programme. (Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg 2012)



3. Different experiences of segregation

The cases of Berlin, Malmö, Vaulx-en-Velin and Naples are all examples from URBACT networks of how cities are addressing segregation. France, Germany and Sweden are countries with strong welfare states but they show different manifestations of growing spatial segregation. In Berlin there are multiple issues of deprivation in more than one area, while Malmö shows a growing concentration of deprivation in the central urban area. The case of Vaulx-en-Velin represents strong segregation within an affluent urban area. Scampia in Naples illustrates, besides the lack of strong welfare policies, the almost total breakdown of sectoral policies and the danger of descent into lawlessness and chaos that can result.

3.1 Berlin: strengthening social cohesion⁵

Berlin has developed a long tradition of urban regeneration programmes [whose] ingredients include supporting community-led development, involving people at neighbourhood level in community councils with neighbourhood budgeting of micro-projects.

Berlin is the capital of Germany, and has the administrative status of both a state and a city. It has 3.5 million inhabitants in 12 districts (boroughs) which operate as sub-municipalities. The city's turbulent political and social history, with the wall that divided it between 1961 and

1989, make Berlin unique. Since the fall of the iron curtain, the city has grown back together, a process accompanied by large internal migration flows between neighbourhoods and also suburbanisation with a lot of building in the surrounding villages in Brandenburg. Expectations were high, as Berlin was meant to become the central hub for trade and communication between east and west. However, it didn't take long before reality tempered the optimism and it was realised that the population was in fact declining rather than growing. The expected economic benefits and inward investment also failed to materialise.

After Germany's reunification in 1990, the city was no longer politically divided, but instead saw a new, social form of separation. Ethnic, religious, social and economic division became evident in the way people accessed basic facilities, the housing market, health services, social assistance and the labour market. The city has many migrants including guest workers who had arrived as early as the 1960s, refugees who fled civil wars since the 1990s and increasingly economic migrants from within the EU as well as ethnic Germans returning from the Soviet Union. This resulted in a patchwork of communities. Overall about a quarter of Berlin inhabitants have a foreign background, a figure that rises to 40% among children.⁶ Rents have risen rapidly in the last few years whilst unemployment remains high. Berlin has twice the national rate of unemployment (12%) and the rate in some neighbourhoods is 25%. The risk of being poor is above the national average with a high level of social transfer payments: about 20% of the Berlin population has

⁵ All data, except where referenced, stem from the presentation of Reinhard Fischer at the URBACT Conference in Copenhagen 2012

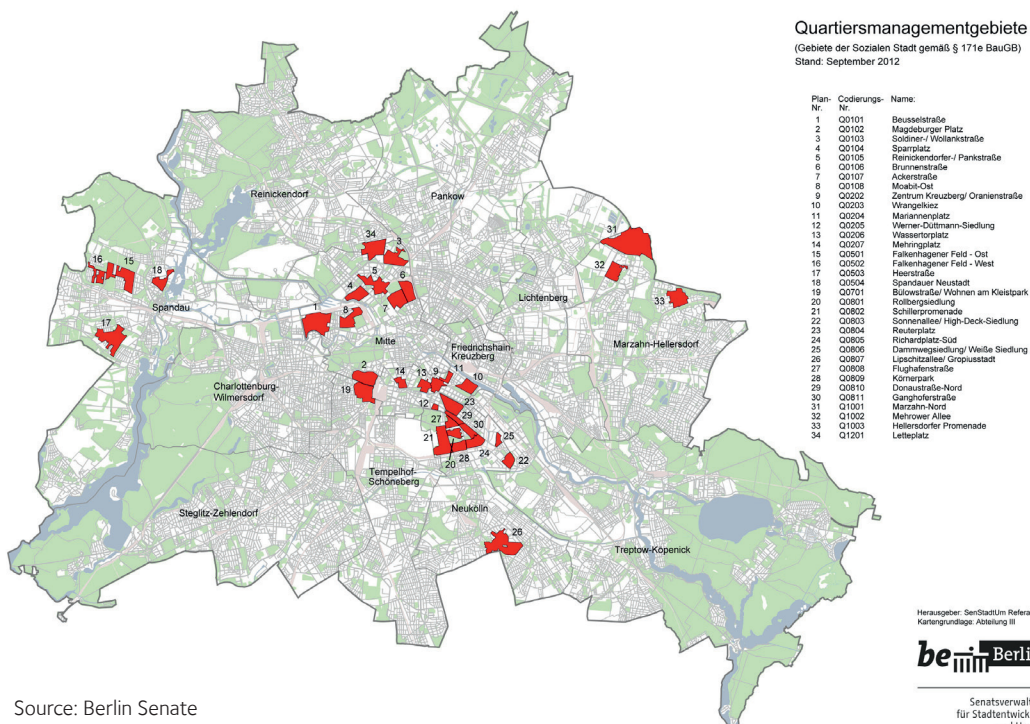
⁶ <http://www.berlin.de/lb/intmig/presse/archiv/20080702.1000.104149.html>.

precarious or part-time employment. As a result, cultural, ethnic and financial divisions affect the urban pattern. The most deprived areas are located in the inner areas of the former eastern and western parts of the city. Other forms of self-selected segregation take place in wealthy areas, mostly in the west including Grönewald and Charlottenburg. This aspect of segregation is hardly ever discussed in the debate about policies concerning urban cohesion.

There is widespread abandonment of property in low-income areas. Empty property includes housing, retail and commercial buildings. The city authorities are committed to counteracting the downward spiral of some inner-city neighbourhoods and large housing estates. Over the years, Berlin has developed a long tradition of urban regeneration programmes to address

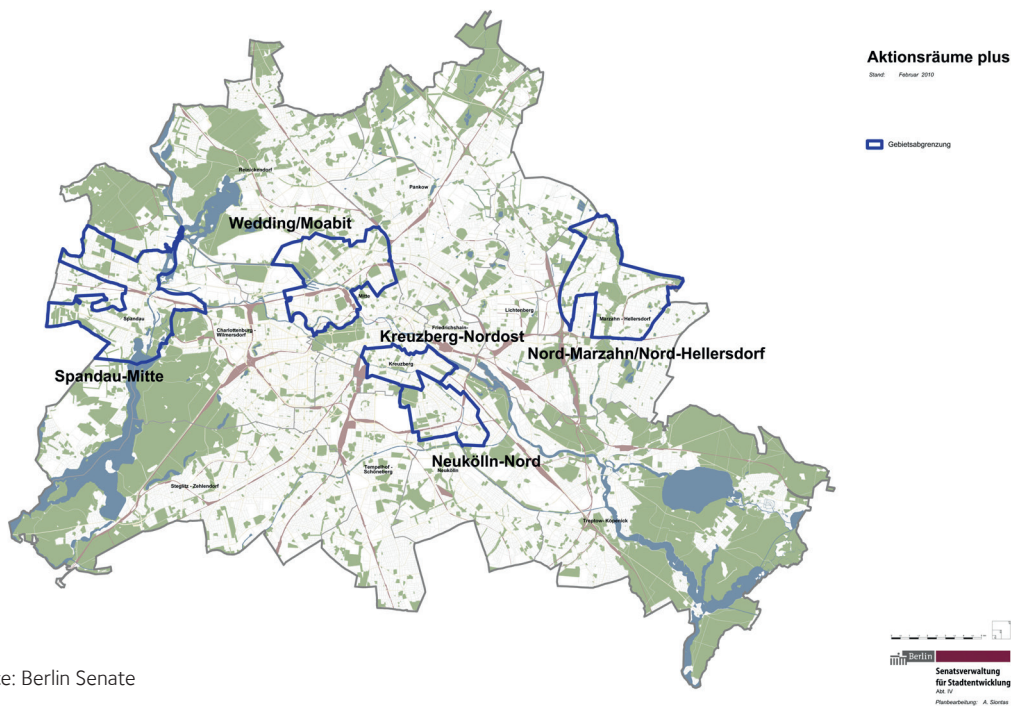
such neighbourhoods. The ingredients include supporting community-led development, involving people at neighbourhood level in community councils with neighbourhood budgeting of micro-projects. The ERDF and ESF have been combined in an area-based approach which involves the neighbourhood, district and municipality under the national Socially Integrative City (*Soziale Stadt*) programme.

In 1998, the senate department for urban planning introduced a 'neighbourhood management' scheme in 15 areas, which was later extended to 34 neighbourhoods inhabited by a total of 400,000 people. The aim of this scheme is to promote policy integration and social cohesion in the neighbourhoods which suffer from decline. Its main instruments are:



Source: Berlin Senate





Source: Berlin Senate

- A neighbourhood management team which is located in the area, and initiates and supports networks between local organisations and residents;
- An integrated local action plan that forms the basis for interventions and is adopted by the district council;
- A system of neighbourhood funds that are used for micro-projects carried out by the residents themselves;
- Neighbourhood councils made up of residents and local organisations that oversee the process and ensure participation;
- Steering groups that ensure the involvement of relevant departments of the public administration.

An important principle of the scheme is the close cooperation with 'strong partners'. In each area, a key player, such as a school or housing provider, was identified and approached to participate. Since 1999, a total of €233.5 million has

been invested, including support from the ERDF, national funds (via the federal 'Socially Integrative City' programme) and regional funds.

On top of this scheme and other regeneration programmes, for 2010 to 2013 a 'meta initiative' was introduced, the 'Action Area Plus'. The objective was to reconnect those areas that have been identified as most deprived, and to improve the opportunities of their residents by promoting interdepartmental and sectoral cooperation for more effective interventions. The scope is to maximise the effects of area-based approaches on geographically neighbouring areas, enhancing the community-based integrative methods from the very local to a wider urban scale. The creation of Action Area Plus is ongoing and so far five areas (and 800,000 inhabitants) have been identified, in which 30 neighbourhood management areas are grouped. In these areas cooperation between public departments has been taken to a higher level.

This initiative may be of interest if compared with the labour market policy, funded by the ESF through ‘Local pacts for business and employment’. These local pacts are meant to create employment and training opportunities and to support local businesses by establishing networks at the local level. They are administered at district, not at neighbourhood level.

An important element of the Berlin system to tackle segregation is its sophisticated knowledge base. The senate department for urban planning has introduced a monitoring system that identifies the social status (educational achievements, welfare benefits, unemployment rate and other indicators) and the social dynamics (mobility of residents) of small-scale statistical units. This system is the background to decisions about funding and type of interventions.⁷ Some recent findings of the monitoring system (Res Urbana, 2011) are:

- Those areas with the highest rates of deprivation do not benefit from the overall positive trend on the labour market;
- Child poverty in the most deprived areas has slightly decreased but the gap between it and the city-wide average remains;
- Despite public discourse, there is no statistical evidence for a close correlation between the number of young migrant inhabitants and the overall deprivation of an area;
- There is no evidence for increasing problems at the fringes of the city; more and more problems tend to concentrate in inner-city areas.

In addition to monitoring the situation, the performance and success of the neighbourhood management scheme is being evaluated. Questions such as what scale is best for area-based

intervention (e.g. the small Neighbourhood Management areas or the larger Action Area Plus areas) and if, when and how the Neighbourhood Management process can be terminated, are open. In winter 2012/13, progress in all areas is being reviewed, leading to a decision as to which areas will continue to receive funding and where other forms of activities are advised.

The city of Berlin was involved in the URBACT Co-Net network.⁸

3.2 Malmö: high but less visible segregation

Malmö is part of the Öresund region (3.7 million inhabitants, 1.2 million on the Swedish side and 2.5 million on the Danish side), and is the region’s growth centre on the Swedish side. Malmö is Sweden’s third largest city with 305,000 inhabitants. The population has increased for the past 26 years, with an annual growth of 5,000 people.

Malmö is the regional economic hub and as a result 59,100 workers commute into Malmö and 26,700 out from Malmö every day. The city has well-developed infrastructure with the Öresund Bridge, Copenhagen Airport, Malmö Airport, the city tunnel with three stations within Malmö and Copenhagen Malmö Port as the largest elements.

The housing stock is equally shared between rental (public rental 15%, private rental 31%) and ownership (owner-occupied 39%, single-family homes 15%). Families with children move out of the city.

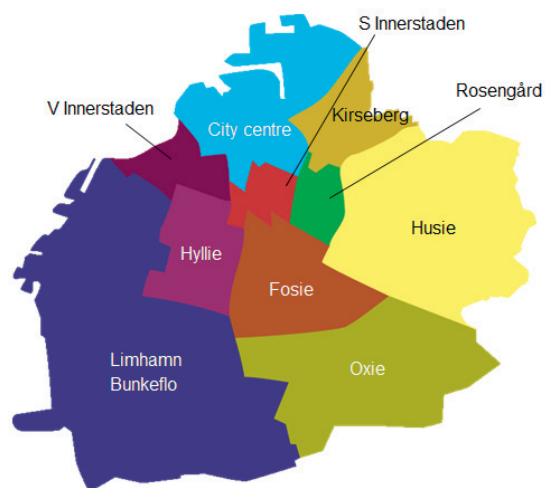
Malmö has the highest proportion of immigrants in the country: the residents represent 174 nationalities

7 www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/basisdaten_stadtentwicklung/monitoring/index.shtml

8 http://urbact.eu/fileadmin/Projects/CoNet/documents_media/CoNet_Baseline_Annex.pdf



Malmö's ten sections



The City District Administration have responsibility for schools, culture, recreation, social services and health and social care

and speak 147 different languages. Two-fifths of the population has a migrant background, with 30% being born abroad themselves and 11% having both parents born abroad.

Malmö has ten districts each with its own administration. The largest has 45,000 residents, while the smallest has 12,000. The district administrations have responsibility for schools, culture, recreation, social services and health and social care. As part of the welfare state, there are strong public interventions to ensure that all young citizens have equal access to schools regardless of the area they live in. Housing data are accessible and transparent to everybody and the level of unemployment is not among the highest in urban Europe. Nevertheless, Malmö is a city in which segregation is rising and its most evident form is the ethnic segregation in key neighbourhoods.

The newly arriving people are largely immigrants who live in overcrowded privately rented

apartments. Immigration contributes to the problem of spatial polarisation: the majority population leaves areas when the minority groups move in. On the other hand, when an area becomes trendy the minority groups cannot afford to stay.

In the mid-20th century, the most deprived area was located next to the port. However, after the construction of the Oresund link to Copenhagen and massive investments in urban renewal, the harbour zone has turned from brownfield into a trendy residential and mixed-use area including offices, restaurants and university departments. As a result, disadvantaged groups have moved to other areas of the city. Today Malmö can be described as ethnically and socio-economically segregated, with middle-class neighbourhoods in the west and working-class neighbourhoods in the south and east.

The main signs of segregation in the poorer areas are unemployment, higher crime rates, overcrowding, low achievement in school, welfare dependency, youth crime, drug sales, and burglary. There are four disadvantaged areas where the socioeconomic segregation is stark. One of these is Rosengård (23,000 residents): this is the district with the highest unemployment. As many as 82% of residents are unemployed (having no taxable income), and a large part of them are immigrants. There is a significant dropout from schools. Despite these enormous social problems, there are no visible signs in the streets of deprivation.

Rosengård is the area where low-income people end up living. They dream of moving out whenever there is the chance to find a better job and a higher income. The area plays the role the harbour used to as regards newcomers. This would not be a problem in itself but Rosengård was built as a monofunctional residential area in the heyday of the Swedish 'million homes policy' and is hard to adapt to new circumstances.

Malmö has adopted a strategy to transform the problem neighbourhoods into development areas. In a five-year programme (2010-2015) new ideas, methods and processes, such as the innovation forum to create social sustainability, are being tested through dialogue, involvement and co-creative processes. The aim is to change the areas into safe and attractive places for everybody. Private landlords and housing associations will be involved and will invest in the areas. Local schools are being developed so that they attract students from all over Malmö and Skåne (for example the School of the Future in Rosengård). Among the aims are to create an innovative climate that attracts businesses to establish themselves in the areas, to develop cultural and recreational activities that attract visitors from all over Malmö and Skåne, and to renovate housing ecologically. Further plans are to build one of the city's proposed tram lines from Rosengård to the Western Harbour, and to develop foot and cycle paths linking

Rosengård to other areas. Cooperation between different actors has been intensified to pave the way for social sustainability in the poorest areas.

The city of Malmö was involved in the URBACT Co-Net network (ibid.)

3.3 Vaulx-en-Velin: a poor municipality within a rich urban area

Vaulx-en-Velin (45,000 residents) is a municipality in the Eastern part of Grand-Lyon, which is made up of 58 communes with a total population of 1.3 million people. Vaulx is the third-poorest municipality in France,⁹ despite being part of one of the richest urban areas of the country.

There were heated political debates in Vaulx and Lyon about the demolition of physically sound high-rise buildings. However, extra central state subsidies made demolition more economically viable than the more complex integrated regeneration interventions.

Between 1900 and 1990, the population of Vaulx grew from 1,200 to 45,000 inhabitants. It is notorious for its large social housing estates. In the early 1970s the building of an Urban Priority Zone (ZUP – *zone à urbaniser en priorité*¹⁰) resulted in



Source: Google, <http://www.google.com/search?q=bilder+p%C3%A5+roseng%C3%A5rd&hl=sv&tbn=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ei=6jZdUbWVO-bh4QSp4GADw&ved=0CCOQsAQ&biw=1280&bih=673>

9 Among mainland France municipalities with more than 20,000 inhabitants, according to a survey published in 2010, measured on the combined basis of tax income and unemployment rate.

10 ZUP actually means 'area to be developed as a priority': it was first a national programme (1957-1969) for developing housing estates in a faster way in a time when housing was desperately lacking in all French towns. By extension the term is used for the neighbourhoods developed under this programme.



the creation of a large housing estate: with shopping centre, schools, local administration offices and swimming pool. In the course of 10 years, 8,300 social housing units were built, and immigrants from 50 countries have moved to the area.

The large semi-circular housing estate was built following the idea of separating different functions: outside parking, inside public area with a huge shopping centre. A wide dual carriageway was built, intended for a 70,000-person housing estate. The central part of Vaulx is not served by the very efficient Lyon metro system. To reach Lyon centre by public transport takes half an hour by trolleybus and it can take longer at peak times because there are no separate bus lanes within Lyon. The poorer northern part of the municipality has no tram route, which would be much more reliable if built on reserved track.

Vaulx-en-Velin has significant potential. Nearly a third of the land is a nature reserve; there are 1,600 companies, a planetarium, a school of architecture and the national school for civil engineers. In addition, the geographical position between Lyon centre and the airport creates opportunities for Vaulx-en-Velin's development.

Even so, public policies are dominated by the problems of the social housing estate. The Mas du Taureau area (2,300 housing units, 5,500 people) within Vaulx has far the worst indicators, around half the average of Vaulx-en-Velin, which is in itself low, with half those of Grand Lyon. The per capita income, for example, is €5,500 in the estate, €7,915 in Vaulx and €14,340 in Grand Lyon.

Mas du Taureau was in October 1990 the site of the first large urban riot in France. The clash with the police, violence and looting came totally unexpectedly as the area had benefited from many physical investments in the preceding five years and was considered a success case. This estate

was the first evidence that the concentration of economic and social problems cannot be handled by physical improvements alone.

Decisions on the future of the area are partly taken at a higher level: housing policy and strategic planning (SCOT – *schéma de cohérence territoriale*) are within the competence of Grand Lyon. It took seven years to develop the SCOT for Grand Lyon, which was approved in 2011. Even since the acceptance of the SCOT there are conflicts between Vaulx and Grand Lyon, for instance about the required densification of an area of Vaulx which the mayor does not want to allow. The SCOT signalled Vaulx as the new development area of Greater Lyon. The wealthy municipalities on the western side of the Lyon conurbation do not want new housing (especially social housing) to be built on their turf.

Today the regeneration of Vaulx-en-Velin includes the complete restructuring of the town centre together with the regeneration of a number of neighbourhoods, with a combination of community involvement and neighbourhood management. There is also major physical redevelopment going on in Vaulx. In the last 10 years, over 2,000 flats have been demolished. The city had 70% of social housing, but now the figure has fallen to around 55%. At the same time in Grand Lyon, over 40,000 families are waiting for social housing.

There were heated political debates in Vaulx and Lyon about the demolition of physically sound high-rise buildings. However, extra central state subsidies made demolition more economically viable than the more complex integrated regeneration interventions. The earlier demolitions were more understandable as they solved urban problems (ending the isolation of the housing estate, allowing the opening up of new streets), while the current demolition plans are much more questionable, especially regarding the long waiting list for social housing in the conurbation.

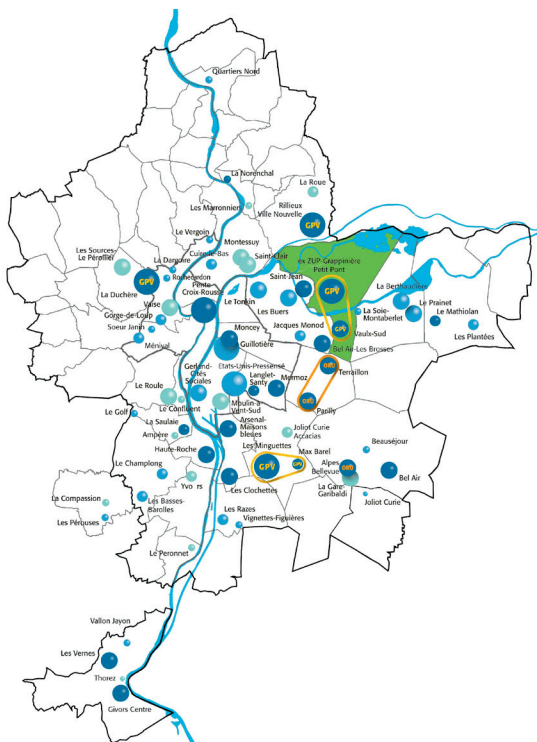
Besides the buildings, the public spaces are also being redesigned: the wide road is being narrowed by converting one of the lanes into a cycle lane. The two-level parking lots have also been redesigned by closing down the lower level to avoid further vandalism.

The opportunities in Vaulx are large, and Lyon is already using these: the metro line and tram to the airport are built through non-residential areas of Vaulx. However, the largest problems Vaulx poses are still not acknowledged by Grand Lyon. It will take time to achieve a better balance in the conurbation's development ideas, and to give new opportunities for development to the poorer northern area, by building a new tram line.

ven so, the physical regeneration of the poor areas is very likely to continue in the future. This will mean that the area will change, and the poor residents will have to move away to other (poor) parts of the city. Unless changes are made in the strategy, the forces towards segregation will continue and perhaps strengthen. If new policies are not introduced to improve equality in the labour market and education and to improve public transport access to the area's jobs, spatial segregation will worsen.

There are some signs of hope, though. Grand Lyon has established a department for alternative economy to find new ways to include low-tech (unskilled), low-educated, low-income people in the labour market. This raises the hope that Grand

Urban structure plan of Lyon agglomeration



Urban structure plan of Vaulx-en-Velin in 2009

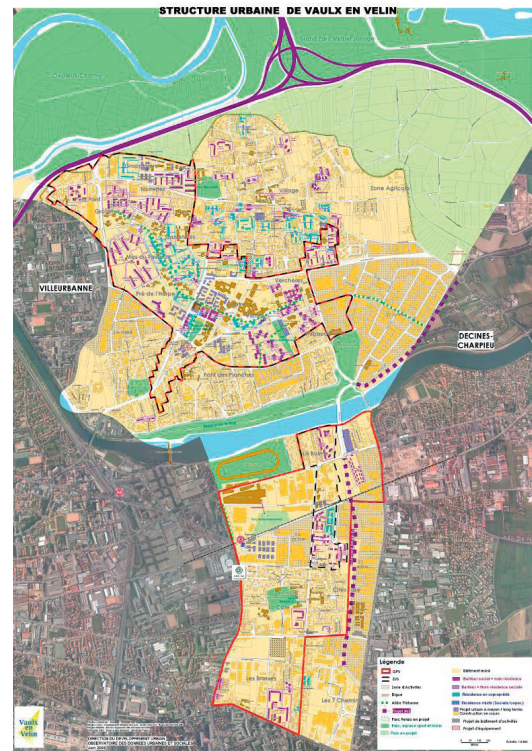




Photo by Iván Tosics

Lyon will take on the responsibility of dealing with poor people and areas, rather than only planning for large infrastructures.

Thus the big question for the future is how can the likely development of Vaulx be managed by the public sector in such a way that the poor residents do not have to leave the area and move to the next poorest neighbourhood? It is clear that large social programmes should accompany the physical investments. Another, and very closely linked, question concerns demolition policy: this very controversial strategy could be changed if new, accompanying social and economic programmes prove successful. Soft measures in education, transport and the labour market are called for to improve the social mix.

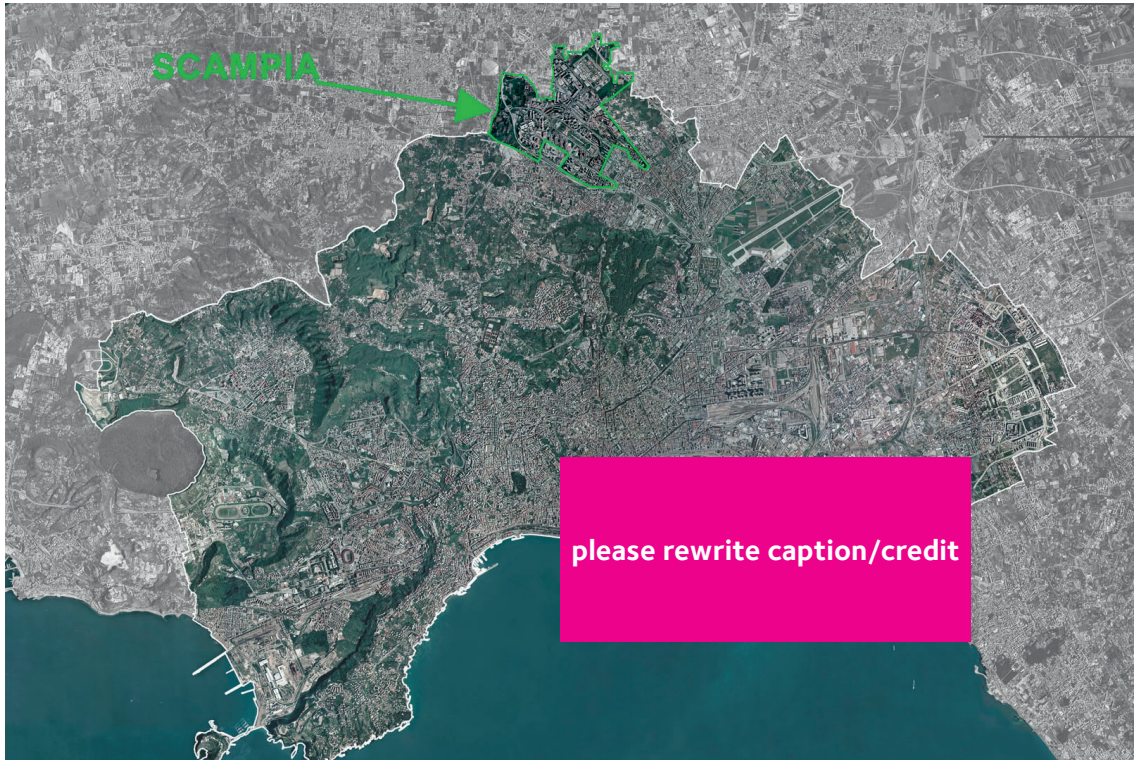
The city of Vaulx-en-Velin was involved in the URBACT Co-Net network.

3.4 Naples: extreme segregation at the edge of the city

Naples, the capital city of the Campania region, is the third-largest city of Italy. The city's population has been decreasing since 1971, from over 1.2 million to today's 95,000. The metropolitan area of Naples contains 3 million people.

There is no welfare benefit for long-term unemployed people, so they are completely without public assistance, and are thus at risk of depending on the 'help' of the Camorra.

The port of Naples (one of the largest in Italy) plays an important role in the city's economy,



- the map (Naples masterplan) the property is by Comune di Napoli;

which is best known for tourism and culture. The city has figured on the UNESCO World Heritage List since 1995. Despite this the city has high unemployment (close to 20%) along with extensive corruption and organised crime.

The historic centre of Naples is one of the biggest in Europe. It is surrounded (as in all Italian cities) with peripheral estates which were planned with the aim of renewing the old villages. Further out the province of Naples has 92 municipalities. In the Naples conurbation new neighbourhoods were built in the 70s and especially in the 80s, with a special programme after the 1980 earthquake.

The neighbourhood of Scampia was built up in 1976-77, and is home to 38,000 people, exclusively native Italians with 3% of Roma, but no immigrants. The share of rental units is around 70%, and many units were occupied illegally by

squatters after the 1980 earthquake. The area lies only 7 km from the city centre but is separated from it by hills. There is a direct metro connection to the city centre (a 20-minute ride), and the extension to the airport is under construction.

In the 1970s, Scampia and Ponticelli were experimental areas for new public policies for the peripheral areas, including the construction of wide streets and new types of building. The very wide roads divide the area into a large number of smaller neighbourhoods.

Looking back over the development of the last decades, bad planning (the creation of a mono-functional area, relatively far away from the city, without real urban functions like cinemas or shopping) contributed a lot to the development of an extreme situation. Scampia became a no-go area but this cannot be understood from the place itself





and it cannot be changed solely through area-based interventions. One of the decisive factors of Scampia is the strong presence of a mafia-type criminal organisation. The Camorra is everywhere in Naples but in Scampia it found an ideal habitat and a perfect ecosystem.

The Camorra dominates the estate via drug dealing, which offers even teenagers the opportunity to earn €200-300 a day. The Camorra even provides some social services – for instance to the families of jailed members. Some buildings are totally dominated by families which live entirely on payments from the Camorra. This explains how even with 50% unemployment in Scampia there are no overt strikes or protests which otherwise would be everyday occurrence.

In Italy there is no minimum income, and no social welfare for those who have lost their job more than six months ago or have never worked. There is no welfare benefit for long-term unemployed people, so they are completely without public assistance, and are thus at risk of depending on the ‘help’ of the Camorra. The lack of a welfare system has led to the development of an extreme form of poverty which has created a criminal underworld, which not only deals drugs but also produces and sells counterfeit jewellery and bags and carries on other informal economic activities.

Municipal policies have always been dominated by physical interventions, which aim to increase the quality of spaces. The regeneration programme for Scampia dating from 2003 aims to demolish some of the worst housing and to construct social housing and common services along with student residences. There are also ideas of improving public transport by extending the metro, although the linking of Scampia to the airport and closing the circle is running late.

The worst part of Scampia consists of seven *vele* buildings, which are named after their sail-like form. Each of these buildings consists of 200 flats, which are cells of concrete, impossible to modify in any sense as they are a very rigid structure. Demolitions started six years ago, and three blocks were demolished. Since then the other four blocks have been declared uninhabitable but many of the apartments are still occupied by squatters who are ready to fight to keep the only home they have ever had. A recent ‘... plan now calls for the squatters to be moved gradually into other quarters and for the remaining buildings to be recertified as sound and then be given over to civic use, most likely as premises for the University of Naples (Matthews, 2009).

As part of the regeneration programme, some new buildings were built to make the roads

narrower, which also allowed for the rehousing of people from the demolished *vele*. The other main intervention is to introduce commercial activities on the ground floors. A new architectural vision has been proposed by Vittorio Gregotti, to give liveability to a segregated area. There is a plan to build a new campus-style Medicine and Surgery University and associated student residences. However, the prospect of the new university is threatened by the financial crisis.

To change any aspect of the situation required a major public intervention with a major budget. Many people live completely outside mainstream society – they have no jobs and no education. Even the basic public services are missing – some buildings have no heating, no refuse collection and no cleaning. The ERDF is not used in Scampia owing to the low level of match funding, thus not only the technical knowledge is missing but also the money.

The present plans are based on the assumption that a major public intervention can attract new inhabitants and private investment to the area: the city can create new opportunities by investing in transport, education and links to the labour market. However, none of this works if people do not cooperate. To eliminate criminality and win the cooperation of people, new opportunities are needed. However, a special difficulty is that many of the people do not really take the first step as this would destroy their only current source of income.

Some promising steps were taken in the final weeks of 2012. The municipality decided to coordinate interventions, and to award small grants to social enterprises without going through procurement procedures, to enable the opening of the theatre. The *Patto per Scampia* (Pact for Scampia) is the municipality's first attempt to integrate the efforts taking place there. All the micro-activities

Demolition of two “Vele” in the lot L



poor quality

©Giovanni Laino

New housing blocks in Scampia (replacing the “Vele”) Renovation of the street side, commercial skirting, small equipments



poor quality

©Giovanni Laino

(which do not need much public money) will be linked, more attention will be paid to integrated development and there will be some delegation to local religious and secular NGOs that are not controlled by the Camorra.

Scampia is an extreme case even by Italian standards – a case where the state is no longer present and criminal organisations are partially substituting for it. However, a similar situation could arise in other parts of Europe if austerity measures unravel the welfare state.

The city of Naples was lead partner of the URBACT CTUR network, and was also involved in the URBACT HERO and USE-ACT networks.



4. Policy interventions to tackle socio-spatial segregation

4.1 Introduction

Ever since tackling segregation became a policy objective in the 1980s (in the UK and France this was already the case in the 1970s), a wide range of types of interventions has developed. These are predominantly measures to reduce the negative effects of social exclusion in poor areas. There is less evidence for strategies that try to prevent segregation in the first place – although this is one of the objectives of social housing programmes which, however, have failed to fulfil this aim in most cases. In fact, often the success of programmes in deprived areas has been jeopardised or even contradicted by other policies and practices related to economic restructuring, transportation or other issues.

Policies against segregation can relate to specific policy sectors (education, housing, employment etc.) or to a specific geographic area. Sectoral interventions refer to policies that are not linked to any particular spatial level, but focus on improving the situation of individuals or households with low incomes and specific needs. Such policies – sometimes also called ‘people-based policies’ – may be applied at different geographical scales depending on the organisation of the policy in that country e.g. national, regional or urban. Area-based policies, on the other hand, are essentially place-based policies. They do not focus on individuals but on a specific geographical unit, most often a neighbourhood. Typically, they include urban and social regeneration programmes and other interventions whose main goal is to improve the situation of the people living in the given areas. Area-based policies rest on the assumption that by focusing on places with specific problems, the situation of the people living in these areas will improve.

4.2 Sectoral interventions

Sectoral interventions operate according to specific policy domains. These can be, for example, city-wide policies on school and adult education, job training, citizen participation in planning policies, and health. They do not aim to reduce spatial segregation in itself but focus on social issues and can thus have an effect on segregation or make a special effort in segregated areas. Some are designed to struggle against spatial segregation, such as the minimum percentage of social housing in all municipalities in France.

An example of sectoral interventions that might have a significant effect on breaking the link between place of residence and opportunity are **educational policies**. A choice-based school system can reinforce segregation as the better-off seek to create conditions to make their choices effective. This is well-documented in England: parents have choice but choice is constrained by the availability of places. Where there are more parents choosing a school than places available, preference is given on the basis of proximity. Thus parents seek to move to housing close to ‘good’ schools. The demand for housing increases house prices and thus only higher income groups can afford to live close to ‘good’ schools – thus reinforcing segregation.

There are number of ways to break this link. For example, the school system might be sensitive to the social structure in school catchment areas and reflect this in the size of classes and number of teachers. A case in point is, according to Galster,¹¹ the Dutch school system, which *“guarantees that if, for whatever reason, a school*

11 Interview with George Galster (June 2012)

has more immigrant students, they will have a better ratio of teachers to students. That is to say, fewer students per teacher than a school that just has Dutch natives in it. So they are indeed trying, with a school-based spatial policy, to compensate the neighbourhoods that have higher fractions of immigrant children to try to intensify the efforts to make sure that those places, through the school system, are places of opportunity, not dead-end places."

Whether centralised or decentralised, it seems that the common denominator of educational interventions that can help to overcome the negative effects of socio-spatial segregation is a combination of a well-funded childcare and school system and the availability of choice for parents, irrespective of their income and educational level. As stressed above the existence of kindergartens and the socialisation (in the mainstream language) provided to infants is a crucial issue, at least for children of foreign origin.

Housing policies, and in particular social housing policies, often aim to provide affordable housing for low-income households. Instruments in this field include supply-side subsidies to increase social and affordable housing construction and statutory quotas of affordable housing in every new housing development, even in the best-off areas. The French law on *Solidarité et Renouvellement Urbains* (urban solidarity and renewal) provides an example of a nationwide policy to tackle segregation through tenure mix in housing (see table 1). The reverse intervention with the same aim of increasing social diversity is to create new private housing in areas of predominantly social housing. This would allow successful residents to stay in their area as they could find there the aspirational housing they desire.

Work integration policies feature among the main type of sectoral interventions aimed at increasing the chances disadvantaged people have of entering the job market. Often these policies involve training and job matching programmes targeted at these groups or individuals. Aster¹² highlights the importance of integrating a series of small-scale initiatives (for example, local job centres) in multi-scale programmes in order to embed them in a wider strategy that reaches out to people who, for example, are not registered at job centres. Moreover, it is important to think of job creation programmes not only in quantitative terms (i.e. the number of jobs being created) but also in qualitative terms, for example the longer-term opportunities that these jobs provide for people, working conditions, fair pay and good working conditions.

It is worth noting, however, the global financial crisis and credit crunch that has brought about a significant questioning of the potential of the established economic system to provide sustainable full employment, especially to disadvantaged people. A wide range of urban planners, academics and advocacy groups have started to talk about the need for a paradigm change underpinned by the emergence of alternative local economies, based on systems of solidarity and non-profit work that can provide not only an income but a sense of self-worth to people who are chronically excluded from the mainstream job market. There are numerous examples of local initiatives working along these lines including in community-led local development programmes. It remains to be seen whether these forms of social or alternative economies could provide a partial answer to people living in spatially segregated areas, by

12 Interview with Reiner Aster 2012



at least providing long-term unemployed people with a path back to the mainstream job market.

Public health policies can be reinforced in areas that are particularly affected by environmental hazards or show high levels of lifestyle-related health problems or substance abuse. The URBACT thematic network 'Building Healthy Communities' reflected on this issue and developed a 'toolkit' aimed at measuring and monitoring health conditions in cities. Furthermore, a key outcome of this project was the production of local action plans

focusing on mainstreaming health considerations in urban regeneration projects and urban development strategies.

Another example of sectoral interventions are public transport systems that are both affordable and of wide coverage, i.e. connecting deprived areas with city centres and places where jobs, educational and other services are located. Vaulx-en-Velin is an example of a disadvantaged municipality where the access of residents to employment opportunities elsewhere in the city

Table 1. Examples of sectoral interventions to tackle socio-spatial segregation in Europe

Domain	Example	Country
Labour market	Local Pacts for the Economy and Employment: Approach to labour market policy that has complemented city-wide policy in Berlin since 1999. Aims to foster 'intelligent networking' of existing areas of strength and development potential in order to increase employability and occupational and social integration of disadvantaged groups of persons, create new job and training opportunities and enhance local economic structures. It works by developing partnerships with boroughs to tap local potential for economic growth. ¹	Germany (Berlin)
Housing and urban renewal	Social mix and urban regeneration: In 2000 a law called Solidarité et Renouvellement Urbains (urban solidarity and renewal – SRU) came into force in France. Its main goal is to tackle urban segregation and to strengthen solidarity amongst citizens. It promotes a housing tenure mix through legal requirements: in urban areas, every commune (municipality) should reach a minimum of 20% of social housing in its housing stock before 2020. ² In England and Wales the National Planning Policy Framework requires local planning authorities to provide for the 'objectively assessed need' for market and affordable housing in their area. This would involve policies (common to many planning authorities) requiring developers to include a percentage of affordable housing in their developments. But most of the delivery of that 'objectively-assessed need' would be through the investment decisions of local housing trusts and housing associations. In practice, this means that a variety of local actors have to collaborate to secure the local authority's objectives. ³	France England and Wales
Education	Ensuring equal access to education: according to an OECD analysis, the Swedish school system has focused on providing equality of opportunities and equivalence of outcomes. There is considerable scientific evidence to suggest that Sweden is one of the few countries in which the effect of parental social origin on educational attainment has weakened significantly. The Swedish education system has undergone a number of important reforms in the past 15 years, based on the idea of decentralisation of responsibilities to local municipalities.	Sweden

1 More information: www.bbwa-berlin.de

2 More information: www.aurg.org/sru/sru.htm

3 A good example of this collaboration – across agencies and with government and regional bodies – is Salford's plan to renew the Pendleton district <http://www.salford.gov.uk/creatinganewpendleton.htm>

region is under discussion. The city of Copenhagen insists on employers of over 100 people being located within easy reach of tram and metro stations.

Finally, **place-marketing** could be mentioned, aiming to transform the discourse of place – e.g. Vaulx and Scampia could fight to rebrand themselves in relation to the nature park or other opportunities they have.

4.3 Area-based interventions

For national and regional governments, selective area-based targeting costs less than reforming universal policies.

Whilst sectoral efforts are important to prevent or counter segregation, or to attenuate its negative effects, their impact will always be limited. Combining resources and targeting them where they are most needed will lead to synergy effects. Such integrated area-based initiatives emerged in the 1980s and received an important boost with the Community Initiatives URBAN I and URBAN II.

Area-based interventions rest on the assumption that living in specific areas has an additional and independent effect on the life chances of individuals, affecting the chance of getting a job, health, ability to get credit and educational achievement. The rise of area-based interventions happens for a variety of reasons. Because the problems manifest themselves in the neighbourhood, it is often thought that they can be solved at this level. For national and regional governments, selective area-based targeting costs less than reforming universal policies. The preference for this type of strategy may also be linked to the emergence of new governance arrangements in cities across

Europe, particularly in the context of decentralising power from national to regional and city levels of government. As a further step in decentralisation, the neighbourhood level is seen as ‘attractive’ from a policy implementation perspective, because it allows for relatively easy experimentation in new forms of participatory governance, potentially leading to quick visible effects with the hope of a change in the negative image of the area and of positive political return. Moreover it provides a manageable area focus while avoiding the much higher costs of intervening throughout the city or universally.

The actions within area-based interventions are often divided into ‘hard’ and soft’ measures. ‘**Hard** interventions might involve physical restructuring programmes (e.g. demolition, new infrastructure and housing developments) or less hard measures, such as refurbishment of the housing stock, the public realm, provision of new facilities (especially social or cultural facilities and parks) and the improvement of public transport. ‘**Soft** interventions include strengthening networks and interactions between people in the area (for example through work integration and training programmes in specific areas, street work, local festivals where the community can gather), and support for individuals to access the labour market through training, work experience and job placement.

The ‘hard’ version of area-based interventions, notably demolition, tends to act more as a curative rather than a preventative approach to the problem. It should be noted that, except in extreme circumstances, demolition usually represents a policy failure¹³ with enormous cost implications. A preventative approach is less frequently found

13 At least of the original housing construction and sometimes of efforts to deal with current problems



Table 2: Examples of area-based urban interventions to tackle socio-spatial segregation in Europe

Intervention & country	Short description
England: New Deal for Communities (NDC)	The New Deal for Communities Programme (UK, 2010) was initiated by the Blair government for some of England's most deprived neighbourhoods. It ran from 1999 to 2008. The goal was to 'close the gap' between 39 deprived urban areas and the rest of the country' through investments of an average of €50m in each area over ten years. The method was to achieve holistic change in relation to three place-related outcomes – crime, community, housing and the physical environment – and three people-related outcomes – education, health, and worklessness. Local NDC partnerships were established for each regeneration area to ensure that the change was community-led.
Netherlands: 40 Neighbourhood Programme	In 2007 a high-profile initiative was launched to address problems of compounded deprivation in 40 priority neighbourhoods. It involved very little government funding and was mainly focused on improving partnership working in neighbourhood renewal. The main goal of the programme was to transform 40 areas (the so-called 'Vogelaarwijken' ¹) over 10 years by investing in housing, education, partnering, work, social inclusion, crime and anti-social behaviour prevention. Although not explicitly categorised as such, 'place-based' outcomes were crime, social inclusion and housing, while 'people-based' outcomes included education, parenting and worklessness.
Sweden: Metropolitan Development Initiative	The Swedish 'big city policy' (officially labelled the Metropolitan Development Initiative) had the overall goal of 'breaking segregation'. It was launched in 1999 by central government, with the aims of promoting economic growth and breaking socioeconomic, ethnic and discriminatory segregation. Twenty-four large, poor and immigrant-dense housing estates were selected for intervention (Andersson, 2006).
France: National Programme for Urban Renovation (PNRU)	<p>The PNRU is a comprehensive and ambitious programme for urban renewal implemented in more than 500 deprived neighbourhoods over the period 2005-2015 with a total investment of €40 billion. It is implemented through the agency ANRU, but also through the network of the 100 offices of the Ministry of Environment, and the cities. Another agency, ACSE, was created later to deal with the 'soft factors' of urban renewal. PNRU will probably continue after 2015 but, owing to the financial crisis, with less money. For the next generation core ideas are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ to agree comprehensive urban contracts between the state and the agglomerations on social and urban policy, to improve links between physical and non-physical aspects of interventions; ■ to concentrate the intervention of the ANRU on a limited number of neighborhoods where physical intervention (demolition) is absolutely necessary. <p>According to critical analysts the huge numbers of demolitions were partly due to the 90% state subsidy which was available. In the future the work done by ACSE on social cohesion and equal opportunities is to be strengthened.</p>
Germany: Soziale Stadt (Socially Integrative City)	<p>This programme (Germany, 2009) addresses 'neighbourhoods with special development needs' and was launched by the federal government in 1999 as a legacy of the first URBAN Community Initiative. It is part of a scheme jointly financed by the federal government and the states (<i>Länder</i>) which covers cities from all over Germany, in which by 2012 more than 500 neighbourhoods have participated.</p> <p>The programme focuses on upgrading and stabilising critical urban areas, preventing a downward spiral of social exclusion and segregation by inviting the neighbourhood's inhabitants to participate in the development, prioritisation and implementation of locally based bottom-up actions.</p> <p>Socially Integrative City in North Rhein-Westphalia (NRW) was one of the first area-based initiatives, and formed part of urban development funding started in that <i>Land</i> in 1993. Its approach is one of the most comprehensive examples of integrated urban regeneration at neighbourhood level in Europe. Eighty city neighbourhoods have created and implemented local action plans.</p>
1	http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/aandachtswijken

owing, amongst other reasons, to the difficulty in anticipating social and urban decline in an area.

Overall, ‘hard’ interventions have the advantage of being more visible and easier to carry out (though with high cost and high levels of social fracture), while ‘softer’ interventions have a more complex, long-term and process-oriented character but may be cheaper and more effective in the long term.

4.4 Sectoral or area-based policies: is one approach better than the other?

Given the complexity of causes for socio-spatial segregation, it is clear that neither sectoral nor area-based approaches alone will be enough. A sectoral policy will only influence some of the factors, while an area-based initiative will only impact on the factors within the area, not at a city-wide or regional level. Area-based policies are seen as cost-effective given that they allow the targeting of a large number of people who require specific interventions because of their less advantaged position. At the same time, focusing on a defined area can make it easier to integrate policies – to apply a range of policies from different domains simultaneously and in a coordinated way. One of the downsides of this approach, however, is that it neglects disadvantaged people who do not live in the targeted areas – leading to a so-called post-code lottery. In addition, these policies may displace some residents who are priced out of the

area due to rising house prices as a consequence of the intervention. Also a suction effect may develop on people in need: beneficiaries of specific programmes tend to leave the most deprived area and are replaced by even poorer people coming from other part of the city (or even other cities) to the area because of the social services provided.

In order to find the optimal balance between sectoral and area-based interventions, and between soft and hard measures, it is very important to understand the roles that different neighbourhoods play in local housing markets. Here especially a dynamic understanding of the changes in the role of neighbourhoods is important. Neighbourhoods can be considered as ‘containers for people in different stages of their life trajectories’. Some poor areas perform the role of being transitory neighbourhoods in which newcomers to a city can find affordable rents and a low cost of living. Once personal conditions improve they move out of the area. These areas have to be distinguished from the ‘dead-end’ areas from where the chances of moving out are very low. Thus a static view of a neighbourhood (its composition at a given moment of time) does not describe its real, dynamic role in the city.

In the next section we will explore ways in which to combine both types of approaches to combatting segregation, namely area-based and sectoral interventions.



5. Integrated strategies against segregation in cities

The recognition of wider structural factors underlying social problems in local areas, such as unemployment, income inequalities, poverty and lack of participation, raised the need in the 2000s to develop strategies that integrate sectoral (people-based) and spatial (area-based) interventions. This was reinforced by the findings of the URBACT Nodus and RegGov networks. Such a holistic approach can be delivered in various ways. Two aspects that are presented in this section are firstly the coordination of relevant policies and programmes across sectors and levels of governance (horizontal and vertical policy integration) and secondly efforts to strengthen the position of an area in the wider urban context (territorial integration).

5.1 Policy integration

Policy integration is about bringing policies from different levels (vertical policy integration) and departments of government (horizontal policy integration) together (URBACT, 2001:53). This will produce synergy effects, and opens channels to external sources such as EU funds. Besides, the higher level steering of local policies is also important in dealing with the 'waterbed' phenomenon (whereby problems shift from the intervention area to other parts of the city), concerning the external effects created by interventions in deprived areas (URBACT Nodus, 2010).

Vertical policy integration can be initiated in many ways. In some EU countries where strong national urban policies exist, intervention areas have been selected at the national level. This has been done on the basis of indicators – the most deprived areas of the country have been selected for specific policy actions, requiring the cooperation of the regional and local levels (e.g. England, France,

Netherlands and Sweden). The Swedish Metropolitan Development Initiative and the New Deal for Communities in England are examples of such national programmes.¹⁴ However, in many EU Member States such detailed national policies do not exist. In the absence of a national framework for area-based regeneration, local governments have to fight case by case for their deprived areas to get national attention and EU funding. The situation is more balanced in countries with a federal structure and an established tradition of multi-level governance as in Germany. There, however, the three city-states (Berlin, Bremen and Hamburg) are in particularly strong positions, compared to other municipalities. In other countries, such as Hungary or Spain, relatively open national or regional framework exist, which specify the rules and conditions for deprived areas to be selected but leave it to the local level to propose such areas.

Horizontal policy integration is about coordinating those policies that are relevant for the development of an area (URBACT, 2001:53). Beside physical interventions, housing, public transport, education, employment, culture and the provision of social services are important. This requires the adaptation of existing services and organisations to the specific needs of the area and improved coordination between the different service providers. For the strengthening of horizontal integration (against silo thinking) one of the URBACT projects, CoNet suggests '... the creation of multi-purpose amenities and

¹⁴ According to critical evaluation (Lawless interview) instead of central government deciding the priorities which had to be applied in all the 39 most deprived areas, it would have been better to approach the poorest cities and design with them a more flexible approach to dealing with the problems of their deprived areas.

collaborative projects with different partners as a way of creating a concrete action around which partners at horizontal level could collaborate.' (URBACT, 2011:54)

5.2 Territorial integration: strengthening the position of an area in the wider urban and context

The deprivation of an area is, in general, a symptom of negligence. At some point, the area escaped the radar of investment. A number of strategies have emerged over recent years to put such areas back on the agenda and turn them into sites for new development. These strategies differ according to the nature and strength of the segregation problems:

- Direct and radical interventions in the physical structures, including demolishing whole building blocks to change the nature of an area (e.g. from monotonous housing estate to mixed-use);
- Soft and balanced interventions to improve access to an area and strengthen local opportunities, to make a place more attractive without completely changing its make-up;
- Improving the quality of housing and services in an area.

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These strategies differ in the depth of intervention. In practice, there will be overlaps and a combination of soft and more radical interventions. Key will be that the local population and stakeholders are on board early and have a say in the direction of the interventions. In each case, conflicts will be unavoidable and need to be well managed, in a spirit of transparency and equality.

Changing the nature of an area to achieve a better social mix

If you haven't fundamentally changed the reasons why a particular space became a dead-end space, then structural forces will create another dead-end space someplace else.

– Prof. George Galster

In some cities, there are areas that appear disconnected from wider development, isolated cul-de-sacs, traps for those who have to live there, no-go areas for the fortunate who don't have to live there. In such situations, some cities have carried out strong interventions to turn these places around. New houses and facilities can be built to attract new groups of people (e.g. single family homes instead of large blocks of flats). On the other hand, structures that have lost their function or deteriorated to dramatic levels (e.g. derelict prefabricated housing blocks) can be taken away to make room for new uses. Such radical interventions are rather controversial and need to be carefully reflected. Experts on urban regeneration in the USA and in Europe argue that even if it is sometimes necessary, the demolition of buildings in itself brings no solution to the problem:



“... the policy response to these dead-end neighbourhoods has often been demolition – to destroy them physically. (...) Certainly that space is no longer necessarily a dead-end neighbourhood, but if you do nothing else, it’s quite likely that you’ll get a replication of that dead-end neighbourhood someplace else. If you haven’t fundamentally changed the reasons why a particular space became a dead-end space, then structural forces will create another dead-end space someplace else and you will be constantly, as a policy-maker, chasing those dead-end neighbourhoods and as soon as you get rid of one here, oh, there’s one there, now we have to get rid of that one. But then another one is created. So this notion that you can eliminate the problem by bulldozing a place is naive and it’s created great human costs over history and I think virtually every country I know of has made that mistake at some point or another.” (Galster interview)

“Thus the radical change of the physical structure, as politically the easiest and most visible thing to do, is not enough if other interventions towards social integration are missing which would address the core of the problem. People must have the ownership of changing the area and it must turn into an attractive area. It is about having a concept for the future of the neighbourhood, not just renovating the flats. The planning department (and other relevant departments) should have a strategy for equal opportunities in the area (e.g. schools, infrastructure) supported by social housing associations. You need to consider both people living in the area and the newcomers.” (Vranken, 2012).

People must have the ownership of changing the area and it must turn into an attractive area.

– Prof. Jan Vranken.

The following cases illustrate the use of demolition as an instrument to foster social mix.

In the case of Naples, the Scampia neighbourhood became a dead-end area in which many economic and social problems of the city concentrated. Regional political leadership had left the municipality alone with this hyper-segregated peripheral area. As a rather desperate reaction, some of the most deprived buildings were demolished, but without real positive changes in the neighbourhood. Further demolitions are unavoidable but also basic urban security, economic and accessibility measures are needed. It has become apparent that in the absence of an adequate welfare system, social services, training and employment opportunities, physical interventions alone cannot stabilise the situation, let alone improve it in the long run.

The Mas du Taureau housing estate area in Vaulx-en-Velin is part of the affluent Lyon conurbation. Although France has a rather elaborate welfare system providing a broad range of social services, including measures to promote social mix all across the city, demolition was seen as a means to decrease the high concentration of poor, unemployed migrant groups. But it is clear that the future of the area depends to a large extent on wider urban development policy within the Grand Lyon metropolitan area, not least a badly needed mass transit link to the poor housing estates. Better access would make such areas more attractive and enhance mobility (and eventually employment) and the quality of life of the local population.

In the Hoograven district in Utrecht, on the other hand, demolition was part of a carefully tailored and sound integrated strategy that eventually turned out as a success.

To sum up, even if radical solutions may appeal politically as a visible and strong reaction to social



An integrated approach to urban restructuring: Hoograven in Utrecht, Netherlands¹

The Hoograven district has 14,000 inhabitants and is located in the municipality of Utrecht. It was until recently regarded as one of the 'worst' neighbourhoods in the Netherlands in terms of its severe social and physical decline. The initial evaluation of this area explored a large concentration of low-income households in social rented housing, a lack of retail shops and services and general physical deterioration, accompanied by a variety of associated social problems. On the positive side, the area's assets included its central location within the prosperous city of Utrecht, with easy access to jobs, the university, regional transport links and a relatively large stock of good quality housing from the 1930s – mostly social rented housing.

In 1997 an integrated approach to urban restructuring was started in the area, based on three main elements: implementation of social mix, attraction of retail and services, and the provision of community infrastructure. This process has been accompanied by large-scale demolition and reconstruction of social housing estates. Meanwhile, the social mix strategy has focused on reducing the high proportion of low-income and socially vulnerable households in the area through dispersal in other districts of the city, and, in parallel, attracting middle-income households to the new and refurbished housing in the area.

The result, so far, is considered highly successful by the authorities and by a variety of public, private and social stakeholders. Evaluation has highlighted a set of key success factors: partnership between the local government, a private developer and a social housing association; numerous negotiations between the different stakeholders in the process; central government grant to local government to buy land to build social housing; the key role of neighbourhood management; use of existing physical and social attributes of the area. It is worth noting that in the beginning of the process, the news of the demolition plans generated an exodus of the more affluent residents from the area, leading to even less maintenance being carried out than before. The lowest point was between 1997 and 2000, before the first new construction started. However, since 2000 the situation has gradually improved. The lesson is that the period between the decision to demolish and new construction should be as short as possible to avoid this degradation. Furthermore, demolition has been implemented as one among a set of social, physical and economic regeneration tools and not as a solution on its own.

¹ Interviews with Karien Dekker (University of Utrecht) and A.J. Voogt (neighbourhood manager, Hoograven District) (2008); <http://www.utrecht.nl/smartsite.dws?id=49852&klikOuder=13900>

problems, they are likely to fail if the underlying structural causes of decline and segregation are not addressed.

Increasing the territorial opportunity structures of deprived areas

While such radical approaches are, for good reasons, still rare, a widely accepted approach to regeneration has a rather different starting point, which looks for endogenous potential within the

existing situation as a hub for new development. According to the underlying theory, segregated areas should be handled as long as possible with policies increasing their 'territorial opportunity structures' (Musterd et al, 2006).

'... the neighbourhood configures a structure of opportunities determined by the space where a market sphere (economic-productive), a social-communitarian sphere (reciprocity) and a public authority sphere (redistribution) acquire specific



characteristics. ... the impact of area effects upon individuals' life courses could be explained, for example, by the quality of the infrastructure and the public transport system connecting the neighbourhood or its surroundings; the existence of employment opportunities in the territory, or at least the absence of labour market marginalising behaviour because of the area of residence (address effects); the density and energy level of mutual cooperation and supporting networks between people, and so on. Of course, all of these factors operate concurrently.' (Blanco & Subirats, 2008). These strategies aim to improve public services, housing and schools within the area as well as to strengthen the local economy. They also improve linkages to surrounding areas and opportunities, which the local population can then use. If successful, these policies can prevent the downward spiral of the deprived areas and the most drastic neighbourhood level operations such as demolitions, and forced social mix interventions can be avoided.

Each area will have a specific set of such opportunity structures, which, however, are often difficult to detect and need thorough, participative analysis. Likewise, such development strategies will be effective if created with or by those who will eventually benefit, i.e. the local residents and businesses. The participation of local residents can be achieved in many different ways, some of which are well summarised in the CoNet handbook (CoNet, 2011). Duisburg (the RegGov lead partner) is a good example of the involvement of migrant residents in neighbourhood renewal efforts (URBACT, 2011:54). In the city of Malmö, over 15 years of area-based development programmes, promoting social cohesion and strengthening the local economy was key. Implementation is driven by partnerships with NGOs and housing companies which are very active in deprived areas, and aims to increase quality housing, to allow mobility within the area. A crucial success factor is the city's educational system that does not disadvantage the poorer areas. Public



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transport links to deprived areas will be strengthened. In the poor areas facilities such as special school and skateparks are established. As a result of these public policies, there has so far been no discussion of demolishing housing. Municipal housing companies started to involve tenants in decisions early on, and many private companies followed this example, recognising that in such way many problems can be prevented.

The case of Utrecht mentioned above also involved many cross-sectoral interventions which aimed to strengthen the existing territorial opportunities of the deprived area. In Malmö, however, similar interventions were applied from earlier on and so proved to be enough to stop the deterioration of the area. Consequently, the demolition of buildings could be avoided in Malmö but not in Utrecht.

Ensuring equal quality of public services across the whole city

There are urban areas that show tendencies to segregation and social problems, but at a level that can be handled through improving or changing services without stronger, physical interventions. These strategies focus on the allocation and quality of mainstream public services, but there might also be a case for specific temporary services to cater for the most pressing needs, e.g. language courses for newcomers. As a basis, local knowledge of the needs and causes of exclusion is key to tackling them. In many cities, neighbourhood management systems have been tested. Placed in the area, they support local networks and organisations and are in touch with residents and local businesses on a daily basis so that they know what happens and can help develop responses to problems.

Regarding our case study cities the example of Berlin shows efforts to move from an area-based policy towards a more horizontal approach based

on improving sectoral policies and adapting them to work with migrant communities. Berlin is one of many examples. After some years of publicly subsidising such local systems through specific funding programmes, the city is currently reviewing what a sustainable structure could look like that is less dependent on external support.

With careful and long-term application of prevention policies it is possible to avoid the concentration of social problems in specific areas. A good example has been reported from the USA. Montgomery County, Maryland has worked for 30 years on an inclusive development policy. Private housing developers building more than 50 units were required to set aside 10% of the units to be let at below-market rents and half of those were to be used by the local public housing authority for low-income residents to live in. This long-term policy led to a mix of tenure and rent levels within the same streets, minimising the chances of having dead-end concentrated areas of disadvantage.

This example is certainly exceptional as in the USA socio-spatial segregation tends to be more extreme than in Europe. Even so, it is not easy to find European examples of integrated, long-term spatially less targeted strategies. Besides the substantial share of social housing there are at least two additional conditions for such strategies: the ability to regulate tenure mix in all areas, and the ability to function across the city border. This second point involves the development of a joint strategy for all settlements in the wider functional urban area, including smaller municipalities that would opt out of providing affordable and social housing.

An important, rather alarming finding of our research is that in general mainstream public services still seem to be designed and allocated according to thematic rationales – coordination



across sectors is still rather exceptional. As a consequence, areas with stronger political influence and power are often better equipped with good services than others. These are more fundamental problems of planning, which can only be solved by political leadership. The dramatic financial situation of public services is certainly a serious constraint, but the protest against social injustice in many countries and cities cannot be ignored.

5.3 Framework conditions for local action

Even within their limited room of manoeuvre, cities can achieve substantial results if they recognise their urban problems in time, if they find integrated intervention strategies which go to the roots of the problems, and if they manage to mobilise the required resources.

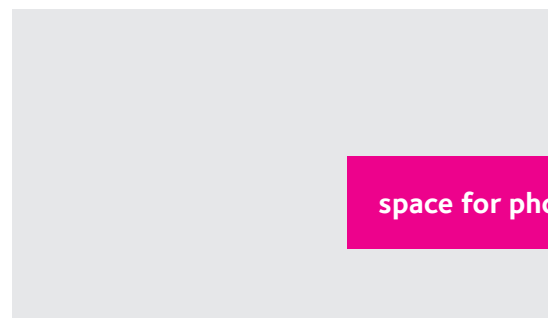
The problems of deprived areas are reflections of wider structural problems of our societies. What can cities do about problems which are largely rooted elsewhere, mostly in national regulations and policies? Some analysts argue – fully endorsing Einstein’s adage that you cannot solve the problem on the level where it shows – that cities themselves cannot solve the problems; the most that they can do is to fight to achieve democratic control over the functioning of the state and its power to redistribute capital.

On a more practical level of thinking cities have to be considered as the lower level of a national economic and welfare system which regulates most aspects of public policies, and in which European regulations also play a limited role. The potential actions of cities are framed and restricted by public policy areas as follows:

- national financial regulations and taxation systems largely determine income inequalities, while economic priorities influence the allocation of investments and jobs;
- nationally regulated immigration and migrant integration policies, pension systems and welfare payments largely determine the social protection systems;
- key elements of housing policies regarding finance, tenure categories, rent legislation and housing allowances are also determined at national level;
- the educational system and policies are in most non-federal countries also under central state control.

Needless to say, there are large differences across EU countries in the extent, depth and quality of these national public policies. When comparing the cases of Naples, Vaulx-en-Velin, Berlin and Malmö the huge differences in their national economic and welfare structures, and in the size, competences and resources of local authorities, must be kept in mind. Within the limits of the national frameworks, cities develop their policies towards social inclusion, service provision, the labour market and minimum income which can be described together as the local welfare policy of the city.

Under such circumstances the response of cities to the problems of their uneven development and deprived areas must be threefold:



- They should lobby for more equalising options within the national policy areas (e.g. control over land prices, taxation of land value increases, social housing policy, minimal share of social housing, equal opportunities in education, public mobility policy);
- They should campaign for an adequate national or regional framework for urban regeneration. This framework should assign policy interest and financial means in accordance with the size of regeneration problems in the metropolitan areas;
- They should do their best within their own remit to improve the situation of disadvantaged population groups and areas (e.g. by improving access to the local labour market for people in poor areas, supporting affordable housing and fighting discrimination in the housing market, aiming for better opportunities for poor people in primary and secondary education).

Even within their limited room of manoeuvre, cities can achieve substantial results if they recognise their urban problems in time, if they find integrated intervention strategies which go to the roots of the problems, and if they manage to mobilise the required resources. These are not at all easy tasks: there are many European cities which intervened too late in deprived areas and could not stop further deterioration, and there are also plenty of examples of inadequate or too weak interventions which did not show results. In such cases deprivation can slip into hyper-segregation and the most radical direct interventions in the physical structure may become unavoidable.

Among our four case-study cities only Malmö has avoided the demolition of housing. Demolitions happened in Berlin – although not because of the concentration of social problems. Naples and Vaulx-en-Velin are cases of demolitions in dead-end areas.

Additionally to the central and local conditions listed above, the choices cities make regarding regeneration interventions are of course also influenced by the dynamism of the economy and of the housing market. This becomes critically obvious under the present conditions of financial crisis combined with political changes in some countries, leading to substantial cuts in social programmes. Even so, cities are not completely powerless (even in the most centralised states they have some authority) and should not give up striving for more social cohesion: in the long run more cohesive cities have a better chance of sustaining their level of competitiveness.

This shows how difficult it is to find the best form and timing of interventions against the division of cities. Even the richer and politically stronger cities have to learn how to develop and apply adequate and effective strategies. We have seen that often interventions started in rather small areas with special programmes. Later, the need to bring in mainstream services was recognised and triggered a search for better delivery through spatial targeting. National and European exchange programmes, such as URBACT, have facilitated this learning course, spreading good practices, passing on good and bad experiences and lessons, and, maybe even more importantly, providing a social space where new ideas can be discussed and developed together.

5.4 Assessing and evaluating the impact of integrated urban development policies

A crucial element of all public policy is evaluation. Only through thorough reflection of what is being done can lessons be learned, failures avoided and changes promoted. As measuring the causes and effects of any policy is difficult, assessing the impact of integrated strategies is quite a methodological challenge. Some effects might appear



quite obvious: higher employment rates, income levels, educational achievement will, at a first glance, show success. At the same time, we might not know if problems have simply been moved: if the unemployed, poor or less well educated have been displaced and forced to move elsewhere. This could certainly not be called a success. In fact, the protest against gentrification in some cities criticises exactly this: publicly funded urban regeneration programs have not served the poor, but in effect marginalised them even more.

Hence, a monitoring system that traces demographic socio-economic trends as well as population movement over time is an important basis for measuring the impact of any urban development policy. It will give the first hints of whether an area benefits from an intervention or not. But it will be difficult to relate such changes directly to a policy or an intervention. For that purpose, evaluation studies are needed that take the intervention as a starting point and trace its effects on people and place. Examples are, however, rare, and those that have been carried out are rather controversial. In 2008, the Rowntree Foundation looked at a number of evaluation studies of programmes to tackle social disadvantages in Great Britain and gave it the unambiguous title *Not knowing what works* (Griggs et al., 2008). They find it “frustrating that so little can be learned from so much evaluation and mention a number of reasons for that”. One of the problems they mention is that often, such studies are carried out too early so that no longer-term impact can be seen. This can be said for instance for the evaluation studies of the Community Initiatives URBAN I and II, which held important findings but were very vague as to the longer-term impact.

Some problems and limits that hold for all assessments of urban development policies and regeneration projects are the counterfactual (what would have happened if no intervention had taken

place?), as well as political, social, economic and other context factors – areas will face a very specific bundle of challenges, and other interventions might be carried out at the same time. They also need to address contiguity, whereby effects can be manifested in other areas rather than the intervention area, for instance if people move out or are displaced from the target area.

The most elaborate evaluation of an area development programme to date took place in Great Britain, accompanying the New Deal for Communities programme which ran from 2000 to 2010. To measure change over time, a Composite Index of Relative Change was developed, based on 36 indicators that cover all six thematic areas. The data basis included a biannual household survey and additional administrative data. In addition to measuring change over time, a second element of the exercise was assessing impact and value for money. To this end, the evaluation team monetised the outcomes through ‘shadow pricing’, identifying unit monetary value estimates for each core indicator, and built statistical relationships between indicators, quality of life and income resources.

The URBACT project RegGov (2011) looked at evaluation systems and reviewed the experience of Nijmegen. There, the evaluation of the regeneration project is used to see if a new approach to community work actually works and can be rolled out to other areas. The evaluation is multidimensional and involves quantitative and qualitative elements to such a level of detail that data protection becomes a concern. This case and the discussion about it in the URBACT project show that an important value of evaluation is that it stimulates communication. Findings can feed discussion, and even when they are controversial, lead to reflection and new perspectives.

6. Key findings



Both CLLD and ITI are tools which could be used effectively to combat divided cities in the next period.

The paper has shown how difficult it is to deal with the complex problems of polarised, segregated cities. The cases of Berlin, Malmö, Vaulx-en-Velin and Naples represent different magnitudes and types of problems, which all need different approaches and interventions. Obviously, cities first have to aim to gain a good understanding of the problems, by exploring the underlying causes and the dynamics of the changes. All this requires thorough analysis, as shown in the examples given in this paper.

From the cases analysed and existing academic knowledge it has been found that lasting, sustainable results require both policy integration (vertically, across levels of governments and horizontally, across policy fields) and territorial integration (to strengthen the position of segregated areas in the wider urban context). Cities have to recognise the type and specificities of the problems of their segregated areas in due time and have to be able to select the most appropriate from the wide spectrum of possible interventions, ranging from radical, direct changes in the physical structure (including demolitions) to spatially less targeted quality improvements.

It has to be noted that the choice between the radical (demolition) and smoother, spatially less concentrated interventions is not at all clean-cut. There are countries such as France, where demolition is considered to be an important tool to enhance the quality of deprived areas and where, therefore, special subsidies are available which make demolition widely used. The position

of this paper is that demolition – though in many cases unavoidable – in itself is no magic solution. If the underlying causes of hyper-segregation are not explored and handled by other tools, demolition will only postpone and spatially shift the problems to other areas of the city. The cases of Utrecht and Naples show the difference between more and less successful applications of demolition, while the case of Vaulx-en-Velin raises the recent dilemma whether future demolitions could be avoided by less radical interventions, improving the opportunity structures and the quality of public services of the most deprived areas. Finally, Berlin and Malmö illustrate the case of those countries where strong national and regional policies make it possible on the local level to avoid the development of hyper-segregated areas, enabling segregation to be handled through less radical interventions than demolition.

When making the decision about local policies and area-based interventions, cities have to be aware that they should not act in isolation. The problems of segregation cannot be solved solely through area-based interventions. What is perceived as a problem in a specific area never depends solely on the area itself or on its inhabitants. The paper has demonstrated that structural problems such as selective capital investments in cities, the retrenchment of welfare, and the mass privatisation of public assets (which limits the benefit of population can draw from common goods) are causing rising inequalities and segregation in cities. When focusing on the city level, the way a city functions as a whole in terms of the distribution



of services, mobility, accessibility and affordability of housing very much affects the potential reproduction of segregated areas and pockets of deprivation. Therefore, area-based interventions must be thought of as city-wide interventions which, in accordance with horizontal policy changes, have the scope to improve urban and social justice and the quality of life of all residents of the urban area.

In this process cities are not alone. They have to lobby their national governments for spatially more balanced, socially more equalising national policies for urban areas, including regulatory and financial tools regarding all relevant policy fields (economy, education, housing, social services, migration and more). In addition, they have to campaign for adequate national/regional frameworks for urban regeneration (covering not only the city but the whole metropolitan area). Appropriate national/regional policies and planning frameworks are needed, without which the city's own efforts to ensure policy and territorial integration against segregation and for the improvement of deprived areas have little chance of achieving sustainable results. The cities analysed show large differences regarding such national/regional policies and frameworks.

The EU level, with the cohesion policy regulations and the resources of the Structural Funds can do a lot to support the efforts of innovative local governments to deal with segregation in cities. In the 2014–2020 EU planning period important innovations will be introduced in this regard: community-led local development (CLLD) and integrated territorial investments (ITIs).

Community-led local development (CLLD) is a continuation of the LEADER type of local development but extended to all of the Structural and

Investment Funds including the ERDF and ESF. In cities it is likely to have some similarities with the URBAN programmes and concentrate on disadvantaged neighbourhoods through a bottom-up approach involving grassroots organisations. One important departure from the URBAN approach is that no sector can control more than 49% of the seats on the partnership. Whereas URBAN was often dominated by the municipality and other public authorities, CLLD should have an improved balance between the public, private and third sectors.

Under the Commission's proposals for a Common Strategic Framework, the Integrated Territorial Investments (ITIs) are defined as '*... an instrument which provides for integrated delivery arrangements for investments under more than one priority axis of one or more operational programmes. Funding from several priority axes and programmes can be bundled into an integrated investment strategy for a certain territory or functional area. This can take the form of an integrated strategy for urban development, but also for inter-municipal cooperation in specific territories. It allows the managing authorities to delegate the implementation of parts of different priority axes to one body (a local authority) to ensure that investments are undertaken in a complementary manner. Within an ITI certain components can be undertaken through community-led development combining the two approaches*'.¹⁵

Both CLLD and ITI are tools which could be used effectively to combat divided cities in the next period. Both approaches will require extensive

15 For further discussion on Integrated Territorial Investments see Soto and Houk (2012)

exchange of experience and capacity building. Both will need to be rooted in an understanding of how horizontal and vertical policies can be combined to make the city more cohesive.

Each Member State will have to spend at least 5% of its ERDF resources on integrated urban development, of which one option will be ITIs. All this shows potentially increasing financial resources and important institutional innovations which could allow cities to address issues of segregation across their whole urban area.

CLLD and ITI are two important innovations which are new in relation to urban regeneration and socio-spatial development. However, the influence of the EU is limited: it can only assure the use of these instruments to a limited extent – above that all decisions are up to the Member States. The responsibility of national governments to create good policies and frameworks for local efforts against segregation is huge. Consequently, cities have to fight on the national level to ensure that the two innovative EU tools for urban regeneration are handled appropriately in the national strategies for the 2014–2020 period and are made accessible to the cities which need them most to fight segregation and deprivation.

In addition, there are other tools that city governments – though they have no direct influence on them – can fight for. One such is to reclaim a dialogue with national policies for measures which would assure a fairer redistribution of resources and goods. The basic condition for this is a solidarity-based economy which allows investments in favour of more jobs, more housing rights, effective social housing policy, control over rents for housing affordability, control over land prices, taxation over land value increases,

equal educational opportunity, high-quality public transport policy and more.

Therefore the goal of fighting urban segregation and polarisation demands a shift away from the dominance of competition paradigms such as we have known so far. Growth is needed but this should be smart, inclusive and sustainable – as emphasised in the Europe 2020 strategy. This can only be achieved if cities and territories have the chance to develop within a solidarity-based and viable economy in which integration with social and environmental policies can find its rightful place.

In this period of financial crisis, of course, it is not easy to argue from the local towards the national level that more cohesion and solidarity is needed in national policies. Cities have to cooperate with each other (and with their neighbours) to become ‘loud’ enough to call the attention of the national layers to the growing socio-spatial problems.



Annex 1.

Capitalisation process and methodology

In 2012 the URBACT programme established six workstreams aimed at capitalising knowledge in response to the challenges posed in the DG Regional Policy's *Cities of Tomorrow* report (European Commission, 2011). The *Against Divided Cities* workstream recruited experts to form its core group from six different Member States, with high-level expertise in urban regeneration and social issues:

- Iván Tosics, URBACT Thematic Pole Manager on urban sustainable development, Hungary (workstream coordinator)
- Peter Ramsden, Lead expert of the URBACT Smart Cities network and former URBACT Thematic Pole Manager (UK)
- Darinka Czischke, Delft University of Technology and former Thematic Expert of the URBACT SUITE network (Netherlands)
- Laura Colini, IRS Leibnitz Institute for Regional and Structural Planning, Berlin and Lead Expert of the URBACT URBAMECO project (Italy–Germany)
- Reinhard Fischer, Berlin, Lead Partner of the URBACT CoNet network (Germany)
- Thierry Baert, Lille, Lead Partner of the URBACT Joining Forces network (France)
- Simon Güntner, former URBACT thematic expert, Hamburg University of Applied Sciences (Germany)

The workstream's core group met for the first time in Brussels on 15 June 2012. Besides the core group members Prof. Jan Vranken of the University of Antwerp (an expert witness) and Jenny Koutsomarkou of the URBACT Secretariat participated.

The workstream hosted two expert hearings, to gather information and insights on how the

problems of residential segregation are tackled in European cities. Each hearing discussed two cities, and experts were invited not only from the host city but also from another city. The first hearing took place in Berlin on 15–17 July 2012, with the guest city being Malmö. The programme and the participants (besides the core group members) were as follows:

Day 1: study tour to deprived areas (organised by Reinhard Fischer)

Day 2: City hearings:

- Berlin: Martina Pirch (head of section, Socially Integrative City), Daniel Förste (IRS) on monitoring, Esther Blodau on neighbourhood management in Moabit Ost
- Malmö: Pia Hellberg Lannerheim, senior policy officer and Bertil Nilsson, project manager, both of Malmö Stad

Day 3: Thematic discussions with Emmanuel Moulin (director, URBACT Secretariat) and Reiner Aster (managing director of gsub – Gesellschaft für Soziale Unternehmensberatung mbH), Berlin as expert witness.

The second expert hearing took place in Vaulx-en-Velin (Lyon) on 11–13 November 2012. The guest city was Naples. The programme and the participants (besides the core group members) were as follows:

Day 1: study tour to deprived areas (organised by Stephane Bienvenue)

Day 2: City hearings:

- Naples: Giancarlo Ferulano (director of the Urban Planning Management – UNESCO Site Direction)
- Vaulx-en-Velin: Stephane Bienvenue, Remy Nouveau (Lyon)

Day 3: Thematic discussions with Christine Lelievrier (University of Paris) and Derek Antrobus (councillor, Salford)

In the course of the work, video interviews were conducted with the following internationally renowned experts: Prof. Ronald van Kempen (Utrecht University, Netherlands), Prof. George Galster (Wayne University, USA), Prof. Paul Lawless (Sheffield Hallam University, UK), Reiner Aster (gsub Berlin). Prof. Jan Vranken (University of Antwerp) was also been interviewed (with no video recording).

The highlights of the interviews with Ronald Van Kempen and Georg Galster were edited into a short film *Against Divided Cities*.¹⁶

During the URBACT Annual Conference in December 2012 the *Against Divided Cities* workshop exhibited some of the emerging findings published in the *URBACT Tribune 2012* and illustrated by the film. Two workshop sessions were held, in the course of which all the four case study cities gave presentations (the case of Naples was presented

by Gaetano Mollura). In both workshop sessions facilitated group discussions were organised.

The topics of residential segregation and deprived neighbourhoods are very complex and need sufficient time for understanding and discussions. The highlights of the workstream activities were the city hearings, where after in-depth presentations of the city cases all the details could be discussed, often in the form of sharp debates between different approaches.

These debates supplied the most important inputs for the core group to develop the thematic paper. This paper gives a critical overview of the different problems and approaches, arriving at practical recommendations to cities, using academic literature and also the knowledge gained from the four case study cities.

The URBACT workstream process proved to be a resource-efficient, dynamic, iterative and innovative way to harness good practices and experiences from advanced practitioners across the EU, to bounce around ideas and concepts about the alternative ways of fighting residential segregation in European cities, and to keep these ideas rebounding to inspire fresh thinking.

The *Against Divided Cities* workstream would like to extend special thanks to the city representatives, experts and politicians who have made an input into our work. Thanks go also to the many city representatives who joined our workshop at the URBACT Conference in Copenhagen in December 2012. Your active participation and inspired roleplaying have helped us to draw out the main conclusions presented here.

¹⁶ http://klabo.org/ADC_PRIMA-PARTE_02-Computer.m4v



Annex 2.

European territorial cooperation projects working on spatial segregation

ESPON

POLYCE (Metropolisation and Polycentric Development in Central Europe) – urban dimension – http://www.espon.eu/main/Menu_Projects/Menu_TargetedAnalyses/polyce.html

ATTREG (Attractiveness of European Regions and Cities for Residents and Visitors) –urban dimension – http://www.espon.eu/main/Menu_Projects/Menu_TargetedAnalyses/bestmetropolises.html

Best Metropolises (Best Development Conditions in European Metropolis) – urban dimension – http://www.espon.eu/main/Menu_Projects/Menu_TargetedAnalyses/bestmetropolises.html

SeGI (Services of General Interest) – http://www.espon.eu/main/Menu_Projects/Menu_AppliedResearch/SeGI.html

TANGO (Territorial Approaches for New Governance) – http://www.espon.eu/main/Menu_Projects/Menu_AppliedResearch/tango.html

INTERACT

• South-West Europe

NATURBA Design sustainable urban areas in border areas between city and rural land <http://www.naturba.eu>

• Atlantic Area

PARKATLANTIC – Atlantic urban Parks – <http://www.parkatlantic.eu/index.php?idioma=en>

• North Sea Programme

SURF – Sustainable Urban Fringes – Focus is on the urban fringe (social /economic/environmental) and developing instruments in which to manage a sustainable urban fringe – <http://www.northsearegion.eu/ivb/projects/details/&tid=106&back=yes>

Annex 3.

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