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CLUDs PROJECT



Economic Development Strategies

The Role of Public Private Partnership





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The CLUDs Network



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Introduction

Carmelina Bevilacqua

Local Economic Development issues are being pushed into the international policy agenda to encourage the change towards a more flexible management of local resources.

According with European Commission (2010) about "Regional Policy contributing to smart growth in Europe 2020", the development of smart specialisation strategies is crucial "to maximize the impact of Regional Policy in combination with other Union policies". Smart specialization strategies become a key factor to stimulate private investment. And "They should be integrated into regional development strategies in order to ensure an effective partnership between civil society, businesses and public authorities at regional, national and European levels".

Cities acquired an important role within the reform process of cohesion policy that took place in order to build up operational programme for 2007-2013 period (Hubner, 2000), and for the future programming period their role is strictly connected with smart specialization strategies. (Europe 2020)

Urban regeneration acquired a powerful role in the shaping of the future role of the cities in the globalizations era. Urban regeneration could be considered a public action in a market governed by different powers, that is, the new powers of globalization era, and has introduced a more strategic approach in the contemporary urban planning theory and practice. That means an improvement of urban management tools in shaping the future of the city.

This kind of new approach has produced a strong political impact within urban affairs, both in Europe and US. The CLUDs project, financed within 7FP Marie Curie IRSES program 2010, intends to explore the potential of a new tool for renovating degraded public spaces and improving the attractiveness and accessibility of deprived urban areas by focusing on the high potential of local commercial activities. The exploration is oriented to the implementation of an innovative tools: CLUDs, Commercial Local Urban Districts, aimed at emphasizing the strategic role of small retails -handcraft and typical food- in reinforcing the sense of community, reducing transportation costs and contributing to the creation of attractive urban environment, thus producing increase of private investments.

The implementation of the CLUDs project is based on a networking of four EU universities (Reggio Calabria, Salford, Aalto, Rome) and two USA universities (Boston and San Diego), which all hold the leading positions in

planning education, training and research in their countries. Partners will exchange staff members, early stage and Experienced researchers, around yearly seminars/meetings, workshops, and a final international symposium. The core of this network activity regards Joint research and training activities on two main topics public/private partnership (PPP) and urban regeneration.

The theoretical hypothesis of the CLUDs project is the concept that in order to increase sustainability in urban regeneration it is important to create a network of producers-sellers, focused on urban regeneration area as competitiveness platforms, but at the same time strictly linked to the surrounding territory, and capable to exploit the potential of territorial milieu both by acting on transportation costs reduction through economic logistic and by emphasising aspects of place branding and place marketing in promoting the territory as a whole.

The intent is to use new urban management tools able to produce competitive returns supported by social, environmental and economic sustainable actions. In order to reach this objective, it is important to classify urban areas by considered the integration as a basic requirement for the implantation of new urban management tool.

The outlines documented in this report are the first results of the CLUDs project , related to the first year of research activities developed in Boston.

After a summary prospect of the CLUDs project, the first chapter is dedicated to illustrate the theoretical background with respect the two main topics of the project, Urban regeneration and Public Private Partnership. A rationale of the CLUDs project is provided together with the hypothesis of a model to be tested through the research activities planned during the three year of the project.

In order to test the CLUDs model, based on the interactions of urban regeneration and urban-rural linkages, the research activities have been articulated with respect the main topics to be investigated as part of the CLUDs model building and its implementation.

The role of the US universities in the research is twofold, the former concerns the specific field each of them covers useful for the research, the latter concerns the particular urban context that each of them represents, to better analyse the core topics of the research by case study methodological approach.

Northeastern University of Boston covers the specific field about the credit access and local development issues related to urban regeneration and PPP issues. Finally, the city of Boston has a practice of urban planning connected with economic development matter that finds in the district logics its main factor of success of PPPs initiatives.

The School of Public Affairs at San Diego State University covers the specific field about community planning and city planning related to the bioregionalism approach for urban-rural linkages. Finally, the city of San Diego has a polarized distribution of urban centers that helps to understand how the linkages urban-rural can be interpreted.

Following the above articulation, the chapters of this report refer the researcher activities developed during the first year in Boston.

The second chapter concerns the concept of local economy as driver for urban regeneration initiatives. The third chapter focus on an EU and US comparison for Public Private Partnership and Urban Regeneration forms and initiatives. The fourth chapter documents the 12 case studies worked out in the Boston metropolitan area.

The case study analysis refers to the first strategic objective of the CLUDs project concerning: Setting up an analytical process to understand how Public Private Partnership can be both marketable and social sustainable by highlight integrated approach related to Credit access, local resources promotion, job creation, social activation.

Summary of CLUDs project topics

The specific objectives of the CLUDs projects are three: :

1. Setting up an analytical process to understand how Public Private Partnership can be both marketable and social sustainable by highlight integrated approach related to Credit access, local resources promotion, job creation, social activation;

2. Setting up an analytical process to understand how a territorial milieu can reinforce local urban regeneration initiatives;

3. Classifying levels of flows' intensity from territorial production and local consumption that can be explained by CLUD rationale.

The above specific objectives make plans for the 3 Work Packages of the project: WP1 "Urban Management Tools"; WP2 "Territorial Milieu"; WP3 "CLUDs Local Action Plan.

WP 1 – Urban Management Tools

Host Organization:	Northeastern University of Boston- Department of Economics
Lead Partner	University of Reggio Calabria (IT)
Objective	<p>"The construction of the conceptual framework necessary to develop the CLUDs model" aimed at:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. integrating physical interventions, public- private management, localisation of enterprises and economic logistics. 2. Developing a key-feature to innovate the theoretical background of BIDs (Business Improvement Districts) defined and implemented in US.
Topics	Public/private partnerships; Neighborhood-Based Economic Development; Community Development Financing.
Methodological Approach	Case Study Analysis based on inductive method. Cluster Analysis for cross-section analysis

WP 2 – Territorial Milieu

Host Organization:	San Diego State University – School of Public Affair
Lead Partner	Univerisity of Salford (UK) – University of Aalto (FI)
Objectives:	<p>"The construction of the CLUDs model aimed at incorporating the territorial milieu (including urban-rural interactions) into local urban regeneration initiatives" aimed at:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. incorporating urban-rural interactions into implement urban management tools. 2. exploiting the potential of grass-rooted community-driven initiatives into urban management tools.
Topics	Urban-Rural Link; Urban milieu vs. territorial milieu, sustainable neighborhood design.
Methodological Approach	Case Study Analysis based on inductive method. Cluster Analysis for cross-section analysis

WP 3 – CLUDs Local Action Plan

Host Organization:	Northeastern University of Boston- Department of Economics San Diego State University – School of Public Affair
Lead Partner	University La Sapienza of Rome – FOCUS
Objective:	“The construction of the CLUDs Local Action Plan.” The specific objective aims at: 1. Testing the CLUDs model 2. Designing the CLUDs’ Local Action Plan structure
Topics	Integrated approach: Public Private Partnership, Urban Regeneration and Rural – Urban linkages.
Methodological Approach	The WP3 is characterized by the implementation of the CLUDs Action Plan to different urban areas with diverse peculiarities. This WP aims at producing and implementing Action Plans for some pilot areas, through the broader involvement of the local community and stakeholders, and at developing a toolkit of transferable good practices to orient urban development policies. The results of previous WPs will be encompassed in this WP, finalised to test the model. Moreover, it will be figured out how to involve local enterprises and stakeholders in implementing the proposed Plan, both through creative and innovative solutions and methods, and by promoting environmentally sustainable practices and certifications.

1. The theoretical background of the CLUDs project

Carmelina Bevilacqua, Claudia Trillo

URBAN REGENERATION AND PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP ISSUES

The theoretical background of the CLUDs project is interdisciplinary, including urban and territorial planning, economic logistic, urban management and territorial and urban marketing.

A first innovative feature of CLUDs project is to interconnect disciplinary fields, widely explored separately but not yet analysed in terms of mutual influences.

Different disciplinary approaches converge, by implementing a problem solving rationale, in order to solve the question to develop a feasible solution capable to enhance sustainability in urban regeneration.

Urban regeneration is a key topic in urban planning, since the great urban renewal and urban regeneration US projects (Wagner et al. 2005) came to fore.

In the '90s it massively interested both the Italian planning culture, with the integrated programs experience (Avarello 2000 and Ricci 2000), and the UK context, culminating in the experience of the Social Exclusion Unit (Tiesdell and Allmendinger).

Despite of this continuity, great changes happened in the theoretical background of planning practice in regeneration and its conceptual paradigms evolved by the time.

A milestone in turning the deterministic approach mirrored by the models from the '60 into a new one, is represented by key-ideas on identity and participation from Jacobs (1961) and Davidoff (1965).

In the following years, regeneration models based on Public-Private Partnership mechanisms flourished, by emphasising not only the financial opportunities of private investors, but also the further opportunities achievable thanks to a private-led approach.

Finally, the institutional theory approach (Healey, 1997), emphasised the importance of involving multiple stakeholders in urban regeneration process, thus merging into the complex concept of sustainability. In facts, a whole and exhaustive application of sustainable development includes implementing its three fundamental components: economic, environmental and social (Beatley and Manning 1997).

An important logical framework in which it is possible to disciplinary consider urban regeneration at international level comes from European Spatial Development Perspective (Faludi, Waterhout, 2002) that considers

the European space as physical space where implementing development public policy (cohesion policy, thereby) as territorial and urban projects. In this way, the city assumes an important role to make feasible development scenarios trough removing obstacles to support economic and social convergence.

Following the challenge of the city as motor of regional development, urban policies of EU member states have been integrated with this kind of new mission, by adding to the traditional fields of urban policy (housing, public services, etc..) a competitive objective for the city. That means taking into account strategic actions to reinforce urban areas system inasmuch reinforcing the economic structure of the entire region.

In order to get this result, it is important improving quality of life by supplying more and diversified services against urban fragmentation, weak urban areas and social degrade.

Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) are a very well known and investigated model, which demonstrated potential to cope with declining urban centres. First BIDs date back to the '60 in the US: they are private institutions aimed to provide supplemental services in underserved urban areas (Lloyd 2003; Billings and Leland 2009). In the '90 BIDs were transferred to the UK, in order to support Town Centre Management strategies (Cook 2008), and furthermore adopted internationally. Today 1.000 BIDs circa exist in the world (Dawkins 2007: 79).

Literature review shows inconsistency in BIDs evaluation: on one side they are considered important tools to improve innovative urban governance (Wolf 2006) and potential drivers for enhanced democracy and participation (Justice and Skelcher 2009); on the other hand, doubts are arisen on the excess of privatisation of public spaces (Steel and Symes 2005) and on the ambiguity generated by devolution of crucial public functions, such as urban safety, to private actors (Vindevoel 2005).

Despite of some criticisms, no doubts exist on BIDs ability of contributing to the Local Economic Development (LED), as defined by the World Bank (2006) as a "process by which public, business and nongovernmental sector partners work collectively to create better conditions for economic growth and employment generation". Local Economic Development emphasises features from the territorial milieu, which are assets both in financial and in cultural terms, by contributing to implement the sustainability concept as a whole, i.e. according to its three essential components: economic, environmental and social (Beatley and Manning 1997).

By incorporating participation and identity, widely explored in the Italian literature by Lorenzo (1998) and Magnaghi (2000), in the production of values for the territory, urban regeneration better address sustainability.

THE RATIONALE OF THE CLUDs PROJECT

The theoretical hypothesis of the CLUDs project is the concept that in order to increase sustainability in urban regeneration it is important to create a network of producers-sellers, focused on urban regeneration area as competitiveness platforms, but at the same time strictly linked to the surrounding territory, and capable to exploit the potential of territorial milieu both by acting on transportation costs reduction through economic logistic and by emphasising aspects of place branding technological content are located in 'more demanding' areas. Flows of raw materials are therefore reduced in comparison to finished products having logistic networks that are densely relocated and re-designed within a short time-span, also thanks to the timely activity of specialized logistic operators, such as multinationals (4PLOG) working on the constant re-designing of the flows for firms and production districts. In many sectors of production, commerce and distribution, the search of economies of scale as well as the increase of national and international business relations, caused by an increased opening of global markets, have led to the strategic relocation of enterprises and/or of parts of production/distribution integrated chain.

This trend stems from the advantages (external economies) that clusters have, both from the point of view of demand and supply. The "economies of agglomeration" operate by reducing costs of access for companies to inputs for the definition of logistic processes: companies located in clusters are more likely to innovate and invest in comparison to isolated ones (Camagni, Boscardi, Graham, Venables).

A considerable part of the literature on the topic has focused on the localization of logistic activities and on the possible economies of agglomeration that can be obtained, especially in terms of reducing logistic and transportation costs. These costs are crucial in determining the conditions of spatial efficiency for the localization of industrial, commercial activities and services.

This approach, grounded in the economic literature, finds a fertile counterpart in territorial and urban planning. The City Cluster Development theory took place at the end of '80 and becomes as source of a development economy more creative by re-considering the city as innovation place and by experimenting with

and place marketing in promoting the territory as a whole.

Today the exchange and supply of raw materials, semi-finished and finished products (various commodities or general cargo) has undergone major changes, which are reflected in processes of localization, delocalization and strategic positioning vis-à-vis the multimodal transport networks of logistic structures (sheds, warehouses, platforms, etc.) and, consequently, in the areas where the activities of production and consumption are gathered.

Low technology productions which employ a high rate of raw materials tend to decentralize towards sources of supply, whereas those characterized by high

Urban Cluster the creation of productive system specialized in a network of goods and services and where the urban form becomes the result of the interaction between demand and supply of people, information and goods mobility.

The classification and identification of adequate localizations become central inside urban regeneration process. Social, economic technological and cultural transformation produce different effects with respect different urban systems.

The spatial structure of a particular urban system can be defined by the distribution pattern of cities, towns and villages. The regional settlement structure is the result of the interactions among different phenomena - historical, political, social, morphological, economical - that characterize the localization, the dimension and the function of urban rural systems. From the central places theory (Christaller, 1933) to the current evolution of it according with globalization effects (Sassen, 1997, 2003), the right identification of urban hierarchy, of urban poles and urban centralities, has been subjected to so deep changes so defining new geographical taxonomies based both on dimensional factors (population, territorial size, etc.) and power distribution (economical, social and public).

The new economic geography - based of the new localization theories of Kunzmann in the '90 and based on the centre-periphery model - assumes that the spatial concentration of firms is the result of the interactions among powers acting on opposite directions. Globalization processes together with *informationalization* [Hall,2001] caused a strong change in localization choices of productive activities: the advanced economies acquire more power because of their capacity of information (Castells, 1989, 1996) producing and manipulating instead of goods supply. The city changes: the urban boundaries are constantly

fuzzier and create new markets, that is the knowledge market where the knowledge workers operate through agreements, negotiations, deals according to a new image of city: more attractive as a whole, more fragmented inside it.

At the same time, identity and urban quality are considered parameters to measure the potential competitive level that each city can be evidence for attraction. The globalization process uses these competitive factors of urban competitiveness to economic growth and dissemination, at the same time the negative effects that globalization produces is related to a weakness process of the urban identity and quality by standardizing the urban references (Augè, 1999), producing urban fragmentations of social polarities (a sort of new gentrification) and a unsustainable development.

The goal of the CLUDs project is to construct an innovative urban management tool for achieving sustainable local urban development by enlarging the relevant territory to which development policies are applied. Our premise is that sustainable local development in the 21st century is best served by tools that stimulate the growth of new and existing businesses across a territory that includes urban and rural spaces. The secret to sustainable local development, in our view, is to redefine the "local" in ways that include the rural areas surrounding urban centers. Our broader notion of territory is based, in part, on the work of Dematteis (1994) who describes the concept of territorial milieu as an evolution from the environmental and physical notions of territory to one that captures the institutional thickness and complex social networks of urban-rural territories. Thus, by incorporating the idea of territorial milieu into our concept of urban management tools we offer a richer concept of sustainability defined as the interaction among environmental, social and economic factors (see Governa, 1998, for example).

The rationale of CLUD as new urban integrated management tool establishes its principles by rethinking to the Cluster Analysis and its current role to make urban plans and projects. As matter of fact, the urban clustering, Cluster development (or cluster initiative or Economic Clustering) is the economic development of business clusters.

The cluster concept has rapidly attracted attention from governments, consultants, and academics since it was first proposed in 1990 by Michael Porter. Many governments and industry organizations across the globe have turned to this concept in recent years as a

means to stimulate urban and regional economic growth.

Clusters in themselves are nothing new. As early as 1890, Alfred Marshall introduced the notion of industrial districts, highlighting the benefits of economic activities being concentrated in a small area.

In the late 1970s, the economist Giacomo Becattini picked up on the idea, applying it to the industrial organization of northern Italy. In the 1990's, Michael Porter defined clusters as follows: "geographic concentrations of interconnected companies, specialised suppliers, service providers, and associated institutions in a particular field that are present in a nation or region. Clusters arise because they increase the productivity with which companies can compete" A new perspective arises by the last definition of urban cluster, that produce at European level an advanced conceptualization of Urban Cluster Critical mass of companies, public bodies and research institutions working in the same area of knowledge and coming together to fulfill common projects" (Josep Miguel Pique, General Director 22@barcelona - International Symposium Urban Cluster, 2007, 2008, 2009).

The idea behind CLUDs is to create a more self-reliant and local urban rural alliance based on the goals of sustainable economic development, social cohesion, and environmental protection. We envision CLUDs as an alternative to the development strategy of globalization, which often sacrifices local differences in order to standardize commercial practices. The long run goal of CLUDs is to strengthen local commercial activity by preserving the diversity of local territories. The aim is to create strong commercial and cultural links between urban centers and their rural neighbors by promoting the consumption of local foods and the products of small scale local manufacturers and retailers within the CLUD territory.

Ideally, CLUDs will promote local strategies for sustainable development that are designed to preserve local identities against the current trend towards homogenization of tastes and habits and, thus, to maintain the stock of cultural, biological, and other types of diversity across Europe. In order to trigger competitiveness inside the territorial milieu, CLUDs are designed to foster the growth of competitive urban platforms that can serve as "windows" through which global markets can view the economic and cultural products of the territory.

The innovation at the heart of CLUDs is to provide a more creative role for the public sector than can be found in other urban regeneration tools, like BIDs.

However, the role of the public sector in CLUDs is not to lead but to facilitate the development of regional networks between urban and rural areas based on a broad spectrum of shared interests, including economic, social, and environmental (see for example, Bengs and Schmidt-Thome 2005). For example, in order to facilitate economic development and integration in their region local authorities might deliver integrated packages of services, aimed to foster investments and entrepreneurship, ranging from subsidies for investors to public investments for upgrading premises, and from training schemes for specific groups to consulting/coaching for local entrepreneurs. We believe that a regional instead of an exclusively urban perspective towards regeneration tools adds depth to the role of urban platforms in the long run pursuit of the three components of sustainability:

- environmental component: particularly by reducing transportation costs and by linking the urban logistic to the regeneration process
- economic component: through cost minimization as a result of shared management, as happens in BIDs, but also by applying locally-led place branding and place marketing concepts, i.e. by maximising the potential of the place in terms of image and identity
- social component: particularly by emphasising the identity and participatory features, also by enlarging the involved stakeholders, as a way of resisting the threat of cultural homogenization

More in particular, the goal of CLUDs Project is to push the body of knowledge forward, by combining the private-led approach still underpinned in the majority of current urban regeneration tools, such as BIDs, with sustainability. In terms of urban management, the new suggested tools, named CLUDs, are designated areas, reflecting the rationale of Economic Opportunity Zones, in which local authorities deliver integrated packages of services, aimed to foster investments and entrepreneurship, ranging from subsidies for investors to public investments for upgrading premises, and from training schemes for specific groups to consulting/coaching for local entrepreneurs. The rationale of the CLUD is to provide critical mass to targeted urban areas through the connection with a broader network of local producers, thus fostering the concentration of services (urban competitiveness) by connecting them to the production of goods in the wider territorial milieu (urban-rural balance).

Some authors (Ache and Andersen 2008) suggest that re-crafting public-private interaction mechanisms could

led to better balance urban competitiveness and cohesion. The conceptual hypothesis of the proposed model is based on a different assumption. The innovation of the proposed new tool seeks to moderate the neo-liberal approach still dominating current urban regeneration tools, such as BIDs, through the idea of territorial balance. By re-engineering urban management current tools in terms of governance and by shifting from an urban-centred to a regional-focused perspective, capable to incorporate also the rural network through a cluster approach, the concept of territorial milieu comes to fore as an asset for the sustainable urban platform in order to implement the three essential components of sustainability (Environmental, Economic and Social components).

In so doing, the urban- rural relationship can play an important role (Bengs and Schmidt-Thome 2005). As highlighted by the same authors, “the added value of the urban-rural relations and partnerships in relation to promotion of regional development and regional co-operation in general remains an open question (p. 37)”.

This can have huge impacts in particular on food chains, as “the agricultural industrialisation and modernisation have also contributed to an increasing detachment of the agriculture from the traditional urban-rural axis, where the city was the marketplace of the food produced in the countryside. The challenge is thus to reconnect agriculture with the urban and rural, that is, to bring food back to localities and urban-rural settings.

This reconnection is certainly likely to be partial and selective. It is dependent on the markets – mainly in the urban areas – and the ability/will of the actors along the food supply chain both in the urban and rural areas to provide the supply. The motivation behind the reconnection can be manifold, for instance the urge for a higher quality of food or the attention to and the respect for the origins of the various products. Also the food security has become an issue induced by the various food scandals in Europe. More attention is paid to the origins of different food products and to the production methods employed, which calls for enhanced transparency of the process. The possibilities and interest of the rural actors to answer the call of the urban population certainly vary, as well as the will of the urban population to pay more for the transparency or the “regional touch”. The added value for both urban and rural stakeholders depends on the functioning of the whole chain.” (p. 79 and 80).

The potential for a place-based urban management tool such as the proposed tool could be exploited both by acting on the local producers chains, which can have many interesting impact in environmental terms

especially in the mentioned food chains (it is worth noting that a very high percentage in the final fresh food price is up to transportation costs, which could be reduced by using locally-produced food with benefits for consumers' pockets as well as for the carbon footprint reduction), in addition to the broader locally-produced (and provided) goods and services.

Commercial areas better linked to the place would be also less vulnerable in terms of turn-over of workers, as big retail chains can be more easily re-located, thus impacting the neighbourhood social turnover.

Finally, local commercial retails tend to be more adaptable in dimensional terms, thus allowing urban patterns, which are closer to the traditional city, i.e. based on a fine grain which support mixed-use, walkable streets, pedestrian vivid environment, because they are less influenced by standardised features required by the corporations policies on average surfaces and other functional and aesthetical rules

THE CLUDs MODEL

The attempt to determine a relationship between urban competitiveness and rural development derives from our thesis concerning the increasing value return of urban-rural economic structure, instead of their traditional divergence in defining public development policy. More precisely, we argue that the extension of the urban regeneration "competitive" approach by incorporating in it a more sustainable perspective, by making worth of the values of the territorial milieu as a whole, is the new challenge of Cohesion policy in the European Space. Exploring the contents of this kind of public policies in urban-rural contexts aims at individuating the future scenarios that might arise with more investment in public private partnership towards integrated urban-rural management tool.

The CLUDs model is an integrated urban-rural management tool to be structured according with a rural/urban view of regeneration process.

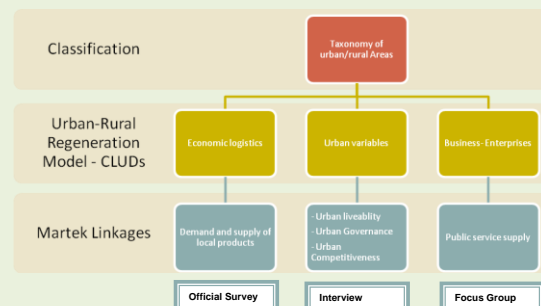
This purpose is technically reached by using a structure indicators for testing urban-rural areas and, at the same time, by using identification criteria to classify urban-rural areas, according to national and European statistics.

The methodological approach used to set up the model comes from the huge family of urban marketing techniques, based on evaluation of business local initiative by connecting entrepreneurial return of scale with local welfare empowerment (Bradley, Hall, Harrison, 2002).

The background is related to the new urban growth geography due to globalization effects. Small and intermediate urban centers plays an important role in facilitating exchanges between rural and urban areas: *Rural populations depend on these urban services, including access to traders and markets to dispose of their agricultural produce and to access the retail stores and other facilities located in local urban centres.*(Tracey-White, 2005).

The model set up is based on a structure of indicators and criteria that guide the local decision makers together the community to attain the best result in combining urban features with rural products in a territorial milieu.

The power of the model is about how the indicators' structure is built and what is the role of each group of indicators with respect policy makers and the focus group of stakeholders, as it will be better explained in the following.



In order to achieve this objective, we have collected information from two national statistical offices that have considered urban-rural as a new source of information: the Office for National Statistics (UK) and The Unioncamere - National Commercial Chamber - (IT).

The Office for National Statistics (UK) offers a rural/urban definition supported by a Local Authority classification to introduce " a rural/urban view from Government statistics" according to the following objectives:

The Rural/Urban Definition was introduced in 2004 and defines the rurality of very small 2001 Census based geographies. Four settlement types are identified and assigned to either a 'sparse' or 'less sparse' regional setting to give eight classes of Output Areas. The Definition also applies to Super Output Areas and wards, but with a reduced number of settlement types.

The LA Classification was introduced in 2005 in order to differentiate between rural and urban for those statistics that are only available at LA level. It provides six classifications. Significant local government reorganisation in April 2009 meant that a change to the LA classification methodology was required. Additional classifications using the revised methodology have been created for a range of higher level geographies.

The Unioncamera of Italy offers statistics on some experiences of urban districts organized in historical and cultural centers of Italian cities with the objective to stimulate integrated activities related to commercial ones.

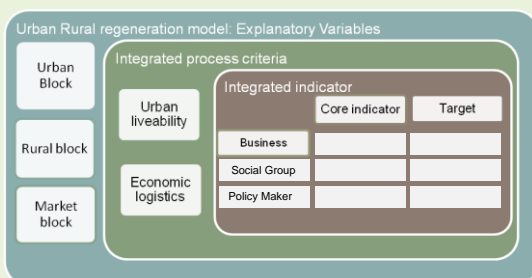
The early Italian experience on commercial centers in urban areas is close to the CLUDs rationale, as well the British experience in Business Improvement District.

The innovative scenario CLUDs defining is related to the sustainable drivers on regeneration process due to inclusion of territorial milieu.

The model set up is articulated in three steps:

1. Step: Urban-rural regeneration model: the explanatory variables
2. Step: Urban rural regeneration model: the integrated indicators
3. Step: Urban rural regeneration model: the project area sample

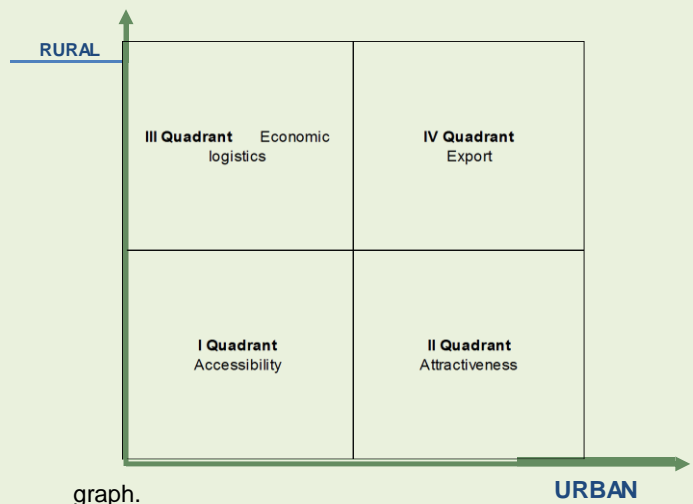
The first step aims at defining the integration by selecting explanatory variables from three main block of dataset: Urban, Rural and Market linkage. We argue that two principal criteria, urban livability and economic logistics, allow at transforming the explanatory variables sorted by each sector/block in integrated indicators. The latter becomes the exogenous variables of the model CLUDs.



The project area sample takes place from the combination of integrated indicator and spatial

indicators. Spatial indicators deal with the taxonomy of urban/rural areas, the accessibility level, the attractive index and the export zone. Moreover the combination of integrated and spatial indicators sets the rationale of territorial milieu.

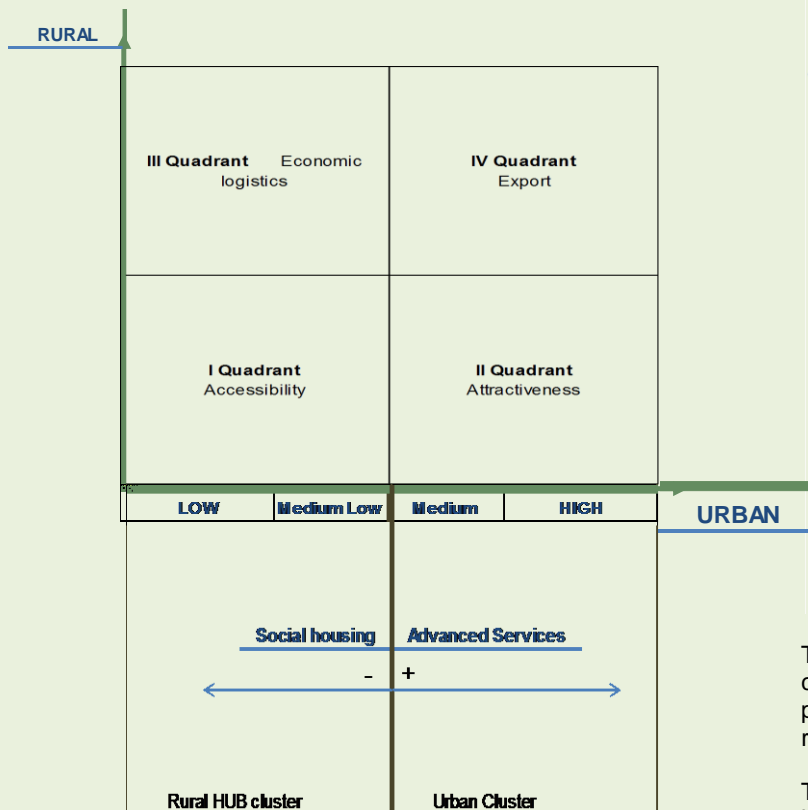
By considering urban and rural as two explanatory variable in a Cartesian system, where the X axis measures the level of urban typology and the Y axis measures the level of rural typology, the spatial indicators can be arranged as figured in the following



graph.

In the first Quadrant, where both Urban and Rural levels are low, the need of accessibility increases, due to lack of infrastructures. In the second Quadrant, where the level of urban is high the need of attractiveness increases. In the third Quadrant where the level of rural is high, the need of economic logistics increases for the local product commercialization. In the fourth Quadrant where both urban and rural levels are high the need of export services increases.

If we make a graduation of the both levels urban and rural by a 4 levels of grade (low, medium low, medium and high), it is possible to localize the supply of service, dividing in social housing, standard service, advanced services.



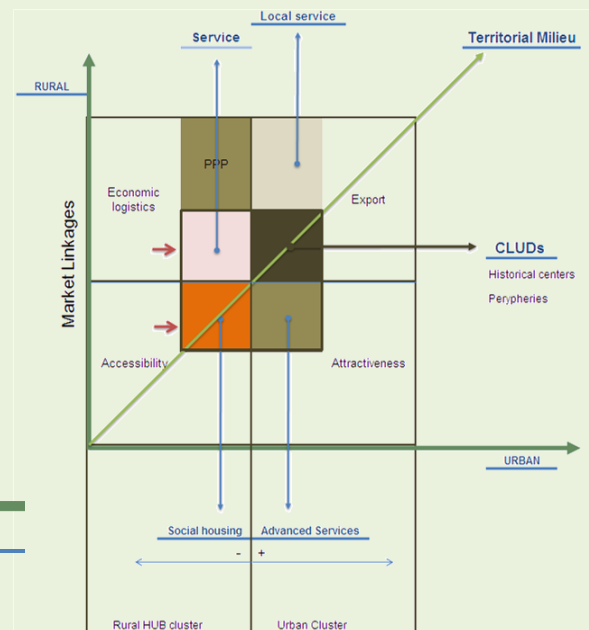
At medium level of Urban starts the supply of advanced services, whilst at the medium low level of urban starts decreasing the supply of social housing. At the medium level of rural starts the supply of local services.

The first and the third quadrant define the rural hub cluster, whilst the second and fourth quadrant define the urban cluster.

The combination levels – from medium low to medium level -, of both urban and rural can be argued as the best localization of CLUDs area by emphasizing the territorial milieu (urban-rural balance).

We argue that the implementation of the CLUDs model defines a new urban/rural hierarchy based on the territorial milieu rationale and characterized as following:

- CLUDs area historical center, peripheral areas, marginal areas
- Rural HUB cluster
- Urban Cluster.



The CLUDs model can be considered a new paradigm capable to build urban rural territorial networks by putting together urban competitive platforms and rural regions.

The testing process of the model CLUDs implementation is the object of the research activities developed by the international network of research units comprehending different European and American cities. The cities are Manchester, Rome, Reggio Calabria, Helsinki, Boston and San Diego.

The urban areas included in these cities will be selected according to the following criteria:

- city centre areas with a high potential of regeneration, with blighted enclaves or empty underdeveloped sites;
- urban peripheral areas with a high potential in terms of urban-rural linkage.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, the potential for implementing a new paradigm, capable to build on the urban rural territorial networks by putting together urban competitive platforms and rural regions is high.

The evolution of BIDs is related to the rationale of the CLUD, that is to provide critical mass to weak urban area through the connection with a broader network of local producers. In social terms, it implies to rest on a

solid territorial milieu, by encouraging a stronger network and engaging local stakeholders in the process as well.

In economic terms, evidences show how the Business Improvement District model works only if an adequate number of enterprises (usually between 500-700) are concentrated on a specific area and are capable to get responsibility for delivering certain common services; while the idea under the CLUD model is that even in those areas, in which a critical mass is not achievable yet, it will be possible to fill the gap by involving actors from the broader territorial context, which can have a interest in sharing responsibility for maintaining a high level of competitiveness in one concentrated area and deliver their goods in the CLUD.

CLUDs could probably become also good vehicles for promoting local consumption of locally produced goods, which is in a core question. In terms of global/local relations, the local consumption of locally produced products can be promoted by political decisions made on the local level, also by implementing specific incentive-based programs. This concerns building and planning, energy supply, transport as well as food. All these land-bound economic sectors are in most European countries subjected to oligopolistic organization, but by local initiatives oligopolies can be deprived of their markets.

Further research on this topic may include experimental pilot action-plans in targeted cities to test the proposed tool, as well as in-depth study on existing BIDs aimed to verify, through interviews to stakeholders and predictions based on quantitative models, the potential for a more integrated urban-rural platform.

Starting by the assumption that the *European Research Area will deeply root knowledge in society and free Europe's knowledge potential in all its dimensions: people, infrastructures, organisations, funding, knowledge circulation and global cooperation* the relevance of the proposal is based on the contribution to make urban regeneration matter more innovative with the integration of urban-rural relationships by defining a new model of urban management based on the following concerning:

(a) The rationale of the CLUDs - Commercial Local Urban Districts - is to provide critical mass to weak urban area through the connection with a broader network of local producers, thus fostering the concentration of services (urban competitiveness) by connecting them to the production of goods in a wider territorial milieu (urban-rural balance).

(b) CLUDs could represent an alternative model to the current de-structured organization of small retails both in urban areas, whose commercial role is declining thus causing a loss of quality in public spaces, and in urban areas, whose mono-functional use need to be retrofitted to allow a more integrated and balanced use.

(c) Locally grounded networks of small retails and producers, joined together in order to maximize the cost-effectiveness of added services, can improve the capacity of offering innovative services to the customers, thus reinforcing the role of the small retails in urban areas.

(d) public expenditure shall support a re-organization of urban areas capable to support this process with a cross-cutting and multi-level approach, i.e. to enhance the level of functional and social integration with specific attention to the small retail.

The CLUDs supposed to be experimented at urban level and concerning the urban sustainable development can give many results:

- the construction of an intervention model even flexible, which can be extended to other urban contexts;
- the formulation of innovative process in the planning process;
- the stimulation of new organisation job processing apt to sustain the new firm growth;
- the check of new initiatives in urban context based on strong relation between supply and demand.

In conclusion, this paper contributes to increase interest in a more holistic and inclusive approach in development policies and planning, by suggesting to apply sustainability in its wider meaning, also with the aim to cope with the distortions of a globalised market.

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2. Local economy as driver of urban regeneration

Edit by Alan W. Dyer

CREDIT ACCESS AND URBAN REGENERATION IN THE UNITED STATES

by Alan W. Dyer

The problem

A key objective of the Commercial Local Urban Districts (CLUD) project is to explore different ways in which local economic activity can serve as a catalyst for urban regeneration. One approach to realizing this objective is to examine the linkages between local commercial activity and the broader urban environment, including various types of public private partnerships and their role in fostering local economic development (Weissbourd and Bodini, 2005). In particular, it is widely accepted among economists that a healthy commercial sector depends, among other things, on a reliable system for the creation and distribution of credit.

One of the questions motivating the research agenda of CLUDs is whether or not it is possible to devise economic growth strategies centered on local and regional initiatives rather than on global and national ones. The reason for emphasizing local and regional economic growth strategies is that the overall goal of CLUDs is to explore new tools for local urban regeneration broad enough to be applied in a variety of cultural and historical milieus, yet sensitive enough to capture the unique qualities of different locales.

One approach to studying the processes of economic growth and development that stresses the importance of local and regional factors is Joseph A. Schumpeter's theory of the entrepreneur and innovation (Schumpeter, 1934). Schumpeter's ideas can be used as a framework for identifying important economic means of urban regeneration by focusing our analytical attention on those circumstances that serve best to create and sustain a local entrepreneurial culture.

Various regional and local experiments with entrepreneur-based strategies of development pre-date the CLUDs project. Interesting and well-documented examples of these experiments in the United States are associated with the activities of the Appalachian Regional Commission (Markley, 2008). In addition, several participants at President Barack Obama's May 2010 Presidential Summit on Entrepreneurship raised theme similar to those of the CLUDs project. Jerry Yang, co-founder of Yahoo!, told participants that in order for entrepreneurs to flourish their needs to be "an

entire ecosystem" that includes "education, capital, and research and development." Ehab Abdou, from the Brookings Institution's Middle East Youth Initiative, echoed Yang's view of what it means to create a culture of entrepreneurship and outlined the work to be done in a series of questions: "What kind of networks does it establish? What kinds of funds will come out of it? What kind of ... concrete recommendations for legal reforms need to take place?"

The relationship between economic development and a vibrant local culture of entrepreneurs can be expressed in simple terms: entrepreneurs are those individuals who "revolutionize" the local economy through innovation, which means the introduction of new products, new technologies, or new markets (Schumpeter, 1934).

Perhaps the single most important institutional requirement in order for entrepreneurs to succeed in their role as economic innovators is access to financial means in order to hire the resources needed to produce and market products (Schumpeter, 1939). The financial sector in a community that lacks either an active, home-grown commercial sector or the means to attract outside commercial interests is unlikely to have sufficient funds or the inclination to take a risk on novice entrepreneurs. The obvious problem in such communities is how to stimulate new entrepreneurs when the requisite financial means and institutions are absent. While the funds necessary in order to stimulate innovation may come from public sources, the aim of CLUDs is to explore novel methods through which local entrepreneurs can obtain financing with the help of institutions that are either private or some form of public-private collaboration.

Private credit creation

Entrepreneurs typically seek financing from a bank or other financial intermediary in order to hire the labor, capital, and raw materials required to start a new enterprise. Assume that a local start-up entrepreneur must rely on local commercial banks in order to secure the financing necessary to get his project off the ground because he has neither his own funds nor access to more complex types of financial intermediaries. Banks are, of course, profit-seeking enterprises in the business of buying and selling a product called "credit." A bank "buys" credit when it exchanges its debt (a liability of the bank in the form of an interest-bearing



- New products
- New markets
- New technologies
- New methods of production



account) for the assets of a depositor (now the owner of the bank's liability and not the funds they deposited at the bank). A bank "sells" credit whenever it agrees to loan money, in our case, to an entrepreneur. The interest rate the bank charges for its loan is the "price" the borrower must pay when he buys the banks "product".

The metric a bank uses in order to price the credit it sells to entrepreneurs is of particular importance to answering the question of whether or not the creation of an entrepreneurial culture is a realistic tool of urban regeneration. Banks consider a variety of factors when determining the prices they will charge for credit. The ultimate goal of a bank is to earn a profit on the spread between what it costs them to "produce" credit (what they must pay when they "buy" credit in the form of deposits from their customers) and what they earn when they sell credit (what the entrepreneur or other borrowers must pay when a bank "sells" them credit in the form of a loan).

Banks in communities with little or no economic growth are likely to have a low and predictable volume of depositor activity, meaning that their costs of producing credit are known. However, these same economic conditions suggest a high price for the credit sold by banks. The metric for setting the price of credit includes, for example, the creditworthiness of the borrower, the level and sustainability of the local demand for new product, as well as intangibles such as local tastes and preferences.

In relatively poor communities the outcome of applying this pricing metric will often lead to little if any credit creation. The risk and uncertainty of selling credit to an entrepreneur, who by definition engages in a risky and uncertain form of economic activity, are simply too high from the bank's point of view. If possible, it makes more commercial sense for the local bank to invest its assets elsewhere where the returns are less risky and greater than they are in the local community. In general, the expectation that bankers will calculate that it is profitable to make loans to untested entrepreneurs for untested products is not good. Consequently, if the aim is to create an entrepreneurial culture, stimulate local economic development, and open a path to urban regeneration, institutions other than traditional commercial banks or public agencies must serve the

important role of providing access to credit, the lifeblood of entrepreneurs.

Alternative financial institutions

One form of urban management tool identified in several of the case studies carried out in Boston is the community development corporation (CDC). Broadly defined, a CDC is a non-profit organization incorporated for the purpose of stimulating and supporting community development in a well-defined geographical location, using a variety of economic, social, and educational tools. Examples of CDCs in the Boston area include the Asian community development corporation, the Jamaica Plain neighborhood development corporation, and the Codman Square neighborhood development corporation.

One type of CDC, known as community development financial institutions (CDFIs), is of particular interest to the challenge of creating a entrepreneurial culture in areas where existing financial institutions are unable to justify financing entrepreneurs according to the metrics employed by a for-profit enterprise. The Boston Community Venture Fund, part of Boston Community Capital, is an excellent example of the sort of institution that can support a broad range of financial services in communities that lack an active financial sector. In the words of the Boston Community Venture Fund:

BCVF . . . invests throughout the Northeast, providing equity investments in high-potential businesses that create a "double bottom-line" of financial and social returns. We view job creation as a primary indicator of social return but also invest in businesses that provide quality goods and services to lower-income communities or other disadvantaged populations, enhance the stability of lower-income or rural neighborhoods, or are women or minority-owned business enterprises. In addition, we seek companies that produce products that enhance the environment or reduce pollution. (Boston Community Venture Fund. 2012)

There are a number of different forms in which CDFIs operate in communities across the United States (Democracy Collaborative. 2003). The list below illustrates the variety of options available for creating local financial institutions devoted to economic development, in particular, and urban regeneration, in

general. Included are the names of one of the first organizations created in each category and the date it was founded.

1. Community Development Banks: South Shore Bank in Chicago, 1973

2. Community Development Credit Unions: Center for Community Self-

Help, Durham, North Carolina, 1980

3. Community Development Loan Funds: nonprofit financial intermediaries, Revolving Loan Fund operated by the Institute for

Community Economics, Springfield, MA, 1979

4. Micro-enterprise Loan Funds: 340 micro-enterprise programs in 46

states helped start 40,000 businesses, 1998

CONCLUSION

An important finding of the research carried out in Boston is the way in which public private partnerships provide a foundation for urban regeneration, often focusing on economic factors as the catalyst for sustainable local initiatives. As an extension of this research it would be interesting to explore further the potential for community development financial institutions to serve as the spark of local financial development. It would enhance the analytical scope of the CLUDs project if the research could demonstrate how and to what extent CDFIs can improve credit access, stimulate entrepreneurial culture, and support a broader process of urban regeneration.

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TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY IN URBAN REGENERATION

by Davy Norris

Universities and Local Economic Development

Investments in higher education and cutting edge research have long been considered integral to economic prosperity and growth among countries. On the local level, universities have long been important economic drivers in their surrounding communities, and the expectation of their impact on the wider, regional economy has been growing dramatically in recent years. At the same time local and regional economic development strategy has undergone a transformation from the traditional commodity-town model focused on recruiting commodity industries from other locales by promoting a community as low cost (labor, land, taxes) environments for business to a model focused on regional collaboration, innovation, and entrepreneurship. The process has shifted over the last two decades from a top-down government model to a more collaborative, bottom-up model involving state, local, and federal governments, companies, business associations, colleges and universities, and other institutions. In this context universities across the United States and Europe are increasingly expected to take a leading role in economic development along with their traditional missions of education, research, and community service. From initiatives in workforce

development, community capacity-building or leadership training to efforts to build a culture of entrepreneurship, innovation, and technology commercialization universities have been stepping out of their traditional role to adopt economic development as a primary component of their mission.

If economic prosperity stems in large part from a community's ability to invent, invest, and reorganize—a process centered in the private sector—then basic policies and investments of the public sector serve as the foundation and preconditions to private sector growth and success. Growth (or revitalization) comes from small business, and in particular, from high growth small businesses developing new products, process, or new ways to deliver old ideas. The most effective local strategies are those that provide high quality local infrastructure in education, public services, and amenities; develop the quality of life infrastructure; cultivate openness, diversity, and tolerance to attract the creative community; and support the innovation enterprise and the regional innovation ecosystem. Key strategic components for success in local economic development include: early stage capital & entrepreneurial networks, effective and accessible local information networks (people, infrastructure, resources), and a focus on development that complements existing businesses (growing local and clusters). All of this is supplemented by building productive connections among/between businesses & other community assets such as higher education, government programs, and business services providers.

This transformation of economic development has created new challenges and new opportunities for universities. While many have ventured into the economic development arena, few institutions have managed their role strategically and many have failed to overcome the inherent obstacles and pitfalls for universities engaging in these types of activities. The few that have had some success have been able to demonstrate the potential for developing productive linkages between the university and the surrounding community and regional economy and having a major impact on regional economic revitalization. Universities that have the capability and foresight to assess their regional economy and effectively develop strategies for reaching out can enhance their surrounding communities through a variety of targeted initiatives

ranging from providing enhanced local stimulus spending, developing real estate, supporting workforce development to fostering innovation and entrepreneurship, and partnering with local industry to conduct applied research and educational activities that support regional competitiveness. To enhance their successful pursuit of an economic development mission, universities need to make efforts understand the composition of the regional economy, and where the university can contribute.

In some cases—depending on the university, the community, and the strategic initiative—these efforts require new structures or organization within the university and new or redirected resources. In any case, successfully pursuing an economic development mission will require seeding and growth of a new culture within the university—a culture of outreach and engagement with the community.

Universities are traditionally seen as having direct economic impacts on their community through attraction of students (and their subsequent local expenditures), faculty and staff salaries, and non-salary expenditures. And some universities have found innovative ways to enhance the impact of these traditional activities, including efforts to hire and buy locally. Innovative institutions have developed local partnerships to support hiring locally and building stronger economic ties to surrounding communities. Others have made a coordinated effort to identify and work with local businesses for purchasing. Small steps such as simplifying the purchasing process to make it more friendly to small local vendors can have a large impact. In some cases universities have required large national firms to undertake joint ventures with local firms for contracting. The University of Pennsylvania, for example, was able to increase its local spending from \$2.1 million in 1987 to more than \$55 million in 2000 through its “Buy West Philadelphia” program.

But it is through their non-traditional activities that universities have been most impactful in expanding the scope of their mission to incorporate economic development. These activities include a wide variety of government and business development, assistance and support activities that leverage capabilities and activities of university faculty and students.

- **Consulting and Assisting Business:** From basic business support services and technical assistance to networking, partnerships, and industry development activities (e.g., University of San Diego, CONNECT). In some cases this may overlap with professional business service providers, but usually the university offers a different set of capabilities that is not available or cannot be offered profitably by the private sector.

- **Supporting Better Government and Community:** Analysis, research, technical assistance and other activities needed for improving the functioning of government and development of policy (e.g., Arkansas State University, Delta Leadership Program).

- **Building Human Capital for the Future:** The traditional extended role of educating the workforce can also be leveraged to support workforce needs of regional employers or workforce goals of the community (e.g., Northern New Mexico College, CTE Programs).

- **Real Estate Development:** As colleges and universities expand and develop their substantial and growing real estate holdings, they can serve as anchors of local and regional revitalization—particularly in areas that may at first appear too risky for the private sector (e.g., Louisiana Tech University, Enterprise Campus). When this is done in collaboration with community partners, it produces the greatest benefits.

- **Generation and Nurturing of New Ideas:** This is the “University Innovation Enterprise” with components of entrepreneurship and technology transfer, and it is the newest role of universities in economic development. While in practice this is heavily focused on development and deployment of new technology from engineering and science, in a more general form the innovation enterprise can promote and support development of ideas from any field with application in any area of life from biosciences to graphic design to public administration.

Rapid technological innovation and its commercialization are the hallmarks of modern economic competitiveness and growth and universities have a crucial role in developing technology and catalyzing its commercialization. As a result, all of these economic development activities of the university can

be brought together under the broader concept of building the regional innovation ecosystem through business technical support, supporting public policy and governance, building workforce development systems to support 21st century knowledge industries, and promotion of entrepreneurship and technology transfer. Universities that pursue this holistic approach to a regional innovation-based economic development mission are realizing the most significant impacts on regional economies.

These non-traditional university activities are primarily--and optimally--pursued through external partnerships with other public or private entities in the region. Public and private entities bring different skill sets, different perspectives, different resources, and different motivations to the table. These partnerships can break each out of their inertial path. Public sector partners can limit the risk associated with certain types of ventures and make it more likely that the private sector will participate and succeed. But precisely because of these differences, forming and executing successful partnerships is a complex and delicate process. It's important to have a well-defined reason, need, and goal, and to identify the common ground and ways to connect. All parties must understand the potential mutual benefits, bring something productive to the partnership, and respect and value to different capabilities and perspectives of the other partners. The goals of partnerships to support a prosperous regional innovation ecosystem can be wide-ranging including:

- Accelerating the generation and movement of innovations from the university to market
- Better understanding/addressing needs of regional employers
- Enhancing competitiveness of existing area companies
- Filling critical gaps in funding for early-stage companies
- Enhancing educational experience for students
- Increasing the likelihood of new venture success and local economic impact

- Connecting partners with investment opportunities thru emerging technology companies

In addition to the obstacles for the traditional university expanding its activities to incorporate support for regional innovation ecosystems, there is the danger of losing focus and diminishing the quality of its education and research mission. However, colleges and universities harbor large, often untapped revitalization capability for their communities and regional economies. With the right strategies and the right partnerships they can fuel regional economic growth, have a major impact on regional economic revitalization, and do it in a way that is complementary of their traditional mission.

CULTURAL ASSETS IN THE US EXPERIENCE OF URBAN REGENERATION

by Gregory H. Wassall

What is cultural economic development?

The first step in this essay is to define the term “cultural economic development.” This in turn requires a working definition of “culture.”

Cultural economic development is often associated with the term “creative economy.” In reality, there are differences between the two. The term “creative economy” is generally used to describe a number of tangentially related industries, including the performing and visual arts, but also encompassing intellectual property industries, such as book, magazine and newspaper publishing, film, radio and television, patent-dependent industries and computer software, as well as higher education, science and engineering, architecture, high fashion and design.

Culture is both broader and narrower. One author describes culture in terms of activities that “involve some form of creativity in their production [and] are concerned with the generation and communication of symbolic meaning, and that their output embodies, at least potentially, some form of intellectual property” (Throsby). Cultural assets include architectural works, historic buildings and places, historic regions and districts, art, scientific and natural history museums. They also embrace the content of the art, scientific and

natural history museums. They further include language, literature, folklore, sport, music, drama and dance. Most of these forms of culture can be further broken into popular vs. traditional (or high) versions.

Another approach to defining cultural products is to contrast them with creative products. A definition which relates the creative economy to its cultural component describes a “cultural core” which “includes occupations and industries that focus on the production and distribution of cultural goods, services and intellectual property. Excluded are products or services that are the result of non-culturally-based innovation or technology” (DeNatale and Wassall).

Regardless of how culture is defined, cultural economic development addresses how a country leverages its cultural assets to create jobs and wealth.

Types of cultural economic development

Western Europe is viewed by most Americans as the source of the cultural and intellectual revolution that transformed the world’s population from one at a subsistence level to one that enjoys the benefits of a high standard of living and a rich cultural heritage. Western Europe can trace its cultural history back several millennia, and its countries have preserved much of their architecture and the artistic heritage. Countries in Western Europe, compared to the rest of the world, have large government infrastructures devoted to publicizing and preserving their cultural assets. Besides serving as a source of national pride for these countries, cultural assets play an important role in supporting their tourism industry. Indeed, it is common in Western European countries to link the display of their cultural assets to “cultural tourism.”

Compared to countries in Western Europe, the United States is in its cultural infancy. Although North America has been inhabited for millennia, historians generally trace the beginning of American culture from the first permanent settlements by Europeans. These occurred primarily in the seventeenth century, with the nation declaring itself as independent toward the end of the eighteenth century. However, large land areas in the West and Southwest weren’t heavily populated with U.S. citizens of European heritage until well into the twentieth century. The admission of the last two states into the union occurred only recently, in 1959. By that

time, immigrants had arrived from Asia as well as Europe, and the inflow of immigrants from Mexico and Central America had begun.

Because its development as a country is relatively recent, there is comparatively little recognition and awareness of a national cultural heritage in the U.S. Its language was adopted from that of its original settler/occupier, and its early art forms were subject to heavy European influence. Regional cultures, from the Puritan influence in New England to the Cajun heritage in Louisiana to the Spanish influence in the Southwest, predominate. It has only been in the past fifty years that federal government agencies have been created to foster development of the arts and humanities, and historic preservation.

Although tourism in the U.S. is an important industry, the motivations behind leisure travel in this country are more diverse. Recreation, shopping, the natural environment, and climate are important motivating factors as well as cultural heritage. It is instructive to compare the top ten tourist attractions (ranked by number of annual visitors) in the U.S. to the top ten tourist attractions in Italy. In the U.S., only one of the top ten could be construed as purely heritage – the National Mall in Washington, D.C. Two others combine heritage and commerce themes – Faneuil Hall in Boston and Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco. Most of the remaining attractions are commercial, ranging from the Las Vegas Strip to Disneyland and Disney World to Times Square. The last two are natural – Niagara Falls and the Great Smokey Mountains. The majority of the top ten tourist attractions in Italy fall into the heritage category, examples being the Venetian Canals, the Colosseum, and the Piazza del Campo. Others combine heritage and natural beauty, such as Positano and Lake Como. None is commercially-oriented.

This observation should lead us to review the definitions of culture discussed above. Cultural products in the 21st century are generally defined to include a broad swath of goods and services, including popular music, film, video production, and dance, high-end apparel, cuisine, jewelry, and other such things, in addition to the traditional forms of cultural heritage. Although far behind Europe in heritage goods and sites, the U.S. has

come to dominate world markets in the music, film, and video industries.

American cities and cultural economic development

Cultural economic development was initially viewed as tourists visiting cities and sites of historical and artistic significance. We have seen that cultural economic development can also refer to the economic benefits derived from production and distribution of products which are cultural in nature. Is there a relationship between intellectual property industries, such as music, film, video, gaming and literature, and living and working in cities?

Cities have been centers of job creation at least since the onset of the industrial revolution. The nature of the initial production processes required that complex products use human and physical capital resources located in the same place. As firms and people require services, various service industries also developed in the same location. Over time however, the production of many goods formerly produced in U.S. urban areas migrated to lower-cost locations outside the country. Left behind, depending on the city, were blighted urban areas, or places that compensated by introducing a new mix of products and services. Among the new products are those of the intellectual property and related entertainment industries.

These types of industries do not locate uniformly across the country. They are concentrated in specific regions. In some cases they are the most important industry in a region or city. Consider the film industry in Los Angeles, Silicon Valley in San Jose, Disney World and other theme parks in Orlando, the gambling and entertainment industry in Las Vegas, the country music industry in Nashville, and television programming, live theater, and world-class museums and classical music in New York City. Each of these industries relies on talented employees to produce products and services.

These products and services are not produced in a vacuum. One might initially assume that, with air travel becoming cheaper and the Internet having opened many new opportunities for interpersonal communication, proximity and face-to-face contact would have less value in production. However, as discussed in our companion piece on labor markets, close proximity of talented persons enables firms to

produce more of these kinds of products and services, and to innovate regularly. It also sends signals to talented persons as to where their best job opportunities can be found.

Numerous examples of how this synergy works could be cited, but consider just one. A classically-trained violinist doesn't have to land a job at the New York Philharmonic to earn a good living in New York City. She can find work with one of several other symphony orchestras that perform regularly in the city, or with the orchestras employed by the opera or the ballet. She can "freelance" on commercial jobs for the advertising industry, popular music recordings, or commercial television. She can teach at one of several music conservatories. She can form a chamber music group. That chamber music group may attract a following and induce tourists to attend concerts in New York. These opportunities are almost endless. None of them would be available to her if she lived in rural Montana. Looking at this relationship from the other end of the lens, none of the organizations that she might join would be as successful if they did not have a large pool of talented musicians living in the city to draw from.

Important sites of cultural heritage are geographically immutable, but the locations of many other urban amenities are more flexible. Great restaurants will be found wherever talented cooks and food critics choose to locate, and where there exists a knowledgeable and wealthy clientele. In the U.S. great art museums tend to be created wherever wealthy patrons wish to endow their art collections and financial resources. Silicon Valley was established because of its proximity to Stanford University, which many of its innovators and entrepreneurs attended. In almost every example noted earlier, the location of an American cultural industry was due more to serendipity and market forces than central planning.

Consumer City

Not every city can host a growing intellectual property industry or world-class museums and music organizations. A city does not need to have world-renowned cultural assets in order to be able to leverage them into economic benefits, and those assets do not necessarily have to be of historical significance. As professional workers have more freedom in choosing a place to live, some pundits have argued that their choice of where to work and where to live will increasingly depend on the cultural amenities in their preferred locations. For this class of worker, attractive cultural amenities are more likely to consist of good restaurants, an outstanding entertainment sector, and plenty of opportunities for recreation along with sufficient traditional culture.

Perhaps the foremost backer of this idea in the U.S. is Richard Florida. He observed that the numbers of persons in the labor force who hold creative jobs (however defined) is growing. For reasons discussed above this talented labor force prefers city life. Florida argued that it is incumbent on city planners to provide cultural amenities that these workers prefer, since they are footloose, generally well-paid, and will locate where they are most comfortable. Subsequently, many municipal officials became swayed by Florida's argument. In the past two decades they have invested considerable sums of public monies into developing a wider array of cultural and entertainment assets in their cities, even creating cultural zones, in the hopes of attracting more creative workers and the companies they work for.

Consumer city is a term coined by Edward Glaeser. He uses this term to describe cities which, in addition to the other roles they play, are consumption destinations. Glaeser notes that many cultural amenities, such as theaters, museums, symphony orchestras, four-star restaurants, major-league sports teams and theme parks can only operate profitably in a densely populated area, where their extensive fixed costs can be spread over large numbers of consumers. Wealthy and educated residents will pay a premium to live in such places. Some obvious examples are London, New York, and Paris.

Despite the differences in their themes, both Florida and Glaeser are making similar points. Both are stating that cities can generate economic development not only by attracting firms but by being destinations for well-heeled consumers, either as visitors or as well-heeled households looking for that "best place to live."

Cultural economic development and job creation

A useful distinction, touched upon in the examples above, is to categorize cultural goods and services as indigenous vs. exportable. Indigenous cultural goods include heritage sites and organizations which require visitation and attendance to enjoy. Exportable cultural goods are just that – they can be easily transported and enjoyed at other locations. The best examples would be literature, music, film and video. In today's world, cultural goods of this kind have become increasingly exportable, and are occupying an ever-increasing share of GDP in countries that produce them.

How cultural economic development unfolds in an urban area will depend on this indigenous-exportable dichotomy. A city such as Paris holds a large quantity of

cultural goods, ranging from its centrally planned development to its architecture and to its many art museums. As a consequence, it attracts tourists from all over the world, and ranks first in the world in number of visitors per year. A city such Los Angeles does not appear on the list of the world's ten most visited cities, yet it exports billions of dollars worth of film and video products worldwide each year. Almost half of all actors working in America live in the Los Angeles area. In its own way, each city is heavily dependent on cultural economic development.

The jury is still out on the relationship between cultural economic development and job creation. The major uncertainty regarding this relationship is one of causality. Does the development of a cultural sector cause job creation, or does the growth of other export industries create more demand for cultural products and services? In reality, both cases can apply to specific situations. Paris and Rome are examples of cities whose economies depend heavily on cultural tourism. The entertainment sector drives the economies of Los Angeles (exporting films) and Las Vegas (tourism). In cities whose major industries are in other sectors, cultural organizations typically develop in response to the needs of their residents, and do not drive the local economy.

Florida's assertion that a vibrant cultural sector will attract footloose young professionals, when put to empirical tests, shows mixed results. There are fast-growing cities in the U.S. which do not have large numbers of Bohemians and artists. There are slow-growing cities which do. Industries and their employees are drawn to urban areas which offer amenities other than internet cafes, jazz bars and museums. High-quality elementary and secondary education is generally a more important factor, according to surveys of firm location.

The role of government

Compared to most European countries, the US does not have a broad governmental infrastructure which supports arts, culture and historic preservation at the federal level. More activity takes place within regional, state, and occasional municipal cultural agencies. Unlike Europe, a major source of support for cultural activity in the U.S. lies in private individual, foundation, and corporate giving.

Decentralization and privatization of arts support leads to different outcomes than a centralized approach. A central, top-down model leads to consistency and uniformity in planning, with more emphasis on equity across regions and institutions. A decentralized model leads to greater regional differences and greater

innovation. A privatized model takes power from the hands of government planners and gives it to arts supporters and patrons, their influence depending on their wealth and powers of persuasion. Perhaps in a country such as the U.S., which is larger and more diverse than any single European country, the greater decentralization and privatization of arts support makes sense.

This is not to say that the federal government in the U.S. plays a minor role in promoting cultural economic development. It does so in other ways. To take one example, it plays a crucial role in protection of intellectual property via enforcement of patent, copyright and trademark laws. This function provides benefits to both for-profit and non-profit art forms, and is crucial to the American entertainment industries which play an important role in its economy.

With respect to culture and urban regeneration, municipal governments have become more active in using public funds to stimulate the development of cultural zones and cultural amenities. At this juncture it is not clear whether some, or all, of these efforts will achieve the desired economic benefits.

CONCLUSION

Leveraging cultural assets to enhance urban regeneration can be accomplished in very different ways. The United States and Western Europe offer an interesting contrast. Countries in Western Europe rely more on locations of historical significance and outstanding examples of architecture and high art, both visual and performing, to generate income from tourism. In the United States, there is greater reliance on income from popular art forms which act as export industries, and on creating centers of entertainment to attract tourism.

Cities are at the forefront of cultural economic development for a variety of reasons. Many heritage sites of cultural importance are located in or near cities. Due to high fixed costs, many types of cultural organizations, such as museums, symphony orchestras, opera companies, theaters, and theme parks, can only become successful when surrounded by a large audience found only in densely populated areas. For-profit organizations which produce cutting-edge creative products need a talented labor pool and tend to locate near university complexes to gain access to it; these also tend to be found in cities. Last, well-educated consumers prefer to live in cities which possess an abundance of cultural opportunities; consumption of cultural amenities is more strongly correlated with both education and income.

Clearly the majority of the labor force in most major cities is composed of people who do not work in arts, entertainment or heritage industries. People living in cities, being on average better educated than their rural counterparts, are interested in cultural amenities, ranging from museums and concert halls to bicycle paths, movie theaters and high-quality restaurants. A city which provides a good mix of cultural amenities has an advantage in attracting and retaining these individuals.

This does not imply that all efforts by urban planners to attract and retain well-educated, high-income residents by developing cultural resources will be successful. Many cities have other built-in or natural advantages – an appealing climate, a coastline, or a major, recession-proof industry that no amount of publicly-funded cultural amenities can overcome. Regardless, planners need to consider the role of an urban area’s cultural assets in the economic development process.

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3. Public Private Partnership and Urban Regeneration: EU and US Comparison

The chapter intends to outline the main features of Urban Regeneration initiatives fostered by different forms of PPP in EU and US contexts. A first glance on PPP definitions and implementation in Europe and USA represents the frame in which different related topics are developed.

Once defined the main difference between US and EU contexts in the implementation of PPPs, the attention is paid to different urban regeneration models found in both contexts. In order to give a general frame in which analysing the urban regeneration models, some European countries have been selected to offer different and specific picture about some of them.

In particular, the UK urban regeneration models represent a way to understand the peculiarity of this country, which seem closer to the US approach.

An overview about France models is developed with respect the way of the implementation of PPPs.

About Italy, amongst a huge family of urban regeneration initiatives the focus is paid on a specific initiative that seem more related to the CLUDs model, that is the Centri Commerciali Natutali, by whose the CLUDs rationale takes some interesting founding.

PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP IN URBAN CONTEXT

Jusy Calabrò, Pasquale Pizzimenti

PPP Definitions

During the last decades cities are facing with a series of questions that are threatening their future and people's quality of life. Among these, climate change, sustainability and urban regeneration emerge. Thus, several tools have been developed to cope with such problems.

The 1990s have seen the establishment of public-private partnerships (PPPs) as a key tool of public policy across the world (S. Osborne, 2000), though taking from literature, we do not have a uniform definition of what a PPP is. Defining PPP is a complicated matter for a number of reasons. For some scholars, (Klijn and Teisman, 2003) Public-private partnership can be considered as a more or less sustainable cooperation between public and private sectors in which services are developed through risk and cost sharing. According to Bovaird (2004, p. 200) PPPs are "working arrangements based on a mutual commitment (over and above that implied in any contract) between a public sector organization with any other organization outside the public sector".

Following the same rational Grimsey and Lewis (2007, p. 2) stated that "PPPs can be defined as arrangements whereby private parties participate in, or provide support for, the provision of infrastructure, and a PPP project results in a contract for a private entity to deliver public infrastructure-based services".

Osborne (2000) considers PPP as a means to achieve a number of public policy actions: to fight against social exclusion, integrating the public and the private components of local communities, voluntary groups; to reform local public services, making them accessible for all; improve the quality of the policy making process, through business-community links.

According to S.O. Collin (1998) PPPs could allow a municipality to gain access to specific skills or to create strong competitors to improve antagonism in the local market. Moreover, decentralization of governments, separation of responsibility for the purchase of public services from that of their provisions, contracting out public services to the private sector and the privatization of public services: many of these actions confuse the private and public boundaries each other (A. Turhani, G. Shquau, 2011). Not all scholars agree on the positive attitude of partnerships, because of private interests on public issues, for Hodge however (2009) the PPPs have a positive role because they are focused on the benefits of both the private and the public sectors.

As concern the balance of roles among partners, in PPP's both public and private parties share costs, revenues and responsibilities (Bult-Spiering, 2006). "Local strategies differ in their policy composition and institutional configurations, reflecting local circumstances and political choices" (Turok, 1999: p. 74).

"Some scholars (Fosler, Lyall, Davis), consider public-private partnerships a broad political alliance between city hall, or the mayor, and the business community to achieve collaborative efforts in revitalizing their cities for mutual benefit. Accordingly, public-private partnerships are regarded as a continuous process, requiring a stable network of interpersonal relationships developed over a considerable period of time" (Lyall, 1982: p.52 in Reuschke 2001).

PPP in the United States

After the Second World War US cities were affected by deeply social and economical changes that have brought to the adoption by the US Administration of specific policies and programs focused on urban development.

Since the 50s several US federal programs were approved by different US administrations to enhance urban development through Public-Private cooperation such as the Urban Renewal Program (1949-1974), Community Development Block Grants (CDBG – since 1974), Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG-terminated), all developed by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), (Reuschke 2007, p. 10). Then, during the period called post-urban renewal, the use of partnership increased and expanded thanks also to the activity of the Carter Administration and its National Urban Policy (1978).

Moreover, “PPPs were fostered in the 1980s by the Thatcher and Regan administration as the main strategy for urban development” (Mitchell-Weaver and Manning, 1991; Beuregard, 1998; in Miraftab, 2004). Public-Private Partnership in the last years has become the most useful tool not only to realize infrastructures but also to improve and enhance local economic development in order to manage transformation processes in brightened areas.

Particularly, in the United States public-private partnerships initiatives are located in all sizes and varieties of cities and they played an important role for the rebuilding of downtown in almost all big cities (D. Reuschke, 2007). Such policies and programs are active nowadays and are evolving into specific tools addressed to urban regeneration processes PPP-based. Some authors consider the Urban Renewal Program the early model of public-private partnership in urban development, where local government actions were focused to build-up the most favorable conditions to attract investments from the private sector to operate in urban context (Reuschke 2007, p. 7).

Nevertheless, public-private partnership, especially in the urban planning field, presents a set of complex variables that can make hard the implementation of these processes. Three factors seem to be relevant: the context, the actors and the balance situation among partners. Among the various definitions we can consider partnership like a form of co-operation between government and one or more private partners in a project with common interests via a distribution of decision rights, costs and risks (CPB, 2001 in Van Boxmeer 2005).

Furthermore, in USA the three main factors mentioned above present a high level of flexibility. Indeed, context changes for each city, subjected to the laws of different countries in which society is characterized by different level of democracy. Even though the use of Public-Private Partnership in US started with the aim to realize infrastructures, it expanded its applicability to the urban

context for the construction of new neighborhoods, for housing and services demand, and now it continues for the urban regeneration projects and maintenance.

Differences from European Model of PPP

The need to attract businesses and industry together with the reduced public resources brought to the implementation of Public Private Partnership to set in for the urban regeneration. In Europe during “the 1990s urban government faced a movement towards more differentiated forms of governance, and more sectors were getting involved in governing activities and decisions: urban government became urban governance” (Van Boxmeer, 2005, p.1). Thus, the passage from urban government to urban governance has facilitated the introduction and the application of PPP as a tool for urban regeneration.

We can argue that there is a strong difference between the use of PPP in Europe, mainly used for infrastructure realization, and in United States, used also for urban economic and regeneration processes. Originally, in Europe it was a form of privatization to cope with the lack of public borrowing to provide services and infrastructures. Nowadays we can consider PPPs in Europe in two principal different ways: “concession contracts, where the company gets paid by user charges – for example in water services, or toll roads” or “contracts typical of the private finance initiative (PFI) in the UK, where the company gets payments from a public authority” (D. Hall, 2008, p. 3). Moreover there is another kind of PPP, called “institutional PPP” by European Commission. According to Koppenjan (2005, p. 137) PPP is ‘a form of structured cooperation between public and private partners in the planning/construction and/or exploitation of infrastructural facilities in which they share or reallocate risks, costs, benefits, resources and responsibilities.’

Thus in USA there are different kind of public-private partnerships in urban development processes going from “task forces, formal organizations, corporations and even direct subsidies from public entities to private corporations have been described as public-private partnership” (Reuschke 2007, p. 8).

Furthermore, it is useful the distinction between formal and informal partnerships. The first one, are that partnerships based on an informal arrangements concerning planning in order to revitalize downtown; belonging to the second one are partnerships that take place through formal agreements as well as public-private institutions and corporations (Reuschke, 2007).

We can argue that in USA public and private actors are involved in different ways inside the process.

Particularly, as concern the balance of roles among partners, in PPP public and private parties share costs, revenues and responsibilities (Bult-Spiering, 2007) and the higher is sharing the stronger is the partnership (Van Boxmeer, 2005). However, “local strategies differ in their policy composition and institutional configurations, reflecting local circumstances and political choices” (Turok, 1999, p. 74).

So that agreeing on definitions, goals and functions of Public-Private Partnership broadly recognised could be a critical aspect on their application as well for multi-actor and multi-function approaches (Lyll 1982, Bult Spiering et.al, 2007. Nevertheless we can add that in spite of such differences a certain degree of flexibility can be traced according to the different shapes that PPPs can assume.

Since boundaries between public and private organizations are blurring and output and performance

Table 1. National context in Public-Private Partnership (source: Bult-Spiering M, Dewulf G (2006) *Strategic Issues in Public- Private Partnership*)

	US	EU
Causes		Financial crisis in the public sector Increased mobility of capital Increased complexity of government tasks Dominance of neo-liberal ideas
Autonomy	Private	Public
Bureaucracy	Fragmented competitive	Unitary central
Public-public relation	Indipendent	Dependent
Public-private relation	Stable	Weak
Leadership	Strongly organized local business elite	No local business leadership

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are the key indicators to evaluate public sector actions, the attention on PPPs fits this context because private and public sectors combine their efforts. Moreover, the most successful urban regeneration initiative rest on a proper balance between public and private actors, thus, on an effective implementation of PPP instruments.

For instance, as showed in the table above, the differences between USA and EU are particularly strong as concern autonomy, bureaucracy, public-private relations and leadership matters. On the contrary in UK we can observe, from the evidence, a hybrid system: the approach could be considered as point of contact.

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AN OVERVIEW ON THE MAIN URBAN MANAGEMENT MODELS IN THE US

By Valentina Brattelli, Enzo Falco, Alessia Ferretti, Carla Maione, Enrica Polizzi di Sorrentino, Luciano Zingali

Urban management models in US are strictly connected with the different forms of PPP used to accomplish local development objectives, mostly measured by the increase of the level of local employment.

According with the main feature that characterizes, in a general way, the PPP agreement in the US, with a central role played by organized local business elite, it is possible to focus on some common urban management models that can better describe a general approach undertaken in urban regeneration initiatives.

The selection of urban management models in the US has been driven from the analysis of case studies analysis developed in the Boston metropolitan area, enriched by a literature review to grasp the common features in the urban regeneration initiatives.

The main urban management models selected are:

- Business Improvement District
- Community Development Corporation
- Main Street
- Transit Oriented Development.

Business Improvement Districts

Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) belong to the wide range of policies internationally implemented to improve the economic vibrancy of urban communities and to foster revitalization in urban areas while promoting an innovative approach to the delivery of elementary yet consequential public services (Mac Donald, 2010, Mitchell, 2001).

The interest for BIDs is justified by their increasing number and geographic spread and their innovative organizational forms: due to several socioeconomic and political factors, in the 80s and 90s BIDs became a widely accepted strategy throughout USA and Canada and they rapidly spread throughout Europe, South Africa, Australia and Japan¹; moreover, they are significant examples of public-private partnership, since they reconsider the leading role of municipal governments while proposing community-based solutions to public problems in order to face a strong trend to decentralization (Grossman, 2008; Mitchell, 1999).

A Business Improvement District (BID) is a privately directed and publicly sanctioned organization (Hoyt and Gopal-Agge, 2007), usually small-business oriented (Grossman, 2008), supplementing public services and programmes within clearly defined boundaries in addition to what the Municipality can provide. The debate unanimously identifies nine priority supplemental services provided by BIDs: capital improvements, consumer marketing, economic development, maintenance, parking and transportation, policy advocacy, public space regulation, security, social services².

¹ The first BID was created in Toronto in 1969. With respect to USA, more than 650 BIDs exist (Grossman, 2008): the largest number of BIDs is found in California (190), New Jersey (103), New York, North Carolina, and Wisconsin; among cities, the largest number is in New York (41) and Los Angeles (17) (Mitchell, 2001). As far as other Countries are concerned, 1500 BIDs are estimated: 185 in Australia; 347 in Canada; 225 in European countries; 261 in Japan; 140 in New Zealand; 42 in South Africa (Grossman, 2008).

² Obviously, not only local conditions or organizational factors, but also the community size or the policy partnership established with local governments may affect service delivery.

Despite its widespread adoption, there is no standardization about BID's name, neither on rules for establishing and operating it. Nevertheless, BIDs are always to be authorized by law, permitting local governments to designate them as legally independent entities with special powers.

Even though a BID is always publicly authorized, it is traditionally privately promoted, started-up and managed: once established, it may be operated by a non-profit organization³, by private–public or public–non-profit partnerships, or by a government corporation⁴.

The financial tool supporting BIDs' work is a compulsory assessment⁵ levied on local property owners, businesses and commercial tenants in the area, while the revenues generated are directed back to the district (Mitchell, 1999; Hoyt and Gopal-Agge, 2007). Such an assessment does not exclude other sources of revenue, as voluntary donations, federal or state subsidies, funds from local government, sold goods or services (Mitchell, 1999).

The BID is a controversial model for urban revitalization: on one hand, BIDs have been credited with transforming deserted and distressed urban areas into interesting places, improving pedestrian experience and competing more effectively with suburban shopping malls (Mitchell, 1999), while quickly responding to changing needs of the business community, decreasing

As Mitchell (1999; 2001) shows, the leading service provided by BIDs is consumer marketing, while few BIDs are involved with parking/transportation services. Moreover, BIDs operating in big cities and with large budgets are more likely to be involved with maintenance and security activities; those in small towns and with modest budgets are more likely to be involved with capital improvements.

³ When identified as non-profit organizations, BIDs in the United States are primarily organizations of business interests, such as Chambers of Commerce and business associations (501-c(6) non-profit tax-exempt status).

⁴ Mitchell (1999) proves that the non-profit form is the most common in USA, followed by the mixed model and the government corporation. Moreover, generally the smaller the community is, the more likely the BID is run by a public agency, while the larger the community is, the more likely it is run by a non-profit organization.

⁵ The compulsory assessment, usually in the range of 1% to 3% of assessed valuation, depends not only on the size of the district and the local property value, but also on the assessment formula; the formula also vary widely, including square footage, gross revenue, a proportion of the benefits to be received, a frontage basis or some combination of these (Mitchell, 1999; 2001).

crime, reducing commercial vacancy rates and increasing property values. On the other hand, some authors question whether a BID may improve its district pushing problems and drawbacks into adjacent areas (Hoyt, 2005a), ignoring the needs of residential property owners and for not considering citizen input, creating social segregation through differential provision of services and violating the principle of the uniformity of taxation (Hoyt, 2005a; Mac Donald, 2010; Morçöl, 2010).

Despite such different remarks, the literature unanimously recognizes that the innovative key factor introduced by BIDs relies on the flexible form of urban governance they propose, namely the partnership designed to bring together public, private, and civic actors to achieve comprehensive community goals in primary business and mixed-use areas (Grossman, 2008). As remarked by Grossman (2010), it is misleading to diminish the public and the private contribution, since the viability of a BID as a resolution of the collective action depends on the existence of a strong relation between significant private actors and a deeply involved local government.

Community Development Corporations

Community Development Corporations (CDCs) are well known throughout the United States of America as non-profit organizations which aim at community social and economic development⁶ in low income and distressed communities. In order to understand the general reasons that back in the 1960s, starting with the federal programme "War on Poverty", led to the creation of these entities, their mission and focus, it is useful to refer to Goodpaster's work (1968, p. 645) who highlighted that the use of CDCs would function as "*a strategy designed to solve many of the problems of discrimination, poverty, lack of citizen participation, and the failure of governmental institutions*".

This statement indirectly shows the areas of interventions and objectives typical of CDCs work which mainly relate to community empowerment, organizing, social and economic development, youth programs and

⁶ Some figures may help understand the role of CDCs in USA. In 2005 there were an estimated 4,600 CDCs that operated across all 50 States, some 1,000 more than in 1998 (NECCED, 2005). Currently, in Massachusetts only, where some case studies from the Boston area have been investigated during the first year of this research (cf. Section 5.1), there are 90 CDCs members of the Massachusetts Association of Community Development Corporations (MACDC) (MACDC, 2011). By considering all 50 States, it is immediately clear the extent to which the role and work of these organizations can be important in the field of community planning and urban regeneration.

job training activities (Schwartz – 2010). This kind of entities are characterized by an Internal Revenue Service (IRS) 501 (c)(3) nonprofit tax-exempt status, which allows them to avoid some federal taxes (Stoecker, 1997) and to better carry out their social purposes.

After the first experiences of the late 1960s when there was widespread federal funding and support for such initiatives⁷, their focus switched from economic development towards affordable housing provision as a means through which community improvement could be delivered (Peirce & Steinbach, 1990; Vidal, 1992). Subsequently, federal funding was drastically reduced during the Regan's administration in the 1980s. In spite of this, the number of CDCs nearly doubled between 1981 and 1986 (Gittel and Wilder, 1999).

Community Development Corporations have at the basis of their missions and work specified geographic areas and communities, following a place-based approach (Vidal and Keating, 2004). Target areas are generally urban neighborhoods, or portions of these, with a weak economic and social structure. The rationale which supports their work can be found in Teitz's words (1989) who argued that neighborhoods may be effective economic development and employment generators thanks to the cohesion and mutual support which can be found in such communities. Thus, the CDCs social and economic development model strongly relies on bottom-up approaches and procedures where residents' participation and involvement becomes central to the achievement of their mission and vision. As such, the benefits of CDCs, compared to governmental agencies and institutions, are linked to their ability of responding to, and take advantage of, development opportunities in a quicker and more flexible way than government-related organizations.

Over the years the debate about CDCs and their role has been very intense and marked by different views and assessments. A very important contribution in this sense is the work by Stoecker (1997) where the author critically analyses the CDCs model and compares different views. The author argues that there is no tangible proof of greater benefits related to CDCs activities in physical as well as economic and social development. It is not clear whether investment and development carried out by other organizations or developers, whether public or private, would have led to better or poorer results.

⁷ Federal funding was put out in 1966 under the Special Impact Program (later Title VII) of the Equal Opportunity Act of 1966 (Vidal and Keating, 2004).

The factor which would lead to CDCs failure have to do with their limited resources, productivity and expertise in different fields such as finance, real estate, planning and land use regulations, which she calls "limits to comprehensiveness". However, this statement can easily be subject to criticisms. In fact, what kind of organization could be considered as having a high level of comprehensiveness within one single department? For example, a housing or planning department is very likely not to have expertise on financial and investment matters and vice versa, and efficient and effective communication and relationships between different departments of the same organization are not easy-to-achieve goals.

On the other hand, some authors (Hamilton, 1992; Bratt, 1989; Vidal, 1992; Zdenek, 1987) advocate CDCs as being able to responsively meet community needs and requirements and to represent community interests better than city-level administrations. Moreover, CDCs should not be expected to have high productivity for at least two reasons: firstly, they operate in weak neighborhoods and markets often characterized by disinvestment and high unemployment rates, that is the reason why for-profit developers normally avoid such areas; secondly, high productivity is not CDCs' main goal and their activity and work should not be evaluated by a parameter which they do not take into consideration when defining and setting out their programs and investments.

An important study conducted by Walker (2002) showed that there were positive results in the neighborhoods of 23 surveyed cities where CDCs operated. The paper, acknowledging the increasing size of the CDC industry, shows that positive effects were produced with reference to the number of affordable housing units delivered and general quality of neighborhoods, reflected in the rising residential values.

This short section has sought to provide an evidence of the importance of CDCs and their activities and programs within the American reality of urban regeneration and neighborhood-based economic, social and physical development. Examples of CDCs in the city of Boston (Madison Park Development Corporation and Jamaica Plain Neighborhood Development Corporation) are discussed and analysed in the chapter 5 as one of the major instances of partnership and collaboration between public and private sector entities intended to deliver revitalization and regeneration objectives.

The Main Street Approach

Over the last decades, Main Street Programmes have emerged throughout United States of America as a

practical response to urban revitalization policies. Implemented in distressed neighbourhoods with coordination both at state and at local level, Main Street Programmes may offer valuable contributions to the development of “integrated area-based public-private sector partnerships” [Coca-Stefaniak 2009].

Launched in 1977 by the National Trust of Historic Preservation⁸, Main Street Approach is “a preservation-based economic development tool that enables communities to revitalize downtown and neighbourhood business districts by leveraging local assets - from historic, cultural, and architectural resources to local enterprises and community pride” [National Trust of Historic Preservation]. The approach integrates different redevelopment strategies – such as “pedestrian malls”, “festival marketplace”, “mixed-use centres” and “historic preservation” - put in practice since the '60 as a response to the negative consequences of the suburban shopping malls [Robertson 1997].

Since the creation of the National Trust Main Street Center in 1980, more than 2000 communities throughout the U.S.⁹ have been involved in this programme and many Main Street Inc. have been created as non-profit organizations. This juridical form, stated as a 501 (c) (3) corporation, allows Main Streets to receive public grants, to benefit from tax exemptions and, within certain limitation, to lobby for their interests.

Whereas other regeneration schemes, like BIDs (Business Improvement Districts) and CDCs (Community Development Corporations), are focused on pooling business services or empowering local communities, the Main Street's scheme includes both, following an incremental and integrated approach. On one side, Main Street Approach relies on historic preservation as a tool for taking advantage of the abundance of old and underused buildings [Dono 2009] and on commerce as a leverage for the regeneration of urban contexts, restoring downtowns as centres of the community's social and commercial life. On the other side, Main Street Approach is defined as a grassroots

movement, as a flexible bottom-up approach to community development and civic partnerships.

Essentially, Main Street revitalization strategy is focused on improving the physical asset of a district and, at the same time, increasing the involvement of local stakeholders and of the community itself. It can be considered as a “governance platform” where communities, public entities and the private sector work together on a shared vision for the regeneration of a specific area.

The local non-profit organization (Main Street, Inc.) operates through a volunteer board composed by local businesses, property owners, residents and members of other local associations and is structured in multiple committees, combining different activities in four intersecting issues:

Organization, to build consensus and partnerships among stakeholders;

Promotion and marketing, to create a positive image and identity of the district through special events and retail promotions;

Design, to create an attractive environment through physical improvements of buildings, storefronts, open spaces, public art, etc.;

Economic restructuring, to strengthen existing local assets, to diversify its economic offer and attract new investments.

Funding is usually collected as local revenues from businesses, residents, property owners and visitors, but also from fund-raising projects and corporate donations. Technical assistance, training and sometimes financial support in form of grants are provided by the state/city government.

In this partnership scheme two relevant elements emerge and have to be highlighted. First of all, the changing role of the public sector, “from that of a resource provider to a resource broker, partnered with grassroots civic leader from the private sector” [Shepard 1992]. Secondly, the active and direct involvement of local communities in a flexible regeneration framework, meaning that every Main Street may be different because of different needs and assets, environments, stakeholders and even partnerships, since they respond to local challenges and opportunities [Dane 1997]. Also, even if the model, as it is conceived, does not address housing, social or employment issues (Torre 2005), public security and

⁸ The National Trust for Historic Preservation, founded in 1949 is “a privately funded non-profit organization that provides leadership, education, advocacy, and resources to save America's diverse historic places and revitalize our communities”. In 1980 the National Trust Main Street Center was created in order to coordinate the various Main Street Programmes.

⁹ As of spring 2010, 46 active Main Street Coordinating Programs are operating across the United States. They include 37 state programs, seven citywide Main Street programs, and two regional coordinating programs.

transportation, some Main Streets may set priorities to cope with specific local needs.

An attempt to more generally categorize Main Streets is given by the work of Seidman [2004]. Based on their primary agenda and area of activities, districts may be oriented to a comprehensive development goal or may act to promote business services and redefine their image; finally, some of them operate to strengthen their organizational capacity.

While much of the thin literature has focused on describing local Main Street's practices [Geisman 2004; Waxman 1999; Van Arsdale 2003; McDaniel 2002; et al.], less work has been done to critically understand key factors leading to a proper regeneration strategy. As shown in the work of Robertson [2004] some contextual differences in the application of the four-point approach emerge. In his survey on 40 Main Street Programmes, there is much evidence that "Promotion" is the most utilized tool whereas "Economic Restructuring" only applies to few cases.

This leads to the question whether the approach is utilized as a kind of "territorial marketing" strategy. Declared as an integrated programme, Main Street Approach risks to be too vague and reduced to superficial interventions, like storefront renewals, without any connection with a comprehensive regeneration strategy. Besides the problem of political stability to assure continuity in a long-term strategy, partnership seems to be the most critical element. Not only, as highlighted by Robertson [2002] and Greenwood and Hillmer [2002], it becomes of the utmost importance to broaden the political and economic support for the initiative, but also for creating an "urban leadership" [Hemphill, Mcgreal and al. 2006], a more responsible community that increases the financial and human value of local resources.

As shown in the chapter 5, the case of Boston Main Street Programme has been chosen with a twofold purpose. First of all, being Mayor Menino the main supporter of Main Street Approach and in charge since 1993, the negative effects of the "political variable" are softened. This allows focusing on the different impacts of several Main Street projects, as Boston is the widest Coordination Programme at local level with 19 projects throughout the city.

Transit Oriented Development

The TOD, Transit Oriented Development, is a mixed-use community that encourages people to live near transit services and to decrease their dependence on driving (Still 2002, Bernick and Cervero 1997, p. 5), or "The practice of developing or intensifying residential

land use near rail stations, moderate and high-density housing, along with complementary public uses, jobs, retail and services, are concentrated in mixed-use developments at strategic points along the regional transit systems"(Cathorpe 1993, Boarnet and Crane 1998A, Salvensen 1996).

The Transit Oriented Development has been defined in many different ways "The practice of developing or intensifying residential land use near rail stations" (Boarnet and Crane 1998A). "Development within a specified geographical area around a transit station with a variety of land uses and a multiplicity of landowners" (Salvensen 1996). "A mixed-use community that encourages people to live near transit services and to decrease their dependence on driving" (Still 2002). "A compact, mixed-use community, centered around a transit station that, by design, invites residents, workers, and shoppers to drive their cars less and ride mass transit more. The transit village extends roughly a quarter mile from a transit station, a distance that can be covered in about 5 minutes by foot. The centerpiece of the transit village is the transit station itself and the civic and public spaces that surround it. The transit station is what connects village residents to the rest of the region. The surrounding public space serves the important function of being a community gathering spot, a site for special events, and a place for celebrations—a modern-day version of the Greek agora" (Bernick and Cervero 1997, p. 5).

The TOD option is also defined as:

- A "Moderate to higher density development, located within an easy walk of a major transit stop, generally with a mix of residential, employment, and shopping opportunities designed for pedestrians without excluding the auto. The TOD can be new construction or redevelopment of one or more buildings whose design and orientation facilitate transit use" (California Department of Transportation 2001),
- "A place of relatively higher density that includes a mixture of residential, employment, shopping and civic uses and types located within an easy walk of a bus or rail transit center. The development design gives preference to the pedestrian and bicyclists, and may be accessed by automobiles" (Maryland Department of Transportation 2000);
- "A mix of residential, retail and office uses and a supporting network of roads, bicycle and pedestrian ways focused on a major transit stop designed to support a high level of transit use.

The key features of TOD include:

a) a mixed-use center at the transit stop, oriented principally to transit riders and pedestrian and bicycle travel from the surrounding area;

b) high density of residential development proximate to the transit stop sufficient to support transit operations and neighborhood commercial uses within the TOD; and (c) a network of roads, and bicycle and pedestrian paths to support high levels of pedestrian access within the TOD and high levels of transit use" (Oregon Revised Statutes, Section 307-600-1: www.leg.state.or.us/95reg/measures/hb3100.dir/hb3133.en.html).

And again "Real estate development that is closely linked to public transit services and station facilities and takes advantage of the market and locational benefits provided by them" (Keefer 1984).

Public Private Partnership, according to The National Council for Urban Economic Development 1989, is conceived "...to decrease the costs of operating or constructing public transportation systems, stations or improvements through creative public-private financing arrangements..."; it is also "...any formal agreement or arrangement between a public transit agency and a private individual or organization that involves either private-sector payments to the public entity or private-sector sharing of capital costs in mutual recognition of the enhanced real estate development potential or market potential created by the siting of a public transit facility...", (Cervero et al. 1991) and "...real estate transactions involving the development of private projects on publicly owned land or air rights.." (Sedway Kotin Mouchly Group 1996).

The aim is to recognize the TOD potential as catalysts for investment, which together with the PPP become the real force of change that raises property values by encouraging the transformation of the existing, in this context, governments, local governments and small private get benefits, both in raising revenues related to direct taxes, but also on subsequent choices for the community, resulting in a strengthening of the suburban districts, facilitating direct contact between people, and creating a more diverse social and cultural environment (Duaney et al. 2001; Calthorpe and Fulton 2001).

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AN OVERVIEW ON THE MAIN URBAN MANAGEMENT MODELS IN THE EU

by Daniela De Leo

The interest for this overview is related to the opportunity to highlight the way in which European programs have gradually become interested in (and then they have dealt with) the PPP-Public Private Partnership, within the urban regeneration policies and projects in the last generation of EU programmes, to understand how we can do better in the future on this field.

As it has been noted, it is hard to identify a 'European model' for urban regeneration policies (Falk 2008), even if, there are some common underlying principles and drivers that characterised the commitment to regenerate cities and regions in the European Countries.

In essence there was a progressively strong common concern to the private participation and to ensure that territories and certain social groups within the population do not become marginalised or excluded from the mainstream of national, regional and city life. The further idea of 'territorial cohesion', articulated in EU cohesion policy, holds that 'people should not be disadvantaged by wherever they happen to live or work in the Union', finds an echo in the justifications for a lot of policies and programmes in the last few years.

The latest policies have been slowly implemented in the increasing scarcity of public-sector financial resources for investment, which have driven local authorities to seek new forms of cooperation with the private sector, even in a more complex context.

This process is relevant also because it works in the perspective of the stronger reduction of availability of resources for the Structural Funds, especially after the period 2007-2013.

Moreover, the launch of PPPs in large-scale programmes calls for a new approach: both by *the public authorities* (which are currently ill-equipped to negotiate where initiatives offering different returns exist within the same programme), and by the *private sector* (traditionally represented by construction firms interested in the gain in land value generated by changes in land use and not in the development and management of new projects in the advanced services sector).

It happened in a complex institutional and legislative framework for “territorial governance” described in particular by:

- a progressively fast development in the legislation at national and regional levels;
- a stronger experiences with the integrated urban planning projects;
- the developing of special instruments for financing urban renewal projects.

Overall, the latest new tools seem to offer the opportunity to:

- to mobilize additional financial resources available to those in the operational programs for PPP and other projects of urban transformation;
- to anticipate the time to receive the payments from the Institutions.

In any case, the notion of the city as an ‘engine for economic development’ and the increasing recognition of the importance of ‘competitive cities’ have been key drivers of European urban policy in each country until the 2008 financial crises. After that it emerged again the unsolved dilemmas about the inefficiency of the European urban policies in the face of the ‘path dependency’ and the ‘context’ dependency also for the urban regeneration policy, that suggests us to better look at the local scale.

The public-private partnership models observed in the European context are numerous and varied. As it has been largely noted, in addition to technical and operational differences, often at the continental level there are small differences regarding the legislative process of award of the contract or the rules relating to the creation of the project company.

A comparative analysis between countries can aggregate *models of public-private partnership* of Europe in five sets:

- the *grant*, which represents the model most widely used and which is embodied in a contract under which a person realizes the public work, gets a remuneration through fees paid by users and, at the end of the contract, returns the infrastructure to the Public Administration;

- the *DBFO*, involves the design (Design), construction (Build), finding funding (Finance) and management (Operate) infrastructure are borne by the individual against the payment of a fee by the PA, which is returned the availability of infrastructure at the end of the contract;

- the *BOO and BBO models*, which are two variants of the DBFO: the BOO (Build, Operate, Own) does not require a lessee to return the property to the state of infrastructure, while the BBO (Buy, Build, Operate) is based on the purchase of existing structures by a private place in the design and construction;

- the *Joint Ventures corporations* that are public-private joint venture, mainly used in the United Kingdom in the fields of Health (LIFT model) and education (model BSF) for low-value contracts (below £ 20 mm).

Finally, a general partnership approach has been adopted in the development of all the European urban policies and it implied the progressive attention in the financial engineering system associated by a different relationship – in the different time and space – with the local politicians, residents, and the economic and the entrepreneurial groups.

A focus on the latest policies

Here, in particular, it has been critically investigated the so called “J Programmes” (JESSICA, JEREMIE, JASPERS, JASMINE¹⁰) of the 2007-2013 Structural

¹⁰ JASPERS (Joint Assistance to Support Projects in European Regions) deals with the support they need to prepare high quality major projects, which will be co-financed by EU funds (2004-2007); JEREMIE (Joint European Resources for Micro to Medium Enterprises) promotes the use of financial engineering instruments to improve access to finance for SMEs via Structural Funds interventions; JESSICA (Joint European Support for Sustainable Investment in City Areas) supports sustainable urban development and regeneration through financial engineering mechanisms; JASMINE (Joint Action to Support Micro-finance Institutions in Europe) aims at providing both technical assistance and financial support to non-bank micro-credit providers and to help them to improve the quality of their operations, to expand and to become sustainable, to promote good practices in the field

Funds, especially in the perspective of the latest evolution of the Project Financing Systems to support the Public-Private-Partnership and to enhance the development of the commercial activities and services at the local level.

The relevant aspect is that they are not additional source of funding for Member States, but alternative instrument to handle the allocations of the Structural Funds, whose purpose is to generate a lever effect to create additional funding resources from the European banking or private sectors, to support processes of sustainable urban development in European cities.

One of the principal new features introduced into the 2007-2013 European Community programming period, as far as the sector of urban development is concerned, is undoubtedly the JESSICA initiative.

The important new challenges that European cities must face, in the old Member Countries and in the newer entries to the EU, as both engines of competition and innovation and as the catalysts for social cohesion and environmental responsibility, therefore represent the scenario in which the JESSICA initiative was launched and is currently being developed.

At the same time, also JEREMIE has been considered significant to understand the latest device in terms of trend of the European urban policy's maker, and for the ability to keep together financial sources (EU Commission, Member States and overall EIB-European Investment Bank) and different field and levels (Territorial scale for Urban Development Partnerships and Urban Governance).



In different ways, these tools are trying to:

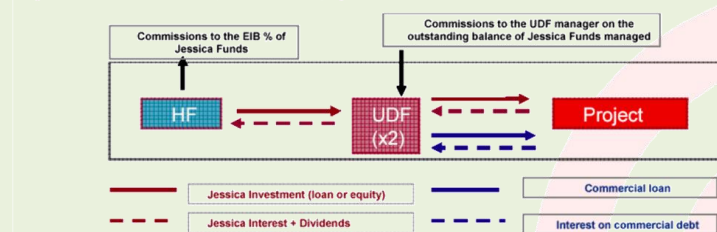
of microcredit and to draft a code of good conduct for micro-credit institutions.

- promote the use of financial engineering instruments and mechanisms to improve access to finance for SMEs,

- provide both technical assistance and financial support to non-bank micro-credit providers and to help them to improve the quality of their operations, to expand and to become sustainable.

The main lines of these tools regard the aim to promote the development of financial engineering mechanisms – such as Urban Development Funds (UDF) and Holding Funds (HF) – in order “to support sustainable projects, growth and employment in urban areas”.

Diagram of flows between the HF, UDFs and each project



So, thanks to this initiative, the Managing Authorities of the Member States of the European Union have the power to decide to invest part of the allocations of the Structural Funds to sustain financial engineering mechanisms that can make repayable investments in favour of partnerships between the public and private sectors, or any other party both public or private, involved in projects that are part of an “integrated plan for sustainable urban development”.

And this is the key aspect: the necessary framework of the integrated plan as a precondition to obtain financial support and realize projects. But above all it has been finally clear that “the preparation of a medium-to long-term development plan for sustainable urban development is generally a precondition for success since it ensures the co-herece of investments and of their environmental quality. Moreover, this will also help to secure the commitment and participation of the private sector in urban renewal. As it has been clearly noted “in general, a multi-disciplinary or integrated approach is needed. For area-based actions, for example, to promote social inclusion, this requires that actions seeking to improve the quality of life (including the environment and housing) or the level of services to citizens are combined with actions to promote the development of new activities and job creation in order to secure the long-term future of the areas concerned”. In this sense the Community Strategic Guidelines on Cohesion 2007–2013 became a political manifesto that underline the better strategy for the future in terms of

priorities and aims. And it enforces the role of planning in front of a general idea of deregulation and private investments outside the rules (as long as it is there).

Obviously the integrated urban development planning needs to be shaped in each of the Member States on the base of their national planning traditions, since the national planning systems and the resulting forms of planning differ in terms of both content and process in the individual Member States.

The existing European guidelines have managed to unify only a few aspects of the planning systems but it underlines clear that urban planning matters and play a primary role in urban development projects driven by the structural funds.

How these programme are implemented on the field? The power of national spatial development principles and local spatial strategies to create opportunity for business and regeneration become clear alongside the different experiences.

The projects could be grouped into the following thematic categories:

- a) Environmental regeneration and renovation/revitalization of the environmental system;
- b) Revitalization of historic city centres and brownfields / restoration of large historic or industrial buildings;
- c) Systems for managing and saving energy resources, natural resources and waste;
- d) Sustainable urban mobility and rationalization of the accesses to historic city centres;
- e) Development of regional amenities at the service of business and local production;
- f) Gathering places for young people, to designate as green spaces or sporting facilities.

Some Italian case-studies were observed in order to assess the methods used in a JESSICA project such as the regeneration of the city of Terni, the regeneration of the disused industrial areas in "Napoli Est", and the strategic development of Benevento.

Particular attention is paid to the following aspects:

- the consistency of each *integrated project* with strategic planning at regional and national levels;

- the ability to have an *impact on the area in order to stimulate a lasting process of development*;

- the existence of a mix of projects that will ensure an overall return "acceptable" to private investors;

- the willingness on the part of the public sector to take account of a such JESSICA project in that it considers it compatible "a priori" with its own decision.

In this sense, the two pilot projects of urban development in Pesaro and Jesi, coherent with the JESSICA mechanism and related with the Urban Transformation Company (STU), are considerable interesting.

In Pesaro, it was developed a strategic plan called "2015, Pesaro della qualità" for the historical center regeneration with significant initiatives such as: Print UP (Integrated Project of the Pesaro Urban area), PASSO DP (Environmental Program of Sustainable Development of the Pesaro District) and IMMP (Innovation Made in Marche - Pesaro); and in Jesi, where the strategic plan foresees four thematic areas and three territorial issues, highlighting four main areas of intervention.

The historical center regeneration process have to do with three building complexes that follow:

- *Former juvenile prison*, that it is foreseen to be used for several functions: public and private offices, recreation and accommodation facilities, urban park with areas for sports and new residences;
- *St. Benedict complex*, for green spaces and use of the main building blocks for public services [health district (ASUR), library, etc.], private tertiary destinations, commercial and residential;
- *Former Monastery of St. Domenico*, for commercial spaces, fine accommodations and a new University campus.

Moreover for the implementation of the project with a PPP procedure with the activation of a Real Estate Fund as project vehicle and the STU Pesaro concerning the redevelopment of Piazza Carducci with the construction of an underground parking, proved the opportunity to combine the different funds.

In same way, in Jesi "new productive area realization" area, The project involves the building of several integrated projects, mainly buildings for tertiary sector (production and offices) and commerce (restaurants,

personal services, shops). Here, the foreseen project vehicle is a Società di Trasformazione Urbana (Urban Transformation Company).

Other important case-studies are also in Germany (The equity investments of the city of Frankfurt in urban development), UK (The *Evolution* urban development project in Newcastle-under-Lyme), France (The *Foncière Camus* urban development project in Sarcelles).

The experiences in France are considerably relevant also because the projects are connected with the declaration as a *ZFU-Zones Franches Urbaines* in particular is based on the intended alliance between economic and social aims. This is exactly what Hall and Hickman (2002, p. 693) have described as A “brief flirtation on the part of the French authorities with ‘Anglo-Saxon’ style economic regeneration, based on fiscal deregulation, in the form of enterprise zones. And also in the French context the exemption from taxes is designed to attract companies to the area. This exemption is restricted, however, to companies with a certain number of positions available to residents of the neighbourhood. Since the France Tradition of investment in the urban development project originally linked to the areas legally identified for urban regeneration (*ZUS, ZRU, ZFU*). This ensured that there was a close connection between these investments and the goals of urban regeneration. In the past few years, this connection has been eliminated in order to be able to act more flexibly and in the areas directly adjoining the urban regeneration area.

Implementing a new legislative framework to grant financial assistance for investment in infrastructure and/or in commercial ventures takes a rather long time, at least three years for the implementing agencies to define the new procedures in detail and to test them.

But a relevant issue is about the idea the JESSICA tends to involve private institutional investors to support investments in PPPs directly for sustainable urban development.

This calls for their respective viewpoints to be assimilated and harmonised. In particular, the invested capital must be repayable and must be remunerated according to market principles.

As it has been noted, the managing authorities are not prepared for this new scenario, in which they would have to assume managerial and entrepreneurial responsibilities, not simply apply and monitor predetermined procedures.

Their inertia in the face of the possibility of abandoning (or at least reducing) their traditional and established role in the management of incentives in the form of outright grants is patently obvious.

The FIM model, which appears to have a well-defined operational procedure, achieved the hoped-for level of operations, as the opportunities for investment in innovative SMEs in the South remain extremely limited.

Moreover, potential institutional investors (banking foundations, pension funds, etc.) are waiting for exemplary cases that can demonstrate, at last a priori, that the level of risk for the expected return on their investment is acceptable.

A step forward in attracting institutional investors could perhaps be achieved if an authoritative body were appointed at Community level to grant a “quality mark” for JESSICA projects, after having analysed them from every aspect.

In addition, the revolving financing mechanism used by JESSICA offers the opportunity to transform currently available funds, deriving from Operational Programmes, into a permanent source of financing, which may be subsequently reused for new urban development programs.

In order to finance investment under an integrated plan for sustainable urban development a UDF may:

- invests financial resources from institutional investors and the Structural Funds in repayable financial products (e.g. in Italy, the subscription of municipal bonds, equity in PPPs and other schemes included in the integrated plan). The managing authority would be able to reinvest Structural Fund resources upon repayment; the municipality could benefit economically owing to the increased volume of private resources and optimisation of interest expenses;

- facilitate the municipality’s access to ordinary borrowing on special terms, and the EIB could offer interest rebates from the market rate for public works included in a JESSICA integrated plan.

Considering, however, that the financing of such investment falls under national and regional law, which lays down specific rules for the disbursement of public resources and for reporting on expenditure, it can be said that JESSICA will perform an indirect *supervisory* role with regard to such investment, not least to promote possible JEREMIE measures for the launch of innovative SMEs (for example, in the energy services

sector and/or in the application of robotics in the health field) and *not a financing role*.

Lessons learned and new (possible) perspectives after the 2013

What we can understand from these European experiences helpful for the comparison?

The EU financing through the Structural Funds instruments of the European Investment Bank or European Transport Network (TEN-T) can help to mobilize PPPs for essential investment in projects even in a time of reduced availability of funds and national public private.

The PPP's confirm their crucial role within the urban regeneration processes even if it become everyday more difficult to clarify the boundaries between parties. The financial crisis also adversely affects the development of PPPs, through a variety of ways, including:

- the difficulty of finding funding and a significant increase in bank margins (spread);
- reduction in the duration of funding;
- the demand by banks for more guarantees and relationship equity/debt higher than in the past.

Finally, the capital employment and diversification of risk in the public-private partnership seems crucial. As much as the idea to fund projects only within an integrated urban project.

The first conclusion to emerge, even from initiatives that do not fall only under the umbrella of J-Programme, is the importance and validity of a specialised financial entity that can operate, on the basis of market principles, in the vast and important field of urban regeneration processes.

The following are the main conclusions to emerge from the survey of legislation, since even in the EU Countries at large, an adequate expertise is widely available for defining "integrated projects" as a result of the experience gained under earlier Community and national programmes, which in fact have been established in only a small number of cases, are clearly facing operational difficulties, whereas the use of project financing is being extended to multi-faceted and complex urban regeneration projects.

How they might be (and will) be strengthened in the next programming period (2014-20) now at the gates?

First of all, it is essential for new entrepreneurial projects, including non-profit initiatives, to be implanted in the urban fabric in order:

- to project the economic sustainability of regeneration investment into the medium and long term;
- to identify concrete opportunities for financing during the implementation and subsequent management of the investments until they reach break-even.

The entrepreneurial projects most frequently encountered in the urban environment fall into the following categories:

- activities induced by the presence of centres of excellence (urban poles, hub and spoke development);
- services for business and local authorities, with interconnected provision centres (networked services);
- social solidarity services, non-profit sector;

Moreover, other interesting experiences regard an action plan developed within the "Creative Clusters in Low Density Urban Areas" project, supported by the URBACT II Programme of the European Commission (EC). The initiative has been coordinated by the Municipality of Óbidos (Portugal) under a partnership composed of INTELI – Intelligence in Innovation (Portugal), and other cities and towns of the European Union (EU): Enguera (Spain), Reggio Emilia (Italy), Barnsley (UK), Mizil (Romania), Jyväskylä (Finland) and Hódmezovásarhely (Hungary).

It could be useful to compare these final considerations with the European strategic aims for the 2014-20.

The EU's financial engineering tools of the cohesion policy could make an important contribution to the development objectives.

For example the role of financial instruments is to be strengthened to leverage more investments, including delivering integrated plans for sustainable urban development (focus on jobs, energy, mobility and urban regeneration).

But the urban development policy must be willing to adopt new approaches and it is necessary to encourage greater private sector involvement in the funding of urban development.

In this context the Commission proposes that a minimum 5% of the ERDF resources (approx. 7- 8Bn) to be allocated to integrated actions for sustainable urban development - this could be partly delegated to

cities for management through Integrated Territorial Investments.

Are these useful tools for urban regeneration within the working hypothesis of integrated local commercial activities? This perspective can be useful considered comparing with the level of involvement with different services of the BIDs in terms of: Capital Improvements, Consumer Marketing, Economic Development, Maintenance, Parking and Transportation, Policy Advocacy, Public Space Regulation, Security, Social Services.

However, important questions remain still opened also in the latest policies and they ask to be addressed in the future EU renewal urban policies. The main concerns are about:

Issues about Public investment in the Cities, in terms of:

- Physical regeneration and property-based development mostly affected (risk of not being completed), but also investment in public transport;
- R&D and innovation projects less hit;
- Private investors no more reliable as partners in Public-PrivatePartnerships due to the crisis;
- More public-sector driven financial engineering without private funding.

Issues about Economics & Cities, in terms of:

- Place matters-size not: what counts is the nature of the city, the sectors mix, the diversity of employers, the attractiveness of the place;
- Foreign Direct Investment (7-20% in capital cities in new Member States) will decrease;
- Opportunity or not for green economic growth and change of consumption patterns? Or do cities go for cheaper solutions in time of crisis?
- Nature of income of cities: taxes or grants – immediate or later impact.

Finally, the triangulation between public administration, private sector and end users, the dummy variable is one that allows the composition and weighting of the different interests at stake, as the design, financing, construction and efficient management of facilities designed to enable the public good:

- ♦ Administration, to perform its function in accordance with the principles of efficiency, effectiveness and

economy, which should characterize the administrative action, through proper allocation of public resources, in a broad sense (public funds, human resources and equipment) according to the provision of public services of high quality;

- ♦ the Private sector, to achieve its profit purposes, encouraging innovation and as a function of the opening of new market sectors, the prevailing rule in the past by government;
- ♦ the End user, to obtain public services more efficient and able to raise the quality of life in the country, without causing further tax increases.

Last but not least, according with the consistency of planning tools and administrative needed acts, as well as with the approval of the planning instruments to ensure that the projects can be activated (if administrative acts or other procedures are required in order to make the planning instruments consistent with the work to be carried out).

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URBAN REGENERATION MODELS IN THE UK

Edited by Erik Bichard, Yusuf Arayici

In this report, Urban Regeneration Model (URM) is interpreted as the formulation of the urban regeneration policies into regeneration programmes for the successful conduit of the targeted vision and goals declared out in the government policies of urban development and improvements. Therefore, URMs are elaborated in relation to the policy context in which URMs operate because it would be difficult to review URMs without looking at the policy context in which.

Various Urban Regeneration Models have been adopted in the UK to improve the living standards of deprived communities. Delivery mechanisms were put in place for each of these initiatives to ensure effective implementation for example regional development agencies, regeneration companies, local city/citizen partnerships. These are institution that need to work together e.g. as delivery mechanisms, institution structure, with complementary roles and responsibilities. Some key urban regeneration programmes include; City Challenge, Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) Programme, Single Pot Programme, which was replacing SRB, Neighbourhood Renewal, Housing Market Renewal Pathfinders, Sustainable Communities, Localism and Green Deal.

Urban regeneration programmes implemented in the past such as SRB programme that was actually built up based on the lessons learned from its predecessor such as City challenge. The City challenge program was primarily focussed on the economic and physical regeneration and physical development with a lot less emphasis on community people and socio-economic improvements; this was targeted to address in the subsequent Single regeneration budget programme.

In the single regeneration budget programme, regeneration was considered in all four areas: social regeneration, economical regeneration, environmental regeneration, physical regeneration. Four areas considered simultaneously proved complicated to execute in a single programme. However, follow up programmes such as Neighbourhood Renewal just focussed on social regeneration and local economic regeneration; they don't deal with the physical or environmental improvements and referred to as renewal. Housing market renewal pathfinder is another model to address housing market failure in the North of England in the areas where local market prices were lower than build cost. However, City challenge, Single regeneration budget and Single pot were dealing with the entire four dimension of regeneration.

Following the Community based Approach and Sustainable communities; Localism has been the model of the coalition government basically because of the economical situation took a step back in order to encourage the local business and local people to collaborate and flourish the local economy. To achieve that, Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs) was used as a mechanism to enable that sort of communication between local people and local economies in terms of employment, knowledge and skill improvement.

In the following sections, those urban regeneration models have been reviewed in detail in.

Neoliberal Approach with the Start of Competitive Bidding

The election of Margaret Thatcher in 1979 revealed an emerging belief that the state was not able to be the primary actor in the redevelopment of cities. Instead, the approach was that one of market forces guiding the private sector to invest, with the state intervening only as far as it created the conditions for the private sector to step in (Neoliberal approach). The main reason for this was that the public sector was seen substantially inefficient in the delivery of urban management services.

A new principle of Thatcherite reforms was introduced to determine the amount of funding from central government to local authorities to undertake urban redevelopment. Maintenance and regeneration of local authority housing estates had been funded through the Housing Improvement Programme (HIP). However, local authorities were free to allocate these grants where to spend. While HIP existed, a new competitive bidding approach was introduced for councils to put proposals for funding for the redevelopment of the individual estates and areas. Hence, local authorities competed with each other to secure funding by putting their most deprived areas into the competition, which was a kind of ugliness contest. For example, Estate Action scheme was primarily targeting at upgrading areas of run-down council housing, but the principle of area-based competitive bidding became the model for more general funding for urban regeneration from mid 1980s.

With the introduction of this competitive bidding, for the last 30 years, the political context for urban regeneration has been commonly neoliberal. While market driven approach became in common in 80s, private investors saw the levels of poverty and exclusion related to the deprivation too extensive, making them anxious about the perceived levels of risk attached to any such ventures. The short-term nature of their interventions was also seen to limit the value of such interventions because the solution to such deep-seated social, economic and environmental problems needs long-term strategic thinking. Market-driven approaches lacked such thinking and no solutions were found to combat the deprivation in urban areas.

In many cases urban regeneration programmes carried out with neoliberal approaches were sectoral in their scope, focusing on some aspects of urban rehabilitation such as physical improvement of housing, renovation of individual buildings or improving the urban environment. Resulting from their sectoral approach these programmes have a limited impact on areas of urban distress. Besides in most cases programmes focus only

in neighbourhoods, neglecting the spatial interrelations of urban distress.

For example, City Challenge scheme contained an element of physical redevelopment of the target areas of council housing, but had a broader remit to foster the economic redevelopment of the target area. Fearnley (2000) examined a City Challenge funded scheme based in the Stratford area of Newham in East London, which was seen by the government as one of the most successful of urban regeneration projects. Fearnley (2000) stated that the Stratford Scheme had some significant successes in the overall increase in housing satisfaction, decreases in reported crime and fear of crime in the area. However, it was less successful in terms of economic regeneration of the area such as employability of local residents and attracting employers to invest in to the area to increase the number of jobs available for locals (Fearnley, 2000). This was because the scheme was mainly focusing on issues that were easy to tackle such as physical renewal of housing stock.

Institutional Structures – Urban Development Corporations (UDC)

In addition to the general parameters for how central government funding schemes, the neoliberal approach in 80s and 90s had major implications for how regeneration would be organised. The term used at the time was the central government 'quango' (quasi-autonomous national/non-governmental organisation), which were government agencies with considerable power and accountable to the relevant ministry only. One of the most important quangos set up under Thatcher were the Urban Development Corporations (UDC) that was introduced with the Local Government Planning & Land Act and Urban Development Corporations (UDCs). The aims were to improve urban regeneration projects by:

- bringing land and buildings into effective use
- encouraging the development of existing and new industry and commerce
- creating an attractive environment; and
- ensuring that housing and social facilities are available to encourage people to live and work in the area

Housing and social facilities should also be improved to encourage people to live and work in the same area, which are classified as economic-led solutions relied on a trickle down approach. That is to say, if local economy is efficient and successful, social benefits will follow.

The measures were undertaken in form of public and private partnership and the role of the local government was by passed with the help of UDCs.

The UDCs were put in place into deprived urban areas to bypass local authorities and attempt to stimulate a process of physical and economic renewal. London Docklands and Merseyside were the first two founded in 1981, followed by 11 others. These were fixed-term organisations and were all terminated by mid-90s, with the exception of Laganside Development Corporation in Belfast, which ran until 2007.

London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) was one of the most well known UDC, investing heavily in new infrastructure projects to help lever in major new private office developments. Despite the collapse of the office property market in the late 1980s, which left Canary Wharf looking dangerously like a white elephant, there is a little doubt that there has been a radical improvement in the physical infrastructure and economic activity in the area, which were actually the main aims of UDC.

After the termination London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) in 1998, Florio and Brownhill (2000) reviewed the UDC model with the case study of LDDC and its activities and noted that the primary problem was that it represented the redevelopment of the area, not regeneration – existing socio-economic problems in the area were not tackled. Furthermore, the developments actually increased social polarisation by creating island of extreme wealth while leaving untouched large neighbouring populations suffering poverty. In addition, as it can be noted from the aforementioned aims that the absence of any sense of the UDC should attempt to foster community or actively work with existing communities within their area. This is particularly important given the critique of the UDC model was always its divisiveness by effectively engaging in state-sponsored gentrification and building infrastructure to attract new wealthier population, rather than engaging with the needs of the existing community.

UDCs were revived in 2003 by comparing them with the needs of Sustainable Communities Plan and they were then less funded considerably, it was an expensive model to be more generally applicable. In mid 90s, with the rehabilitation of local authorities, they can be considered as partners in the regeneration process because, unlike the UDCs, they had expertise in both physical renewal and also in community issues such as education, health and social welfare. Therefore, new models such as Single Regeneration Budget in which

local authorities was one of the key partners in the delivery of the regeneration projects.

From Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) to New Deal for Communities (NDC)

The Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) programme was introduced in April 1994 and its main purpose was to be a catalyst for local regeneration. SRB attracted other resources including private, public or voluntary and helped to improve local areas. The SRB provided resources to support regeneration initiatives in England carried out by local Partnerships. It was an important instrument in the Government's drive to tackle social exclusion and promote equality. Its priority was to enhance the quality of life of local people in areas of need by reducing the gap between deprived and affluent areas, and between different groups. This includes addressing the disadvantage experienced by ethnic minority communities (ODPM 2006).

The SRB schemes had to demonstrate that they met one or more of the eligible overall objectives such as improving the employment prospects, education and skills of local people; addressing social exclusion and improving opportunities for the disadvantaged; promoting sustainable regeneration, improving and protecting the environment and infrastructure, including housing; supporting and promoting growth in local economies and businesses; and reducing crime and drug abuse and improving community safety (ODPM 2006).

When SRB was introduced, it was heralded as a radical new approach to urban and rural regeneration in the UK. Its key characteristics and the way in which it represented a departure from previous urban policy initiatives can be summarised as follows:

- SRB formalised partnership working between local authorities, other public agencies, and the private and voluntary sectors, and made it a mandatory requirement to access regeneration funding;
- There was a new emphasis on initiatives that encouraged the competitiveness of localities and industry and which attempted to link the mainstream economy and deprived communities;
- SRB introduced the competitive funding system, representing a shift from allocating resources to priority urban areas based on levels of need;
- SRB was also seen to introduce a 'new localism', whereby local priorities and local need determined programmes. Further, there was a renewed emphasis on engaging with local communities

At a regional level, the SRB was an important in delivering the Regional Development Agencies' goals of economic development, raising skills and regeneration. First evaluations show that the SRB proved useful in drawing together central and local agencies and the follow-up changes in its management were tackling previous weaknesses. However, not all government departments and agencies took on board the issues and the lessons learned (Hall & Mawson, 1999).

The most immediate precursor of the SRB was the City Challenge Programme. Although its scope was not as broad, City Challenge shared with the SRB the emphasis on partnerships, competitive bidding for resources, multiple objectives and a multi-sectoral approach to regeneration. Hence, there is a considerable amount to be learned from the experience of both local and national evaluation of the City Challenge. For example Fearnley (2000) argues that 'the timescale imposed by the policy and its output-driven nature gave the programme focus and impetus to achieve targets, but also made certain kinds of projects, which could bring with them much 'early wins', particularly attractive. In this frame physical development tended to take precedence, with their ability to rapidly affect local perception and the appearance of local area, and to meet the short term criteria by why City Challenge Programmes were judged successes'. Fearnley (2000) also highlighted that it was unrealistic and ambitious to anticipate changes in aspects like unemployment, crime and health because they require more long-term investment and cannot be dealt with in isolation from regional and structural factors.

During the 1990s, the strategies moved from Neoliberal approach towards community based urban regeneration and neighbourhood renewal under the frame of a National Strategy 'Bringing Britain together, published in 1998. In 2000 a proposed framework for the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal was published drawing on recommendations made by various policy action teams. In 2001 the government launched its Action Plan through the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit (NRU), responsible for the administration and coordination of the comprehensive national strategy. One of the key programmes of the NRU is the New Deal for Communities (NDC). The programme helps several of the most deprived neighbourhoods in the country. It aims to bridge the gap between some of the poorest members and the rest of society. By focusing resources on small deprived areas, and working with other initiatives operating in the area, it seeks to achieve maximum impact.

NDC was piloted in 39 neighbourhoods of some of the 2000-3000 communities suffering from multiple deprivations. The NDC only applied to these neighbourhoods containing between 1,000 and 4,000 households. The local authority areas eligible for funding were selected using the 1998 Index of Multiple Deprivation and a regional quota system.

The specific problems of each area are unique but each NDC partnership looks for outcomes that make a real impact on people living in their neighbourhood. This is achieved by tackling five key themes: poor job prospects, high levels of crime, educational under achievement, poor health, problem with housing and the physical environment.

NDC was based on partnerships that are representative of the community. The programme supports inclusive local partnerships which identified the priority needs of their area and developed appropriate regeneration strategies. The government intends that the NDC partnerships should work with departments and agencies to deliver sustainable change through a coordinated approach. Partnerships include key local bodies and organisations, public agencies, local businesses, voluntary bodies and the local people.

Inhabitants living in one of the 39 NDC neighbourhoods who wanted to bid for funding had to contact their local NDC partnership and followed the application procedures. Each partnership had its own procedures – they were not centrally controlled. Funding was only available for projects benefiting that neighbourhood. More importantly, a proposed project would not be funded unless it contributes to one or more of the key priorities in the individual NDC partnership's Delivery Plan.

A major positive result was the programme intention to promote inclusion, specifically for ethnic minority groups and youth. Surveys of the views of local residents were an important participation tool for the partnerships. By placing inhabitants at the centre of the programme, the government was giving an innovative opportunity for residents to achieve sustainable change in the shaping of their neighbourhoods (Ryde & Reeve, 2003).

NDC was a big step forward towards community involvement and empowerment. However some criticisms of the programme emerged too. These suggest, for example, that residents found it too complicated to understand, that there should be better coordination between partnerships, that good examples should be shared, and that there was a lack of a clear strategy about what types of services to provide to improve quality of life.

Area Based Initiatives (ABIs)

Area Based Initiatives (ABI) was used by the UK governments to tackle the problems associated with urban deprivation. These initiatives were typically time-limited programmes designed to address a particular issue within a locality or a combination of problems. The use of area-based initiatives to tackle social deprivation always provoked diverse reactions among practitioners. They were either viewed as important means of democratic renewal, community engagement and practical problem solving in deprived areas or were portrayed as a diversion from more fundamental policies to tackle the root cause of inequality and deprivation (Muscat, 2010).

ABIs constituted the main policy approach to urban regeneration over the last 30 years. In the six competitive funding rounds between 1995 and 2001, 1027 bids were approved under SRB, equating to over £5.7bn in SRB support and £26bn of total expenditure across England (Rhodes et al, 2003). In examining the impact of the delivery mechanisms over a two decade period (1981-2000), Rhodes et al (2005) estimate that the public sector spend on regeneration policy measures was close to £10bn, which in turn attracted a £38bn spend by the private sector and other agencies. The estimated outputs of this investment were nearly 18000 hectares of reclaimed land, 22million square metres of floor space, 350000net jobs and close to 195000 new housing units.

On one level, the impact of these schemes was obvious, as they transformed the actual physical appearance of target areas. In economic terms the impacts were harder to measure. Most cities had numerous projects running in parallel, so any positive economic benefits would be result of multiple factors. Rhodes (et al 2005) identified three analytical problems in assessing ABIs.

First, while the idea of focusing investment and resources on an area makes intuitive sense, the actual processes that are supposed to drive change are poorly understood. For example, it was predicted that the process of trickle down will occur, but in practice there is a danger that ABIs merely displace investment from elsewhere in the city. Secondly, the tools used to evaluate ABIs were poorly developed, partly due to the tendency of these initiatives to address a range of problems, from the provision of new infrastructure to job creation and crime prevention. Thirdly, and related to the diversity of problems addressed, there is a lack of data available to fully assess key goals against their outcomes. These problems led to some argument that ABI regeneration was largely superficial and failed to

address the underlying socio-economic problems of cities, merely displacing them.

The Community based Approach: a Holistic Model to Sustainable Urban Regeneration

The community-based approach emerged from the challenge the multiple-deprivation of large urban areas in cities. The approach calls for the development of an integrated strategy of cross-cutting initiatives, based on equal opportunities and the right of access to an acceptable standard of living. It develops the collaborative platform, consensus, capacity, strategic alliances and coalitions needed for stakeholders to partner with one another and take the lead in representing their views on the problems such deprivation causes and what actions are required to solve them.

This form of horizontal integration is also seen to be strengthened by citizens and businesses getting together as a community to transform the delivery of public services, agreeing levels of service provision through vertical agreements running at all (i.e. local, regional and national) levels of government. This integrated - bottom-up and top-down - strategy has the advantage of drawing attention to what makes up the deprivation of the large-scale urban distress experienced and highlighting the diverse nature of the problems it poses for citizens, cities and government alike. This goes a long way in identifying the distress suffered is not merely physical, but social, economic and environmental; relating to job opportunities, employment and work, public services, housing, transport and mobility, education and health, open space and clean air. This shows urban distress not to be exclusively physical, but equally social, economic and environmental, needing to be combated in a way which is integrated as part of a strategy capable of cutting across such issues. Recognising this makes it possible for the community to combat the problems they identify as priorities and do so from the 'inside-out'. That is from inside the community out wider to the city and beyond

The persistence of large urban derelict areas initiated a wide-spread review of urban policies in the UK, including Neighbourhood renewal and the new deal for communities. This review found that traditional 'top-down' approaches to urban distress offered only ad-hoc, short-term responses to the problems encountered and not long-term solutions. The tradition of top-down approaches was replaced by another approach promoting 'middling-out' logic of integrated strategies and cross-cutting measures. Such an agenda put cities at the centre of the initiative. It also made them responsible for developing the integrated, strategic and

cross-cutting measures needed for communities to combat urban distress.

The community-based approach also promoted an integrated strategy of cross-cutting decision making processes which is inclusive, competitive and environmentally sustainable. The approach is integrative because, while it starts from the bottom-up, it develops the collaborative platform, consensus, strategic alliances and coalitions needed for stakeholders to partner with one another and articulate their views on urban distress, the problems which this causes and what is required to solve them. This in turn raises awareness of the problems and tackles them where they are most acute. This form of horizontal integration is strengthened by citizens and businesses getting together as a community to transform the delivery of public services and agreeing levels of service provision at all levels of government.

This integrated - bottom-up and top-down - strategy highlights the urban distress experienced by the community and the diverse nature of the problems citizens, business and government have to face. Urban distress is thus not merely physical, but also economic, social and environmental— affecting job opportunities, public services, housing, transport and mobility, education, health, open space and clean air. As a result, it needs to be combated in a way that is integrated and cross-cutting. This is important because integrated and cross-cutting strategies make it possible for the community to combat urban distress from the inside-out: from inside the community out to the city. It also provides an opportunity for the city to promote a positive image of the community suffering distress areas. The objective is to promote an image of a strong, well balanced and resilient community, which is economically competitive, socially cohesive, environmentally sustainable and relatively 'stress-free'.

Collaboration and consensus building

Efforts to ensure collaboration and build consensus are taken by communities and integrated as strategic alliances coalescing around sustainable urban regeneration. What examinations of these integrated strategies suggest is that such alliances work best when stakeholders are actively engaged across a range of activities and constantly involved. To achieve this it is vital that communities not only collaborate, build consensus and develop integrated strategies, but have the capacity needed to be engaged in the efforts required to make urban regeneration sustainable.

Capacity building

The community can be represented as a set of stakeholders possessing the capacity to sustain a community-based approach to sustainable urban regeneration. These stakeholders include civic authorities representing citizens, business and the government sector. This diverse body of civic authorities represent the needs of the citizens, business and the government sector and provides the strategic integration required to align with one another. This in turn provides the coalition of interests to sustain the urban regeneration process as an on-going partnership between the civic authorities - citizens, business and government sector – making up the community of stakeholders.

Partnership

The significance of partnerships lies in their ability to overcome divisions that previously undermined the urban regeneration process. This is achieved by placing the values, norms and rules of the civic authorities at the centre of the partnerships and using them to not only embrace citizens, businesses and government, but develop the bonds required to bind them together in an inclusive manner. The ability of the partnership to govern the regeneration process in a socially-inclusive manner is a significant step forward. This is because it places the values, norms and rules of the civic authorities in the public domain and makes the decision-making process between the citizens, businesses and government sectors transparent and accountable. While marking a significant step forward, the emerging civic culture of the organisational structure for the governance of the regeneration process does come up against the problematical question of leadership.

Leadership

Assuming the community-based approach to sustainable urban regeneration is adopted by a partnership, the question still remains as to how the civic authority can develop the leadership best able to drive the regeneration process forward? While there is no simple or immediate answer to this question, the findings of some EU funded Research and Technical Development (RTD) projects such as LUDA and INTELCTITIES, running in parallel to the LUDA project suggest the following:

While the community-based approach is more able than others to sustain urban regeneration, the civic authorities emerging from the partnerships developed for such purposes place too much weight on the collaboration and consensus building of social capital. For while social capital has the capacity to bond

stakeholders and embrace the interests of citizens, businesses and government sectors alike in an inclusive manner, these values still need to be normalised and set as rules to bind the multitude of agencies participating with one another in sustaining the urban regeneration process.(INTERACT: www.interact-network.org)

It is questionable whether citizens or business with either a personal or corporate commitment to social responsibility can carry the weight of the community's expectations as to the environmental sustainability of the districts and neighbourhoods undergoing regeneration. (PLUS: <http://www.plus-aura.org>)

The civic authority, which is best able to govern over the social inclusiveness of sustainable urban regeneration, is local government. As such it is the strategic alliances, coalition of interests and partnerships citizens and businesses enter into with local government that ought to lead the process of sustainable urban regeneration. This process of democratic renewal establishes the values, norms and rules for cities to follow in combating urban distress and making the urban regeneration process sustainable (DISCUSS: www.iclei.org/europe/discus)

Sustainable Communities Approach for Sustainable Urban Regeneration

If the community-based model is integrated, strategic and cross-cutting then by default it is also a sustainable approach to urban regeneration. However, it is necessary to be cautious of such simplistic representations of sustainable urban development. This is because unlike the community-based approach, which relies on URBAN II programme (2002-2006) of EU, sustainable urban regeneration has emerged via a different route.

The origins of sustainable urban regeneration are actually complex and can be traced to a range of sources, including: the World Commission on Environmental Development, the Rio Earth Summit, the Rio+10 Earth Summit (Johannesburg), Agenda 21, the 1996 Habitat II conference, and the Aalborg Principles (1944, 1998 and 2004). While the principles established by these international efforts are similar to those of URBAN II, sustainable urban regeneration has a different challenge. It requires communities to collaborate and build consensus. It requires strategic alliances and coalitions to form, developing the capacity for stakeholders to participate in and lead the urban regeneration process, which consequently requires that integrated strategies and cross-cutting measures do more than defining the nature of the problem. Furthermore, requires the community to develop a

vision of the regenerated urban district and neighborhoods. This vision then provides the policies for making urban regeneration sustainable.

In turn these policies provide a basis for planning the regeneration as well as programming and implementing projects. Together these actions help to relieve stress and make the regeneration process sustainable. Making urban regeneration sustainable is a major challenge because it has to take account of the following:

- Sustainable development is concerned with the ecological integrity of the environment and idea of fairness for all, emerging from the notion of economic and social justice.
- Sustainable urban development only provides a framework, set of protocols and assessment methods to evaluate the ecological integrity of the environment
- The respective communities using the said framework, protocols and assessment methods for evaluating sustainable (urban) development, tend only to be concerned with balancing economic growth with environmental quality.
- In contrast to sustainable urban development, sustainable urban regeneration attempts to combat the distress that results from decline of districts and neighbourhoods. It also tackles the lack of economic and social development in these areas. The task of sustainable urban regeneration is to turn decline into growth and sustain this by balancing economic and social development with the environment. To succeed, ecological integrity must be balanced with the principle of 'fairness for all'. In so doing it is possible to align the market economy with socially inclusive decision-making.

The key thing about sustainable urban regeneration is that it turns the substantive logic of what precedes it on its head. This is because urban distress is the result of decline and lack of growth in the areas undergoing regeneration—not the product of it. This in turn focuses attention on balancing economic competitiveness with social inclusion to see how they can be aligned to assure ecological integrity of urban areas. Responding to this challenge, there is a broad consensus emerging about the meaning of sustainable urban regeneration. This suggests that sustainable urban regeneration means:

- Breaking with the legacy of the past and putting communities at the centre of the response to the urban distress;

- Collaborating with stakeholders, building the consensus needed for them to integrate with one another as part of a strategic alliance developing coalitions which cut across the issues;
- Using the 'community of practice' as a platform for identifying both the problems which urban distress causes and the possible solutions;
- Providing a vision for the prospective regeneration themed around the economic, social and environmental issues of concern to the community;
- Using the outcomes of this vision as a policy statement about the future development of the area;
- Allowing participants in the plan-making process to build scenarios which express the different development options available;
- Subjecting the scenarios to an assessment and appraisal process;
- Programming the regeneration, setting out what needs to be done, by whom and when, as part of the community's long-term commitment to combat urban distress;
- Implementing the projects required to achieve the vision; and,
- Monitoring the impact of the programme and evaluating the effect the implementation of the regeneration projects have upon the quality of life.

The following sub-sections focus on collaboration, consensus-building and capacity-building for cities to develop in order to make urban regeneration sustainable.

Urban Regeneration Companies

Urban Regeneration Companies (URCs) were considered a major policy instrument for delivering the aims of the Urban White Paper (DETR, 2000). Based on three pilot URCs established in 1999, 21 new URCs were then established in England as well as one in Wales and five in Scotland and one in Northern Ireland. Unlike the urban development corporations, they were not set up with the assumption that the local authorities failed and therefore needs to be bypassed. Essentially these are strategic partnerships funded by CLG (Communities and Local Government) with the relevant regional development agency and local authority.

The underlying reason was that the URC would set up a masterplan for the regeneration of a specific area.

Public sector partners can then use this masterplan to prioritise the redevelopment of the key infrastructure. This would then attract private capital to realise the rest of the plan. URCs were simply acting to bring the agents or stakeholders together with a clear focus on physical redevelopment rather than community renewal.

The URCs were involved in significant projects. For example Liverpool Vision that was one of the first URCs, was involved in the dramatic transformation of the Ropewalks district into a cultural quarter and the vast Paradise Street redevelopment into the commercial core.

Local Strategic Partnerships

During the New Labour period (2005 onwards) in the UK, there was an emerging division between community led policies, which were tagged as renewal and changes to the physical infrastructure, which were called as regeneration. This change divided the holistic notion of economy, society and environment conception of regeneration.

The separate discourse of community/social renewal came from the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit setup in 2001. This associated Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (NRF) provided £1.875bn in 2001-06 to 88 of the most deprived authorities in England, with a further £1.05bn allocated in 2006-08 to the 86 most deprived authorities (Neighbourhood Renewal Unit, 2007). The most important scheme operated by NRU was the New Deal for Communities (NDC). The idea was that NDC partnerships were set up at local level to produce a local response to tackle five key indicators of social deprivation: unemployment, crime, educational under achievement, poor health and problems with housing and the physical environment.

However, NDC were criticised highly because there was considerable underspend of resources while the intention was to set up targets and actions locally, which were rejected at national level. Imrie and Raco (2003) discussed "Communities are often "shoehorned" on to local policy initiatives according to central government guidelines...limiting the effectiveness of programmes on the ground". There remains a tension in policy on community renewal between the rhetoric of bottom-up community empowerment and the setting of very rigid, centrally-driven priorities for what issues can and cannot be tackled.

This continuing tension in community policy is reinforced by the creation of Local Strategic Partnerships (LSP) model. LSPs were originally limited to the areas which qualified for NRF resources, but this quickly expanded to include most areas of England with

LSP boundaries matching those of local authorities. The core group of LSPs had considerable power as the main conduit through which NRF passes into those 86 most deprived local authority areas. These bodies were not democratically elected, but were instead run by representatives from partner organisations, particularly local authorities, local police authorities, health and education sectors together with a variety of other state and non-state actors.

LSPs work around the notion of “floor targets”, a term established in the Treasury’s Spending Review of 2000 to set minimum standards on a variety of social indicators for deprived areas in order to narrow the gap between these and less deprived areas. This type of indicator driven target setting became a familiar part of Labour policy making and those floor targets became the key part of the LSPs’ operations. The idea of floor targets then became more formalised into Local Area Agreements (LAA). From 2007, LSPs were required to operate through LAAs, which essentially represent an agreement between central government and the local authority and the LSP as to what the priorities for action were in a given area. Although joined up thinking between different agencies was worthy and ensuring that socially deprived areas were targeted for improvements in education, health, and public safety entirely sensible, the extent to which LSPs would truly respond to local needs, rather than chasing floor targets set nationally is arguable.

Housing Market Renewal Pathfinders

A key delivery mechanism for the sustainable communities plan was the Housing Market Renewal Pathfinders. Nine areas in the Midlands and North of England were designated in 2002, where it was deemed that the housing market was near collapse with abandoned houses and a decayed physical environment. The pathfinders began operation in 2003 with a remit to restart the housing market by making the area more attractive through physical reconfiguration. On the one hand, this was quite an enlightened initiative, recognising the very different challenges faced in certain parts of the country compared to the high demand south east.

In the period of 2004-08, £1.2bn was allocated to the Market Renewal Fund, with an expectation from Pathfinders to draw in resources from the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund and the New Deal for Communities, both of which were targeted at the social side of regeneration. Cameron (2006) argued that Pathfinders shifted from a particular concern with housing abandonment to a more general drive to modernise housing areas. For example, fitting in with

broader regional economic policy rather than prioritising the particular needs of individual communities/areas. CABE (Community of Architecture and Built Environment) (2005) reviewed that how the Pathfinders were progressing and it was revealed out that the Pathfinders were rather inconsiderate about the way that certain properties were demolished. Any programme initiated by Pathfinders were seeking to physically reconfigure an area and bring in new residents was always open to the charge that it indicated little more than gentrification and this criticism was strongly pointed at the Pathfinders.

Knowledge based Economy and Society

Economic policies to unleash the latent or internal potential of cities can be split into four related categories.

- Improving the knowledge base
- Encouraging enterprise
- Education and training
- Empowering local businesses

Improving the Knowledge Base

Although these elements of economic policy together, it is worth addressing each in turn. The UK government embraced the idea of the knowledge based economy in the White Paper Our Competitive Future: Building the Knowledge driven Economy (DTI, 1998). The paper argued that all businesses should have “to marshal their knowledge and skills to satisfy customers, exploit market opportunities and meet society’s aspirations for a better environment” (DTI, 1998). Two models were specified in which the UK policy attempted to harness high value and knowledge based industries were i) encouraging links between universities and industry, and ii) cluster policy.

Encourage Links between Universities and Industry

In 2004, the UK government announced a ten year science and innovation investment strategy to help UK exploit commercial opportunities offered by new technologies such as micro and nanotechnologies because the potential economic benefit to the UK can be considerable with the creation of high value jobs and industries. Many cities were seeking to develop and attract these types of new technologies through expanding the higher education sector and encouraging knowledge transfer between universities and high-tech industries. The international model for this approach to economic regeneration is well known: located on the

outskirts of San Francisco, Stanford university played a vital role in educating the internet entrepreneurs who went on to make Silicon Valley, which is one of the most economically successful regions in the world.

Cluster Policy

The other model to encourage knowledge based economic development was the cluster policy. The DTI (2004) defined clusters as “concentrations of competing, collaborating and interdependent companies and institutions which are connected by a system of market and non-market links”. The idea underpinning clusters is that similar industries will locate in close proximity to one another in order to facilitate various linkages, for example, through the exchange of ideas, goods and workers. The DTI defined three critical success factors, which clearly echo the wider views of the knowledge economy: the presence of functioning networks and partnerships; a strong innovation base with supporting R&D activities, and the existence of a strong skill base. Connectivity between cities within regions is increasingly seen as one way in which to promote clustering since it can make labour more mobile and boost the efficiency of competition by increasing the areas across which companies can operate.

As major stakeholders in urban regeneration, the RDAs often apply the logic of clusters to developments in cities. This can make the form of new business parks such as biotech-parks or attempting to create high-tech corridors along key transport conduits. While clearly influential in policy, the logic of clusters were also criticised with the key questions such as i) if it is possible to generate new cluster of industry, given the need for a range of “soft networks and the lifestyle demands of the creative classes and ii) the types of industry that are being attracted. While every city desire a biotech cluster, only few achieve funds to support existing but less trendy clusters, associated with e.g. logistics and manufacturing industry

Encouraging Enterprises

Policy makers were interested in how businesses start up and grow and Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) were important drivers of economic growth. Over the last 20 years, these businesses created two thirds of all new jobs, more than two thirds of the innovation in the economy and embraced two thirds of the differences in economic growth rates in industrialised countries (Walburn, 2005).

Jacobs (1985) argued that only cities have potential to innovate, as they are the only places capable of

substituting goods and services that they involves the realisation that only cities can generate a critical mass of supply chains and consumer demand for products and services. For example, London is in the south east of England, where the most prosperous region in the UK. This region produces around 33% more significant innovations than in Europe, including 20% of the national research and design budget, having a strong presence of both research institutions and enterprises. The key needs of this sector were access to skilled workers, proximity to international airports and general standard of living factors such as quality of housing and schools (Simmie et al, 2002). In addition, the White Paper on Enterprise, Skills and Innovation (DTI, 2001) linked the importance of science and innovation to regional and national economic growth, with the need to raise skills as a key issue. A number of initiatives were announced to invest in innovation and new technologies, including e-business and the need to foster an environment for enterprise. For example, the White Paper on Competing in a Global Economy: The Innovation Challenge (DTI, 2003), stated that: “The creativity and inventiveness of our people is our country’s greatest asset and has always underpinned the UK’s economic success. But in an increasingly global world, our ability to invent, design and manufacture the goods and services that people want is more vital to our future prosperity than ever (DTI, 2003).”

Creating the conditions for enterprise is extremely hard, involving a suite of educational, financial and other support services and schemes. New facilities are often located in central regeneration schemes such as the Moorgates Croft Business Centre in Rotherham. Common barriers to entrepreneurship were identified as:

- The involvement of too many agencies and institutions
- Changing names and remits of institutions and lack of policy coherence
- Discontinuity of funding
- Problems of access to finance

One solution to these problems involves Community Finance Initiatives, a kind of charitable lending to enterprises that would be considered too high risk in accessing traditional bank loans (Bryson and Buttle, 2005). While regeneration which focuses on bringing investment from outside can be measured in terms of tonnes of concrete, jobs created or private funds, it is

harder to measure the outputs of schemes designed to unleash local enterprise (Jones and Evans, 2008).

Education and Training

Early urban policy in the UK focused on the need for job creation and opportunities. For example, the Department of Employment White Papers *Employment: the Challenge for the Nation* (1985a) and *Lifting the Burden* (1985b) emphasised the importance of creating jobs and a skilled labour force. The papers set out a neoliberal agenda of enterprise and competitiveness for labour policy, which was then reinforced by the Employment Department Group White Paper *People, Jobs and Opportunity* (1992). In order to address the needs for the labour market, Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs) were set up in 1990 through which public money was channelled into re-skilling and entrepreneurial programmes.

TECs were partnership driven but strongly influenced by the needs of private industry, advancing the neoliberal agenda of “improved competitiveness, for individuals and businesses” (Hart and Johnston, 2000). However, these policies were criticised for prioritising private economic development to the exclusion of other important factors, such as health, environmental quality, and the needs of community groups. When the Labour Government took power in 1997, they retained the neoliberal approach to employment policy but amalgamated it with a concern for including the groups in society who were excluded from the main stream economic activity.

In 2001, the Learning and Skills Council (LSC) was set up in order to facilitate social inclusion agenda and help socio-economically disadvantaged groups who were relatively unskilled and dependent on benefits. The LSC was a non-departmental public body replacing the former TECs. LSCs had a budget, for example, in 2006-07 of £10.4bn to cover adult education outside the Higher Education Sector. In general LSCs were aiming the followings:

- Raise participation and achievement by young people
- Increase adult demand for learning
- Raise skills levels for national competitiveness
- Improve the quality of education and training delivery
- Equalise opportunities through better access to learning

- Improve the effectiveness and efficiency of the sector

Their scope and remit were led by the needs of the industry. For example, LSCs ran the National Skills Academies as a respond to employer needs to deliver the skills required in the major economic industries. LSCs dealt with formal educational courses and awards, but often failed to capture the skills existing in a workforce and struggled in comprehensively responding the rapidly changing demands of businesses.

The EU was also committed to a ten year strategy of reform for Europe’s product, capital and labour markets. The aim was to create a Europe by 2010, which would be the most competitive and dynamic knowledge based economy in the world, capable of sustainable growth with more and better jobs and greater social inclusion (DTI, 2003).

The UK government’s commitment to aligning knowledge with economic growth revealed itself in urban regeneration projects incorporating new university buildings, halls of residence and libraries into development projects. Similarly, many cities designated learning and knowledge quarters, such as *MediacityUK* in Manchester, in an effort to encourage knowledge intensive land uses in specific parts of the city.

Empowering Local Businesses – Business Improvement Districts

The ability to attract and foster private businesses is a key measure for economic regeneration, and the role of the private sector grown through partnerships in the delivery of urban regeneration. There is a range of ways such as PFI (Private Finance Initiative) in terms of working with planners to deliver developments. Their level of involvement also increased at the local level though, as neoliberal policy initiatives seek to empower businesses to take ownership of their own business environment.

Another model that was imported from the United States was the Business Improvement Districts (BIDs). BIDs are locally based initiatives allowing groups of businesses and property owners to improve their urban environment. Generally, a group of businesses agreeing to pay a voluntary tax to address key problems in the local urban environment or improve it in ways that goes beyond the remit of the local state. This can involve improvements to buildings and streets to enhance the residential, commercial or retailing values of the area. Further, it can also include more general improvements to security like extra street lighting, maintenance of communal areas and facilities and in

some cases promotions and special events (Jones and Evans, 2008).

BIDs are evaluated with strict indicators, such as proportionate to the benefits received, equitable, affordable and generating significant business-sector responsibility (Ratcliffe et al, 1999). The key advantage of BIDs was that they devolve the power to the local level, allowing a more responsive mechanism for addressing problems and seizing opportunities. They also generate higher levels of buy-in amongst stakeholders as everyone contributes and create a secure source of funding (Mitchell, 1999). BIDs were criticised that it transferred power over the public sphere into private hands, through the private financing of services that are traditionally provided by the state, which can subsequently generate spatial inequalities. However, BIDs model has been implemented in 16 different countries on four different continents (Ward, 2006).

Localism

As with Thatcher's government, the current coalition government is aiming to bring Britain back out of recession and to create sustainable growth. In an effort to address this problem, the government produced the Local Growth White Paper which was published on 28th October 2010. The document outlines the government's new approach to local growth.

It has three key themes within it (Local Growth White Paper, 2012):

- "Shifting power to local communities and businesses": it is thought that economies are best understood by those directly affected at local level that these persons are best placed to lead development and ensure all places fulfil their potential.
- "Increasing confidence to invest": the government wants to allow market forces determine where growth takes place through the introduction of incentives to ensure that it is the local communities that benefit from development.
- "Focused intervention": in addition to dealing with market barriers, supporting long term investment will impact growth especially in areas that are suffering with long term growth issues. "Government policies should work with the market, not seek to artificially create growth"

In other words, Localism is about decentralising responsibility and power and it is a political philosophy that prioritises the locals (Morris et al 2009) by giving power and financial incentives to local authorities to

foster growth and move towards a national economy, which is to be built from strong, vibrant, local economies – an economy that is far less vulnerable to global shocks or the failures of a few dominant industries. Furthermore, by making local government more accountable and bringing people closer to the levers of power, it encourages people to manage their affairs in a way that responds to local needs. From local council services and planning decisions, to local policing priorities, people should have as much power and choice as possible (Cameron 2009).

In December 2010, the localism Bill was introduced to parliament. The Bill looks at primarily shifting power from central government to individual, communities and councils. According to the department for communities and local government, they are committed to the act due to the fact that "over time central government has become too big, too interfering, too complicated and too bureaucratic" (the Localism Act).

The bill has 5 main points that underpin the government's approach to achieving decentralisation:

- Community Rights
- Neighbourhood Planning
- Housing
- General power of competence
- Empowering cities and other local areas

These five-pillar strategies to shift power away from the central state and firmly back to local people to achieve the localism objectives are further elaborated below

- Giving local communities a share in local growth

Under the Localism model, the Government will enable local authorities to benefit financially when they deliver the housing that local people need; give local authorities the right to retain the financial benefits arising from new business activity in their areas; give local authorities a new discretionary power to levy business rate discounts; and make the local government funding settlement more transparent (Cameron 2009).

- Freeing local government from central control

Government will end Whitehall capping powers and give local residents the power to veto high council tax rises via local referendum. Drastically reduce the centrally imposed bureaucratic burdens that drive up

council tax. Enlarge the freedom of local councils to act in the best interests of residents, by giving them a 'general power of competence. Give local councils greater freedom to determine how they carry out their statutory regulatory duties. Abolish all process targets applied to local authorities and free councils from intrusive and ineffective inspection regimes by abolishing the Comprehensive Area Assessment; and end all forced amalgamations of local authorities (Cameron 2009).

- Giving local people more power over local government

Provide citizens in all large cities with the opportunity to choose to have an elected mayor; Give people the power to instigate referendums on local issues. Make the police accountable to the people they serve through directly elected commissioners, crime maps and quarterly beat meetings. Put the power to judge the behaviour of councillors back in the hands of their citizens by abolishing the Standards Board, and repealing rules that prevent councillors representing their constituents' views on local issues. Permit local authorities to devolve unlimited funding to ward councillors; and let local people choose the organisational structures of their local councils (Cameron 2009).

- Giving local people more ability to determine spending priorities

Government will give local councils the freedom to spend money on the things that matter to local people, and give local communities more power over how money is spent locally. We government will Give local people greater control over how central government funds are spent in their area. Phase out ring fencing, so that decisions about how councils spend their budgets are taken by councils and their citizens alone; and make it easier for local government to raise money for local projects on the bond market.

- Removing regional government

Government will abolish all regional planning and housing powers exercised by regional government. Abolish the Government Office for London and devolve its functions to London boroughs or the Mayoralty and Greater London Authority, as appropriate. Strip the Regional Development Agencies of their powers over planning; and give local governments the power to establish their own local enterprise partnerships to take over development functions from Regional Development Agencies. Abandon plans to regionalise fire control (while providing new measures to enhance

resilience in the case of a national emergency); and replace the Infrastructure Planning Commission with speeded up public enquiries for infrastructure development or private/hybrid legislation for major projects (Cameron 2009).

Local Enterprise Partnership

With the introduction of new legislation, the coalition government has encouraged the introduction of Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs). Local Enterprise Partnerships are led by Local Authorities and businesses across natural economic areas. They provide the vision, knowledge and strategic leadership needed to drive sustainable private sector and job creation in their area (Department of Business Innovation and Skills, 2012).

The aim of LEPs is to drive growth and create jobs, the people who know the area best will be empowered to make the decisions. The ultimate aim is that they will aid in the transition towards "sector led growth and prosperity" (CLG, 2010). There are currently 39 LEPs set up across the UK.

The introduction of the Regional Development Fund (RGF) was declared in October 2010. The RGF is 2.4bn of funding for England between 2011 and 2015. "It supports projects and programmes that lever private sector investment to create economic growth and sustainable development" (Department for Business innovation and Skills, 2012). The fund is aimed to help those areas in particular that have been reliant on the public sector to aid them in making transition towards more private sector led investment and growth.

The Green Deal Model

Green Deal is a programme established by the Government to enable private firms to offer consumers energy efficiency improvements to their homes, community spaces and businesses at no upfront cost, with the repayments made through instalments paid through the energy bills of the consumers (DECC 2010).

The Energy Bill, introduced on 8th of December 2010, sets out the broad framework for the Green Deal that includes the establishment of a new finance mechanism (EEP 2011). The Green Deal financing being what largely defines this initiative offers the opportunity for consumers to repay through energy bills by spreading the cost over a given period of time (Onyenobi et al 2011). There are 4 key steps that are followed in the implementation of the Green Deal. They are: unlocking customer demand, accredited assessment, accredited installation and repayments (Onyenobi et al 2011).

Fundamentally, the Green Deal is an investment for the Green Deal Providers and any investors who may choose to invest. At the most basic level it identifies that the improvement in the property, related systems and use by the occupants, will create savings in the energy bill that will pay back the investment in the improvements as well as a return for the investor (Onyenobi et al 2011).

A significant amount of work has already been done to put in place the necessary qualifications, specifications for all Green Deal Advice certification bodies, organisations and advisors, and the tools and methodologies to produce assessments to support Green Deal in the domestic and non-domestic sector (DECC 2012).

Confer on the Gas and Electricity Markets Authority report for the Secretary of State with an estimate of future need for electricity capacity and amends the Energy Act 2004 specifies duties for the Secretary of State for the future capacity need (DECC 2011) such as;

- Establish powers for Ofgem to require changes to be made to the Uniform Network Code so as to strengthen market incentive mechanisms for ensuring sufficient gas is available during a Gas Supply Emergency (DECC 2011).
- Consolidate existing provisions across four Acts of Parliament for third party access to upstream oil and gas infrastructure, and streamline current procedures to facilitate determinations by the Secretary of State where required. Make new provisions for the notification of commercial negotiations, to trigger determination procedures where negotiations have been unduly protracted, and to publish any determinations made (DECC 2011).
- Establish powers for the Secretary of State (or Ofgem, with the consent of the Secretary of State) to apply to the court for an energy supply company administration order for gas and electricity suppliers to ensure that gas and electricity continue to be supplied as cost effectively as possible in the event that a large gas and electricity supply company becomes insolvent (DECC 2011).
- Establish powers to de-designate areas of the UK Continental Shelf in order to facilitate the signing of a comprehensive agreement with Ireland about maritime boundaries; which will enable the alignment of Exclusive Economic Zones and provide flexibility in managing the UK Continental Shelf resources, which is

important for oil, gas and renewable energy supply (DECC 2011).

OVERVIEW ON MODELS AND TOOLS IN FRANCE

Edit by Claudia Mattogno, Anna Laura Palazzo

The French way to Public-Private Partnership (Palazzo A. L.)

In France, public-private partnerships have long been expressed within the SEM, (*Sociétés d'Economie mixte*), in which most of the shares and the venture capital are held by public administrations, notably municipalities.

The ZAC procedure (*Zone d'Aménagement Concerté*), working since 1967, is a town planning contract whereby housing, commerce, industry or infrastructure can be programmed as a joint operation involving public bodies and private promoters, organized into SEM acting as *aménageur*, first committing urbanization works on contract basis and then selling equipped land to developers that are due to follow detailed requirements within a given scheme (*plan masse*) and contract specifications (*cahier des charges*).

The *charge foncière*, that is the rent charge to be paid by the developer, applies to the portion of the construction cost related to the estate and to the urban land use allocations, depending on the acquisition and equipment costs, on taxes and financial contributions linked to the initiative.

The ZAC arrangement is flexible and may involve different balances between public and private investments and initiatives.

In recent years, new attention has been paid to other forms of partnership (notably the project financing), generally related to specific interventions on infrastructures, or *Grands Projets*. A considerable amount of investments in public works from 1987 onwards has been funded by the private sector through the *financement de projet*, favored by the availability of different legal mechanisms set forth.

These tools are often supported by other financial instruments such as a kind of leasing real estate, called *crédit bail*, and the "put through agreement" (long-term contract), in which services users have to pay a fee for a period long enough to ensure the covering of the expenses incurred on its realization. The *crédit bail* was promoted with the creation of specific companies such

Sofergie, with the task of supporting local communities and their dealers for investments in the energy sector. Subsequent to 1987, the field of works financed by this technique was extended to water purification, waste treatment, communication lines, parking, airports, etc.

Still, in the shade of a rigorous public works procurement code, most unique in Europe, public-private partnerships contracts lack in legal frameworks and references, whereas partnership agreements are often expressed by multiple extra-contractual relationships based on reciprocal trust.

In the broader field of “urban regeneration”, unlike manifold experiences all over Europe, the PPP finds it hard to emerge, since in the French tradition of urbanism the legitimacy of private initiative still remains low. Public authorities are strongly holding the definition of the programs and their implementation at any time. The choice of a private partner carries many risks to the communities, notably changes of majorities within municipal boards (“the city laid to the law of profit”).

Reciprocally, construction companies do not usually take risks for a long time. They seldom invest budgets in preliminary surveys and in real estate purchasing.

These barriers are also led by the segmentation of the planning process (planning, promotion, development, management), and the *aménageur du territoire* needs to integrate the developer (*aménageur lotisseur*), less common in France, less well provided for by law. A ten-years old debate around the so-called *maîtrise d'ouvrage urbaine* brought to light many different aspects of the urban production, notably in urban projects developments located in metropolitan areas. The *maîtrise d'ouvrage urbaine* is about creating the conditions of developing and managing a complex process by coordinating and associating public and private sectors from the very beginning of the urban transformation cycle.

General framework and task force

by Claudia Mattogno

The structure of French government is decentralized, but the role of public Authorities remains very strong and public control is very powerful. So, even if the PPP market is now established, especially in roads and prisons sectors, the French Government means to oversee the introduction of new legislation, and to extend PPP projects in a wider range of sectors.

In 2004 a ruling, and then the act 567 / 2008 have introduced a specific tool, the Partnership Contracts (*Contrats des Partenariat*), to develop use of PPP,

simplifying practices, sponsorship, and tax relief. These kind of contracts are quite similar to the English Private Finance Initiative. They are an administrative contract under which the granting authority grants to another entity the right to carry out design, construction or renovation, financing, maintenance, management of public asset. In a general way the PPP are realized between public administration and consortium collecting banks, building enterprises, or big companies, to realize an important operation and provide maintenance and management for almost ten years, even more.

The PPP contracts could be used when public administrations are in urgent need of realizing a specific relevant program, without having adequate means, to share financial risks, to schedule the program, or to be more flexible in a long period of time.

Facing these benefits, anyway, the French administration underlines that one of the most dangerous risks is to realize a low quality project, because the private sectors could be more interested, for instance, in saving money than saving energy. Another risk to be considered carefully is the control of the deadline project in order to avoid extra-time and extra money. A good schedule and a skillful program are the best premises to have a successful PPP according to the public general interests.

In this way some special organizations arose having the task to form public experts in the management of PPP. Until now, however, France faces a specific difficulty in the implementation of its PPP program, despite several organizations set up to open the completion: IGD, MAPPP, the School of PPP, the CPPP and many others.

IGD (Institut pour la Gestion Délégée)

The IGD was founded in 1996 as a non-profit organization to promote improvements in the quality and performance of public services, in particular where the management of these services has been outsourced. It is an enterprises foundation, mainly financed by membership (public, private, and mixt) and only 2-3% of its budget is a state aid with specific destination. Supporting the lawmaking, managing benchmarking, sharing experiences are the main aim of IGD.

MAPPP (Mission d'appui au partenariat Public-Privé)

MAPPP is established since May 2005, as a dedicated PPP unit within the Ministry of Economy, Industry and Employment. It is a light structure with a small staff and

his aim is to develop PPP, to improve his feasibility and management, and to provide guidelines.

The *Mission* has been assigned a three-fold achievements concerning the *Contrats de partenariat*.

- Information and Promotion in order to promote the PPP market in France: newsletters and interactive web site; participation in conferences; establishment of an *Observatoire* to retain knowledge and lessons learned from past projects; bi-lateral and multilateral cooperation increase; involvement in industry events.
- Support and Assistance, toward public Authorities, in preparing and negotiating PPPs and methodological standard-setting; in reviewing the preliminary assessment to ensure that it has been completed correctly, from a legal, financial and qualitative perspective.
- Validation of preliminary assessment, when required for State-sponsored projects, in order to ensure that its are sustainable in the government's budget.

High School of PPP (Ecole des PPP)

The School is a private association issued from MAPPP, IGD, Universities and the prestigious *Ecole Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées*. Its aim is to provide a very competent high background to public clients and professionals in order to increase the capacity of PPP management. The approach is addressed to operate a change in the general attitude of Public Administration and diffuse the idea that is possible "let do it, don't do it" (*Faire faire au lieux de faire*), because to improve the quality of the public clients is fundamental to ensure the success of PPP.

CPPP (Club de promotion des Contrats de Partenariats Public-Privé)

Starting on 2006, the Club is issued from a free enterprise initiative to publicize the benefit of PPP among the municipalities. Its main target is to perform research on the implementation and effects of public-private partnerships, and exchanges those findings with a view to furthering understanding of how PPPs can improve public services.

Operation tools

SEM, Sociétés d'Economie Mixte

(Mattogno C.)

The SEM is a public and private board in which most of the shares and the venture capital are held by public administrations, notably municipalities. According to the law n. 2002-2, the maximum limit of public participation has to be less than 85%, but more than 51%, in order to get a good mix of public interest and private management. Existing since 1930, and constantly up to date to readjust competences, procedures, and tools, the SEM are joint-stock companies and have the capacity for designing, developing, building, but also maintaining or managing every kind of public equipment.

More than one thousand SEM exist today, relating to public equipment management, local economic development, affordable housing, and planning. Three of their main fields are: real estate, planning, and facilities.

These semi-public companies are one of the most successful French initiatives to encourage local development, having benefits from the flexibility of private law in accordance with security measures that are specific of a public board. Sometimes, however, results quite difficult to manage the balance between general interest and free enterprise, and SEM are considered much stronger and more predominant in comparison to private business.

Urban contexts: Contrats de Ville

(Palazzo A. L.)

The *Politique de la Ville*, grounded on an idea of equality that has not yet withdrawn despite economic downturns and political turnovers, was launched in the late 1970s, aiming at reducing territorial inequalities within urban disadvantaged neighbourhoods (*Quartiers en crise*) built after the Second World War¹¹.

Ever since, several challenging generations of the *Politique de la Ville* have been set up addressing the

¹¹ 45 million people live in urban areas, out of a total population of 60 million. 10 million are in the Parisian urban area. Three urban areas hold between 1 and 2 million, while six have between 500,000 and 1 million inhabitants. There are 751 critical urban areas (Zones Urbaines Sensibles), which are the core target of the French *Politique de la Ville*, with nearly 4.5 million inhabitants (including 1.3 million in the Parisian urban area).

specific domain of housing and urban environment and more general issues in employment, health, law and order, security and urban services.

The sphere of influence of the *Politique de la Ville* has gradually enlarged, interacting at the municipal level with by-law requirements to achieve 20% of social housing.

As for the governance model, the contract option (*Contrat de Ville*) among public bodies (the State, the Region, the Department and the municipalities) is used to implement a multi-annual program for integrated urban development.

The *Contrats de Ville* incorporate the specific treatment of disadvantaged neighbourhoods into a more global approach to development of the entire agglomeration, taking its social and economic dimension into account.

Apart from few activities run by the private sector, public bodies are directly entrusted in the *Politique de la Ville*, acting both as promoters and developers and only eventually contracting out the management of several utilities.

Among the different tools of the *Politique de la Ville*, a major public body expressly created in 1996 is EPARECA (*Etablissement public national d'aménagement et de restructuration des espaces commerciaux et artisanaux*): it is a unique tool that combines social issues with market economy in the deprived areas, in order to improve and restructure commercial and trading areas. EPARECA is called upon to act as a developer in the absence of private market, even by extraordinary means (expropriation, etc.), directly supporting a broad set of activities, from the purchasing and restoration of the areas and buildings, to their exploitation and selling to other entrepreneurs, with the aim of getting back as soon as possible to "common law" jurisdiction.

Rural contexts. Subsidies and grants for the proximity commerce

(Palazzo A. L.)

The rural France is a huge reality. Of nearly 37,000 municipalities three quarters have fewer than 1000 inhabitants, half of them have fewer than 426 and a third has less than 250 inhabitants (Population Census 2009).

More than 6000 trade associations, among streets, neighbourhoods, villages and cities partnerships, play a dual role:

- they are entrusted to attract and retain customers, to develop commercial activities (animation, loyalty cards, shopping guides, etc.);
- as a source of ideas for a better adaptation of the trading environment (accessibility, parking, traffic plan, roads, urban development).

These associations and related policies launched by public bodies are crucial in rural contexts, where it is not possible to address demographic decline without encouraging the maintenance of basic services to residents, and the presence of a handcrafted production generating new jobs. In addition, support for commercial and craft activities can facilitate synergies with other activities, such as tourism and culture.

FISAC - Fonds d'Intervention pour les Services, l'Artisanat et le Commerce (Fund for Services, Trades and Commerce)

The FISAC, created by Article 4 of Law No. 89-1008 of 31 December 1989, is managed by the Ministry of Economy, Industry and Employment, in order to preserve or develop a web of local businesses, mainly small companies, to support the development of collective actions in town centres, to encourage consumers to visit independent shops and businesses and to call upon local services.

Individual assistance involves the so-called "enterprises de proximité" (proximity businesses) making an annual all-inclusive tax-free income under 1 million € and located in municipalities with fewer than 3,000 inhabitants. The purpose of these operations is to enhance or maintain local shops in rural communities, and encourage owners of local handicrafts, trades or services to rehabilitate or modernize their facilities or their professional equipment. Intervention rates differ depending on the types of expenses.

These subsidies must not cause an unjust enrichment of a company or a distortion of competition, and must be justified by a specific project. Any grant must be preceded by a feasibility study whose costs are not taken into account for calculating the grant.

Cafes and restaurants are only eligible when their services are primarily aimed at local people, whereas other businesses, like pharmacies or tourism-related activities, are excluded.

Collective assistance involves a number of companies in a place-based approach within a given geographical area. Unlike the individual assistance, the project

management of collective operations is only performed by a public actor into three major fields (urban assistance; modernization of crafts, trade and services in rural areas; development projects in the rural environment).

- Urban assistance

It aims to consolidate commercial, craft and service activities by the implementation of indirect support (action on the immediate environment, counselling, groups, facilitation, promotion) and direct individual aid.

Urban operations involve single municipalities or groups of municipalities over 3,000 inhabitants. They are intended to preserve and to help trades, crafts and services to adapt to a new economic environment and to strengthen their economies.

- Modernization of crafts, trade and services in rural areas

These funds are devoted to the “pays”¹² and other clusters of rural communities together with their employment areas at risk by demographic decrease or economic changes.

They aim to consolidate commercial and craft enterprises providing indirect support by counselling activities, promotion and animation, and direct individual aid (rehabilitation, safety and modernization of the working environment, etc.).

- Development projects in the rural environment

The importance of trade, crafts and services in rural areas accounts for more dynamic overall local development procedures. Development operations in rural communities are designed to encourage municipalities with fewer than 3,000 residents to rehabilitate their town center in order to create an environment favourable to commercial, craft and service activities.

¹² The Law LOADDT (1999) enabled the inhabitants of a cluster of municipalities to form a legally recognized “Pays” after deciding to do so by mutual consent. The pays is defined in terms of its territorial identity and not by thresholds or rigid criteria; as a pays must take into account the social-economic identity as well as urban and rural links, it should attempt to cover an employment centre and its surrounding areas. Consequently, a pays is generally set up around small to mid-sized towns, but also around larger urban agglomerations when they wish to set up a framework for cooperation with rural or periurban areas in their zone of influence.

FRCAP (Fonds régional pour le commerce et l'artisanat de proximité)

The FRCAP is a specific help to contrast the decrease of population in depressed regions developing handcraft, retail trade, and tourism.

Support given to retail trade (*commerce de proximité au détail*) is also provided by means of special regional grants related to the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) issued by the European Commission.

All types of projects are eligible: creation, rehabilitation, development. In the trade sector, only development projects with real qualitative improvements are admissible, as well as projects to create businesses in the case of municipalities facing a supply deficit.

In rehabilitation cases, are only eligible businesses located in municipalities with fewer than 5,000 inhabitants.

Support for the creation and development of local business is a subsidy whose rate and ceiling are variable depending on each Department.

The FRCAP has two components:

- as for the purchase of business assets and office spaces walls, and some heavy investment, it provides a refundable advance up to 25% capped at € 20,000, repayable over 3 to 5 years with a grace period of one year. This grant lies within regional funds.
- as for other expenditures, a subsidy is granted whose rate and ceiling are variable according to departments instructions.

Local authorities devoid of any distribution business are encouraged to develop their own properties or build commercial properties for food or “multiservice” retail shops, in order to rent them to private operators.

Support concerns the only existing trade or the “last one” less than 300 sqm located in a municipality of less than 3,000 inhabitants, including construction, tangible and intangible works concerning food shops or “multiservice” shops if the municipality is devoid of any commercial distribution.

Assistance may combine with the FISAC (see above) within the jurisdiction of the State.

The rate is 15% of the net of tax cost of eligible works, excluding land acquisition.

An increase of 10% is possible for municipalities who have a financial potential below the average of the stratum to which they belong.

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A FOCUS ON CCN IN ITALY: AN INTEGRATED APPROACH AMONG URBAN RENEWAL AND PPP

edited by Manuela Ricci, Pietro Valentino

The regeneration process in small towns and CCNs

Over the last twenty to thirty years the economic structure of the retail sector in Italy has undergone profound changes. The strong role played by small family-based businesses located in the core of urban settlements has experienced a decline both in the number of enterprises and in the value added produced. According to Burrelli and Guercini (2003) and Brunetti and Santini (2006) some of the major changes which have concerned the retail and distribution sector have to do with the increase in size of enterprises and commercial floorspace, localization in the outskirts of cities, web-based commerce (e-commerce), mechanization and proliferation with increasing competition of shopping malls. Some recent data confirm the downturn and difficulties undergone by the sector during the period of current crisis. These show, for example, that the total value of sales relative to the years 2008, 2009 and 2010 for small and medium enterprises and for all types of goods (food and non-food industry) has undergone a steady decrease from €165.539 million to €160.501 million (Osservatorio Nazionale del Commercio, 2011). Moreover, as regards the total value added of the retail sector as a whole at the national level, from 2001 to 2009 there has been a nominal value increase from €143.473 million to €150.518 million which, however, in real terms denotes a decrease in the value added produced by the sector (Osservatorio Nazionale del Commercio, 2001 and 2009).

Coupled with this, small municipalities with a population of 5.000 or less, which represent 70.4 percent of the total Italian municipalities, are experiencing a progressive out-migration which has led the total resident population to decrease in the decade 2001 to 2011 from 10.590.728 to 10.349.962 (ANCI, 2011; ANCI-Formez, 2006). Overall, trends of inward movements of population, enterprises and goods towards urban cores have ceased in the face of outward movements towards the outskirts and extra-urban locations (Garreau, 1992; Zanderighi, 2004). Put together these two phenomena are having strong impacts on the economy of small municipalities and on their urban cores with negative effects on the urban environment, livability and liveliness.

The current situation though has long standing roots which derive from the late 1970s and early 1980s when the retail sector experienced a first form of innovation with a greater diffusion of shopping malls and large supermarkets. According to Ferrucci and Porcheddu (2002) at the time policies and actions in favor of small retailers were sector-oriented lacking a wider approach. Retail policies were opposed to town planning and historical centres policies giving rise to what has been defined by Varaldo (1999) as a serious and negative division between commercial and town planning policies.

In order to invert established and recent trends measures have been undertaken at various levels. As a response to these phenomena, in all Italian regions a new policy approach has been launched starting from the late 1990s, which has concerned large cities with millions of inhabitants as well as small towns with just a few thousands. The new strategy, which aims at improving the conditions of the retail sector as a strategic sector for regeneration initiatives, is based on the “*Centro Commerciale Naturale*” (CCN) model.

A “*Centro Commerciale Naturale*” is defined by Valente (2004) as «*an aggregation of small-sized retail shops located in a homogeneous area of the historic city center that, through a proper company scheme, position themselves in a privileged position with the town council for the development of common strategies... not only from the commercial competitiveness point of view, but above all from that of the peculiarity of the retail framework to safeguard and valorize, through the reinforcement of the business structure, the urban places of interaction, livability and socio-environmental balance*» (translated by J.A. Coca-Stefaniak et al. 2009).

Therefore, the CCN model is presented as a complementary strategy in which the creation of a network of small businesses can benefit from different kind of advantages which concern a series of so-called pull factors able to improve competitiveness and attractiveness of city centres such as: diversification economies, product specialization, adding new goods and services, valorization of local specificities and contexts (Valentino, 2008).

In fact, according to Zanderighi (2001) prior to these experiences small emphasis had been placed on the need for coordination between different and various retailers within urban areas which act as commercial cores.

Particular emphasis is therefore placed on the management scheme through which a “*Centro*

Commerciale Naturale” operates. Cooperation and collaboration among retailers and local authorities are of the utmost importance and represent the rationale of the strategy of CCNs which aim at retaining the natural values of city centres with the purpose of increasing their roles of focal points for the community (Sansone, 2007). Different regional formulas exist (consortium, association or corporation) that will be analyzed later in the next section.

As Sansone (2007) points out the CCN model derives from international experiences which started in the late 1960s in the U.S., Canada and Japan with, respectively, tools such as Business Improvement District (BID), Business Improvement Area (BIA) and Town Management Organization (TMO). Later in the 1980s and 1990s the strategy spread out firstly in the UK and subsequently in Western Europe, especially in Belgium, Germany and The Netherlands with the so-called Town Centre Management (TCM).

According to some scholars (Hoyt, 2005) a BID, which inspired all other models, is a «*publicly sanctioned – yet privately directed – organization that [...] subscribes to a self-help doctrine, whereby a compulsory self-taxing mechanism generates multi-year revenue*». The BID inspired the TCM in the UK but with an important difference in the public-private partnership. In fact, while American BIDs are usually led by the private sector as explained in a later section, English TCMs are generally initiated by the public sector and the participation in funding is also extended.

In the Mediterranean part of Europe (Italy, Spain and France), given the different economic structure, it's not surprising that the creation of TCM-similar models has been taken by small- and medium-sized retailers and local trade associations. The so-called “*Centro Commerciale Naturale*”, “*Centros Comerciales Urbanos*” and “*Vetrin de*” are models set up in contexts historically characterized by small towns and defined geographically within historical city centres where street markets have existed by tradition and where social interaction and liveability have taken place (Vilariño et al., 2002).

This section will explicitly deal with the Italian experiences and models which have first been introduced in the late 1990s. The CCN strategy, in effect, appears to be very significant in terms of diffusion across all Italian regions, for entailing in some cases a strong integration between different sectors such as retail, heritage protection, tourism and town planning regeneration policies, and as a strategy to increase the competitiveness of urban commercial centres against shopping malls.

Moreover, another peculiarity has to do with the implementation of different models within several regional contexts. In fact, after the introduction of the national Law n. 114 of 1998, which amended the legislation on retail activities and transferred the matter to the regional governments, a variety of interventions have been put in practice that differ from one another on the basis of various variables such as: type of partnership; organizational structure and relationships between members of the CCN and between neighbouring municipalities; economic sector on which the stress is placed (e.g. tourism, food industry, urban regeneration policies, support to SMEs) and so on.

The main objective of the section is therefore to present and discuss different models of CCN as they have been set out in different regional contexts. In order to do so, a few regions have been selected on the basis of their pro-active role and increasing commitment towards such strategy which will be explained in detail in the *Methodology* section. Moreover, a few case studies will help highlight the main characteristics of different models.

The Regional policies for CCNs

Since the strategic role of CCNs has not yet been completely investigated, a general survey about their specific contribution to urban regeneration requires the definition of criteria for interpreting actions and interventions.

Consistently with the objectives of this work, a general research question has been set, namely which policy the CCN regeneration strategy is encouraging and what kind of specific contents it is promoting. Actually, CCNs represent a real opportunity for development, determining the increase of economic activities and productions, promoting a better distribution of commercial products, supporting a strong image of local resources (strictly in a commercial, touristic, cultural sense), starting changes aiming at qualifying a specific territorial vocation. In other words, CCNs are the result of a social, economic and planning process and they perform a complex cooperation process aiming at encouraging quality and shared values by the integration of functions, the organization of spaces and public services, the qualification of commercial activities and facilities, etc.

In order to better understand the CCN strategy, it may be reduced to specific variables, such as *governance*, *approaches* and *partnership*.

With respect to the processes preceding the CCN start-up, it is important to point out if the CCN is spontaneous rather than led by local authorities. Indeed, a CCN may

be developed as a *bottom-up* process, that is a spontaneous process or association among retailers and private agents sharing resources, objectives and tools to improve their competitiveness; in such cases, involvement and commitment of all the agents are implicit components of a CCN. Otherwise, CCNs may be promoted by *top-down* initiatives, namely they are led by public agents (local authorities and public institutions) able to activate and support the start-up process; in such cases, the weak private motivation must be properly stimulated, especially in the early stages, to grant the success of the project.

Another variable determining the CCN success is the integration of policies, actions and actors, and the relationship between urban planning and specific retail regulations. CCNs may represent a “punctual” initiative, or they can encourage the integration of varied typologies of businesses, supporting different policies and diversifying actions. Besides, CCNs can be managed by a single municipality or they can express a network of associated municipalities sharing actions, programs and funding and integrating initiatives within the same territory.

Finally, different forms of *public-private partnership* supporting a CCN are possible – depending on public objectives and legislative regulations, on private objectives and interests, on territorial resources and risks, etc. CCNs encourage a solid partnership as a strategic method for providing services, facilities and tools by combining public and private energies; in other words, CCNs combine public goals (objectives and strategies of public partners and local authorities) and business interests (that is, private agents’ demands). Indeed, when financial resources are limited and difficulties or delays are obvious, PPP becomes a decisive factor to ensure successful strategies and long-term programs.

As previously mentioned, to analyze the effectiveness of CCN strategy a wide investigation of the national framework has been required – an accurate analysis of the national legislation have been carried out, as well as an in-depth investigation of regional acts, administrative provisions and innovative experiences throughout Italy.

Thanks to the significant contribution of the literature on CCNs, this survey has given a clear outline: while some Regions have not adopted specific measures and they have not put in practice CCNs or comparable interventions (Abruzzo, Basilicata, Campania, Molise, Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano, Valle D’Aosta), other Regions boast a variety of actions and experiences. More in detail, while just recently some Regions have determined to adopt specific legislations and provisions

about CCNs (Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Lazio, Sardegna, Puglia, Provincia Autonoma di Trento, Calabria, Umbria), other Regions have confirmed the enhancement of retail activities as a strategic objective of their policy; they have adopted specific legislations and carried out a variety of interventions and a large number of experiences (Emilia Romagna, Liguria, Lombardia, Marche, Piemonte, Toscana, Sicilia, Veneto).

On the basis of these remarks, the last group of Regions have been selected, depending on their well-established policies, the exhaustive legislation they have adopted, the wide range of actors involved in the CCN strategy, the successful experiences carried out. In order to point out the pro-active role and increasing commitment towards CCN strategy in this group of Regions, four case studies have been selected: *Lombardy* and *Emilia Romagna*, in the northern Italy; *Tuscany*, in the middle Italy; *Sicily*, in the southern Italy.

One of the criteria affecting such a selection deals with the high number of CCNs in these four Regions and, most important, with the availability of a large set of comparable data and up-to-date information concerning CCN regional experiences, which is a difficult requirement to achieve¹³. Moreover, although these four Regions have put into effect the objectives of the Legislative Decree n. 114/1998 under specific regional acts and they have amended promptly their regional legislation by introducing CCNs, there are significant differences in the specific timing of each regional strategy – long or short-term strategy: indeed, while in Lombardy, Emilia Romagna and Tuscany CCNs are long-established experiences, in Sicily they have been recently implemented, therefore interesting comparisons between alternative policies are possible¹⁴. Finally, Lombardy, Emilia Romagna, Tuscany and Sicily promote different approaches towards urban regeneration and retail revitalization and each Region pursued a specific model of CCNs.

Evidently, other significant regional experiences have been excluded – not only Piemonte¹⁵ and Liguria¹⁶, but

¹³ With respect to the selected case studies, Local Authorities and Provinces, but also Chambers of Commerce, trade unions and retailers' associations provide large useful information for the analysis.

¹⁴ Despite the slender number of CCNs completely started up, Sicily have been investigated for the innovative experience proposed and for the tourist policy supporting the CCN strategy.

¹⁵ Since 2000, Piemonte has promoted interventions for the enhancement of retail activities in urban contexts by supporting commercial districts, namely commercial areas playing an attractive role for adjacent neighbourhood or

also Lazio, Sardegna and Umbria¹⁷ – even though they have been taken into account for a better understanding of CCN strategies.

After outlining the Regional framework, a few representative case studies have been investigated in order to highlight the most significant outcomes of different CCN models – a wide range of indicators have been adopted: *location and accessibility, population in the Municipality and members of CCNs, life of CCNs, legal status, form of public-private partnership, kind and origin of raised funds, management, specialization, interventions promoted, integration with other interventions*.

The accurate analysis of the Regional frameworks and of the selection of case studies; the unceasing comparison and cross-reference to other regional experiences; the significant contribution of the literature on CCNs; all gives a first outline of the Italian experiences and are the premise for the following remarks and reflections.

As shown in the following table, different definitions are given to describe the very nature of models and objectives. Whereas Tuscany highlights the spontaneous growth of retail *spaces* and underlines the need for a *coordination* strategy, Emilia Romagna puts accent to *interventions* and *partnership* aimed at achieving an improvement in physical and socio-economic conditions. The definition of Lombardy is broader though vague describing District of Commerce as *areas and initiatives* but it is clear that commerce is at the core of the whole strategy to improve territorial and economic competitiveness. Finally, Sicily bases the model as a *set of industry service activities* aimed at improving the image and the attractiveness for consumers and tourists.

municipalities. 110 municipalities have been involved and €45 million of regional incentives have been made available.

In 2007 the first two districts were stated up – Novi Ligure and Vercelli; in 2008 Alba-Bra, Cuneo and Ivrea districts were introduced. From 2000 to 2009, other commercial initiatives were proposed (Calumet, Cuneo, Ivrea, Mondovi, Nizza Monferrato, Novi Ligure, Racconigi, Saluzzo, Savigliano, Susa).

¹⁶ In 1998 Liguria introduced the Centro Intetgrato di Via (CIV), a specific programme aiming at revitalizing businesses and retail activities through the enhancement of urban context, while providing a valuable tool for small businesses to successfully face a strong change in trade sector.

¹⁷ In 2010 Umbria funded the project Tools and strategies for the competitiveness of trade activities in urban contexts: towards the CCN; at the same time, Confcommercio promoted CCNs as innovative tools for increasing the competitiveness of trade, strengthen the identity of the urban centres, creating a model of urban marketing.

REGION	NORMATIVE DEFINITION
TUSCANY (Regional Law n. 28/2005)	<i>«[...] complex and not homogeneous retail spaces, developed over time even without a uniform planning, designed as a unique space where retail enterprises, services and craft activities, as well as market areas, cooperate through a coordinated strategy.»</i>
EMILIA ROMAGNA (Regional Law n. 14/1999, emended by Regional Law n. 20/2005)	<i>«[...] commercially-oriented urban districts aiming at regenerating and renewing town centres, suburbs, historic towns and minor assets; they aim at achieving improvement in socio-economic conditions through interventions on physical environment and private-public partnership promoting attractiveness of the districts itself».</i>
LOMBARDY (Regional Law n. 6/2010)	<i>«areas and initiatives in which citizens, businesses and social groups [...] are able to leverage commerce for the integration and enhancement of all resources available to the territory, to increase the attractiveness, regenerate the urban fabric and support the competitiveness of its commercial polarities. »</i>
SICILY (Regional Law n. 10/2005)	<i>«The set of service industry private activities which are close to each other and lie within a well defined urban area and that, in the form of a consortium, association, or corporation operating as part of a network of integrated chain supply, aim at regenerating the image and improving the liveability of the physical environment within which the activities fall; increasing the attractiveness of the activities which form part of the whole set; improving services available to consumers and tourists.»</i>

As highlighted in the literature on the matter (J.A. Coca-Stefaniak et al., 2009; Varaldo, 1999), policy and territorial integration is one of the key elements of successful CCNs strategies, that allows to go over the sectorialization and the fragmentation of past policies. Integration is fundamental in order to give back the retail sector its major role as leverage for the enhancement of city centres economy, urban environment, liveability and liveliness. By connecting

retail and town planning policies, an integrated approach appears to be of the utmost importance not only in order to boost economic growth, but also as a way of activating a wider process of urban social and cultural regeneration. The in-depth examination of the four regional contexts has emphasized different levels of integration achieved in the approach adopted, both in terms of policies and from a territorial point of view.

As for Tuscany, Emilia Romagna and Lombardy, policy integration has been interpreted in different ways. CCNs strategy in Tuscany has been focused on the enhancement of connections between retail, tourism and local production and on the preservation of historic city centres through the combination of urban renewal and cultural and socio-economic regeneration interventions. Integrated regional policies combining retail, territorial planning and local production enhancement have been set up¹⁸ as well as, at municipal level, CCNs have been intended to be functional to the whole area development. In fact, as for the *Colgirandola* CCN case study, the CCN itself has been promoted as part of a multiple scope and integrated strategy within the Fabbrica Colle Program, aimed at promoting Colle Val D'Elsa urban renewal¹⁹.

Emilia Romagna as well has developed an integrated approach but a major attention has been put on the negative effects of a strong trend to decentralization (for instance, the increasing number of shopping malls), therefore on measures aiming at supporting long-established and traditional retail businesses while improving their innovation and competitiveness. Thus CCNs in Emilia Romagna result to be aimed mostly at improving functions and quality of retail structures in order to encourage the revitalization of urban areas, the strengthening of social identity, a better quality of life and a real integration of functions and services – e.g. a strong integration of trading policies and urban planning is required in order to prevent land consumption and to

¹⁸ The Tuscan model, that is based on a strong link between CCNs initiatives and other two regional programs: the Integrated program for the distribution network revitalization and the program "Vetrina Toscana". The former is aimed at improving distribution networks, public services and accessibility of historic town centres while the latter is oriented at enhancing the cooperation between retail, tourism and production through the creation of regional networks for the promotion of local crafts and food production.

¹⁹ Fabbrica Colle Program started in 2004 to promote urban renewal and local enhancement of Colle Val D'Elsa through the implementation of an integrated strategy and the development of a participatory process including citizens, traders, private institutions and public authorities.

avoid negative territorial impacts; small and medium trading businesses benefit from strategic measures; CCN are strongly supported in disadvantaged contexts.

Different is the case of Lombardy, where even though more recently much emphasis has been put on specific measures to promote environmental sustainability, the "Distretti del Commercio" remain much focused on the economic sector, thus not opening up to the potential of trade for a real collective and social development of the region. Even less significant with regard to the level of integration achieved appears to be the case of Sicily, whose CCNs strategy seems to be focused just on improving the touristic attractiveness and touristic "usability" of the whole regional territory. Objectives such as increased attractiveness of the local territory and environment and image improvement result to be functional only to an enhanced economic performance of local businesses limiting the potential of CCNs as means for a broaden development.

With regard to the spatial integration, Emilia Romagna and Tuscany have fostered the creation of several networks at provincial and inter-municipal level, with associated municipalities sharing actions, programs and funding. It is worth noticing that even though spatial integration is greatly encouraged, the creation of territorial networks is not required by law as it is in Lombardy, where in the case of municipalities with less than 15,000 inhabitants territorial integration is a prerequisite for the commercial district constitution itself as they are required to act in an integrated way meaning no less than three. The territorial integration seems thus to be at the core of the agenda of diverse intervention measures depending on different urban structures and demographic profiles.

When moving to the governance issue, it is important to underline that the concept is here expressed as the "self-organizing, inter-organizational networks" (Rhodes, 1997) for the generation and implementation of a public policy, meaning interactions among a wide variety of organizations including government institutions, private firms, voluntary organizations and community-based groups.

As for the process of formation, while in Sicily and Lombardy CCNs have been established from the top through detailed regional laws, in Emilia Romagna the diffusion of these initiatives can be regarded as the result of a long-term spontaneous bottom-up process, due to a historical tendency to form associations among private agents. As a result, in Emilia Romagna some retail associations have been set up since 1995, long before the introduction of CCNs by law, which, though, gives the Municipality the role of managing a proper

distribution of funds and of granting a solid partnership. Different is the case of Tuscany, where the enactment of Resolution 4734/2003 has catered for the existing need to reorganize small retail and channelled the spontaneity of the process in an institutionalized form, entrusting the *centri di assistenza tecnica*²⁰ with the task of defining CCNs structure and objectives.

With regard to implementation, it is clear that coordination and the search for synergies is of the utmost importance for efficiently attracting economic resources for local development. Cooperation and collaboration are though fundamental elements that have to be analyzed, as multilevel governance implies both vertical relations and horizontal, territorial networks. These are intended, from an institutional point of view, as stable partnerships between decentralized public agencies, business associations and organizations of citizens and, from a spatial perspective, as the creation of territorial networks, especially among small municipalities. A varied set of means of governance are possible in order to support decisional processes and technical operability: boards of directors and steering committees are scheduled to coordinate partners and their agenda. In some cases, especially in Lombardy, a manager is also required: urban districts of commerce of Varese and Brescia for example have hired professionals for an efficient fulfilment of the strategic program, to coordinate activities and to arrange budget.

The form of partnership implemented appears to be the most crucial element in the CCNs ability of contributing towards a real and collective territorial development. A strong public-private partnership is of the utmost importance not only in order to ensure adequate financial resources, but also for guarantee the complementarity of public and private efforts. Rather than operating as an informal process of cooperation between private and public sectors, CCNs partnership is usually deal-specific, based on development agreements and on public sector provisions of funding. Agreements subscribers are usually retailers associations, local Chambers of Commerce and municipalities.

As for Lombardy and Emilia Romagna, partnership agreements set up a hierarchical relationships structure, based on the role of the Municipality as lead partner, entrusted to start-up the CCN in partnership with associations, consortia and corporations of private

20 Centri di assistenza tecnica (services centers) are established by Article 23 of the Legislative Decree 114/98 to give support and assistance to retail enterprises so as to foster the process of modernization of the distribution network.

and other public agents. Different is the case of Sicily, where a specific role of coordination is required and assigned to the local public administration in the case of several and different CCNs falling within a single municipality's territory (this is the case of large cities such as Palermo where various CCNs have been set up). Municipalities are required to recognise and approve new CCNs and determine whether these initiatives meet several requirements set out by law. Their role, therefore, is that of an approving body and there is no partnership with retailers in the setting up phase. The latter, in fact, have a major role in the start up of a new CCN whilst no wider community involvement seems to be present. However a unique case in these terms is the Giarre-Riposto CCN case study. Giarre and Riposto are two different neighbouring municipalities, inland and coastal respectively, which closely collaborated and partnered for the setting up of the initiative started in 2006. This represents a unique case since spatially speaking the two municipalities form one single settlement. In fact, in the years prior to World War II, Giarre and Riposto were merged together in one single municipality. The main street which runs through the two municipalities has therefore been at the centre of the joint effort by the consortium and local administrations with the objectives of enhancing and revitalizing their commercial centres. However in 2010, when the initiative was officially approved by the Region, two different CCNs have been created probably losing that important element of partnership and collaboration.

On the other hand, horizontal management tools have been developed in Tuscany where some City Coordinating Committees²¹ have been constituted in 2005 as a negotiating table for planning CCN strategy. The *Colgirandola* CCN (in the Municipality of Colle Val d'Elsa) outlines the importance of constituting a City Coordinating Committees as a tool for granting a strong collaboration and involvement of local stakeholders. Moreover, the analysis of the Tuscan regional context has highlighted the importance of local Chambers of Commerce and of the *centri di assistenza tecnica*, as main stakeholders in CCNs initiatives, which the Region entrusted the task of defining CCNs structure and objectives²². The strong involvement of *centri di*

21 City Coordinating Committees members usually include representatives of the Municipality, the Province, the local Chamber of Commerce and, at least, of one *centro di assistenza tecnica* along with other community and cultural associations.

22 In the absence of a regional law regulating the matter, the Region set the first CCNs initiatives through the endorsement of the Regional Committee Resolution n. 4734 of 2003. This determined the first regional call for instituting new CCNs

assistenza tecnica and even more the set up of horizontal management tools such as the City Coordinating Committees, to which also social and cultural stakeholders might take part, allow Tuscan CCNs to reach a higher level of community participation than in the other regions. Considering the fact that CCNs are aimed not only at revitalizing retail activities but also at enhancing city centres and neighbourhoods, community involvement result to be a crucial element in order to avoid the risk that CCNs initiatives are just retail-oriented and not able to pursue a wider regeneration process.

With regard to CCNs financial resources, the analysis has shown up that CCNs are mostly financed through public funding. Even though Regional Authorities have had a primary role in financing CCNs start-up and development, also municipalities and chambers of commerce have made available financial resources to CCNs. Some forms of private funding and self-financing have been developed through the involvements of local banks and private institutions and the provision of membership fees, but their weight is still marginal if compared to that of public funding, underlining the need for new fundraising strategies to be adopted.

Towards an integrated approach

The previous paragraphs have been aimed at analyzing CCNs strategies developed in Italy over the last decades, with the main intent of understanding their origins, peculiarities, major strengths and weaknesses.

Over the last decades, proliferation of extra-urban shopping malls and large supermarkets coupled with the diffusion of technological innovations have resulted in a drastic downturn of small family-based businesses located in the urban cores, while at the same time small municipalities have experienced a progressive out-migration. On the whole, from the early 1980s, outward movements of population, enterprises and goods towards the outskirts locations have dramatically impacted the economy of small municipalities and their urban commercial cores with negative effects on the urban environment, liveability and liveliness. At the time retail policies were sector-oriented and opposed to urban planning and historical centres policies, thus being unable to face the urgent problems arising.

Only in the late 1990s, after the introduction of the national Law n. 114 of 1998, which amended the legislation on retail activities and transferred the matter to the regional governments, measures aimed at inverting the negative trends affecting the retail sector

initiatives entrusting the *centri di assistenza tecnica* with the task of structuring them.

have been undertaken at various levels. In several Italian Regions, CCNs have been launched as a new policy approach for revitalizing retail activities while at the same time contributing towards urban regeneration. Nowadays CCNs strategies, inspired to similar experiences in United State and Europe (e.g. *Business Improvement District* and *Town Centre Management*) appears to be very significant in terms of diffusion across all Italian regions, where different CCNs models have been developed.

The examination and comparison of four Regional contexts has allowed to identify main peculiarities, strengths and weakness of the "Italian model" of CCNs. Even though the analysis has highlighted differences among the four regional strategies, on the whole it can be argued that CCNs respond to the general need of connecting retail and town planning policies, giving back the retail sector its major role as key factor for the urban city centres enhancement. CCNs are conceived as means for boosting territorial cohesion and limiting the negative effects of functional concentration and spatial dispersion caused by the proliferation of large shopping malls. In particular, the analysis has emphasized thematic and territorial integration as one of the key elements of successful CCNs strategies such as those implemented in Tuscany, Emilia Romagna and most recently in Lombardy. On the contrary, the sectorial approach adopted in Sicily, just tourism-oriented, has limited the potential of CCNs as means for a broaden development.

This has much to do also with the form of partnership implemented that appears to be the most decisive element in the CCN ability of activating a real and collective urban regeneration process. A strong public-private partnership is crucial not only as a means to ensure adequate financial assets or funding, but also to guarantee the complementarity of public and private efforts.

Even though in Tuscany horizontal management tools have been developed such as the City Coordinating Committees, which include local authorities representatives along with business, community and cultural associations, in Emilia Romagna and Lombardy partnership agreements have set up hierarchical relationships structures, based on the role of the Municipality as lead partner. This hierarchical approach seems to have limited the level of community involvement reached by CCNs in the two regions thus missing the opportunity of making the most of CCNs as community-based strategies.

Regarding CCNs financial resources, the analysis has highlighted that CCNs are mostly financed through

public funding, while forms of private funding and self-financing are still marginal, underlining the need for new fundraising strategies to be adopted.

On the whole CCNs partnership results to be based on the strong involvement of public authorities both as sponsors and in the management of the initiatives. This can be regarded both as a strength and as a weakness of Italian CCNs. In fact, on the one hand, the primary role of public sector has promoted city services and infrastructures improvement by integration between retail and urban planning policies and made available consistent financial resources. On the other hand, the marginal role that private sponsors have in CCNs initiatives might represent an obstacle to their economic sustainability in the long term.

By looking at other experiences in the United States, it might be useful for developing more balanced partnership schemes so as to broaden the financial basis of the initiative and boost community involvement. In particular, while Business Improvements Districts as well as Main Street Programs might help to shed light on different strategies for increasing private sponsors involvement, other American experiences such as Community-based neighbourhood initiatives and Community Development Corporations might be of particular interest in regard to the strategies of community involvement adopted.

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THE PARTICIPATION ISSUE IN PPP AS A DRIVING IN URBAN REGENERATION INITIATIVES: THE "URBAN CENTER" PHENOMENON IN USA AND EUROPE

by Bruno Monardo

In Urban Studies the term "Urban Centre" (or "Center" in American English) is supposed to take on a clear interpretation, with no doubt about its meaning. However, this is not completely true. Many English "mother tongue" scholars, professionals, administrators, developers and other actors involved in the "urban stage", use it to identify the whole of a city, town or village, on a physical-geographic, social and economic point of view. Sometimes we find a different interpretation in the wide family of the so called "globish English", as "Urban Centre" is intended in stressing the city heart, its very pulsing core, what native Americans call "downtown".

However, there is another meaning emerging for the term "Urban Center", whose origin is embedded in the general issue of participatory and deliberative democracy process in contemporary urban policies. Referring to this context, "Urban Center" is used to describe any institution whose core mission is to inform and engage local communities in urban regeneration scenarios. It was coined in the last century in the United States to define various types of organisms whose main goal was to develop a critical involvement of the communities in the transformation policies of their city and surrounding territory.

In just a few decades these bodies, which are now seen in most developed countries, have proved the most effective way of gaining the active participation of stakeholders, especially the underprivileged, towards reaching a consensus and solutions for shared projects.

Originally the Centers were conceived as places where official information was available for the community along with the possibility of communication and discussing urban transformation projects. The Urban Centers are now gradually becoming recognized, in the best cultural sense, as mainly "neutral arenas". Here political decision-makers, professionals, technicians, economic operators, social bodies, trade associations, citizens' committees and individuals who intend to contribute actively in defining the "future destiny" of their city can debate and discuss.

The question mark in the title is by way of focusing on the enormous complexity of the problems which bodies such as the Urban Center must face and which are often only nominally an extension of shared decision-making in the city.

A central role in present debate, on how city and territorial government policies are formed, is the question of how the modern principles of participation and decision-making in a democracy come into play to reach consensus and the growth of a viable framework.

This issue is connected to the inadequacy of the city government model in which the public administration and the privileged economic powers were the only key players of the urban transformation process. Thus heated debate arose on the opportunity of giving recognition and legitimacy to new emerging social bodies and widespread interest groups asking to interact and negotiate, directly at source, with local government organisms. These groups also aimed to be present right from the moment when guidelines for urban policies were drawn up.

Tracing the main steps in the evolution of Urban Centers would be pointless without seeing their role from the point of view of the integration of social capital and resources. This is an essential approach if one is to enhance the wealth of variety among the citizens vital to the life of the city.

Behind the success stories of contemporary urban policies there is usually an “illuminated director” who, single-handed, manages the dialectics between the various stakeholders of widespread and privileged issues on the urban scene. His is a patient, tireless search for consensus on principles, strategies, guidelines, plans, project programs and action methods.

In different cultural contexts the «director's» identity varies but the common aim is a transparent formation of the decision-making framework. In Italy too, after an inevitable phase of adjustments, the Urban Centers, in more receptive areas, have reached a certain stage in their development whereby they are nearing the symbolic image of a “transparent house”. Here city transformation policies are reached through authentic agreement.

The effectiveness of an Urban Center lies in knowing how to contribute to the growth of awareness of the potential for social participation in the citizens. They should be helped to progress from learning to making judgments and taught to listen and participate. The innumerable initiatives belonging to local culture should be organized into a system but at the same time a coherent framework should be required and set up to include overall appropriateness

The Participation Issue

It would not therefore be out of place here to anticipate focusing on a few concepts on whether the aspirations of various individuals are treated fairly, though ours may be a synthetic, unsystematic overview of such a complex and widespread subject. For the aim of urban policies should be supposed to reflect a well-developed, equitable democracy in terms of participation and deliberation.

If we take as our starting point that politics, in its noblest sense, is rooted in the various institutions, communities and stakeholders and cuts through the distinction between public and private life, the principle of mature autonomy and self-government of “Civitas”, according to different schools of thought, is reached when the community can participate fairly in public decisions.

Representative democracy and participation practices

The question of including the inhabitants, beneficiaries and other members of urban communities in drawing up decisions on the transformation of the city, is a decisive element in the idea of participatory democracy in answer to the demands of contemporary society.

It is not one of the possible alternatives, it is now an imperative. Outlining a project of social consensus which is founded not on opposition but on the difficult search for opportunities to extend consensus to the greatest possible number of diverse figures on the urban scene.

As we know, representative democracy is founded on the principle of mandate. By voting, the citizens delegate their representatives to voice individual positions and differing interests.

The idea of an anticipated mandate, though, has now become difficult to focalize.

Firstly, present day society is complex; the range of opinions and interests is much wider and more varied than even a few decades ago. People with different cultural levels, income, sex, age, profession, family status, ethnic origins etc., react differently according to their priorities, desires and criteria. Drawing up an electoral programme compatible with this variety is arduous.

There is also the contingent time factor: many problems the politicians have to face were not on the agenda originally nor were they imaginable at election time.

The administrators not only bring their electors' requests, they must also support those of general interest of the entire community. They must therefore be able to offer a broader platform which is needed to ensure a greater democratic approach as well as effectiveness in decision-making.

Modernizing representative and deliberative democracy necessarily entails developing new forms of participation in drawing up the population's decisions as well as recognizing other figures concerned with city matters.

The phrase “broadening participation” should be used with caution; it is not a question of an alternative to the representational system, rather an enhancement.

On the other hand the way participation is seen can also be a thorny question because there is the risk that the better informed, active figures in the natural

inclusion of the process acquire legitimacy and recognition which does not correspond to their level of representability. The question of asymmetry between the privileged actors and weaker subjects impacting on the choices for transforming the city has also been thought-provoking for some time.

Speaking of participatory democracy “tout court” does not seem to have much sense. It would be more correct to insist on the growing importance of single “participation moments” during a possible redefinition of how to create general interest.

The framework of new “urban governance” more or less explicitly entails a social project more inclined towards developing ways to achieve consensus. It should attempt to manage dialectic positions and inevitable moments of conflict constructively.

Search for a method to achieve participation

Robert A. Dahl, one the leading modern scholars of Politics, has listed five criteria to guarantee everyone an equal right to be involved in decision-making. Two of these particularly interest us: the right to information and effective participation²³.

The first should, within reasonable time limits, guarantee every individual equal and effective opportunities to know the salient characteristics of the transformation alternatives within the general framework and their probable consequences. The second focuses on the potential of every individual to voice and communicate his opinions to all the others; working together they can contribute to remodeling the decisions as they are being discussed.

Information is a fundamental component in democracy in general and should be facilitated when structuring an Urban Center. Correct or distorted use of information can strongly hamper or promote a transparent, democratic decision-making procedure. Consolidated doctrinal foundations in the decision-making process in urban planning emphasize the relationship between information and power²⁴. Every piece of disinformation is an obstacle to full democratic participation and should be carefully considered. Whether in traditional bodies or innovative organisms such as Urban Centers, the deciding panel should commit itself to reducing

disinformation and promoting the various interest groups as well as individual citizens.

Even though nowadays there is a substantial convergence in decision-taking whereby an important role, in the democratization of governing public issues, is given to popular participation, one must not conclude that citizens automatically acquire a more mature political consciousness.

If there is an incentive to broadening participation more individuals, each with their own experience and means, will certainly be induced to intervene in public affairs. This shows that there is a real need to give stakeholders the appropriate tools for them to understand and assess the various possible ways of transforming the city and the ensuing, general and detailed consequences.

On the other hand, it is precisely the sophistication of the participation vector which can overcome the stereotyped opposition between representative democracy and broadened deliberative democracy. Until very recently, the former was thought more appropriate in authoritative contexts where, by increasing the critical mass of the population and decreasing the possibility of participating directly, the need for delegates prevailed. The latter was more viable where there was socio-economic and cultural cohesion.

In a season when there is an increasing number of signs of less credibility in local government and the growth of citizens' dissatisfaction, the question of a renewal of the procedures, and especially ways of improving the transparency and traceability of decision-making, is uppermost. Though leading figures are reconfirmed and consolidate their positions in the decision-making organs, some western democracies – and Italy particularly – need to re-attain a framework of political legitimacy and intellectual honesty. This may occur even when involving weak actors. This is possible not thanks to a generic, formal advisory right on choices largely confirmed, but rather to an authentic participation in drawing up the guidelines of the city's transformation policies. The method needs to be clearly defined, and in urban planning questions there should be a distinction between merely formal and more concretely active participation.

Generally speaking we have formal participation when citizens are vaguely informed about the public administration's activity and can possibly voice their opinions on specific subjects when taking part in meetings called by public officials; yet there is no possibility of their intervening or having an effective say

²³ Dahl R. (1989), *Democracy and its critics*, Yale University Press

²⁴ Forester J.F. (1989), *Planning in the Force of Power*, University of California Press

in the decisions concerning the whole community. Their interaction is limited, passive, weak, can be manipulated and at times is even fictitious.

The active participation scenario is played out when political decision-makers concretely assure individual and non-active citizens and guarantee that critical demands and positions will be considered and assessed.

Formal or active participation may occur using the same procedures such as debates, assemblies, neighborhood laboratories, focus groups and editing documents with diagnostic and meta-planning details. The scenario only becomes successful, though, when well-coordinated groups of broad interest, committees, class associations and individuals, with specific rather than expert knowledge of the places as well as the needs and potential of the community, are able to make an incisive contribution. These should be a concrete proposal and in the most fortunate cases will enable the participants to have some responsibility in compiling the objectives and defining their implementation.

Archetypes of government and the ladder of participation

The top-down style, used by administrations where the model for city government is strictly hierarchical, participation is formal and involvement and creation of awareness mainly through information.

Communication is mainly one-directional. Through an oligarchic-technocratic approach, the decision-makers exercise legitimate authority, guarantee the common good and select the objectives using criteria which can hardly be modified or negotiated during the subsequent consultations. The preferences expressed by the population are collected and processed and form the basis for the final decision. Broad interest groups and recessionary actors learn of the plans, programs and projects, already formulated with opaque strategies; they voice their points of view and criticisms but their contribution, as a community, in the decision-making process is marginal. The leading figures, who control and direct the participation, have no intention of opening up discussion on the main lines of the transformation. Thus the participation has little impact and may even be described as "fraudulent and apparent".

With time, the top down approach has changed and evolved thanks, too, to criticism of the results. In some cases of excessive directorship there was lack of communication and strong opposition so that wide swathes of the population were hardly represented or

even not at all. Right from the preliminary stages, alternative ways of achieving consensus, entailing greater inclusion in participation processes, have eliminated some rough edges and introduced ways and means of involving citizens and also reducing conflict.

The bottom-up approach is at the other extreme of the participation pendulum. The philosophy hinges on promoting dialogue and cooperation between the different political, social and economic forces of the settled community. Along the lines of a cooperation-type logic, the assumption is to promote interactive participation between public bodies, privileged figures with economic power and funds and weaker yet active actors with knowledge of the territory, who are able to make diagnostic criticism and express the common feeling.

There is eminently two-way communication between the administration and the others. Those involved can participate in the different stages from discussion of the problems, definition of objectives, choice of strategies and alternatives and the final version of the decisions. The administrations undertake to accept the results of this interaction.

Having created an informed atmosphere of dialogue and cooperation, each figure can offer his know how, compare his views with others and rearrange his priorities in an effort to reach a shared choice. It is obvious that, in spite of all the assumptions, it will be a hard task to involve all the potential actors interested. Yet if there is authentic empowerment²⁵ of the social figures, many of the traditionally excluded may have some influence in the decisions on local community life. They can contribute, first hand, in the compilation of policies, plans, programmes and projects aimed at improving their city. Where there is well-developed interactive participation not only is consensus achieved but also more cohesion in the urban community.

²⁵ Empowerment can be defined as the condition "...where those the planner works with and/or represents are encouraged to exert their democratic rights and to actively participate in the decisions that affect them." (Shiffman R., The Pratt Center. A Contrarian Model for Promoting the City, in: Monardo B. (ed. 2007), Urban Center. Una casa di vetro per le politiche urbane, Officina Ed. Roma

There are various methods of assessing participation potential available to those on the urban scene especially to broad interest groups, committees, local associations, activists and weaker elements whose social-economic and cultural disadvantages are a serious hurdle when interacting with the privileged figures in the decision-making group, known as the FIRE²⁶ industry.

The classification of the different levels of participation in civic life, traced by Sherry R. Arnstein in the late sixties, is still extremely up-to-date and emblematic of the origins. It is emblematic because it was created in a country like the United States where critical debate and the development of democratic principles have their roots in consolidated cultural tradition. It is also up-to-date in that, on the question of governance, the decision-makers' ability to steer and recompose interests is often heavily obstructed by the lack of symmetry between the dominant and recessive figures.

In the metaphor of a ladder Arnstein points to eight different levels of involving citizens in decision-making. The approach may be somewhat simplistic compared to the complexity of the situations but the arrangement is decidedly more refined than dividing the actors into those with power and the have-nots.

On the bottom rungs of the ladder there are two types of improper, or even lack of, participation: manipulation and therapy. The first occurs when some government agencies aim at controlling the consensus and attempt to convince citizens to accept prearranged decisions. The second is both fraudulent and arrogant because it tries to curb emerging protest, canalize dissent and educate citizens towards simple common sense.

The central rungs, informing and consultation, could be defined as formal participation, or tokenism, which are both legitimate but entail scarce involvement. Informing is a good step forward especially if government programmes, rights and choices are detailed. If authentic, consultation is also useful but there is no guarantee or agreement that the indications will be addressed. The next rung up, placation, is only a higher level of pseudo-participation which, like the two preceding cases, offers of scenario in which traditional decision-making power is substantially unchanged.

The top three levels: Partnership, Delegated power and Citizen control show that participation in the decision-

²⁶ FIRE is the acronym standing for "Finance, Insurance, Real Estate".

making frame is really inclusive and guarantees civic stakeholders effective power.

Polysemy of the Urban Center

The origins of the Urban Center and similar organisms lie in the introduction of more advanced forms of participation and deliberation democracy in urban policies. This arose from the cultural representation of theoretical constructions and applicative experiments developed at international level in the last fifty years by important schools of thought.²⁷

The issue of the role and functions of the Urban Centers has undergone a further impulse in the disciplinary debate on the migration from the authoritative model to the consensual one for the mature management of urban transformation. This seems to be able to give greater concreteness to the rhetoric of governance of urban communities. To judge from the various definitions of governance, which has become a kind of magic password in disciplinary rhetoric, Urban Centers or the City House could be identified as the only places operating according to their original basic principles²⁸.

²⁷ The basic texts on the role of participation in planning, written in the second half of the last century, are too numerous to refer to here. To quote just a few of the leading figures: Paul Davidoff's Advocacy Planning theory; John Friedman on Transactive Planning and Planning in the Public Domain; John Forester on Communicative Planning (linked to J. Habermas's theory of "Communicative action") and The Deliberative Practitioner Encouraging Participatory Planning; Andreas Faludi on Planning as Decision; Patsy Healey on Collaborative Planning; Gregory Ashworth and Henry Voogd on Consensual Planning. In Italy the merit of having made decisive contributions to the study of the complexity of themes deriving from participation and communication in Urban Planning goes to several schools launched out of the passion and cultural depth of scholars such as Alessandro Balducci, Pier Luigi Crosta, Bruno Dente, Giorgio Ferraresi, Luigi Mazza, Carlo Olmo, Edoardo Salzano and not forgetting the very lucid and fascinating work of Luigi Bobbio.

²⁸ We can quote, along these lines, some of the innumerable definitions of governance as: "... the sum of the different ways in which public and private bodies and individuals manage the community affairs in a continual process of cooperation and adjustment between different and conflicting interests..." (Commission on Global Governance, inspired by Willy Brandt in the early '90s), or "...the new interactive forms of governing where private figures, different public organizations, groups or communities of citizens or other types of persons, take part in formulating policies..." (Marcou, Rangeon, Thiebault 1996), or "...process of coordinating actors, social groups and institutions to obtain specific objectives, collectively discussed and defined in fragmented, uncertain environments..." (Bagnasco, Le Galès 1997) [transl. B. Monardo].

It is a trend to go beyond the traditional dichotomous, dialectic decision-making scene: the power-holders or public administration which should guarantee the community's interests on one hand and on the other the stockholders, private economic operators and similar figures. Nowadays urban policy-makers are forced to cope with the involvement of new groups of stakeholders with precise, specific interests who demand loudly to make their mark on the transformation scenarios of the city.

Thus there should be the opportunity for not only passive and unidirectional participation, often the mere transmission of information and communications, but the creation of a more stable, inclusive and multidirectional sphere. Here the occasions for cooperation, argument and critical discussion should lead to the joint legitimization of the transformation strategies and, ideally, to the construction and shared validation of the guidelines for urban policies.

There has been a gradual acceleration of research and concrete experiment so that the literature now offers a wide selection of interpretations of organisms, such as the Urban Centers (in Italy sometimes they are called "Casa della Città" – City House – or "Urban Forum"), which reflect the wealth of cultural conditions the phenomenon emerged from. At the same time the polysemy and ambiguity are clearly visible.

The enormous number of definitions, aimed at underlining the basic philosophy, undoubtedly illustrates the complexity of the phenomenon. It is a precipitate which yields various interpretations of the theme: the representation of an easily-deciphered identity code of the various jurisdictional and administrative contexts, governing models, inspiring figures, missions, objectives, activity, times and resources.

For example, can one define Urban Centers as "physical and virtual places set up for communicating policies concerning the development of the territory and urban fabric" (Gola 2007), "centers with documentation and information on the city" or "places for consultation of interests", "useful information system for decision-making".

This brings to mind a scenario with the local administration in the leading role, probably the only founding organism of the Urban Center, still maintaining a directional role in urban policies. In this case, the aim of this kind of Center is a propaganda/communication mission of the public activity, a sort of amplifier of one-way messages. The aims are to legitimize and reassure the civic community through passive participation, of the correctness of the decision-process, though almost

always the decisions have been drawn up beforehand with the agreement of some privileged figures. The previous set of definitions also tells us that, along the decision-making path, there has been a quite legal reduction in numbers of those taking part. The decision-makers are convinced that those excluded, the non-active, feel that by delegating they will still be exercising their citizens' rights and that the most appropriate definition for transformation will be found.

The Urban Center appears on an intermediate rung on the ideal ladder of "Civitas" involvement compared to the decision-making level when it is indicated as a "place for social interaction" (Ferraresi 1995), "place where diversity meets", "listening place in the city where the informed can share their stories", "place for the orchestration and confrontation of the interests belonging and asking urbanity" (Lecca 1995). Here we can see an opening towards information which legitimates an initial level of consulting participation among the civic community. It is called to give opinions on specific questions, in moments and ways established by the public bodies. There is, however, no guarantee that the points of view given will be an integral part of the decision. In other words, the Urban Center can be conceived as a sort of "aerial", a smart receiver/transmitter of the stakeholders' viewpoints.

Finally, the following definitions, "Center which in some ways provides a service for the mobilized, or potentially mobilized actors in the urban planning decision-making with the aim of improving the efficiency or effectiveness of the procedure" (Fareri 1995), "point of reference for dealing with decision-making processes", "access for the community to decision-making processes which produce intervention policies", "...useful tool for developing urban policies" (Dente 1995), all reveal a strongly inclusive and cooperative approach. Here, quite independent of the inspiring actor (public body, non-profit association, mixed group), the active participation of all the figures on the urban scene is considered indispensable to encourage the presence and auto-organization of the stakeholders, especially in the initial phases of defining policies and strategies for the city's development. Hence the label of the Urban Center as an "arena", a privileged, centralized place for hosting an open, pro-active discussion with an inclusive, cooperative approach.

Juridical contexts and governing models

The styles and interpretations of the Urban Centers generally date back to two classical juridical models: "Civil law" and "Common law"²⁹.

In the first case the founding figure is generally the local government (City Council), exclusively or in partnership with other organisms and bodies whose missions are dedicated to public or general interest.

Urban Centers in European "Civil law" countries are usually set up by the City Councils and are generally financed by public funds or in Public-Private Partnership piloted by the former.

These kinds of organization tend to be a showcase for the policies the public administration has activated. There is a "top down" style of government, closely linked to the affairs of the public body they depend on.

In "Common law" countries the legal, socio-economic and cultural milieu encourages other groups, comprising heterogeneous segments of the community, to be enterprising, make proposals and engage in a "happy collision" with universities, non-profit associations, groups of entrepreneurs, financial bodies, foundations, broad interest groups, trade associations and so on.

The Urban Centers in the USA and Anglo-Saxon countries are usually non-profit associations set up by private bodies and are financed by foundations, companies, private concerns and individuals. In such a cultural context these Centers claim to be a more neutral link between the citizens and the organisms involved in urban transformation and adhere to a bottom up approach to government.

Urban Center: who, why, what (organisms, missions, activity)

The two models, from a historical point of view, have given rise to precise interpretation styles, depending on their cultural roots.

On one hand are the organisms promoted and financed by city government, variously named ("Urban Center", "City Forum", "Infobox", "Infopoint", "Center of Urban documentation",...) with basic objectives such as disseminating information, or more specific ones, such

as catalyzing consensus through discussion of projects, programmes and sometimes plans. But rarely in the past have they been interpreted as true construction arenas of urban strategies or politics.

The Urban Centers with a broad mix of private and public bodies are different; they aim to set up a "think tank" as well as qualified interaction with local government bodies. This entails research to obtain studies and scientific reports, and maieutic-social training such as teaching and advocacy oriented towards assistance for socially disadvantaged groups without power or the ability to organize themselves alone into autonomous power groups. In their founding principles they claim to be a diversity of voices and independent of every political pressure, neutral and equidistant from single stakeholders' interests.

The Urban Center has always had a basic identity whereby it is an information center showing physical-spatial, socio-economic, environmental and cultural changes in its settlement and in the community.

Though different in styles, all Urban Centers are documentation and exhibition Centers or a data base of urban history, projected simultaneously onto synchronic and diachronic horizons. Sometimes they assume the role of "Museum of the city" with a permanent exhibition and archives which reconstruct the urbanisation processes. Or "real time" transformations and medium-long term visions.

The virtual or physical facilities can be used to present "black box" projects, often packaged and already agreed with privileged actors; informal consultation sessions on interests may be held at times, often only nominally based on common knowledge of problems, tools, information and strategies.

Looking back at the consolidated international experiences, especially in the USA, where there is a solid tradition in this sense, in future, however, the Urban Center is making for a more extensive role. The thrust towards social and cultural interaction of the various components is projecting it towards new, broader missions.

It could become an organism which engages in proactive services for an inclusive audience of actors, involved in the past, or potentially ready to be mobilized, in decision-making, not only in urban planning but rather in strategic planning with the aim of improving its effectiveness.

The Urban Center is often an incubator for self-awareness initiatives centred on the urban domain and

²⁹ For the reflections we intend to develop the basic difference is between "Civil law", embedded in the ancient Roman Law and later in the Napoleonic Code, where the judgment is based on legislative corpus, and the Anglo-Saxon "Common law" in which it is derived from the Court decisions.

local instigator of the third sector for creating ideas, research, participatory labs, guidelines for meta-projects and public competitions. It is where the city voices are listened to, where the accounts and tales of leading and recessive figures are shared. Here, too, people from different social, economic, cultural and political backgrounds can meet, to form a so-called "Polis theatre".

In promoting broader acceptance of the social and cultural milieu, the Urban Center becomes a think tank of creativity, ideas and resources in symbiosis with citizens, the business community and other broad interest stakeholders with the aim of improving the city's livability and at the same time promoting its economic vitality. It can be seen as a true "intermodal link" of a complex network of trajectories, philosophies and visions of the civic community. It can be seen as a representation of the whole settlement with all its diversities, a "fractal" of participatory and deliberative democracy scenarios for urban development.

In some of the more interesting of the latest generation of Urban Centers, actions centred on assistance in the decision-making process were promoted by a wide panel of actors from different cultural backgrounds. Their aim is to offer means of embracing the various commitments and the vast number of voices in the decision-making process instead of assuming "aristocratic" conflict management approaches. Recently, in Europe too, including Italy, at some distance though, more solid bodies have emerged, aiming at supporting the assessment of quality profiles and following the projects through to their completion and post-implementation management.

Urban Center: when, how much (time and resources)

The UC phenomenon shows that the time variable is extremely undefinable and affects a large number of interpretations.

The life span of the Center depends on its inspiring figure and related core missions. Those in Common law countries, set up by heterogeneous stakeholders in the civic community, whose main aims are neutrality and independence from the public administration, are most likely to survive even when the facilities, content, forms of partnership and financial assistance are renewed. It goes without saying that the longer the life and ability to be successful, the greater the image of prestige, incisiveness and authority the Center shows: in a single word it becomes a reference venue and a winning model.

At the other end of the "pendulum", though there is a broad range of intermediate situations, is the Urban Center in Civil law countries, sustained by local government, generally the City Council, or mixed bodies. At times they may be programmed to last for a limited time: some organisms for participation connected to drawing up and adopting general urban planning tools, for example, or for implementing a limited project, a wider programme or for the complex procedure of setting up a strategic plan. The duration of some Centers may coincide with the mandate of local government, others die and are reborn with a new format or a supposedly new approach but in general there is often a sense of uncertainty and precariousness about the duration in the medium to long term. The Urban Centers in Civil law countries are often afflicted by "infantile mortality" because of the uncertainty of administrative mandates, political approaches, the spoil system and management based on the concept of "navigation by sight".

One of the basic activities of every Urban Center is informing and communicating and thus the time factor is a main character within it. When the process of urban evolution is exhibited, the past and the cultural roots of the community are referred to, and the Urban Center is often interpreted as a "Museum of the City". The presentation of transformations in progress will, of course, refer to the present time, as well as a shared urban vision of the future. The instantaneous approach should not be forgotten when the Urban Center utilizes its virtual spaces and communicates through its web sites on internet.

Actors closely involved in the Urban Centers and researchers studying them are substantially in agreement about the fund raising issue. Acquiring resources is a variable related to other factors mentioned previously, such as the cultural milieu, the discussion between consolidated and emerging figures, the basic model for the Center and the time factor.

When comparing the standard budgets there is a vast disproportion between the various domains. In the USA the well-established Centers, in the larger cities, are easily able to raise funds from heterogeneous figures whereas in the Civil law countries, especially in Italy, the Center is almost exclusively an offshoot of local government. The "critical mass" of available resources in the great American organisms, SPUR in San Francisco, MAS and PICCED in New York or CAF in Chicago, is almost overwhelming. These resources range from tax incentives for philanthropic donors or investors, the possibility of being able to count on a broad, qualified base of volunteers who "sell" educational services such as courses, guided tours etc.,

and marketing of connected products including publications, exhibitions, events and gadgets.

In Europe, and Italy, too, though somewhat later, there has recently been seen a migration towards a public-public and public-private type of financial partnership. At the moment the PPP model seems to offer better perspectives. In Centers set up recently, local government is flanked by figures with available resources who are also keen to support and follow the development of the Urban Center, from the original idea to the “ex-post” management: banking foundations, chambers of commerce, companies producing goods and services of general interest, public and private universities, other research bodies, economic groups working in specific areas and companies with private or mixed aims, non-profit bodies.

The various types of financing at present in use suggest that a variable mix is advisable where some components are more interested in sustaining medium to long-term projects while others are linked to a single programme or projects with definite resources, participants and deadlines. In Civil law countries local government still has a central role as a guarantor for the viability and implementation of the Centers’ mission. We must not forget the details of some Centers, piloted by public bodies such as City Councils or universities, whose resources and management fall within the framework of the European Community or national financing for strategic plans and /or large projects.

Open problems

The overview drawn here and the comments which emerge from literature on the subject clearly show that the Urban Center issue is extremely complex due to the implications and the various interpretations given to it.

There are geographical and cultural contexts where the Centers are used merely for one-way neutral communications, providing wide-range information, along classical documentation Center lines, through more or less sophisticated technological means. Often there is an underlying propaganda mission which exploits the role, image, programming and ways of organizing the public bodies’ activity to obtain, from an uncritical community, a confluence or increased consensus of the decision-makers’ actions.

When the founding actor and the financial resources coincide with the local government, there is often the risk that the Urban Center can be used as a place for giving legitimacy to “locked” projects provided by experts from behind closed doors. The experts may be consultants engaged by the municipality, technicians from the city council offices or powerful real estate

promoters. The social discussion may occur when the decisions have already been taken, or a virtuous involvement can be frustrated by a turnover of short-lived local governments with varying notions of how to govern the city.

The most convincing processes of assimilation and consolidation, which are gradually taking a hold in Italy too, can be seen arising from cultural models where the leading figures of the Urban Center activity tend towards a new balance of the components involved. In order to restore a virtuous balance with the powerful “market actors” (the so called FIRE) and other “vertical” stakeholders, the “social actors” are generally given a more active involvement and an incisive role, while the local public authorities are becoming “more and more” referees” rather than “pilots”.

The complex and controversial issue of introducing solid principles of governance faces uncertain, hazy pathways of establishing rules and balanced, reassuring relationships between conflicting interests. The final aim, of course, is to reach consensus on a shared decision-making framework. If we venture into a wider area of argument and speculation, in the background the issue of the Ethics of responsibility arises (Weber 1919), together with its physiological connection with the application of the principles of deliberative democracy and the conscious, mature development of urban policies.

It is not by chance that the fall-out of the most successful, intriguing Urban Centers involves cultures and styles which take as their main-spring social missions such as the virtuous loop «education-advocacy». This includes basic training and knowledge, where experts are on hand for the less privileged, aiming at offering valid interpretation means and the capacity to make their voice heard in the assessment of urban transformation, as well as being able to interact with privileged figures. Or UCs promoting and declaring themselves as a “neutral”, authoritative actor with technical knowhow assets enabling to draw up qualified research reports or even meta-project scenarios, in order to sensitize local authorities on neglected problems and reach effective, inclusive, shared solutions.

Of course even when Urban Centers officially declare that they are non-profit associations and quite independent of local government, they may represent specific lobbies and include stakeholders with particular interests disposed to invest time and resources to obtain substantial returns. It is the hidden side of an approach, often called “super partes”, aimed at piloting information on urban policies, managing to intervene

directly in the decision-making with the official role of mediator while creating coalitions to influence the redefinition of strategic lines and the stakes in hand.

All in all, Urban Centers are agencies which may be managed well or otherwise; this depends on the quality of the civic action or intellectual honesty of the figures who set in motion objectives and initiatives.

What weight can Urban Centers carry in future scenarios of participation and shared construction of city transformation policies and territorial development? Looking at the USA success models, what evolution and repercussions might they have in Europe and particularly in Italy?

The distinguishing mark of the existence of an entity such as an Urban Center or "Casa della Città", beyond the specific identity of the various cultural models, should be its strict adherence to the ethical principles of representing the Civitas (i.e. the community) and the delicate transition from participatory democracy to more developed forms of "deliberative democracy". The latter should be in general the strategic goal of the Centers.

Whether connected to local government authorities or to the kaleidoscopic domain of the other community stakeholders, the Urban Center should, in any case, openly declare that it is a place where disputes and conflicts can be analyzed and expounded. That here the interests and demands of the city can be faced and possibly harmonized. Here the whole urban community should have an inclusive channel to the decision-making leading to intervention policies.

Some scholars argue that the most natural devolution should consolidate the Urban Center, on one hand as a Center of documentation and information and on the other as a place for debate, formal consultation of interests and a future vision for the city. This is needed because the information and communication mission is by no means banal. It would be too simple and illusory to conclude that multiple access to information, where the Urban Center is conceived as a city data base, can automatically stimulate the convergence of various and often opposite points of view. Providing the same information does not necessarily lead to a shared meaning. This information should be interpreted by various figures who can indicate a convergence by providing associated interpretations. In this sense the Urban Center should be the ideal place for social transaction, an information system suitable for decision-making; a responsible, joint deliberation process through knowledge.

Making information, and its interpretation, available is indispensable if the various figures involved are to communicate and recognize shared elements as well as bestowing dignity and visibility to contrary opinions. An Urban Center seen as a "Polis theatre" where citizens can share their views in an informed climate; and finally a place where consensus is created.

This is why it is not possible to trace an ideal model for a Center since its essence is linked to the dialectical relationship among the stakeholders who set it up, their reciprocal interaction and a sharing sense. More space should of course be made for the world of the local widespread actors, their social knowledge, specific motivations, precise interests, how they act and their ideas on how to intervene.

All these aspects have been underestimated, in the not so distant past, reducing the effectiveness of urban policies: a variable still depending on consensus.

The Urban Center should be considered a place where consensus is obtained, where differences are recognised and dialectics and contrasts are seen as a natural feature of civic life and consequently a resource in constructing shared city policies.

This institution should be an authoritative body which plays a decisive role in the civic community, able to outline robust proposals in urban policy-making, for problems which limit the socio-economic and environmental life of the city as well as the resources which can be mobilized to deal with the limits. It should enjoy a strategic role to ensure improved functionality in the decision-making system. A new ideal central pole – a real Urban Center – where development policies for the city are created and the rhetorical superstructures, which still weaken the principles of an authentic deliberative democracy, demolished.

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4 Evaluation of PPP performance: a comparative analysis of 12 case studies in the Boston Metropolitan Area

Carmelina Bevilacqua, Gabriella Esposito, Claudia Trillo

THE CLUDS RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Being the CLUDs project aimed to investigate urban management instruments in a sustainability perspective, which comprises environmental, social and economical aspect, this multifaceted nature of the research object suggested that a holistic and comprehensive research approach was needed. Thus, capturing complexity is considered a major issue whilst designing the research methodology for the empirical investigation. In addition to it, the research design intends to make unexpected results to emerge, by approaching the research object not only for theory testing, but also for exploring new hypothesis to be potentially implemented during the research process itself.

For these reasons, the Grounded Based Theory - GBT approach (Glaser & Strauss 1967) was considered the most appropriate to conduct the empirical analysis related to the construction of the CLUDs model. In fact, GBT allows researchers to capture the complexity of the research object and has high potential to support an inductive process of incremental adjustment of the research hypothesis. The case study methodology, whose rationale is strictly bounded to the GBT, appeared as the most appropriate for conducting the empirical analysis for many reasons.

First, as Johansson (2003: 4) observes, in some disciplinary field, such as architecture and planning, "the case study has a special importance", because the principal way of learning and discussing innovative ideas in these disciplines is through experience, i.e. it is based on an in depth descriptions of concrete cases. The case study was considered suitable to support a In order to deliver as research product also practical tools, to be potentially implemented both by public decision makers and by private investors, it has been considered an asset gathering data for the construction of a sort of primer of concrete examples. As Yin states (1994: 4), "the case study is a method of choice when the phenomenon under study is not readily distinguishable from its context. Such a phenomenon may be a *project* or a *program* in an evaluation study. ... The inclusion of the context as a major part of a study, however, creates distinctive technical challenges ... (such as the fact that) the study cannot rely on a single data collection

method but will likely need to use multiple sources of evidence." This led the researchers to develop different tools to be implemented in the analysis of the case studies, that will be later illustrated. The construction of the investigation methodology paid particular attention not only to the tools to be implemented, but also to the criteria of selection of the case studies to be investigated. This latter represents a crucial step in order to guarantee reliability of the whole research design. Flyvbjerg (2006: 391) advocates the fundamental role of the case study approach, particularly in order to study urban environments. In so doing, he discussed the five common misunderstanding still sometime plaguing the case study research approach, challenging each of them as follows: (1) it may seem that "general, theoretical (context-independent) knowledge is more valuable than concrete, practical (context-dependent) knowledge", while on the contrary experts are those who collected a huge number of experiences, and not those who studied issues in theory; (2) it may seem unmanageable "to generalize on the basis of an individual case", while on the contrary any scientific discovery is potentially subjected to be *falsified* according to Karl Popper; (3) it may seem that "the case study is most useful for generating hypothesis, ... while other methods are more suitable for hypothesis testing and theory-building", while on the contrary generalizability does have the potential to be achieved through an appropriate selection of the cases, based on clear criteria; (4) it may seem that "the case study contains a bias..., a tendency to confirm the researcher's preconceived notion", while according to Popper again, it is falsification much more than verification which supports the findings reliability; and finally, (5) it may appear difficult "to summarize and develop general proposition and theories on the basis of specific case studies", but the suitability to be summarized does not belong to the richness of the reality, thus, it is much more up to the studies object and not to the method that a "thick" description is even desirable. However, all the criticisms raised by Flyvbjerg were addressed in the construction of the CLUDs research design.

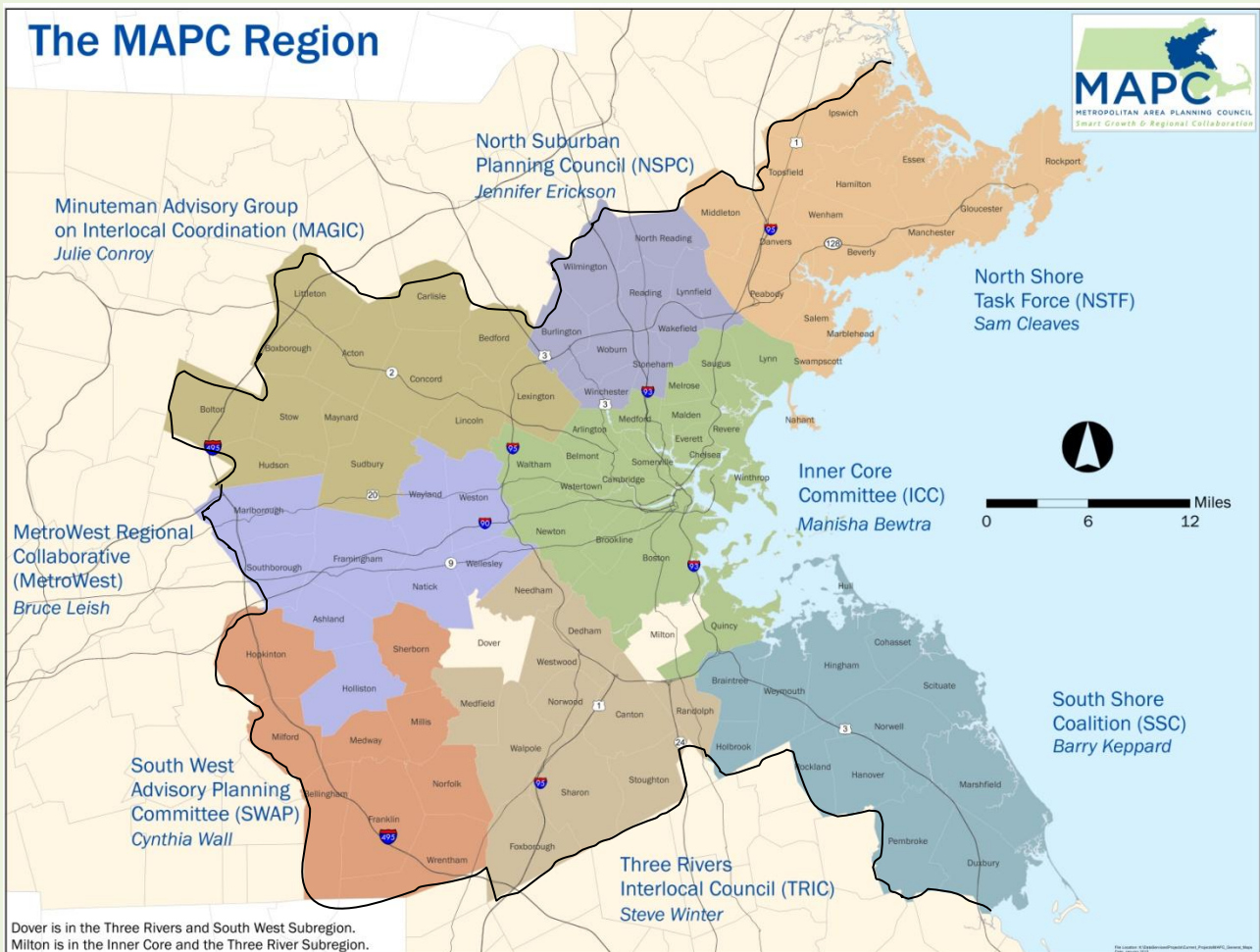
Being a major goal for the research to appreciate the very different values produced in the urban environment through the implementation of specific urban management instruments, it was necessary to consider

also the physical outcome of the process as a specific component of the sustainability, thus, to include spatial and visual analysis; this aspect oriented the research methodology towards a case study approach. However, a significant part of the data collection is based on quantitative data, both to consider environmental and socio-economic variables as key-outcomes of the implementation of the instruments, and to allow a triangulation of results for some core aspects, which

have been investigated both through quantitative and through qualitative data.

A GLANCE OF THE URBAN PLANNING SYSTEM IN THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF BOSTON

The Metropolitan area of Boston is a region with eighth sub regions, among them the Inner Core Committee (ICC) entails the city of Boston with its neighborhoods.



The Metropolitan Area Planning Council (MAPC) is a regional planning agency serving of the 101 cities and towns of Metropolitan Boston, among the 351 municipalities of the state of Massachusetts. The main topics of MAPC are the promotion of a collaborative

regional planning and the implementation of the smart growth principles. MAPC is a public agency created under Massachusetts General Law Chapter 40B Section 24 in the 1963.

Stating from the general concepts of smart growth rationale related to “promote development while protecting the environment, encouraging social and economic equity, and conserving energy and water resources. *Smart growth will refocus a larger share of regional growth within central cities, urbanized areas, near transportation nodes, and in communities already served by infrastructure. It will reduce the share of regional growth that occurs on newly urbanizing land, farms, and environmentally sensitive areas.*” the MAPC has adopted the following principles to guide its work:

1. Encourage community & stakeholder collaboration in development decisions.

Smart growth should respond to a community's own sense of how and where it wants to grow. The needs of every community and the programs to address them are best defined by the people who live and work there. An open public process that facilitates the participation of community residents and organizations provides community members with a direct stake in ensuring the success of revitalization efforts, and can lead to creative resolution of development issues.

2. Integrate people and place.

Smart growth must integrate people-focused strategies (efforts that support community residents and families) with place-focused strategies (those that support physical development and stabilize the community environment). This integrated approach is necessary to maximize community impact and to reduce unintended negative consequences to either the community or the environment.

3. Promote regional equity and reduce local and regional disparities.

Everyone wants to live in a community where the quality of life is high. If we cooperate across communities and plan carefully for the future, we can achieve a situation where neighborhoods share fairly in the benefits of development and none bears an unfair burden of the social costs associated with planning decisions. Metropolitan regions and communities that reduce local and regional disparities are more likely to compete successfully for national and international economic opportunities.

4. Strengthen regional cooperation.

Most community assets and problems do not recognize municipal boundaries. Regional cooperation is needed to address common concerns, such as traffic, and to protect common resources, such as watersheds.

Regional solutions can also encourage the efficient use of funds. Smart growth encourages communities to work together collaboratively to enhance their assets as well as to solve their problems.

5. Promote distinctive, attractive communities with a strong sense of place.

Smart growth promotes development that respects and enhances natural and built features and landmarks to create a sense of defined neighborhoods, towns, and regions. It fosters physical environments that reflect the culture and values of the people who live there, while supporting a more cohesive community fabric. It encourages localities to plan wisely for the future, and gives them the power and resources to implement those plans over time.

6. Preserve open space, farmland, and critical environmental resources.

Open space, both within and surrounding developed areas, enhances quality of life by providing community space, recreation opportunities, critical habitat for plants and wildlife, working lands for farming and forestry, and preserves the quality of critical environmental resources such as wetlands, watersheds, and drinking water supplies.

7. Encourage development in currently developed areas to take advantage of existing community assets.

Smart growth encourages development in areas where public investments have already been made in infrastructure, parks, schools, and other facilities, seeking to utilize these resources and to conserve open spaces and natural resources in undeveloped areas. In cities, this can mean focusing development on infill sites and abandoned brownfields; in towns, this can mean clustering development around town centers and transportation nodes. Recognizing that the extension of roadways, sewer lines, and other forms of infrastructure can often “drive” sprawl, government agencies should coordinate decisions about public investment in infrastructure in ways that prevent this unintended consequence and encourage smart growth.

8. Mix land uses.

Smart growth supports the integration of mixed land uses (such as residential, commercial, and civic uses) into neighborhoods, communities and the region as critical components of achieving better places to live and work. By locating a variety of uses in close proximity to each other at an appropriate scale,

alternatives to driving, such as walking, bicycling and transit become viable. Diverse, well designed, mixed use development also enhances the vitality and quality of life in our communities and the region as a whole, eventually weaving a fabric that supports broader housing, economic development and transportation goals.

9. Take advantage of compact development design and create walkable neighborhoods.

Smart growth provides a means for communities to incorporate more compact development design as an alternative to conventional, land consumptive development. This permits more open space to be preserved, which also reduces the impacts of storm water runoff and flooding. By drawing uses into closer proximity to each other, compact development is essential to support broader transportation choices such as transit, bicycling and walking. It also reduces the cost of providing and maintaining services such as water, sewer, utilities and communications.

10. Promote economic development in ways that produce jobs, strengthen low and moderate-income communities, and protect the natural environment.

Economic development is a critical objective for our region's future. Families and individuals throughout Greater Boston need new jobs and opportunities for advancement in order to enhance their futures and to make the region stronger and more competitive. Good planning practice encourages economic development in ways that minimize disruption of the natural environment. We should also strive to direct a reasonable proportion of such development to areas that presently suffer from poverty, a weak job market, and abandoned or undeveloped "brownfield" sites. Programs that provide adequate training and retraining for workers will also help to encourage employers to locate or expand in Greater Boston.

11. Create a range of housing opportunities and choices in cities and towns throughout the region.

Promote diverse housing types in all communities to enable persons and households from a wide range of economic levels, cultures, and age groups to live and work within their boundaries. No single type of housing can serve the varied needs of today's diverse households. Smart growth represents an opportunity for communities to increase housing choice not only by modifying land use patterns on newly-developed land, but also by increasing housing supply in existing neighborhoods already served by infrastructure.

12. Promote more transportation choices through the appropriate development of land.

The ability to provide people with more choices in transportation is a key element of smart growth. Better connections between appropriate land use and transportation can support the provision of alternatives to auto use, including transit, para-transit, walking, and bicycling and serve as a guide for effective transportation investments.

13. Develop predictable, fair and cost effective regulatory approvals for smart growth oriented developments.

Developments that adhere to smart growth guidelines should be allowed to proceed through public review and regulatory evaluation with a minimum of delay and cost. This will encourage developers to "build smart" while it enhances the relationship among developers, residents, and government agencies.

14. Encourage fiscal policies that support smart growth.

Federal, state and local tax policies should encourage communities to base development decisions on sound planning principles, not tax benefits. Smart growth is best supported by tax policies that encourage careful planning and inter-local cooperation, and discourage "fiscal zoning," inter-local competition, and sprawl. Since sprawl often results in expenses that must be borne by the entire Commonwealth, the formula for the distribution of local aid, the "new growth" provisions of Proposition 2 ½, and other tools should be examined for mechanisms that might encourage smart growth and discourage sprawl.

15. Enable smart growth by reforming existing zoning.

Many of the principles of smart growth, such as mixed uses and higher densities, are difficult or impossible to achieve in Massachusetts under the state's zoning enabling law and current local zoning codes. For smart growth to succeed, reforms to zoning are needed to remove disincentives to smart growth.

The last strategic plan adopted in 2010 included the above Smart growth principles in five broad categories for action that were identified as most important for Massachusetts to retain or improve its competitive position in the world's economy. *In August 2010, the Massachusetts Legislature passed sweeping economic development legislation that calls upon each gubernatorial administration to develop and publish,*

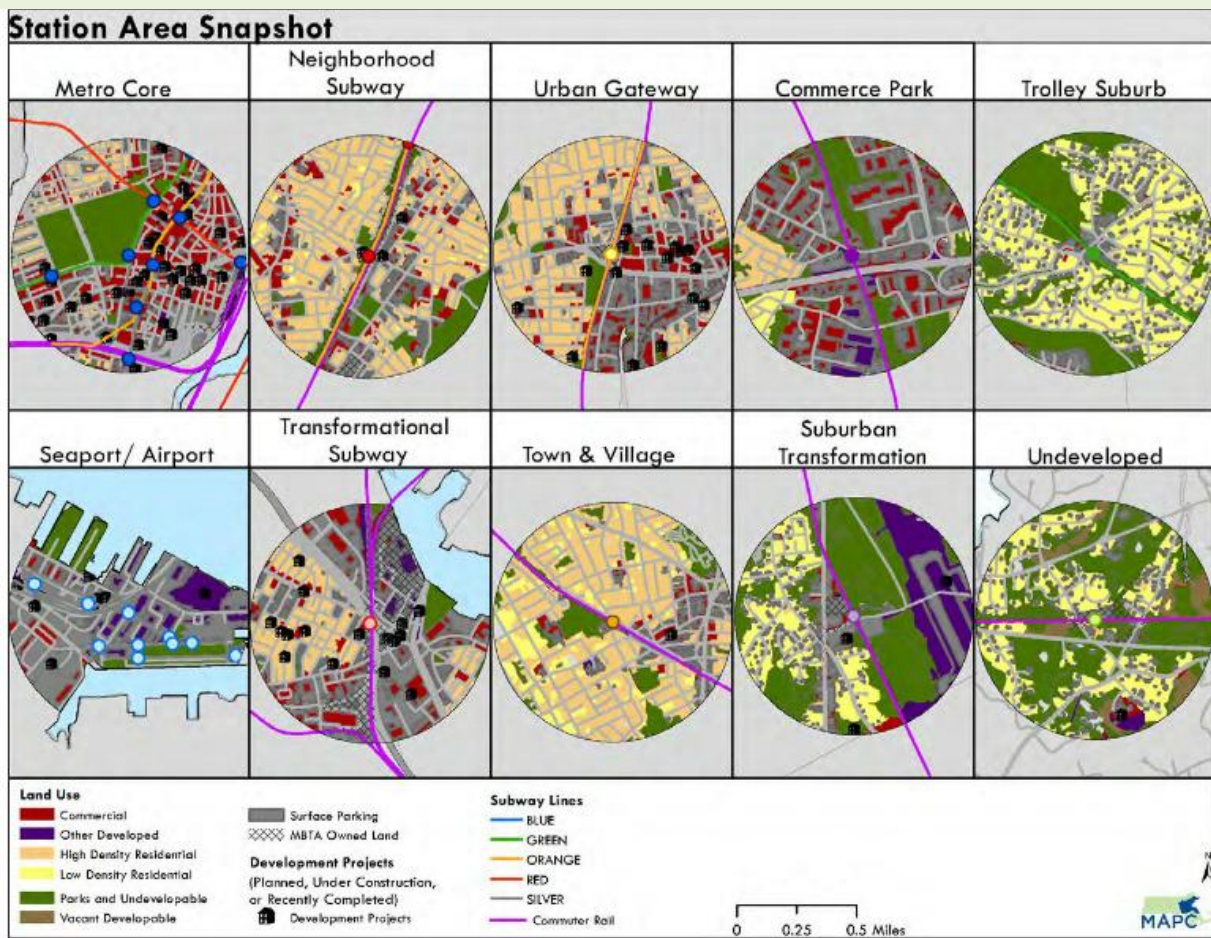
Information about station type, existing conditions and planned development was used to set targets for housing units and employment development.

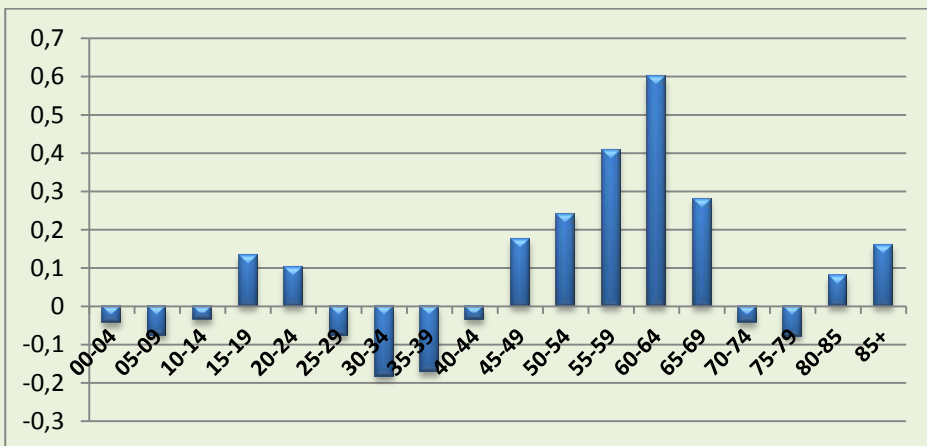
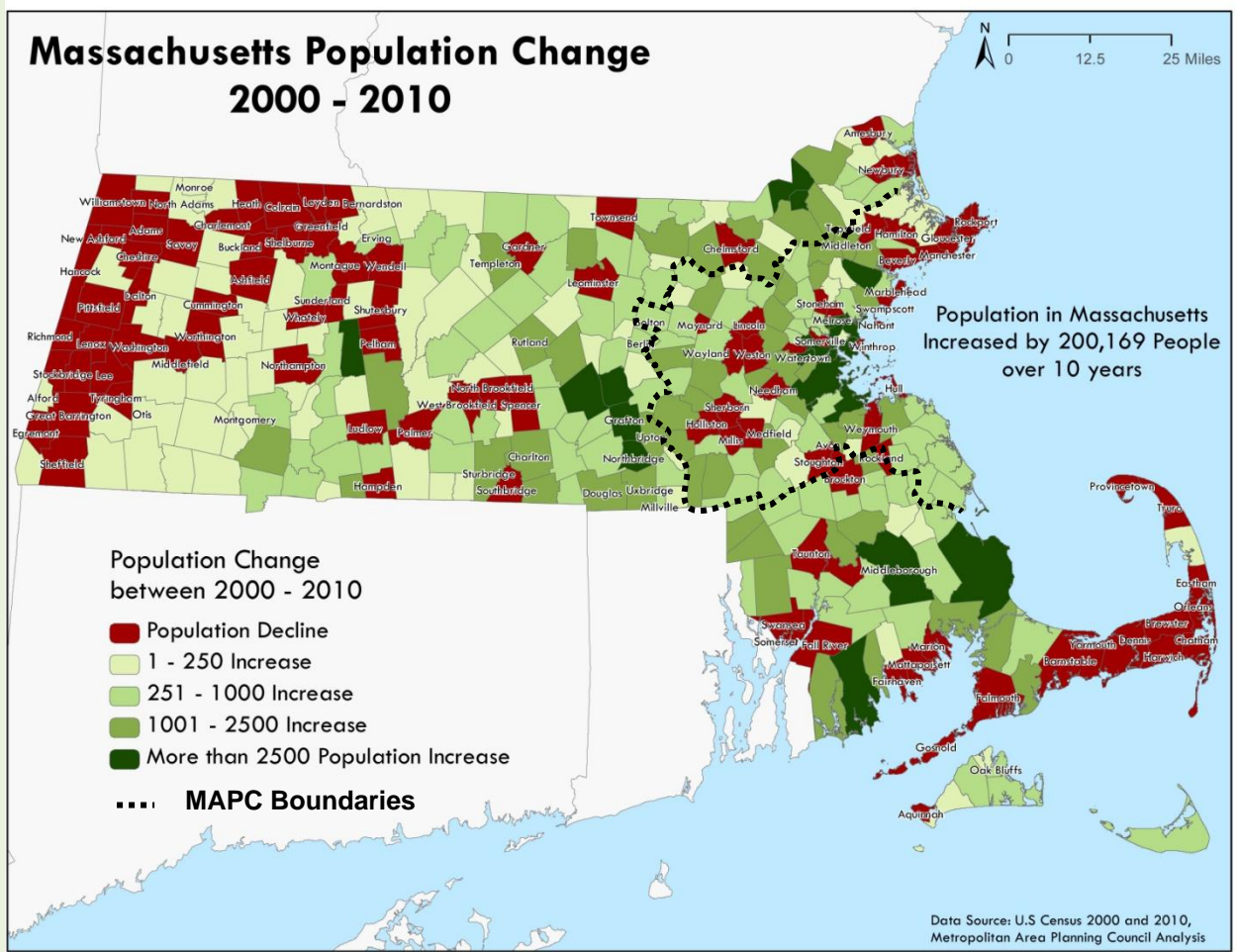
The snapshots on the figure above depict the diversity of land use that exists around typical station in each type, ranging from the fullydevelopment commercially-oriented Metro Core stations to the predominately residential Trolley Suburb and Undeveloped stations. In conjunction with the data that underline the analysis, these snapshots begin to illustrate the range of opportunity that exist for TOD and the goals that might be established for different station area type.

An increase in TOD in Metro Boston can help to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, boost transit ridership and mitigate congestion.

MAPC estimates that transit station areas in the region could accommodate 76,000 new housing units and more than 130,000 jobs near transit in the coming next 25 years. These goals are now being used to inform the design of TOD finance tools and to guide MAPC technical assistance to cities and towns.

This work supports the MetroFuture goals for sustainable growth patterns in the region





Population change between 2000-2010 – by age in Metropolitan Area Planning Area of Boston

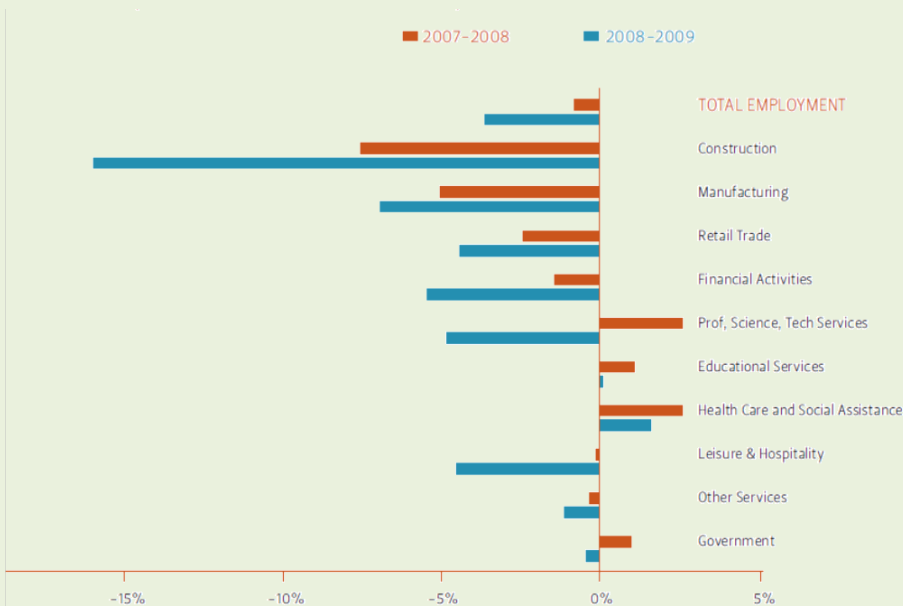
	2007	2008	2009	Jul-09	Jul-10
City of Boston	4.4%	5.1%	8.1%	8.9%	9.4%
Metropolitan Boston	4.1	4.8	7.8	8.3	8.4
Massachusetts	4.5	5.3	8.4	8.8	9.1
New England	4.5	5.4	8.3	8.5	8.8
United States	4.6	5.8	9.3	9.7	9.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Massachusetts Department of Workforce Development

Unemployment Rate

	EMPLOYMENT PEAK	JOB LOSS	UNEMPLOYMENT JULY 2010
U.S.	December 2007	6.1%	9.7%
Massachusetts	March 2008	5.0%	9.1%
Boston Metro	March 2008	4.8%	8.2%

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Unemployment rates not seasonally adjusted Job loss measured through December 2009.



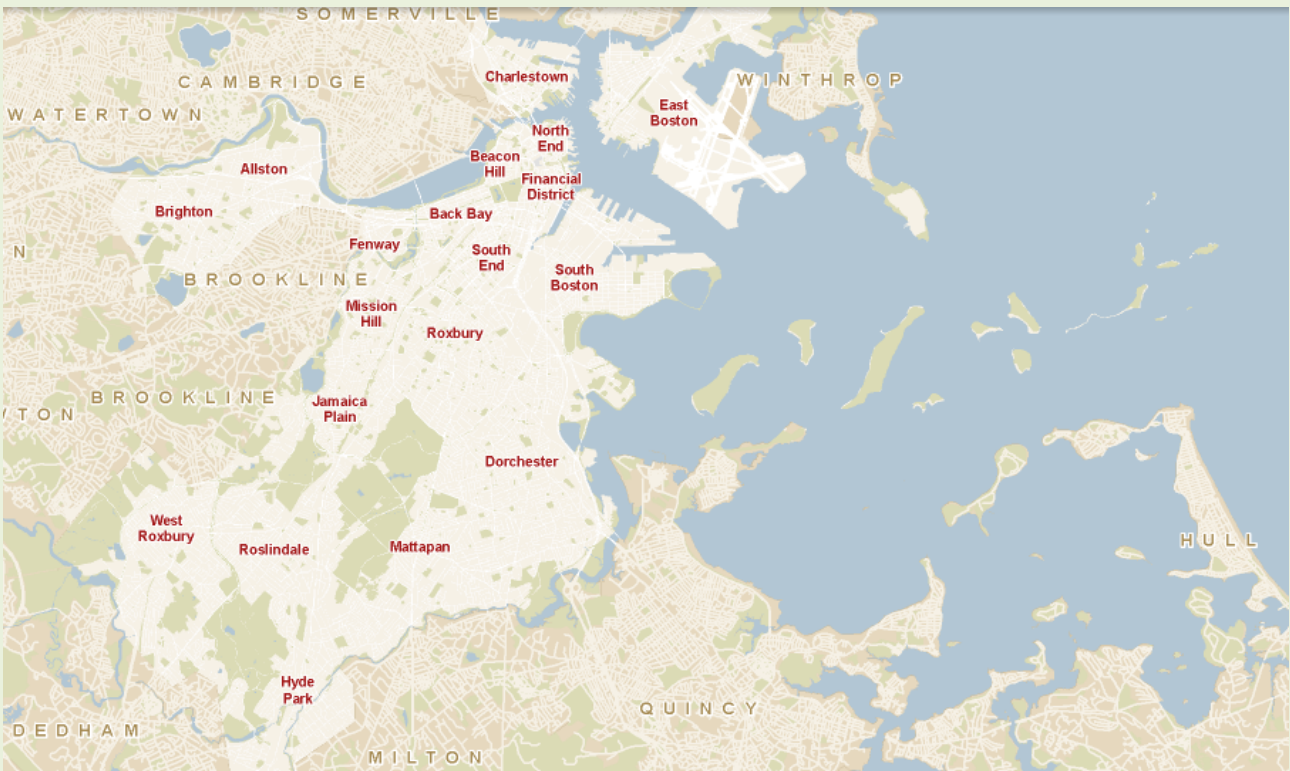
Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

change, 2007-2008 and 2008-2009 (december to december percentage change)

Boston metro employment

The urban planning system in the city of Boston

Boston is a city of distinct neighborhoods. Each neighborhood has its own culture, history, architecture, and character. There are 19 neighborhoods.



Boston Urban Planning System is based on a Planning District Rationale. The City Zoning Code establishes (Art. 3) the “ Division of City Into Districts. For the purposes of this code, the City is hereby divided into districts as follows:

- 1) Three classes of residential districts:
S (single family),
R (general),
H (apartment);
- 2) Two classes of business districts:
L (local)
B (general);
- 3) Seven classes of industrial districts:
LM (light manufacturing),
M (restricted manufacturing),
I (general),
MER (maritime economy reserve),
W (waterfront),

- WM (waterfront manufacturing), and
WS (waterfront service);
- 4) One class of open space district:
OS (open space);
- 5) Downtown districts

neighborhood districts, the Harborpark District and special districts
Land in private ownership shall not be included in the open space class of district without the written consent of the owner.

Each of the residential, business, and industrial classes is further subdivided into sub districts, which have a second number specifying a height limit. The open space district may be divided into open space sub districts in accordance with the provisions of Article 33. Downtown districts, neighborhood districts, special districts, and the Harbor park District are divided into

variously titled sub districts and subareas, as set forth in the applicable articles of this code.

In 1957, the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) was established by the Boston City Council and the Massachusetts Legislature. The BRA assumed the development powers previously held by the Boston Housing Authority and expanded them beyond public housing. In 1960 the City Planning Board was abolished and its powers were transferred to the BRA. The BRA's statutory authority was set forth in the Massachusetts General Laws, chapter 121B, section 4 in 1957 and Chapter 652, section 12 in 1960. Its broad development authorities include the power to buy and sell property, the power to acquire property through eminent domain, and the power to grant tax concession (under MGL

chapter 121A) to encourage commercial and residential development.

The planning initiatives are divided in the following typologies: Community Planning, Community planning/MA Air Rights, Community planning/economic development; Economic development, Harbor planning, Housing Planning, Industrial Master Plan, Municipal Harbor Planning, Planning Central Artery, Policy planning, Project and implementation plans, public realm planning, transportation planning, Waterfront planning. The following table illustrates the lat update initiatives.

	Planning Initiative	Type	Neighborhood	Last update
1.	Blessed Sacrament Citizen Advisory Committee (CAC)	Housing Planning	Jamaica Plain	1/22/2010
2.	Boston College Institutional Master Plan	Project and Implementation Plans	Allston/Brighton	1/22/2010
3.	Boston Inner Harbor Passenger Water Transportation	Waterfront Planning	Citywide	1/8/2002
4.	Brighton / Guest Street Planning Study	Economic Development/Planning	Allston/Brighton	5/4/2012
5.	Central Artery Parcel 24	Community Planning	Chinatown/Leather District	1/22/2010
6.	Christian Science Plaza Revitalization Project Citizen Advisory Committee (CAC)	Economic Development/Planning	South End/Bay Village	1/24/2012
7.	Christian Science Plaza Revitalization Project Citizen Advisory Committee (CAC)	Economic Development/Planning	Back Bay	1/24/2012
8.	Civic Vision for Turnpike Air Rights in Boston 2000	Community Planning	Citywide	1/22/2010
9.	Columbia Point Master Plan	Community Planning	Dorchester	10/20/2011
10.	Coordinated Street Furniture Program	Project and Implementation Plans	Citywide	1/22/2010
11.	Copley Place Retail Expansion & Residential Addition Project Citizen Advisory Committee (CAC)	Economic Development/Planning	Back Bay	1/25/2012
12.	Crossroads Initiative	Community Planning	Citywide	8/22/2012
13.	Dorchester Avenue Project	Community Planning	Dorchester	1/22/2010
14.	Dorchester Avenue Zoning Update	Transportation Planning	Dorchester	8/23/2012
15.	Downtown Crossing Economic Improvement Initiative	Community Planning/Economic Development	Downtown	3/22/2011
16.	Dudley Square Municipal Office Facility	Economic Development/Planning	Roxbury	2/29/2012
17.	Dudley Square Transportation & Air Quality Study	Transportation Planning	Roxbury	1/22/2010
18.	Dudley Square Vision (Roxbury)	Economic Development/Planning	Roxbury	1/22/2010
19.	E+ Green Building Program	Community Planning	Citywide	3/6/2012
20.	East & West First Street Planning and Rezoning	Community Planning	South Boston	2/3/2012
21.	East Boston Master Plan	Community Planning	East Boston	1/22/2010
22.	East Boston Municipal Harbor Plan	Municipal Harbor Planning	East Boston	1/22/2010

23.	East Boston Municipal Harbor Plan Amendment	Municipal Harbor Planning	East Boston	1/22/2010
24.	Facilities of Public Accommodation(Waterfront)	Municipal Harbor Planning	Citywide	1/22/2010
25.	Fairmount Indigo Planning Initiative	Community Planning/Economic Development	Citywide	8/23/2012
26.	Fenway Planning and Rezoning	Community Planning	Fenway/Kenmore	1/22/2010
27.	Forest Hills Improvement Initiative (Jamaica Plain)	Community Planning	Jamaica Plain	1/22/2010
28.	Fort Point Channel Watersheet Activation Plan	Municipal Harbor Planning	South Boston	7/3/2002
29.	Fort Point District Planning (100 Acres)	Community Planning	South Boston	1/22/2010
30.	Fort Point Downtown Municipal Harbor Plan	Municipal Harbor Planning	Downtown	1/22/2010
31.	Fostering Transit-Oriented Development in Boston	Policy Planning	Citywide	1/7/2003
32.	Government Center and City Hall Plaza Planning	Economic Development/Planning	Downtown	1/12/2012
33.	Greenway District Planning Study	Community Planning	Downtown	1/24/2012
34.	Grove Hall: Housing on Main Street	Community Planning/Economic Development	Roxbury	1/22/2010
35.	Harborwalk	Municipal Harbor Planning	Citywide	1/22/2010
36.	Harrison-Albany Corridor Strategic Plan (South End)	Community Planning	South End/Bay Village	1/19/2012
37.	Harvard Allston Campus Planning and Institutional Master Plan	Economic Development/Planning	Allston/Brighton	5/4/2012
38.	Hyde Park Planning and Rezoning	Community Planning	Hyde Park	2/13/2012
39.	Hyde Park Retail Market Study	Community Planning	Hyde Park	1/22/2010
40.	Jackson Square Planning Initiative	Community Planning	Jamaica Plain	1/22/2010
41.	Jackson Square Planning Initiative	Community Planning	Roxbury	7/13/2006
42.	Jamaica Plain Centre and South Street Corridor Transportation and Streetscape Action Plan	Community Planning	Jamaica Plain	9/24/2010
43.	Jamaica Plain Neighborhood Design Overlay District Plans	Community Planning	Jamaica Plain	6/11/2012
44.	Longwood Medical Area	Policy Planning	Fenway/Kenmore	1/22/2010
45.	Lovejoy Wharf Municipal Harbor Plan Amendment	Municipal Harbor Planning	Downtown	1/22/2010
46.	Mary Soo Hoo (Chinatown Gateway) Park Site Improvements	Public Realm Planning	Chinatown/Leather District	1/22/2010
47.	Massachusetts Turnpike Air Rights Parcel 7 Citizen Advisory Committee(CAC)	Community Planning	Fenway/Kenmore	1/22/2010
48.	MassDOT Turnpike Air Rights Parcels 12 – 15 Citizen's Advisory Committee (CAC)	Economic Development/Planning	Back Bay	1/24/2012
49.	Mattapan Economic Development Initiative	Economic Development/Planning	Mattapan	1/22/2010
50.	Mid Dorchester Action Plan	Community Planning	Dorchester	1/22/2010
51.	Mission Hill Citizens Advisory Committee	Community Planning	Mission Hill	10/20/2011
52.	North Allston Strategic Planning Framework	Community Planning	Allston/Brighton	1/22/2010
53.	North Allston-Brighton Community-Wide Plan (CWP)	Community Planning	Allston/Brighton	1/22/2010
54.	Northeastern University Proposed Institutional Master Plan Amendment and New Dormitories	Economic Development/Planning	Roxbury	2/8/2007
55.	Northern Avenue Bridge Restoration Project	Waterfront Planning	South Boston	1/22/2010

56.	Port Planning	Harbor Planning	Citywide	9/30/2010
57.	Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy Greenway Planning	Corridor/Air Right Planning	Downtown	1/22/2010
58.	Roslindale As-of-Right Required BRA Design Review Plans	Community Planning	Roslindale	3/15/2012
59.	Roslindale Planning and Rezoning	Community Planning	Roslindale	2/9/2012
60.	Roxbury Strategic Master Plan	Community Planning	Roxbury	1/22/2010
61.	South Bay Planning Study: Phase 1	Community Planning	Chinatown/Leather District	5/12/2010
62.	South Boston - Dorchester Avenue Improvement Study	Community Planning	South Boston	1/22/2010
63.	South Boston Waterfront District Municipal Harbor Plan Amendment	Harbor Planning	South Boston	7/18/2006
64.	South Boston Waterfront Municipal Harbor Plan	Municipal Harbor Planning	South Boston	1/22/2010
65.	South Boston Waterfront Public Realm Plan	Waterfront Planning	South Boston	1/22/2010
66.	Stuart Street Study (Back Bay)	Community Planning	Back Bay	12/10/2010
67.	Thoreau Path Site Improvements	Community Planning	Beacon Hill/West End	4/9/2012
68.	Urban Agriculture Rezoning	Policy Planning	Citywide	8/30/2012
69.	Urban Ring Transit Project	Transportation Planning	Citywide	1/22/2010
70.	Washington Street Public Realm Plan	Public Realm Planning	Downtown	1/22/2010
71.	Washington Street Task Force (South End/Lower Roxbury)	Community Planning	South End/Bay Village	1/22/2010
72.	Waterfront Activation Plan for the Charlestown Navy Yard	Municipal Harbor Planning	Charlestown	1/22/2010
73.	West End Area Planning 2003	Community Planning	Beacon Hill/West End	1/22/2010

Source: BRA

The BRA's Economic Development division guides the City's development review process and manages key services and incentives in support of a strong economy for Boston. Working in partnership with neighborhood residents, business owners, community based organizations, and developers, the division provides a clear and integrated approach to economic investment that addresses the current and future needs of the city. The following describes the resources, initiatives, and functional areas of the Economic Development division:

A. Development Review

B. Community Development and Housing

C. Institutional Planning and Development

D. Industrial Development, including the Marine Industrial Park

E. Financial Services:

- Boston Local Development Corporation (BLDC)

- The Boston Industrial Development Financing Authority (BIDFA):

- Tax-Exempt Bonds for Non-Profit Institutions
- Tax-Exempt Industrial Development Bonds (IDB's)
- Tax-Exempt Enterprise Zone Facility Bonds (EZ Bonds)
- Taxable Bonds

F. Artist Space Initiative

G. Economic Initiatives:

- One in Three
- LifeTech Boston
- Back Streets
- Boston Retail Market

- Building Capacity of Non-profit Organizations in Urban Neighborhoods
- Labor Market in Urban Neighborhoods
- Business Start up in Urban Neighborhoods

The above main topics represent the frame in which define how to analyze the success and the unsuccessful factors affecting PPP initiatives in order to accomplish the first objective of the research concerning: *Setting up an analytical process to understand how Public Private Partnership can be both marketable and social sustainable by highlight integrated approach related to Credit access, local resources promotion, job creation, social activation.*

The first step concerned the statement of some important assumptions:

- The use of term “public-private partnerships” in its broadest sense;
- The use the term “local” in its broadest sense
- The methodological approach based on case study analysis
- The main focuses that characterize the study of urban management tools in Boston related to:
 - Business Improvement Districts
 - Community Development Corporations
 - Urban-agricultural linkages
 - Social enterprises
 - University-focused
 - Non-profit assistance/development
 - Business incubators

The methodological approach based on case study analysis has been defined by firstly considering what are the key factors involved in urban regeneration led by local economics that foster Public-Private Partnership initiatives.

The analytical tools supposed to be used in order to accomplish this task are as following:

1. A survey form defined by following the general criterion of conferring a spatial connotation to economic forces that affect physical transformation.
2. An interview form that allows to gather qualitative information about governance, organizational structure, strategy and private involvement.
3. A set of case studies distributed in the boundary of metropolitan area of Boston and peripheral areas.
4. A classification of the previous set based on the following criteria: typology, size, characterization (market led, community led, environmental led)

The Survey Form (appendix A) is functional to collect data in a homogeny way for each case study in order to make a comparative analysis by using evaluation criteria that will be defined after the collect data activity.

The choice of case study is made among the set of case study the NEU partner has prepared for the WP1.

The case study selection has been based on two phases interconnected each other, the classification of case studies (A) and the test phase (B).

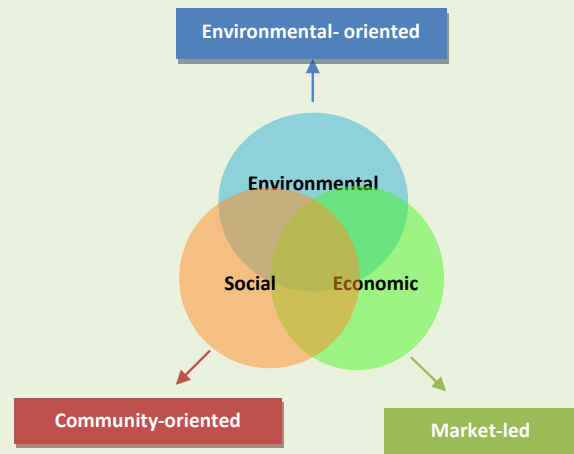
- A. The results of classification phase based on a judgment value scale divided in Highly recommended, Recommended, Average and Not recommended.
- B. The results of test phase based on an adjustment process of the survey form and on some suggestions to better match the selection of case studies with the general objective of the WP1.

The selection of the case studies process started with the construction of a list of potential case studies, located in the Massachusetts area. This list was prepared by local experts and included all the potential cases they considered important to the research, i.e. 66 cases covering a broad range of topics and goals. A number of 12 case studies was considered by the research team adequate to investigate the WP1 topic, and viable with respect to the available resources.

In order to select 12 case studies out of 66, all cases were classified according to a set of criteria, to allow researchers to cover all the key theoretical issues considered in the research. The first criterion draws from the WP1 major goal, which is, to investigate urban

management instruments based on public-private interaction. In relationship to the research topics, it was first discussed which typology of case studies should be considered in the field analysis, with the purpose of investigate those urban management tool, in which an interaction between public and private sector exist.

The first step of the case studies selection consisted in evaluating which typology best suits the features of each case study included in the 66 cases list. The evaluation was mainly based on a preliminary desk analysis conducted by drawing information from the official websites of each case, complemented by informal discussion with the US experts to fill the gaps. As a result of this analysis, each case was labeled with the prevailing typology it could better embed, to allow researchers to pick cases across the whole range of typologies. This analysis was coupled by the construction of a data base, which includes a short description of the major features of each case studies and the reasons for including it in a specific typology. This analysis was complemented with further optional details, included when possible, regarding key-aspect of the case emerged from the analysis. These additional information are related to some critical factor in the instruments, which have to be taken in account in the selection if possible. First, it has been put in evidence where the case is located, whether in a large urban area or in a rural area. This information was rather simple to be collected. Second, the size in terms of number of companies involved has been considered. This information was difficult to collect through a preliminary analysis and is not available for all the cases. Third, the researcher sought to interpret the rationale behind the case, i.e. the most relevant issue that the case intended to tackle. The three possible option were related to the three key-aspects of sustainability, as follows:



The case study selected are listed in the table below:

CASE STUDY	Location
URBAN EDGE & JAMAICA PLAIN - NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION	Boston Municipality
DOWNTOWN BOSTON BUSINESS IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT	Boston Municipality
FORT POINT DISTRICT	Boston Municipality
DUDLEY SQUARE COMMERCIAL BUSINESS DISTRICT	Boston Municipality
BOSTON MARINE INDUSTRIAL PARK	Boston Municipality
WASHINGTON GATEWAY MAIN STREET	Boston Municipality
ST. MARK'S AREA MAIN STREET – DORCHESTER	Boston Municipality
CODMAN SQUARE NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION	Boston Municipality
CONCORD COMMONS	Concord Municipality
EAST BOSTON MAIN STREETS	Boston Municipality

DUDLEY STREET NEIGHBORHOOD INITIATIVE	Boston Municipality
ASSEMBLY SQUARE SOMERVILLE	Somerville Municipality

According with the initial statement taken during the midterm meeting, that is *The use of term public-private partnerships in its broadest sense*, the proceeding of the case study analysis led to take the most common definition of Public Private Partnership as "cooperation between the public and private sectors, usually based on formal agreements, sometimes informal as well, to work together towards specific urban development objectives. Public-private partnerships can be understood analogous to business partnerships with profit and risk sharing, general partners and limited partners, and different roles and different objectives for those that are responsible for developing strategies and those responsible for implementing it."(Reuschke - NEURUS Program University of California in Irvine).

In addition to this broadly definition, we should take in account that "The literature on public-private partnerships (PPPs) is enormous, yet it remains confused and inconclusive. Among the reasons are conceptual vagueness, multiplicity of definitions, ideologically-based advocacy (both pro and con), and disparate research traditions (Wettenhall, 2003; Weihe, 2006; Hodge and Greve, 2008) The literature has addressed the term, partnership, from a variety of perspectives, including references to partnerships as contracting-out (Johnston and Romzek, 2005), NGO-government alliances (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002), and community-local government cooperation (Krishna, 2003; World Bank, 2005)"(Brinkerhoff, 2011)

The huge family of approaches in defining Public Private Partnership promoting the economic initiative within urban regeneration process – which represents the main topic of WP1 of CLUDs project - , has led to distinguish two main categories

The first based on:

- a) the initial formal or informal agreement among public and private partners;
- b) the involvement of the public sector regarding financing of specific partnership projects and provision of financial or not primarily financial incentives in order to attract private.

- c) the dominant thread concerning infrastructure financing, construction, operation, and maintenance³⁰

The second based on:

- a) A general pursuing to establish a partnership based on community development principles dealing with the involvement of citizens, local companies and professionals to improve various aspects of local communities
- b) the legal entity based on non-profit organization, which allows to participate to a set of advantages, such as tax relieves, special national trust for grant, etc. ;
- c) the dominant thread concerning in providing services and programs and engage in activities that support communities.

Concerning the two above different categories, we can argue that the former considers the definition of PPP in its strictly meaning, the latter in a broader sense.

Within the second category, we should pay attention on the difference between the BID instrument and the other instruments based on neighborhood/community corporation.

As matter of fact, the BID is not properly community based, but supported by local business lobbies. The common factor is the institution of a non-profit organization (NGO).

The case studies can be organized on the basis of these two main categories.

³⁰ For example, Koppenjan (2005: p. 137) defines a PPP as 'a form of structured cooperation between public and private partners in the planning/construction and/or exploitation of infrastructural facilities in which they share or reallocate risks, costs, benefits, resources and responsibilities.' This definition is echoed in that of Grimsey and Lewis (2007; p. 2): 'PPPs can be defined as arrangements whereby private parties participate in, or provide support for, the provision of infrastructure, and a PPP project results in a contract for a private entity to deliver public infrastructure-based services.' (Brinkerhoff, 2011)

BOSTON MARINE INDUSTRIAL PARK
 FORT POINT DISTRICT
 ASSEMBLY SQUARE SOMERVILLE
 CONCORD COMMONS
 DOWNTOWN BOSTON BUSINESS
 IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT

PPP led

At a first glance of the case study analysis, we can argue that in USA both instruments (PPP and NGO) play a role to enhance competitiveness, the difference is based on community/business led and infrastructure led.

URBAN EDGE & JAMAICA PLAIN -
 NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT
 CORPORATION

NGO led

DUDLEY SQUARE COMMERCIAL
 BUSINESS DISTRICT

WASHINGTON GATEWAY MAIN STREET

ST. MARK'S AREA MAIN STREET –
 DORCHESTER

CODMAN SQUARE NEIGHBORHOOD
 DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

EAST BOSTON MAIN STREETS

DUDLEY STREET NEIGHBORHOOD
 INITIATIVE

The distinction between PPP led and NGO led could represent a driver to better understand which could be the model more suitable for Commercial Local Urban District connected with local production. In a very generally way, we can argue that, in Europe, the NGO (no profit organization) seems to play a role more connected with social purposes³¹ (see for example the programs under structural funds), while the PPP, in its strictly meaning, plays the main role in urban regeneration process as driver to enhance competitiveness.

In other words, NGO more direct to convergence policy, PPP more direct to competitiveness policy.

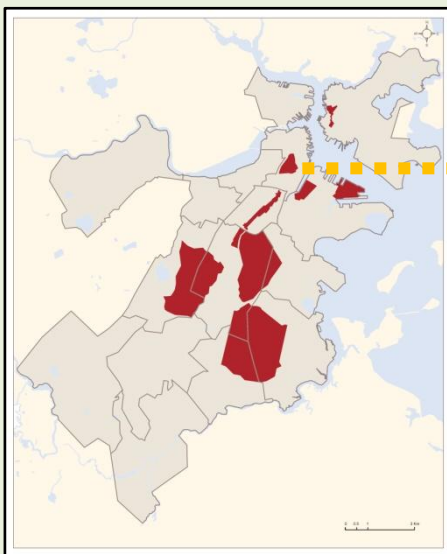
³¹ In Europe, Non-profit organizations aim to serve public or mutual benefit other than the accumulation of profits for investors or owners. They provide programmes and services to the community in an attempt to improve social conditions. Many of them are membership organizations dedicated to specific types of activities or action. Their areas of interest include different fields such as promoting arts, culture, humanities, education, protection of the environment, health, social services, disaster relief or international and foreign affairs. They draw public attention to many social issues. <http://www.givingineurope.org/site/index.cfm?BID=1&SID=1&TID=1&MID=12&ART=221&LG=2&back=1>

THE CASE STUDIES: PPP LED

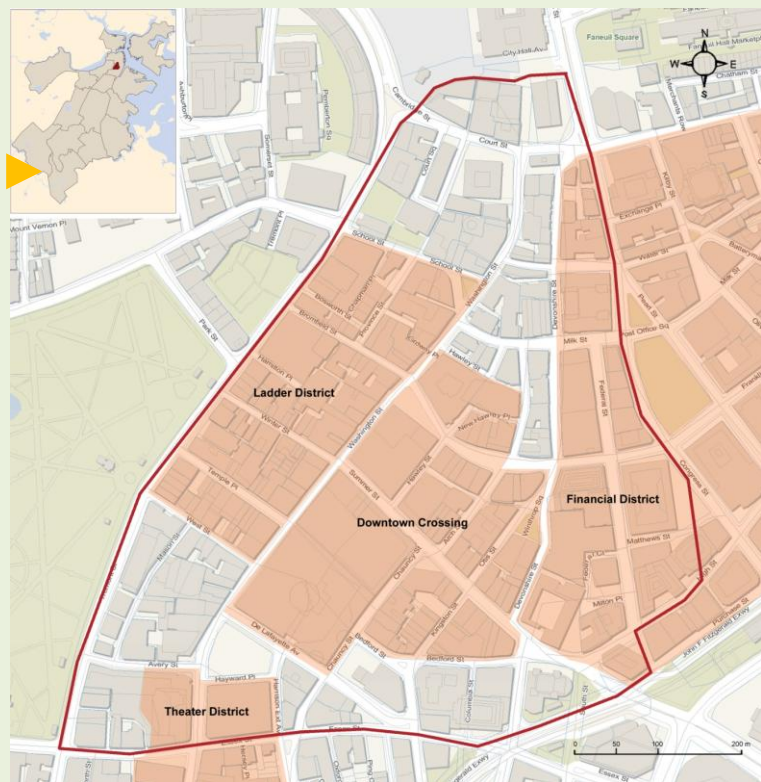
DOWNTOWN BOSTON BID

Alessia Ferretti

Planning District: Downtown Boston, Boston, MA, USA



Area (km²): 0,4
Population (2010): 4.148 (male/female)
Per capita income (\$): 75.251



Brief Description of the Case Study:

The Downtown Boston Business Improvement District is the first BID established in Boston and one of the few in Massachusetts after the approval of the Massachusetts General Law - Chapter 400 (1994). It has been established in 2011 after 15 challenging years and after many failed attempts and it represents the strength of a solid finally achieved partnership: 528 property and business owners as well as different local authorities are committed to improve Boston Downtown area by providing supplemental services; in other words, it supports long-term enhanced maintenance while encouraging a general economic revitalization of the district, where the mix of commercial, hospitality, non-profit institutional and residential properties demanded a higher level of services than the City of Boston provided. At the same time, it aims at creating an eclectic mix of uses including small, leisure-oriented retail, restaurants, diverse residential and tourism-related activities and businesses

Why this case study:

The choice of case study is made among the set of case study the NEU partner has prepared for the WP1. From the surveys it can be affirmed that:

- with respect to the economic conditions in Downtown Boston, a significant improvement took place from 2000 to 2010: while individuals below poverty levels slightly decreased (Figure 7a), per capita income increase largely (42%) doubling Boston's average (Figure 7b).
- this important change is closely connected to a large decrease of unemployed population but particularly to a new economic structure of sectors of employment: while the most employed sectors (finance, insurance, real estate, etc;



professional, scientific, management, etc.; educational, health and social services) have not changed over the last ten years, some sectors have largely increased (wholesale trade; arts, entertainment and recreation; public administration), outlining a new survey of the economic situation of the district - even though the mentioned socioeconomic dynamics have determined interesting changes in Downtown Boston over the last ten years, the four districts in the neighbourhood (Downtown Crossing, Ladder District, Theatre District and Financial District) have not shared the same lot.

Partnership Typology and Composition:

The Downtown Boston BID is an interesting example of public-private partnership supporting urban and economic revitalization while promoting an innovative approach to the delivery of elementary yet consequential public services. While the Downtown Boston BID management entity is a non-profit organization of private property owners in the district, the initiative is a solid partnership between local authorities and quasi-governmental entities, private owners and local stakeholders. This BID exists in deep relation with local authorities and public actors, being part of the collective action determining urban policies.

The decision-making board, the Board of Directors (32 members), expresses the public-private composition of the initiative since it is made up of a mixture of partnership staff and representatives from the private and public sectors.

Another important expression of the partnership supporting the Downtown Boston BID is the Neighborhood Advisory Board (38 members), an official board included in the governing structure as a consulting committee but without decision or voting power. Evidently, the vast majority of members in the boards are private actors representing companies or individual who have physical assets in the district (as explained in section 4.3, such a composition depends on the BID main features and on the management entity, in this case a non-profit organization), but the influence of public agents is unanimously recognized.

Public and Private subject involved in the initiative:

Public

Boston Redevelopment Authority – City of Boston

Private:

Suffolk University- Emerson College - private owners- real estate – associations - Neighbourhood Advisory Board

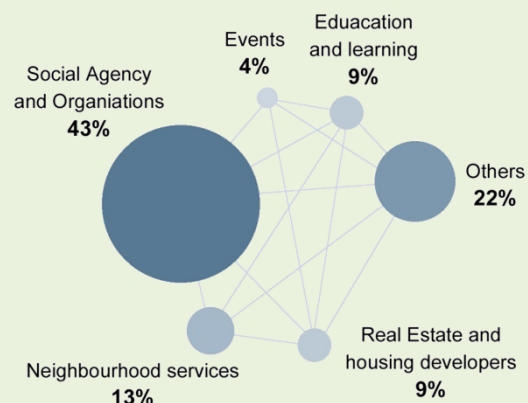
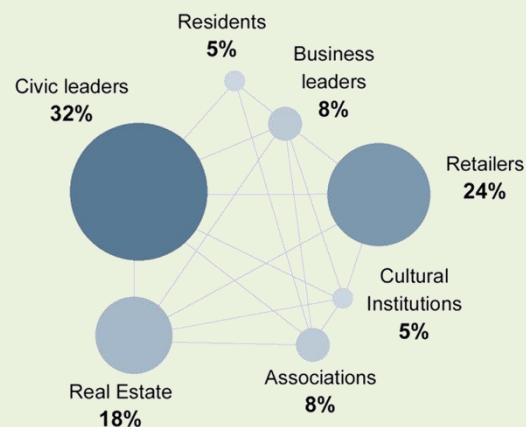
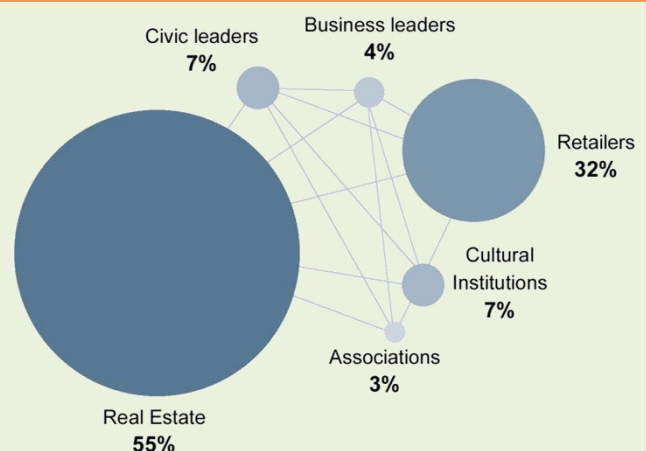
BUDGET SIZE:

Total budget: \$ 2.9 million

Revenue: \$ 16 million

Item of Expenditures

- 15% General and administrative
- 20% Social services (Hospitality Ambassador Program)
- 8% Capital improvements
- 42% Graffiti removal and cleaning
- 10% Marketing, communication special events and





tourism
5% Other

Major Findings

The initiative has showed a positive connection with the area: it is strongly community-based and deeply related to the local authenticity and it is supported by the district's bustling streets, the variety of active and unique places, people who live, work, play and cross the area every day.

- Even if the Downtown Boston BID is publicly authorized and privately managed, it has been unusually promoted and supported in the start-up process and in its early stages by the City of Boston and the Boston Redevelopment Authority. In other words, this BID exists in deep relation with local authorities and public actors, being part of the collective action determining urban policies.
- Even though the initiative has been credited with transforming Downtown Boston into a cleaner, safer and more attractive place, improving pedestrian experience and enhancing local resources, it might be questioned if it is able to achieve the economic and urban revitalization while more demanding issues are affecting the area, such as controversial development initiatives and long-stalled real-estate projects

Strategic Priorities

- Economic revitalization: maintaining regular profiles of the downtown economy (real estate absorption rates, property and retail sales trends, pedestrian counts, parking inventory, and major employers)
- Job creation connecting homeless individuals to social services programs through a relationship with local social service providers
- Cultural enrichment initiatives

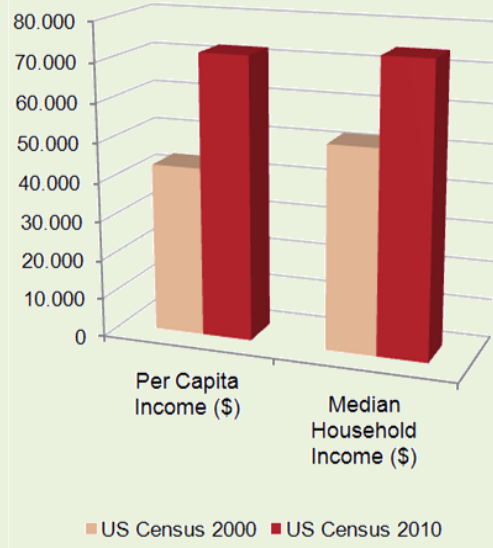
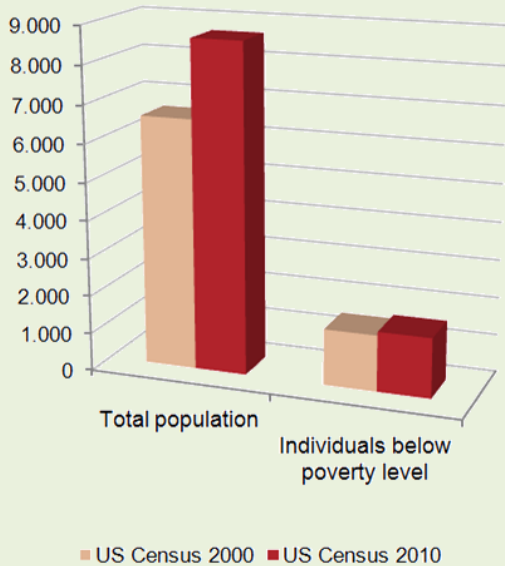
Main Initiatives/Projects linked with the case study

- revitalizing the downtown area in order to make it a neighbourhood – a true urban experience where people live, shop, work, play and meet;
- the initiative promote a wide beautification of the area (Hospitality and Cleaning), based on what already exists in the area – unique aspects that should always be a part of the neighbourhood, like density, diversity, and an urban, youthful feel
- promoting a general economic revitalization: BID serves as a resource for business relocation and to help connect business owners to the many resources available from the City of Boston (such as Neighbourhood Restaurant Initiative, ReStore Boston, Boston Buying Power, Boston Invests in Growth, Partners with Non-Profits, Boston Industrial Development Financing Authority, and Boston Local Development Corporation).

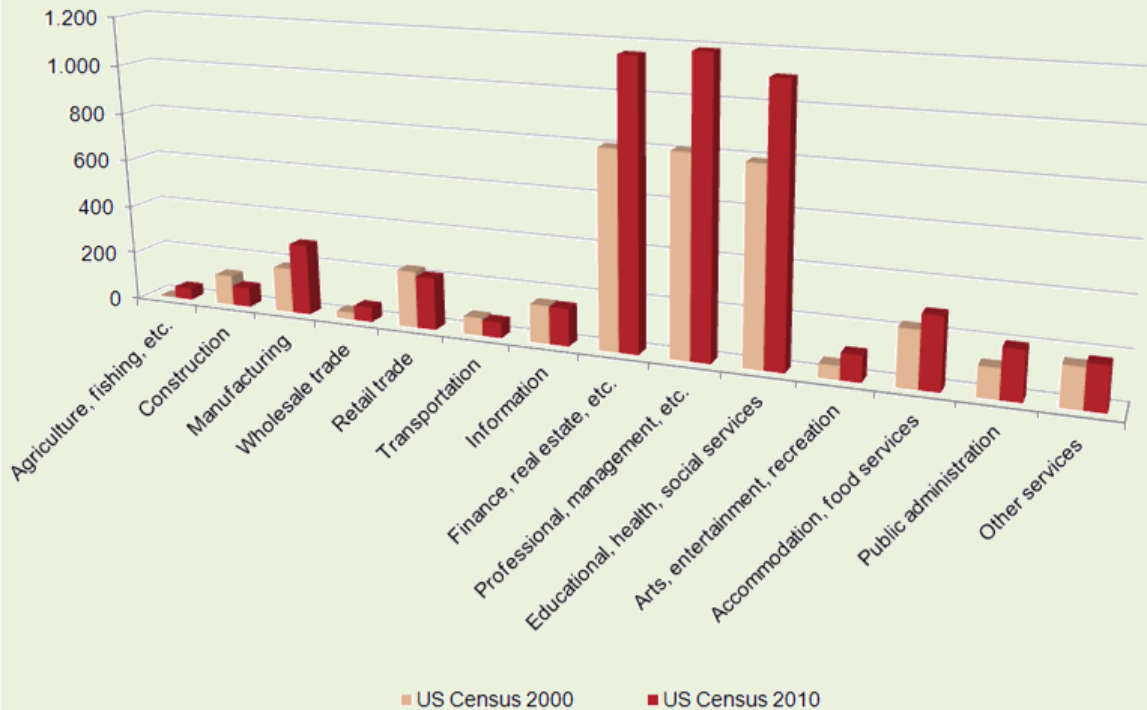
FAST SOCIOECONOMIC FACTS

Socioeconomic data in Downtown Boston from 2000 to 2010 – People below poverty level

Socioeconomic data in Downtown Boston from 2000 to 2010 – Income

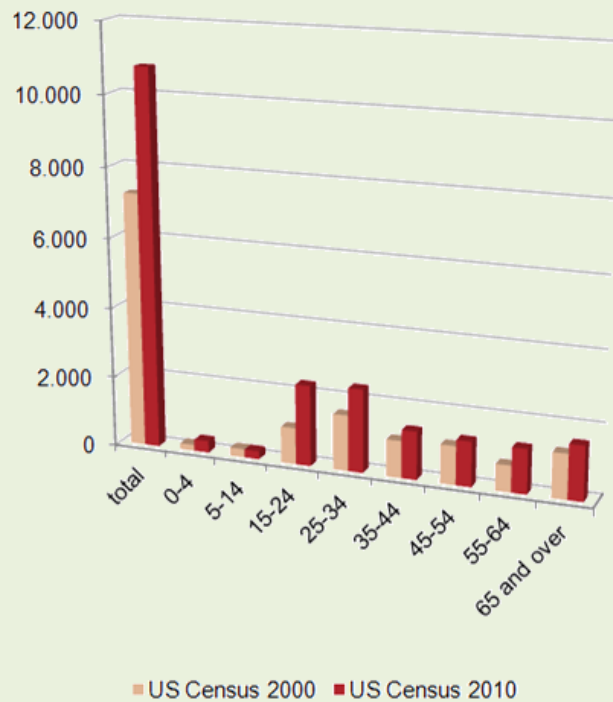
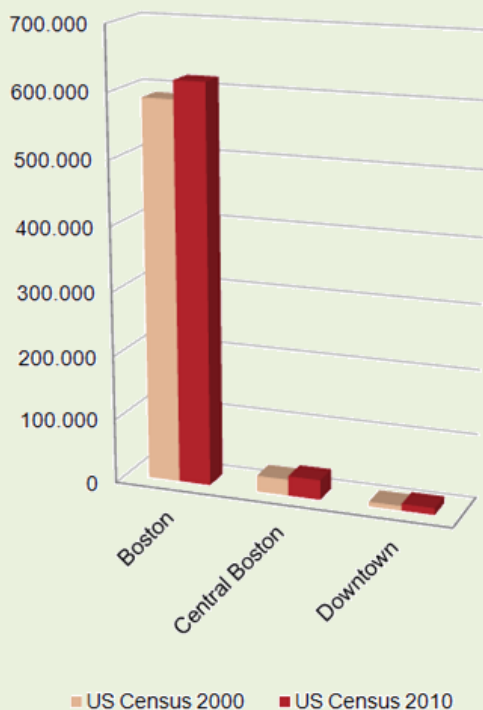


Labour market in Downtown Boston from 2000 to 2010 – Employees per sector



The population increase in Downtown Boston from 2000 to 2010 – Total population

The population increase in Downtown Boston from 2000 to 2010 – Age ranges



CONCLUSIONS

The *Downtown Boston BID* experience is somewhat difficult to interpret; its establishment represents the conclusion of a long-term process, therefore many local stakeholders consider the BID start-up as an important result in itself (Interview 1 and 2). Moreover, even though the initiative has been credited with transforming Downtown Boston into a cleaner, safer and more attractive place, improving pedestrian experience and enhancing local resources, it has been questioned if it might achieve the economic and urban revitalization while more demanding issues are affecting the area: precisely, «*scraping gum off the ground isn't a useful thing to do when you've got a much bigger eyesore*» (Sondergard, 2011), that is the big hole in Downtown Crossing, the twisted metal, the wood scraps, the empty bottles nearby (Schwartz, 2011). The BID's members themselves are aware that nothing major is going to happen until the *One Franklin* project will be completed.

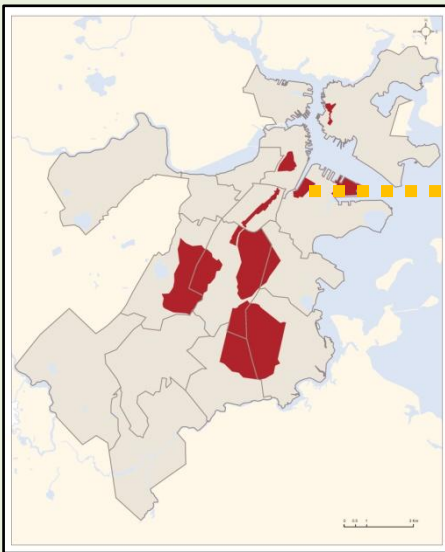
One of the most favourable aspects of this initiative is the positive connection with the area: the *Downtown Boston BID* is strongly community-based and deeply related to the local authenticity, namely the initiative is supported by the district's bustling streets, the variety of active and unique places, people who live, work, play and cross the area every day (BRA, 2011).

Undoubtedly, the *Downtown Boston BID* is a successful although long-pursued public-private partnership and it represents an important turning point for the area

FORT POINT DISTRICT

Jusy Calabro

Planning District: South Boston, Boston, MA, USA



Area (km²): 0,404 • Promote access to shared natural resources
Population (2010): 3240 (male/female) 1704/1536
Per capita income (\$): 56.832

Brief Description of the Case Study:

Fort Point district historically is a light-industry related area along the Fort Point Channel in South Boston. It is characterized by a strategic position within the city geography: along the Fort Point Channel, within the Boston Innovation District, a big Economic Development Area attracting enterprises and economies from all the Massachusetts. The B.R.A., Boston's planning and economic development Public Agency, involved community, proponents and stakeholders to draw up a plan for growth and development within the 100 Acres, taking into account the preexistent facilities and infrastructures capacity, in order to encourage a lively mixed-use urban district. The 100 Acres Master Plan, indeed, is the resulting of a common effort among public authorities, agencies, neighborhood representatives, owners and associations of the area, that contributed to give rise a participatory urban process.

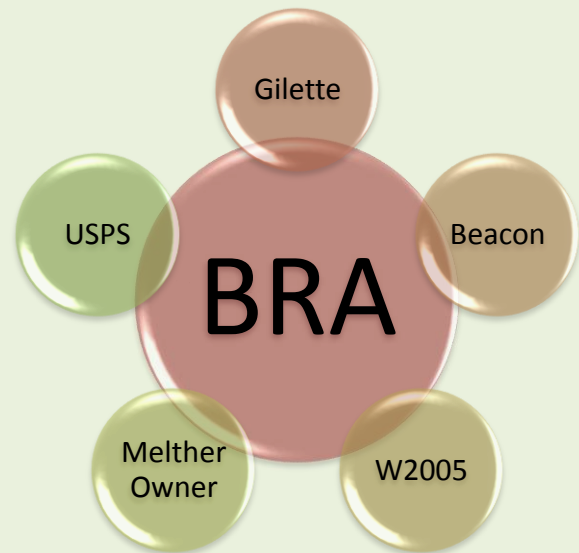
Why this case study:



From the evidence we can say that: the 100 Acres master plan provides an overall land use for the district, preserving industrial uses while encouraging an increased mix of uses; preventing conflicts with nearby commercial and residential uses and proposing the development of up 5.9 million square feet of new construction. It is expected that this build-out will get almost 40 years under the coordination of BRA to achieve a balanced mix of uses at every stage. Job creations (12,300 permanent), affordable housing (about 2000 units), opens spaces (11.4 acres) are next fundamental steps. Taking from the interviews to the chief architect of the ADD.Inc, that drew up the plan, and to the Economic Program Assistant (B.R.A.) of the Boston Innovation District initiative, we can trace the importance of this initiative as a great effort to turn a historical and peculiar area, once the center of the cultural and economic activities of the city, to the cultural shining and vitality of a time. The core strategy indeed is the direct involvement of people, companies and landowners of Fort Point District: each of them participated in different ways to realize it.

Partnership Typology e Composition:

A key component of the Master Plan is an agreement among the landowners and the City, through the BRA, on its implementation. All owners agreed on it following some arrangement. The Gillette Company agreed under the condition of improving its trucks accessibility in the area and build up the square feet of the company; the USPS agreed to put on the market the area within 100 acres for “Public Realm Enhancement” construction, and relocate its facilities into an adjacent one with higher property values; all the others aimed at improving their properties values. Furthermore, the B.R.A is the coordinator of the partnership and the manager of the Sinking Fund. All infrastructure and public realm improvements will be phased and executed as part of the planned new private development.



Public and Private subject involved in the initiative:

Public

Boston Redevelopment Authority – City of Boston

Private:

Gillette Company; United States Postal Service; Archon Group L.L.C.; Beacon L.L.C

Major Findings

The Fort Point district case study area gives interesting opportunities to look forward the use of public-private partnership in a different way, perhaps such as intermediary for the implementation of urban planning tools. Particularly from this experience we can take example of the cooperation modes between public actors and private ones: even though the objectives and interests are different, we could say that both parties reached their aim with the final version of the Master Plan. The participation process strongly contributed to the success of the planning initiatives: people, associations and landowners gave their concrete experience to transform a dead neighborhood into a lively one. Know-how sharing and creation of specialized networks under the guide of the Boston Innovation District, matter of attraction and competitiveness all around Fort Point District, is the great economic engine of the entire area that push for innovation and evolution into high standards of development

Strategic Priorities

- Public Realm enhancement (open spaces + roads)
- Job creation (of 24,600 jobs of which 12,300 permanent)
- New business attraction
- Mixed-use neighbourhood
- Open spaces and harbour walk implementation
- 5.9 million square feet of gross floor area of new development

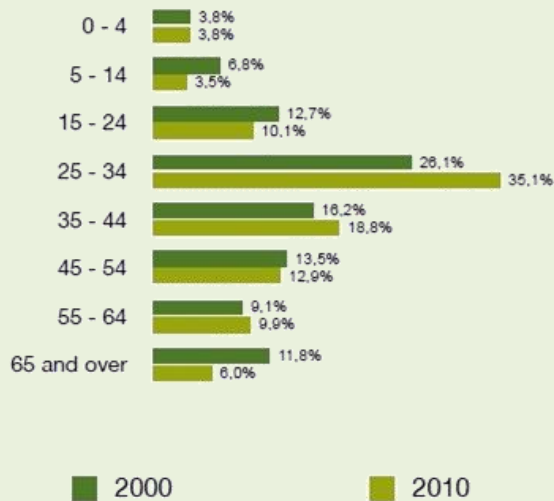
Main Initiatives/Projects linked with the case study



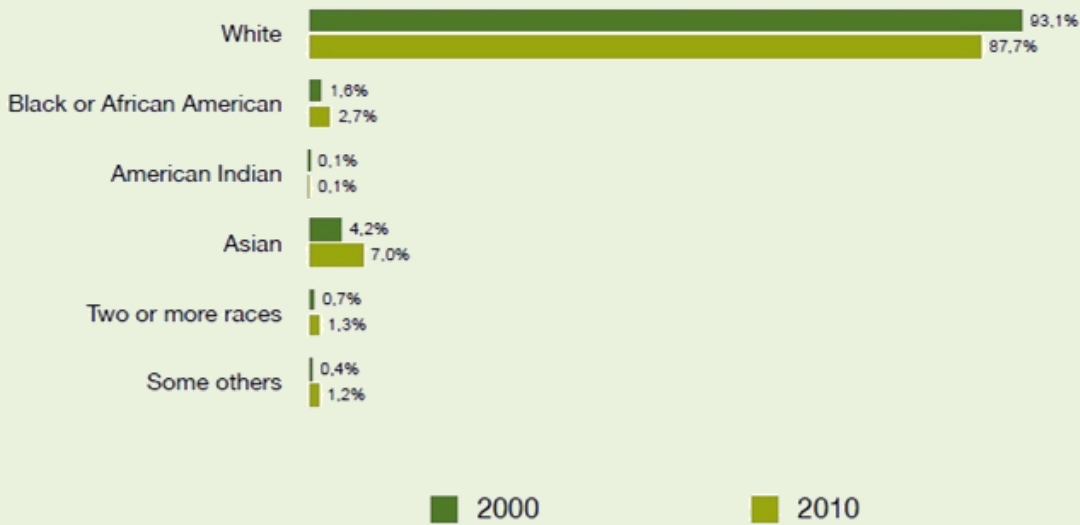
- Increase the city's housing supply
- Expanding the city's economic base
- Enhancing the environment
- Strengthening transportation infrastructure
- Mitigating development impacts
- Minimize conflicts between different uses
- Enhance the South Boston Community
- Promoting access to shared natural resources

FAST SOCIOECONOMIC FACTS

Population variation 2000-2010 case study area



Population variation by race – case study area



Vacant Housing Unit Variation 2000-2010



CONCLUSIONS

The Fort Point district case study area gives interesting opportunities to look forward the use of public-private partnership in a different way, perhaps such as intermediary for the implementation of urban planning tools. Particularly from this experience we can take example of the cooperation modes between public actors and private ones: even though the objectives and interests are different, we could say that both parties reached their aim with the final version of the Master Plan.

Then, the participation process strongly contributed to the success of the planning initiatives: people, associations and landowners gave their concrete experience to transform a dead neighborhood into a lively one.

Nevertheless, the most part of the planning initiatives under the 100 Acres Master Plan did not started as predicted. According to the interviews done, the delay in the starting of the works could be explained by the general world financial crisis that is affecting almost all economic fields.

This Planned Development Area that, by definition has to provide for public benefits, in such case giving rise to the Public Realm Enhancement, consisting in new roads with a new urban greed and open spaces, following the Fort Point Channel focuses/views, did not has been implemented.

Nevertheless, the key factor of the urban initiative is the agreement among all partners that let us aware of the complexity of the partnership. Particularly as concern the public role within the initiative, that provides the directions for development in the city of Boston.

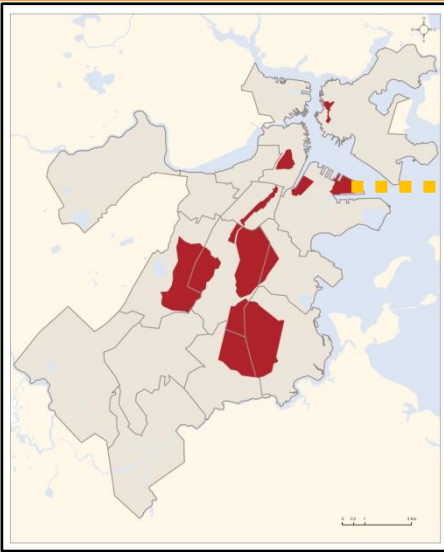
If on one hand the sharing of responsibilities and risks among the privates involved can be seen, on the other one the B.R.A. involvement is just as coordinator and supervisor of the right application of zoning rules (in such case of the overlay district under the PDA legislation) and land uses consistency.

So that we can argue that there is a particular role of public sector within the partnership which take both long range benefits, such as tax payments, job creation, and immediate ones, such as the transformation of an industrial area into a mix used neighborhood preserving some of the preexistent features, using private money and skills. The privates indeed were asked by the BRA to contribute to the transportation analysis, land uses, street network and open space scenarios for the district.

BOSTON MARINE INDUSTRIAL PARK

Pasquale Pizzimenti

Planning District: South Boston, Boston, MA, USA



Area (km²): 0,81

Population (2010): no residents within the BMIP boundaries

Per capita income (\$): 68.078

Brief Description of the Case Study:

The Boston Marine Industrial Park is an industrial port area located near the South Boston Waterfront where are concentrated some economic initiatives of City of Boston to enhance the economic growth and job creation. Activities in the area started in 1977 when the City of Boston bought the area to realize a big industrial park to attract businesses and industries thanks the existence of facilities and infrastructures. The area is a former US Navy base. To manage it was instituted the EDIC, Economic Development Industrial Corporation. According with the Massachusetts General Laws the EDIC is a public instrumentality that within an Economic Development Area (EDA) can take land by eminent domain, issue debentures and revenue bonds, buy and sell property, collect rents, enter into contracts, receive grants, and make and receive loans. An Economic Development Area is a "blighted open area" or a "decadent area" as defined by Mass. General Laws, which is located in the municipality and is zoned for general or restricted manufacturing uses for general or waterfront industrial uses. Main objectives of the city of Boston for this area are economic development, job creation, attract new business, the revitalization of the area.

Why this case study:

The choice of case study is made among the set of case study the NEU partner has prepared for the WP1.

From the analysis of the case study emerge several interesting data to reach the main goals of the WP1:

1. More of 300 businesses are located within the BMIP boundaries
2. About 3000 people are employed in the BMIP
3. Even there are not residents in the area in the last decade the Per Capita Income is increased
4. The Lease agreement (Key partnership tool) provided the hiring of minorities and south Boston Residents
5. More than \$ 300 million invested in the area for public works
6. The EDIC use rent the land to the private, rent is used by the EDIC for the maintenance of the area an facilities for businesses

Partnership Typology and Composition:

The crucial point of the partnership is the agreement

between public and private sector. In this case we are in presence of Lease Agreement. EDIC is owner of the land and rent it to privates. Sometimes privates can be identified as the final users sometimes they can be real estate developer that sub rent the land to businesses.

The Lease Agreement provides risks and responsibilities for each partner and the expiration can vary case to case. Within the area, rent is at a lower price than the outside the area, businesses can build own buildings according with the laws of City of Boston and Mass General Laws. Private sector is in charge to maintain all the facilities for businesses and to invest the rent coming from tenants for the maintenance of the area or for its improvement

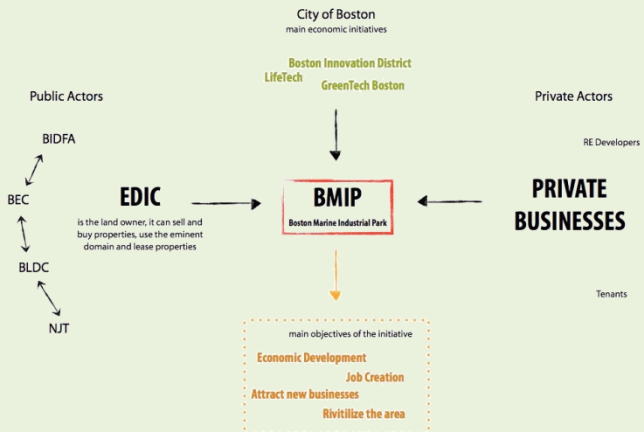
Public and Private subject involved in the initiative:

Public

EDIC; BMIP; BIDFA; BEC; BLDC; NJT

Private:

Private Businesses; RE Developers; Tenants



BUDGET SIZE:

Expenditures (Total) \$ 1,915,000

Revenue \$ 8,750,000

Item of Expenditures

- General & Administrative
- Streetscape/sidewalk maintenance
- Beautification & Horticulture
- Sanitation
- Security
- Marketing

Major Findings

- Job Creation;
- Businesses Attraction and Retention;
- Green Tech Businesses; Local Economic Development;
- Increase of Per Capita Income;
- Locational advantages offer by the public sector;
- Well infrastructured area; Community involvement;
- Good integration among all the city's; economic initiatives in the area

Strategic Priorities

Economic Revitalization; Innovation/Green Technologies; Education and Training; Job Creation/Social works; Technology transfer

Main Initiatives/Projects linked with the case study

Boston Innovation District

- Work: create clusters of innovative people
- Live: build flexible housing options to work for flexible lifestyles
- Play: provide public space and programming to foster an innovation ecosystem

Green Tech Boston

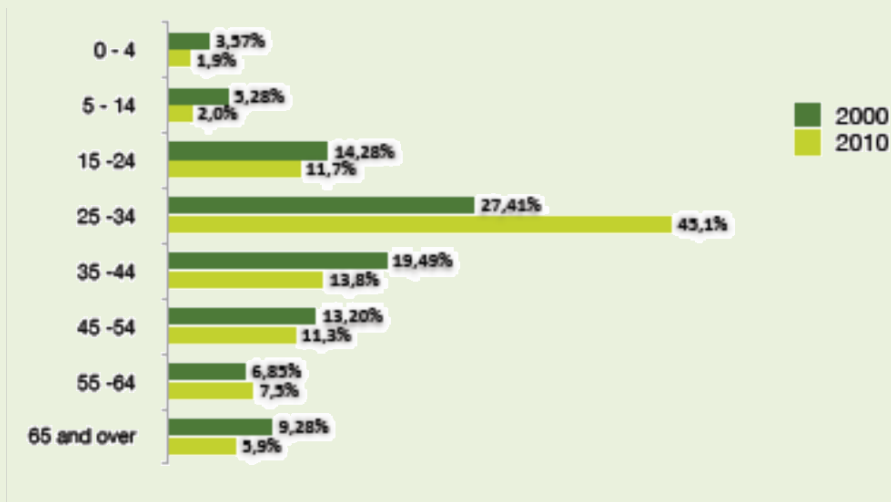
Sustainability climate change and green building policies, Growth and investment in clean tech in Massachusetts Make Boston a strategic location for launching a new green business

Life Tech

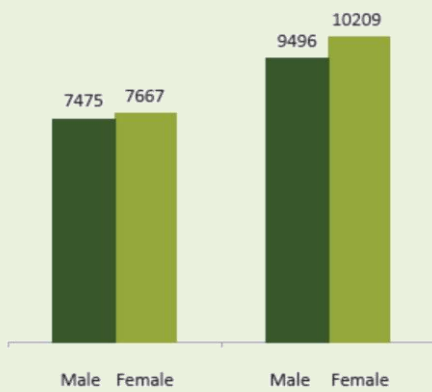
Fostering the growth of Boston's life sciences sector. to Attract, retain, support, and strengthen Boston companies engaged in biotechnology, pharmaceuticals, medical devices, and other related industries

FAST SOCIOECONOMIC FACTS

Population variation by Age – Case Study area 2000-2010



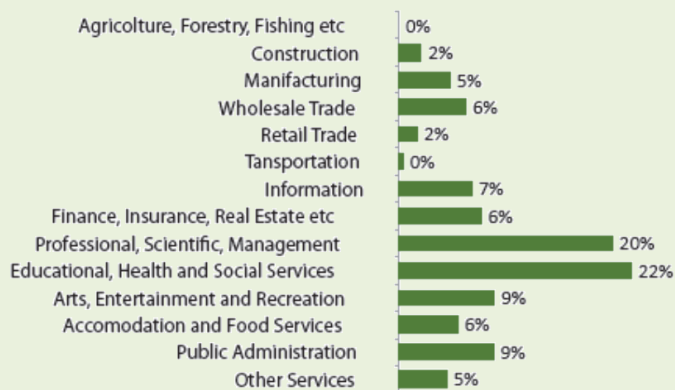
Employees per Sector Planning District 2010



Employees per Sector Case Study Area 2000



Employees per Sector Case Study Area 2010



CONCLUSIONS

The Boston Marine Industrial Park represents one of the most successful initiatives in the entire New England area from the Public-Private Partnership point of view. Started more than 30 years ago it is still on going. Here Public and Private sectors work jointly with the main objective to ensure economic growth and development for the city of Boston.

Efforts are strongly supported by the City of Boston and its economic initiatives that focus on this particular area.

More than 3000 jobs created, more than 300 companies are located within the BMIP boundaries, numbers that increase if we extend the area to the Boston Innovation District.

Companies that need to relocate their activities or are looking for a new one are addressed to invest in this area thanks to the advantages offered by the BRA/EDIC.

A well supplied area to whom it concerns infrastructures, nearby downtown open to local and regional markets.

A possible threat could be represented by the high number of trucks in the area, that could increase the air pollution especially for the community of South Boston.

However the City of Boston is working on this item thanks to its Climate Change policy. South Boston community is really important for the initiative. Many residents are employed in the park. Within the "Lease Contract" is asked to companies to hire Bostonian residents, minorities people and people who are under the poverty level status. These measures are

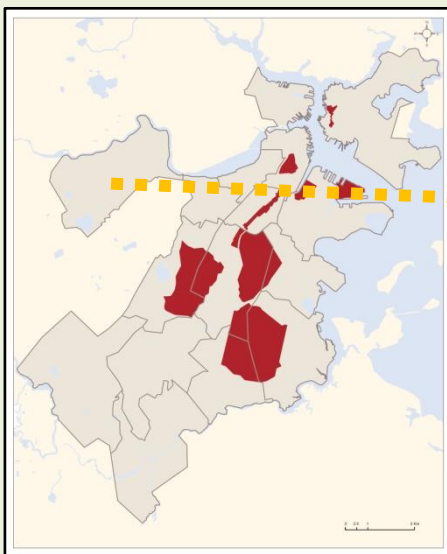
significant for the community. They will increase the wellness of the area from an economic and first of all from a social point of view.

There are not significant changes in the urban environment. The area changed over time because it was a Navy Base. Few old buildings remain. New ones were built by privates that within the Lease Contract have to specify the project and respect City Zoning Code and limitations.

CONCORD COMMONS COMMUTER RAIL

Carla Maione

Planning District: Downtown Boston, Boston, MA, USA



Area (km²): 0.011 km²
Population (2010): 34,476 (male 16,692/female 17,784)
Per capita income (\$): 65,024

Brief Description of the Case Study:

Concord Commons Commuter Rail, is a model of Transit Oriented Development, a mixed-use community that encourages people to live near transit services and to decrease dependence on their driving” (Still 2002, Bernick and Cervero 1997, p. 5). The success Key of the TOD are Public Private Partnership, “designed to decrease the costs of operating or constructing public transportation systems, stations or improvements through creative public private financing arrangements” (The National Council for Urban Economic Development 1989 transit facility” (Cervero et al. 1991). The strategy is Local property owners and developers have always worked with local government, and, today, the resulting Concord Common development comprises three mixed use buildings with retail space, office space, a 180 seat restaurant, and 20 rental apartments. With the final agreement between the Town and Developer, required that he provide four affordable units at another location in the Town, allowing all the units at the station to be rented at market rates, with the purpose to encourage the small retail and hinder the Global Market, and to keeps rents of the local stable in the time.

Why this case study:

The choice of case study is made among the set of case study the NEU partner has prepared for the WP1.

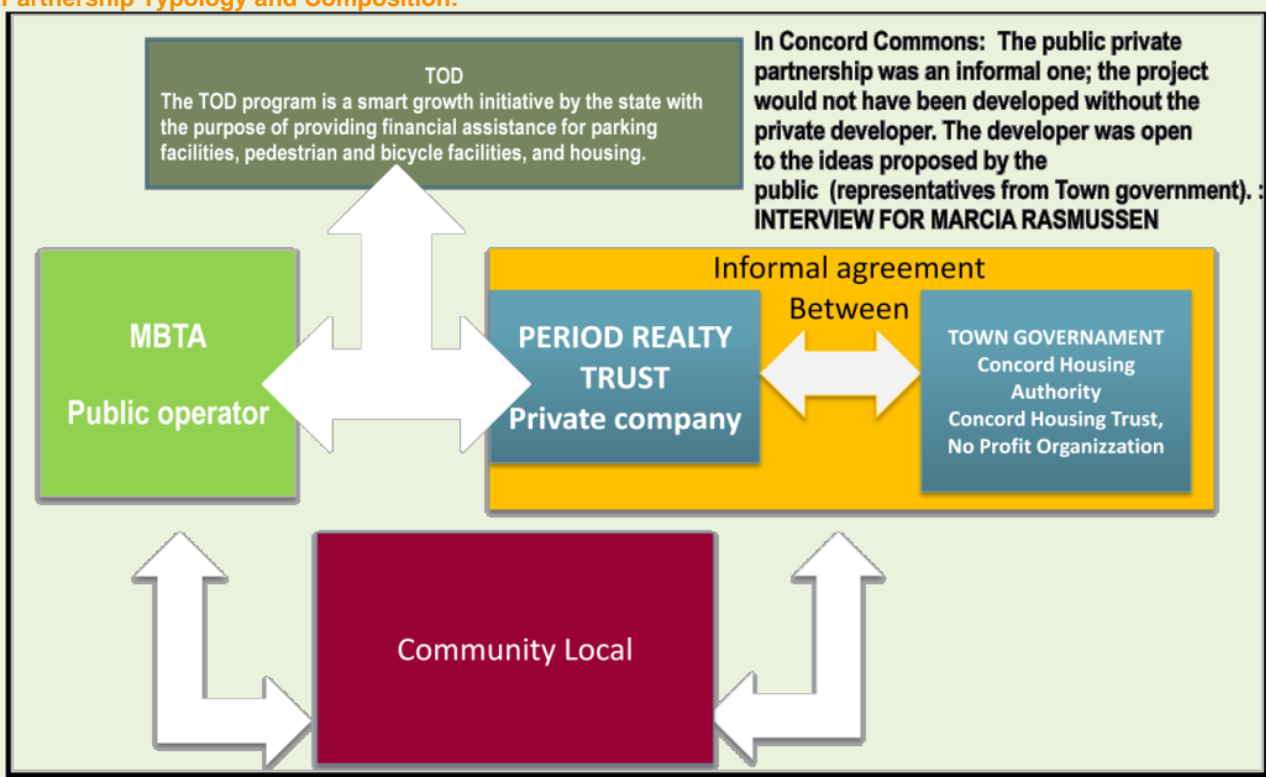
From of the analysis of the caser study emerge some interesting related to the objective of the WP1:

- The public private partnership was an informal one; the project would not have been developed without the private developer. The developer was open to the ideas proposed by the public (representatives from Town government).
- The result is that the initiative provided direct access to downtown Boston and have improving the quality of life of the

entire local community

-Many of the businesses are locally owned and operated. They provide a mix of necessities and unique services and products that is valued by neighborhood residents. Businesses in the core area include a mix of small retailers, eating places, and personal and professional services

Partnership Typology and Composition:



Public and Private subject involved in the initiative:

Public

MBTA (Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority) & TOWN GOVERNMENT – Concord Housing Authority

Private:

Period realty trust- Warner Wood Llc

BUDGET SIZE:

Total budget: \$ 1,425,000

Revenue:

Major Findings

Experience in this case study has demonstrates that implementing TOD can result in significant benefits to individuals, communities and entire regions by improving the quality of life for people of all ages and abilities to live, work, shop, learn and play.

- HIGHEST DENSITY AT THE STATION
- BUSINESS ATTRACTION AND RELATION
- LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- COMMUNITY INVOLVMENT
- AFFORDABLE HOUSING
- WELL INFRASTRUCTURED AREA
- GREEN INITIATIVE
- REDUCE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT
- REDUCED HOUSEHOLD TRANSPORTATION EXPENSES

Strategic Priorities

1. ECONOMIC REVILATIZATION
2. JOB CREATION/SOCIAL WORKS
- 3.LOCAL SERVICES/PROVISIONS
4. LOCAL PRODUCE VALORISATION
- 5.CULTURAL ENRICHMENT
6. NATURAL BEAUTY, GREEN SPACE
7. PARKING

Main Initiatives/Projects linked with the case study

The TOD program is a “Smart Growth Initiative” launched by the state of the Massachussets with the purpose of providing financial assistance for parking facilities, pedestrian and bicycle facilities, and housing. This initiative assigns award funding up to \$10 million, at the areas within a quarter-mile of a commuter rail station, subway station, ferry terminal, or bus

station, for housing developments, the program is intended to provide gap financing in a way that reduces the need for multiple funding sources while encouraging maximization of private financing. Funding award caps are \$1 million for projects up to 25 units and up to \$2 million for projects greater than 25 units.

Transit-Oriented Development (TOD)is compact, walkable development centered on transit stations and designed to improve the quality of life while reducing the dependence on the automobile.

FAST SOCIOECONOMIC FACTS

CONCLUSIONS

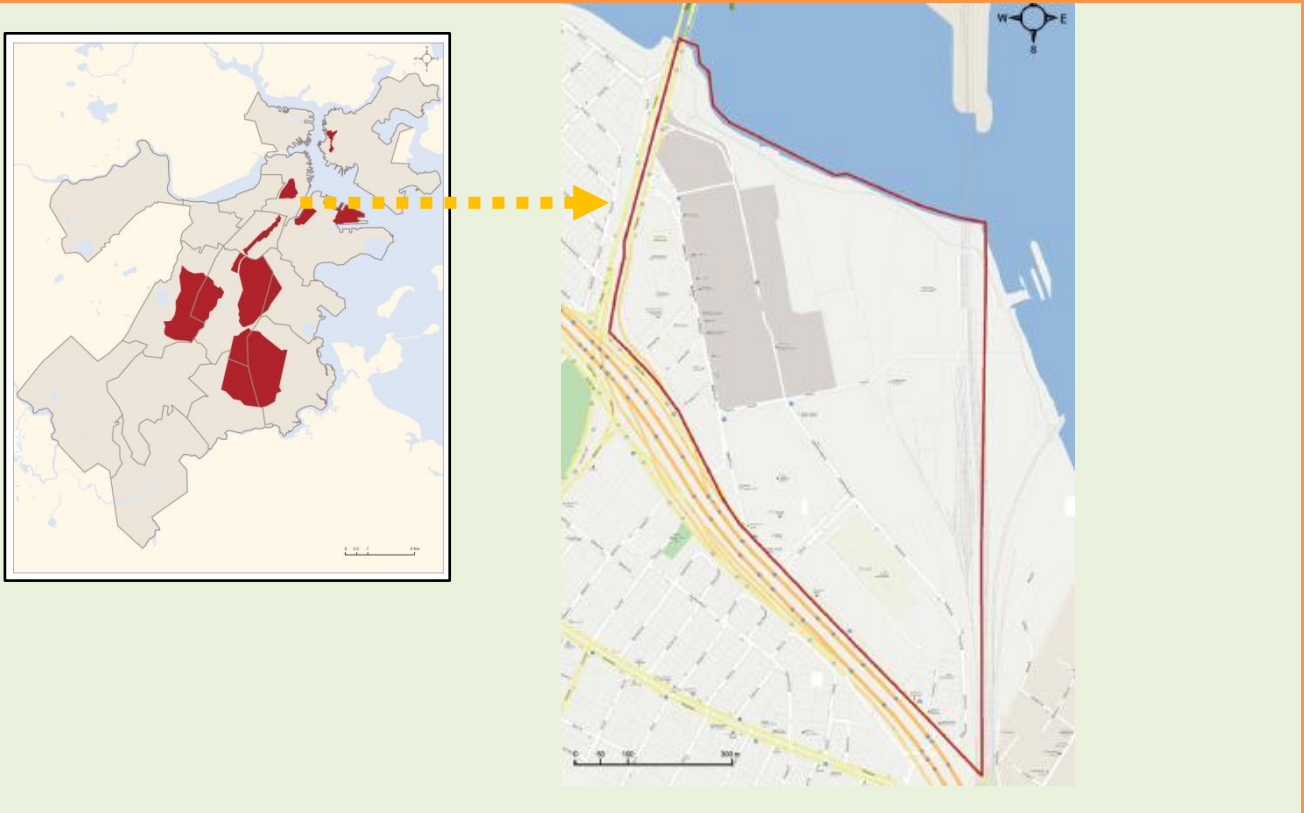
The strength of this case study, is the strong sense of participation that emerges between the developer and the town, during a interview Marcia Rasmussen says; “The strategy of Concord Commuter Rail was that Local property owners and developers have always worked with local government-often local business owners served on town boards and committees that envisioned the future”, for this motive it is between the major success stories of Transit Oriented Development.

Experience in this case study has demonstrates that implementing TOD can result in significant benefits to individuals, communities and entire regions by improving the quality of life for people of all ages and abilities to live, work, shop, learn and play. Conventional development often consumes acres of land, requires extensive investments in infrastructure, and perpetuates dependence on private vehicles. TOD reduces travel time, shortens journeys and provides non motorized trip options, helping to reduce our reliance on the automobile. The case study has illustrated how transit supportive policies, planning and coordinated investment in land use and transportation, and the public private partnership, can create opportunities for TOD.

ASSEMBLY SQUARE SOMERVILLE

Luciano Zingali

Planning District: Somerville, Boston, MA, USA



Area (km²): 0,404 • Promote access to shared natural resources

Population (2010): 3240 (male/female) 1704/1536

Per capita income (\$): 56.832

Brief Description of the Case Study:

The Assembly Square district is Somerville's largest commercial and industrial district with the greatest potential for redevelopment. Over the past two years, the City undertook an aggressive planning and redevelopment effort designed to convert this former industrial district to a transit oriented mixed use "urban village". The City completed a planning study of the district that recommended a total build out over 20 years of at least 6 million square feet of commercial and residential uses. Various public improvements are planned, including a new Orange Line MBTA station within the district, roadway improvements, renovations and expansion of a waterfront park, and improvements to pedestrian and bicycle access. The planning and redevelopment strategy for Assembly Square is to reduce reliance on retail use by encouraging higher density office, R&D, and residential uses. The aim of the project is to revitalize an area that is of particular importance in the development plan of the city. Its proximity to Boston and Cambridge make Somerville a gravitational center capable of attracting tourism and new investment. This is the goal to achieve with this project, which not only create a new district but also a new use and capable of generating new functions for the city needed for its management and the possibility of developing through specific programs, the infrastructures that will enable the city to become a truly strategic hub in the Boston metropolitan area. The Public Private Partnership between the city and Develop allowed to share a journey to reach this goal within a few years that will change the face of the whole area. The resulting plan envisions a vibrant, mixed use, urban neighborhood and commercial center providing significant local and regional benefits including 19,000 new jobs, increased tax revenues, market rate and affordable housing, improved



access to transportation.

Furthermore, the proximity to the shores of the Mystic River, allows ownership by the citizens of new recreational spaces opening the city to its waterfront.

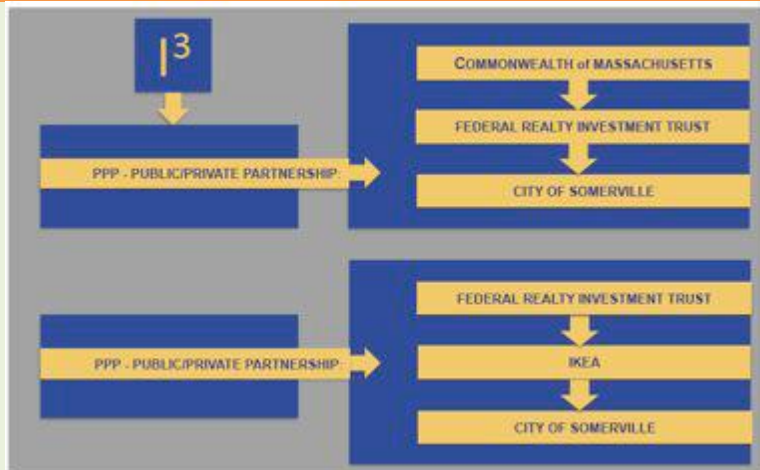
The key industries in Somerville are health services, retail, business services and creative design. Somerville's local economic base is heavily influenced by three factors: its dense residential population, the nature of its commercial and industrial building stock, and its proximity to Boston.

Why this case study:

From the evidence we can say that: the 100 Acres master plan provides an overall land use for the district, preserving industrial uses while encouraging an increased mix of uses; preventing conflicts with nearby commercial and residential uses and proposing the development of up 5.9 million square feet of new construction. It is expected that this build-out will get almost 40 years under the coordination of BRA to achieve a balanced mix of uses at every stage. Job creations (12,300 permanent), affordable housing (about 2000 units), opens spaces (11.4 acres) are next fundamental steps. Taking from the interviews to the chief architect of the ADD.Inc, that drew up the plan, and to the Economic Program Assistant (B.R.A.) of the Boston Innovation District initiative, we can trace the importance of this initiative as a great effort to turn a historical and peculiar area, once the center of the cultural and economic activities of the city, to the cultural shining and vitality of a time. The core strategy indeed is the direct involvement of people, companies and landowners of Fort Point District: each of them participated in different ways to realize it.

Partnership Typology e Composition:

MVTF proponents continued to argue that any plan included any big box retail would prevent the practicality of serving the area by mass transit. In 2000, the Somerville Redevelopment Authority (SRA) gained title to the 9.3 acre of former railroad parcel in Assembly Square and filed a Request for Proposal for the developers. At the same time, the City initiated an extensive public planning process, producing the "2000 Planning Study" which set out a new vision for Assembly Square as a 24Hour, mixed use district with residential, retail, office, cinema, restaurant, hotel, and recreational open space uses. In 2002, the SRA (Somerville Redevelopment Authority) and the City adopted a 20 year extension of the urban renewal plan with the goal of transforming Assembly Square into the lively, mixed use district described in the 2000 Planning Study. Assembly Square was rezoned to promote the mixed use concept, and design guidelines and a design review committee were created to provide additional assistance in helping foster the new vision.



The project is expected to result in an estimated \$1.36 billion construction investment in the City to include new public and private infrastructure, publically accessible open space, public facilities and public benefits.

The project is forecasted to generate \$24 million in annual municipal tax revenue and \$16.7 million in annual state tax revenue. It's expected to generate an estimated 9,700 permanent jobs, 10,300 construction jobs, while retaining 590 existing permanent jobs

Public and Private subject involved in the initiative:

Public

SRA (Somerville Redevelopment Authority) – Commonwealth of MA – City of Somerville

Private:

Federal Realty investment Trust – IKEA

Major Findings

BECOME A DEVELOPMENT LEADER FOR THE REGION

CREATE ADDITIONAL OPEN SPACE



IMPROVE THE WATER QUALITY OF THE MISTIC RIVER AND THE CHARACTER OF THE WATERFRONT
 BECOME AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE "DOWNTOWN" OR THE "SUBURB"
 ENHANCE THE ENVIRONMENT
 CREATE ADDITIONAL OPEN SPACE

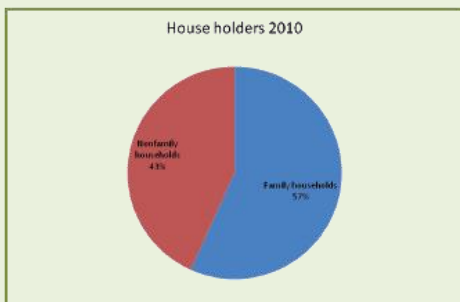
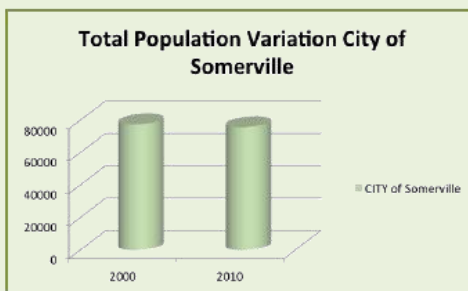
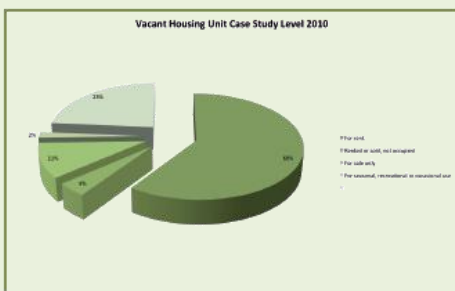
Strategic Priorities

1. Promote municipal financial self determination and reduce fiscal dependence on state aid and residential taxes and fees.
2. Make Somerville a regional employment center with a mix of diverse and high quality jobs.
3. Support a business friendly environment to attract and retain a diverse mix of businesses
4. Invest in the talents, skills and education of people.
5. Link corridors, squares and growth districts
6. Transform key opportunity areas, into dynamic, mixed use and transit oriented districts
7. Facilitate designed, pedestrian oriented mixed use development

Main Initiatives/Projects linked with the case study

IKEA Project
 I cubed Bond initiative

FAST SOCIOECONOMIC FACTS

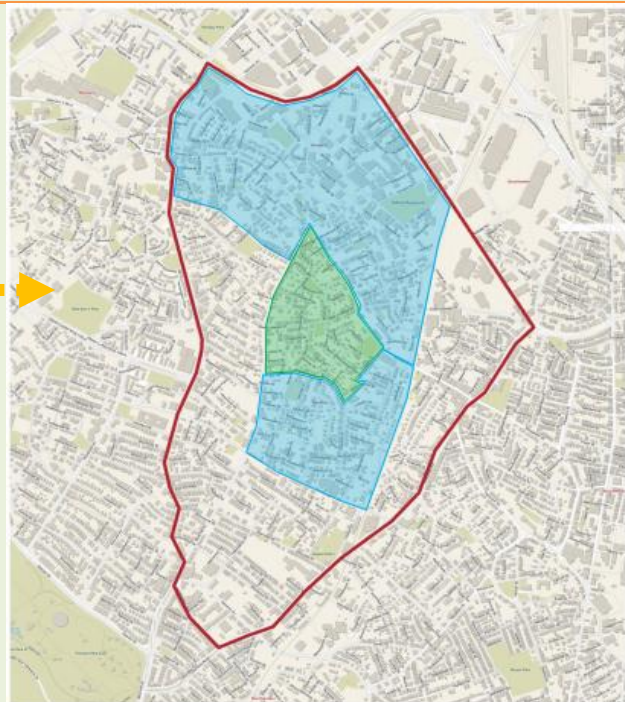
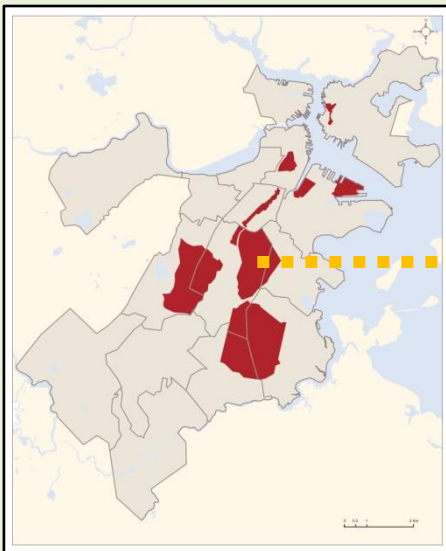


THE CASE STUDIES: NGO LED

DUDLEY STREET NEIGHBORHOOD INITIATIVE

Enzo Falco

Planning District: Dudley Street, Boston, MA, USA



Area (km²): 5.5
Population (2010): 34,476 (male 16,692/female 17,784)
Per capita income: \$ 17,012

Brief Description of the Case Study:

The Dudley Street Neighbourhood Initiative (DSNI) is a nonprofit community-based planning and organizing entity rooted in the Roxbury/North Dorchester neighbourhoods of Boston. DSNI's approach to neighbourhood social and economic revitalisation is comprehensive including economic, human, physical, and environmental growth. It was formed in 1984 when residents of the Dudley Street area came together to claim back their neighbourhood that was devastated by arson and disinvestment and protect it from outside speculators and illegal dumping (DSNI.org).

DSNI works to implement resident-driven plans in collaboration with various and different community development corporations (CDCs) which serve the area as well as businesses and religious institutions, non profit organizations, banks and government agencies. DSNI is a community initiative which has involved during its 28 years of activity over 3,000 residents

throughout the neighbourhood. DSNI is the only community-based non profit in the country which has been granted eminent domain authority over abandoned privately owned land plots within its boundaries. Through such a power important objectives have been achieved during the years such as building of rental affordable housing and affordable home-ownership schemes. The objective was to fill the great amount of vacant land which characterised the neighbourhood and to retain new residents once they settled in the area. This last objective has been achieved through the constitution of Dudley Neighbours Inc. Land Trust which has pre-emption right over housing schemes and through agreements with new owners to not sell their property for a certain amount of time.

Why this case study:

The case study is one of the most interesting cases of non profit neighbourhood based organizations in the whole US. Nation-famous organization, DSNI endeavors in community planning and organizing since 1984. Its efforts over the years have been considerable and generally aim to empower local residents and improve their quality of life.

DSNI is involved in a series of projects ranging from affordable housing provisions to workforce initiatives, job creation and youth involvement.

Partnership Typology e Composition:

At the basis of the actions and initiatives undertaken by DSNI for the achievement of several and various objectives is a close partnership with different actors and subjects that range from non-profit organizations to governmental agencies and other private subjects. Thus, DSNI partners with different actors on the basis of the initiatives undertaken and promoted and does not have specific partners.

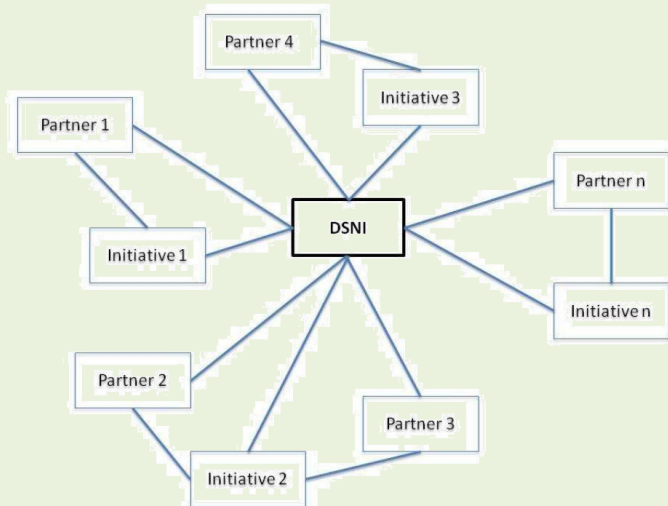
Public and Private subject involved in the initiative:

Public

- Residents- community agencies- religious organizations- small businesses-
- Boston Arts Academy
- Boston Police Department
- Boston Housing Authority
- Boston Public Health Commission
- Boston Public Schools
- Boston Redevelopment Authority
- City of Boston
- Governmental Agencies
- United States Department of Education
- Family Nurturing Center of Massachusetts
- Massachusetts Department of Housing and Community Development Mass 2020
- Roxbury Neighbourhood Council

Private:

- Action for Boston Community Development Inc (ABCD)
- Harvard University, Graduate School of Education
- Boston Private Industry Council
- BestBuy
- Boston Private Industry Council (PIC)
- The Food Project
- Tufts University
- Urban Edge Housing Corporation
- University of Massachusetts, Boston – College of Public and Comm.
- Service University of Massachusetts, Boston - Center for Community Democracy & Democratic Literacy



Major Findings

As a community-based organisation DSNI plays a crucial role in urban planning and regeneration initiatives within its target area. Its special status of eminent domain authority organization represents a unique case which can hardly be compared to any other case where a private organization is granted such a fundamental power for the planning activity. Its role within the community is very active and its involvement in almost all of the planning and urban regeneration

projects undertaken within the neighborhood ensures that the community interest is taken into consideration. DSNI is a good example of non-profit community planning and organising entity which reflects the general role that such organisations have within the USA.

Strategic Priorities

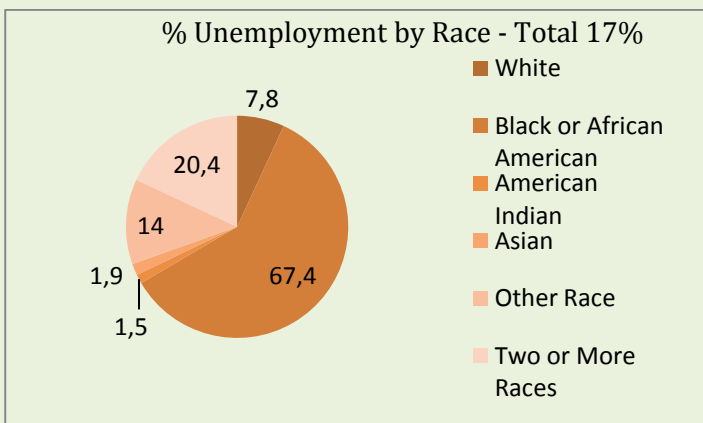
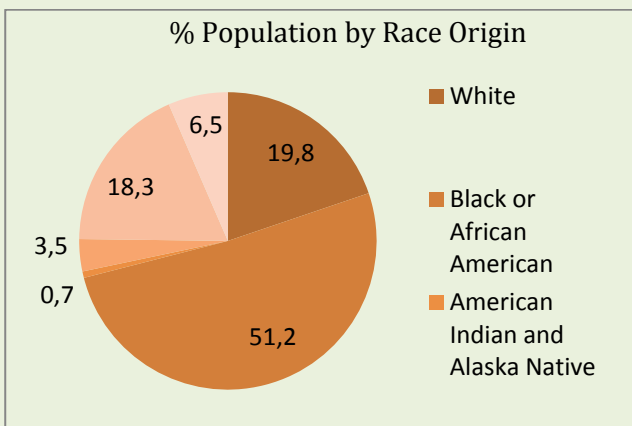
Economic Revitalization: Revitalising the economic structure of the neighborhood by reducing the unemployment rate by means of diverse job creation initiatives such as job fairs which are organised annually with local businesses and through collaboration with the FOOD PROJECT which organizes summer and all-year-round jobs for youths. **Educations and Training:** Different educations and training programmes are provided by organisations jointly with DSNI. The role of DSNI is more an organisation role to set up programmes and initiative which are provided by other subjects.

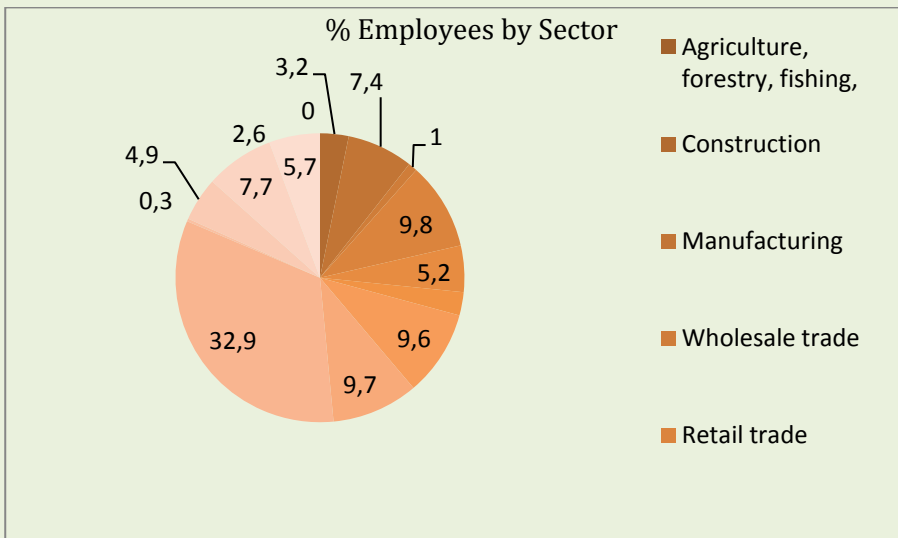
Affordable Housing: DSNI with its Land Trust (Dudley Neighbours Inc.) has managed the building process of different affordable home-ownership and rental schemes. However, in none of the cases DSNI is the developer but works in collaboration with different developers

Main Initiatives/Projects linked with the case study

At the basis of the actions and initiatives undertaken by DSNI for the achievement of several and various objectives is a close partnership with different actors and subjects that range from non-profit organizations to governmental agencies and other private subjects. Thus, DSNI partners with different actors on the basis of the initiatives undertaken and promoted and does not have specific partners.

FAST SOCIOECONOMIC FACTS

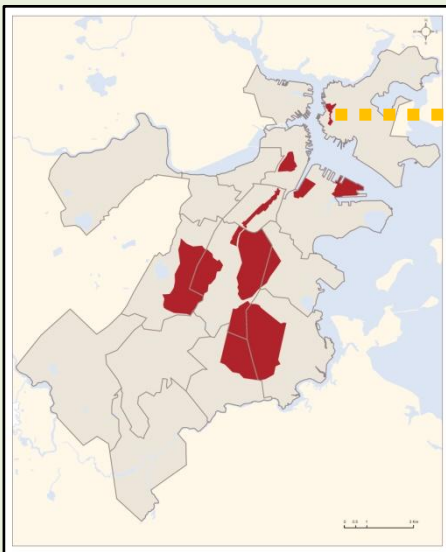




EAST BOSTON MAIN STREET

Valentina Brattelli

Planning District: East Boston, Boston, MA, USA



Area (km²): 0,16
Population (2010): 16421
Per capita income (\$): 20.953

Brief Description of the Case Study:

East Boston Main Streets has been operating in East Boston since 1995. Its main aim is to assist local businesses by providing funding, technical assistance, façade improvements and community events coordination. Its mission is "to create vibrant business districts by initiating private and public improvements, promoting commerce and supporting efforts that improve the quality of life for everyone who lives, works and does business in East Boston." Regarding the EBMS management, East Boston Gateway Inc. is the non-profit organization in charge of managing the initiative. The EBMS board is composed mainly of local businesses and residents (about 70% of the total members). Also the Police department, the East Boston Chamber of Commerce, Massport and the Sovereign Bank hold some seats in the board. EBMS has made many efforts to improve the East Boston commercial district, but the scale of its impact is limited because of its small annual budget of just over \$100,000.

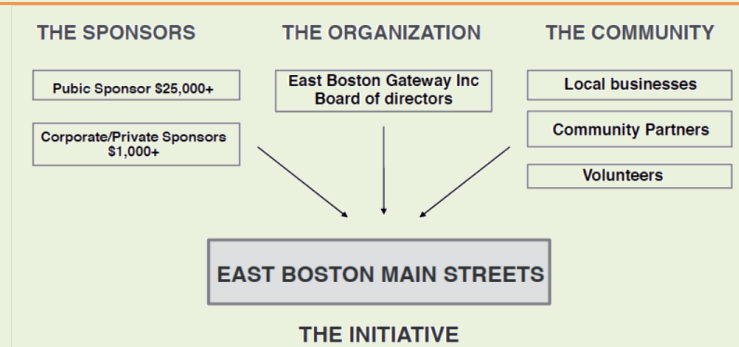
Even though some efforts have been made in order to implement an integrated approach, the initiative results to be focused on storefronts improvement projects and its main role appears to be that of facilitating communication and creating networks between local businesses and other private or public entities so as to improve the commercial district. As a Main Streets Project, the East Boston Main Streets analysis allows one of the main retail revitalization strategies developed in US so far to be deepened and compare it to Italian most recent similar experiences such as CCNs. The peculiarity of the East Boston Main Street district's urban and socio-economic context might help to understand opportunities and/or obstacles while adopting an integrated approach to urban commercial districts revitalization.

Why this case study:

East Boston Main Street district is the commercial core of one of the most important multiethnic neighborhood in Boston, characterized by affordable housing prices, high presence of historic buildings and low quality of physical environment. In recent years urban planners attention has begun to focus on the area, where public investments are converging and a wide regeneration process is being undertaken.

Partnership Typology e Composition:

The kind of partnership implemented within the EBMS initiative can be defined as an informal public private partnership, within which no formal agreement is required. It can rather be regarded as A broad process of cooperation among the City of Boston, local businesses and community organizations for the development of East Boston commercial district. To reveal this broad process of cooperation, it might be useful to draw a distinction between who funds, who manages and who supports the initiative. The City of Boston is the only public sponsor of EBMS, while the others are mainly Banks, non-profit foundations and local corporations. In particular, it can be pointed out how the number of sponsors has increased over the years, broadening the funding basis of the initiative. Even though the City of Boston remains the major sponsor of EBMS, the importance of private funding has grown significantly.



While public funds pushed the start-up of the EBMS, the initiative is now mainly private funded. Moving to the EBMS management, East Boston Gateway Inc. is the non-profit organization in charge of managing the initiative. The board is composed of 10 members plus 5 ex-officio members. 40% of the board members are business owners and around 30% residents. Since the beginning, the Chamber of Commerce represents one of the most influent partners of EBMS, holding two seats in the board. Also he Police department, the East Boston Saving Bank and Massport hold seats in the board, as ex-officio members.

Public and Private subject involved in the initiative:

Public

City of Boston

Private:

Local Business

Major Findings

Two main factors seem to have limited the success of the initiative:

1. the weakness of the public-private partnerships implemented;
2. the inability to address local context priorities.

The initiative seems to follow the standard Main Street approach rather than adapt its structure and objectives to the real needs of the local context. Also as a consequence of the little budget, the strategy should have been focused on the creation of strong public-private partnerships as a way for increasing financial resources and building a strong urban leadership, rather than encompassing multiple purposes but weak actions that are not able to push significant changes in the urban and socio-economic fabric of the area.

The creation of a strong public-private partnership appears thus to be the most important element for urban Main Streets Programs as a means for setting up a comprehensive regeneration strategy within which retail can represent a lever for the urban development.

Strategic Priorities

1. Economic Revitalization: Main Street Partners (consultation to new business)
2. Building restoration/renewal: storefront improvement project
3. Innovation/Green Technologies
4. Local services provision: Cleanliness project

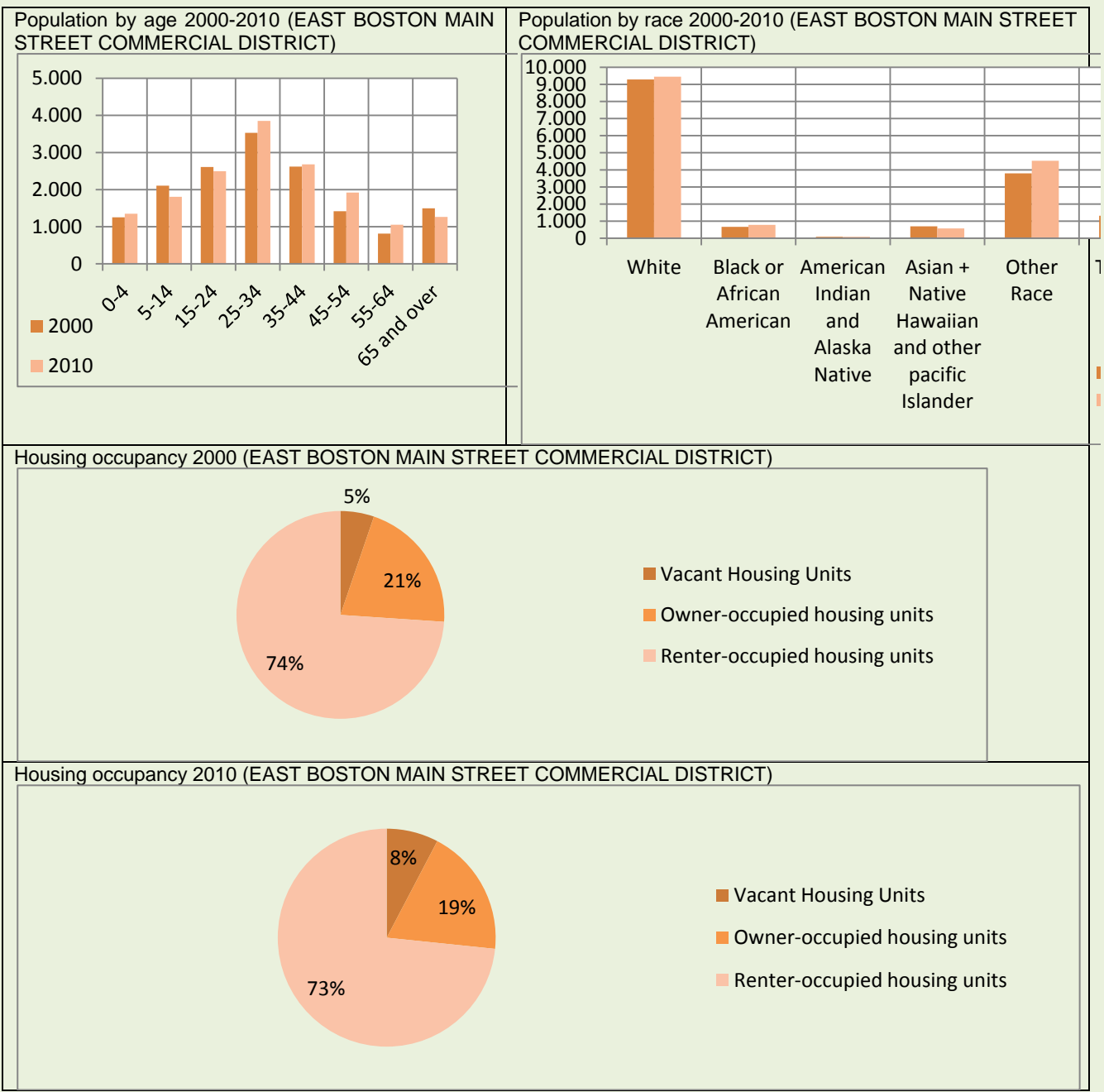
Main Initiatives/Projects linked with the case study

Retail revitalization and promotion: improving the physical environment of East Boston commercial district
Building collaborative partnerships between a broad range of groups and organizations
Fostering the growth of Boston's life sciences sector



Attract, retain, support, and strengthen Boston companies engaged in biotechnology, pharmaceuticals, medical devices, and other related industries

FAST SOCIOECONOMIC FACTS

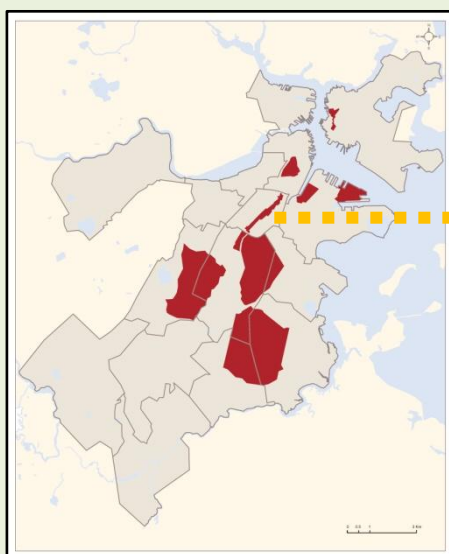




WASHINGTON GATEWAY MAIN STREET

Enrica Polizzi di Sorrentino

Planning District: South Boston, Boston, MA, USA



Area (km²): 0,4
Population (2010): 23.200
Per capita income (\$): 35.615



Brief Description of the Case Study:

Washington Gateway is a non-profit organization implementing one of Boston's Main Street projects. Located in the South End – Lower Roxbury, it covers an area of 0.4 sq./Km alongside Washington Street, between Chinatown and Roxbury. Awarded by the American Planning Association's 2008 Great Streets in America, Washington Gateway was set up in 1997 as an outgrowth of an intense work of a 40-members Task Force appointed by Mayor Menino with the goal of revitalize the neighborhood from decades of decline. The purpose of Washington Gateway was twofold. First of all, the creation of a neighborhood-shopping district, accessible through public transportation and well integrated in its historical fabric. Secondly, the increase in middle-income housing but, at the same time, the retention of the neighbourhood' social and economic diversity against gentrification.

Why this case study:

Washington Gateway has had a valuable impact on the area in terms of reducing vacant units and landlordism absentee, providing rents for touristic attractiveness, affordable housing supply and retention of a diverse business mix to alleviate gentrification phenomena..

Partnership Typology e Composition:

In 13 years the overall cost of the project was \$571 million, of which \$144 millions as public contribution and the remaining part as private investments. At the beginning, public support in form of grants [Chart 1] was significant especially in the form of CDGB (Community Development Grant Blocks) but also funding by HUD (U.S.

Department of Housing and Urban Planning) and MassHousing were available to prevent the displacement of current communities often associated with gentrification. Following different steps, WGMS first developed a strong and comprehensive vision with the involvement of the community and the main stakeholders, such as religious and community-based organizations. This "visioning" process has been assured also thanks to a wide participation made possible by the creation of an ad hoc Volunteer Committee which helped to achieve a broad consensus.

MBTA	•Washington Street Transit Replacement Service Project
Washington Street Business Association	•improve image of Washington Main Street and advocate interests of local businesses
City of Boston and BRA-EDIC	•Publicly-owned vacant land and vacant historic buildings
Boston Housing Authority + U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) + Massachusetts Housing Finance Agency (MHFA)	•housing redevelopment
Boston Parks and Recreation Department (BPRD)	•open space improvements
Boston University Medical School	•BioSquare Development
South End Neighborhood Housing Initiative	•mixed-income housing developments
Boston Landmarks Commission	•district design guidelines for businesses and real estate developers
Boston Empowerment Center	•low-interest business loans and other services within the Federal Enhanced Enterprise Community Zone

Public and Private subject involved in the initiative:
Public
Boston Redevelopment Authority
Private:
MBTA- WGMS (Washington Gateway Mainstreet)- community

Major Findings
Washington Gateway has been successful in the implementation of a context-base regeneration strategy. Emphasis on preserving the historical and economic features of the area results in a more attractive destination both for visitors and businesses. A strong and consensual vision allowed to ensure community participation and to build an effective partnership for a development-oriented revitalization process. Statistical data show that:

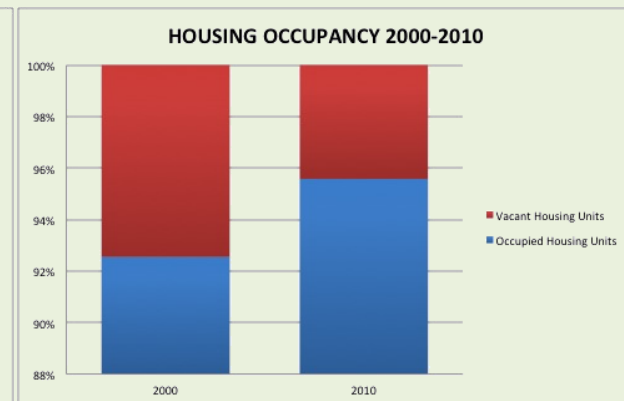
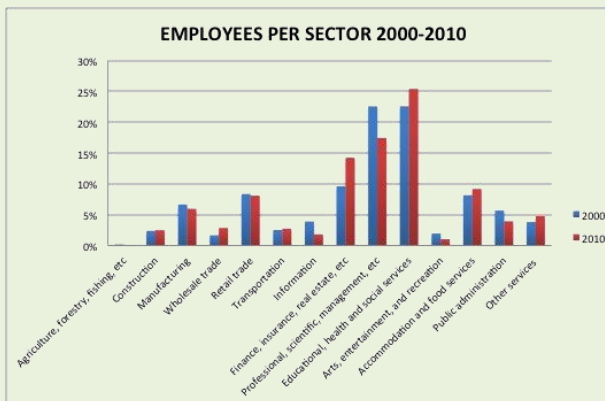
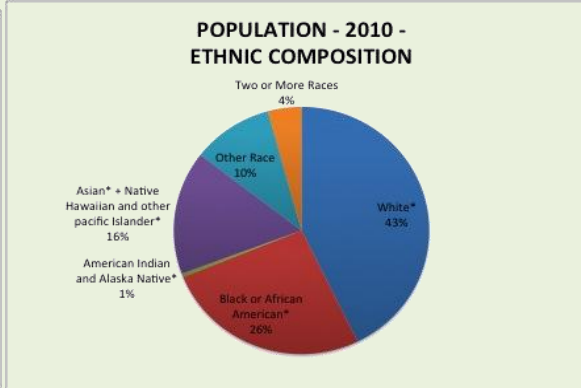
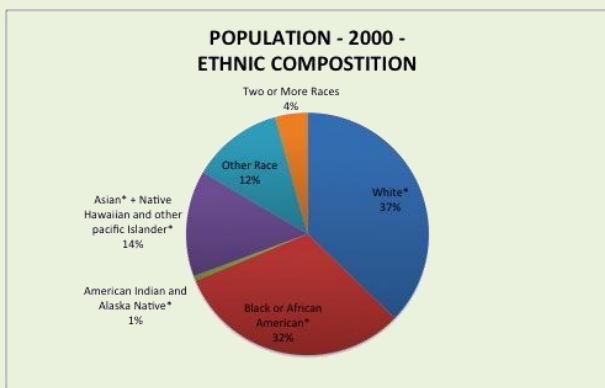
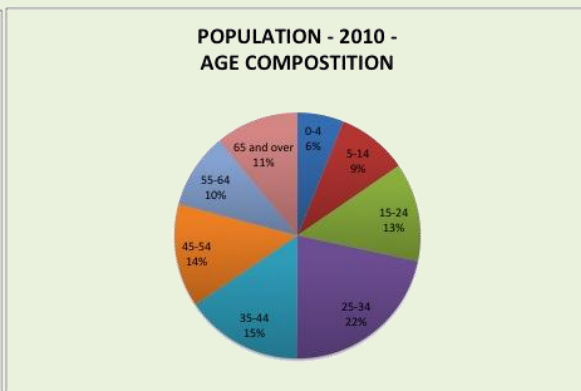
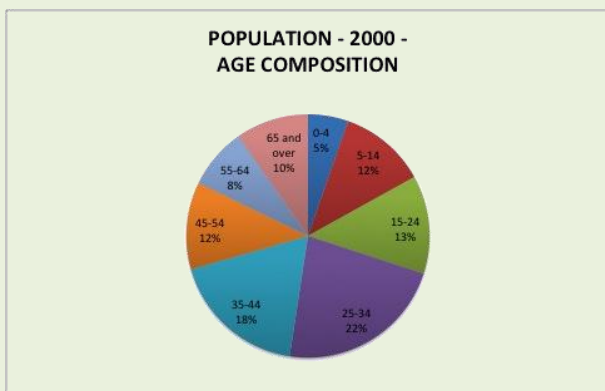
- \$13,2 millions were invested in the business sector: 61 net new business opened and 582 new jobs created.
- design and grants were provided for storefront improvements
- about 1.100 parking spaces created
- 1.766 housing units built or renovated, of which 1.056 are affordable
- \$2.8 millions invested in open spaces improvements

- Strategic Priorities**
- Retail enhancement: Storefront improvements; promotion and marketing of events;
 - Economic Revitalization: Promotion of business loans and technical assistance, creation of business association,
 - Building Restoration/Renewal: design of a new streetscape, including visual improvements and mix of residential, commercial and recreational use.
 - Local services provision: Creation of parking garages for commercial expansion; affordable housing
 - Cultural enrichment: art business encouragement
 - Natural beauty: beautification of public open spaces and parks

Main Initiatives/Projects linked with the case study

- - Mixed use zoning adopted to maintain the commercial historic character;
- - Design and reconstruction of Washington Street;
- - Improvement of parks and open spaces along Washington Street;
- - Redevelopment of vacant or underutilized land and buildings

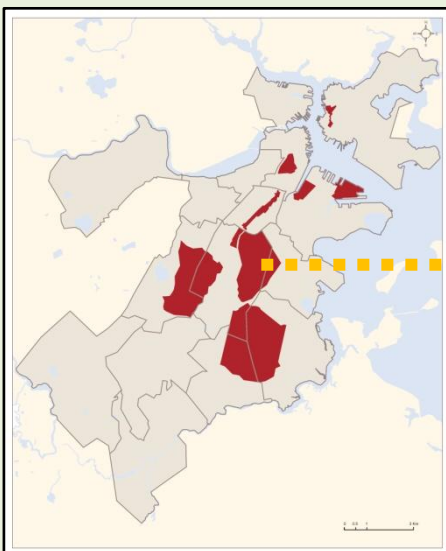
FAST SOCIOECONOMIC FACTS



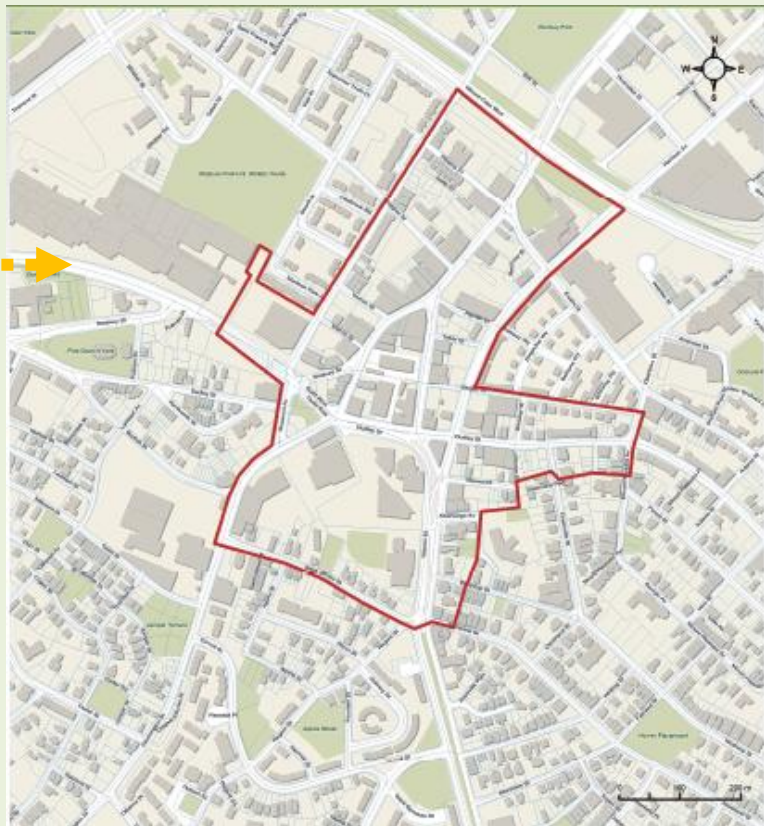
DUDLEY SQUARE COMMERCIAL DISTRICT

Francesco Bonsinetti

Planning District: Dudley Square, Boston, Boston, MA, USA



Area (km²): 0,4
Population (2010): 23.200
Per capita income (\$): 35.615



Brief Description of the Case Study:

Through partnerships among the government, nonprofit organizations, private bodies and business communities, “Dudley Square Commercial District” is a community-based plan to revitalize a culturally diverse, economically mixed, primarily low-income Boston’s core neighborhood emphasizing the links between commercial development and economic, social, and physical needs. Dudley Square was once a vibrant commercial center connected with Downtown Boston by elevated transit, replaced in 1987 by a system of bus routes. Over the years Dudley Square has evolved to become the centerpiece of the Roxbury neighborhood. The area has established its own distinct character and identity, building on a rich history and legacy of landmark buildings. Nonetheless, Dudley Square has struggled to recapture its economic vitality and finally it is in the midst of rapid revitalization carried out by Madison Park Development Corporation and city of Boston

Why this case study:

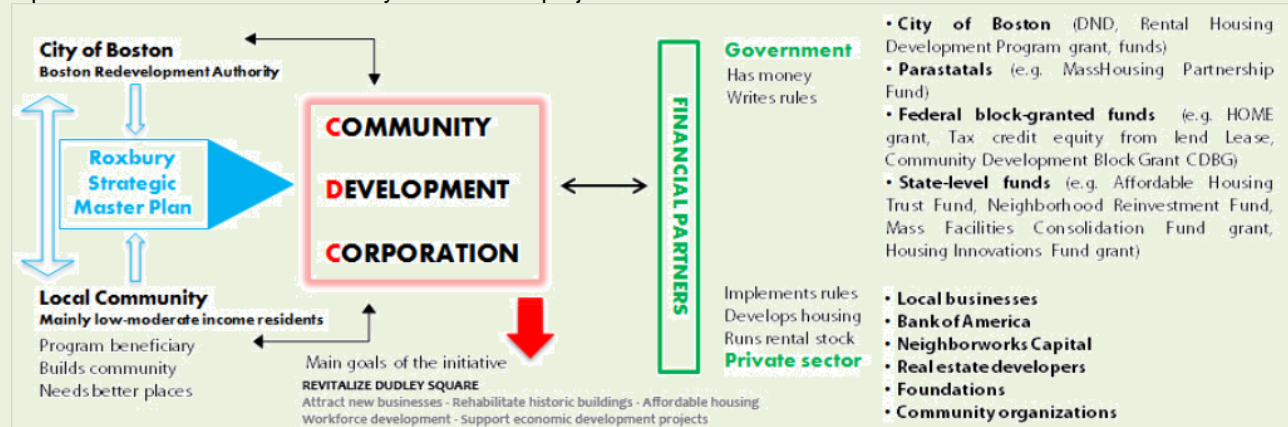
The case study is worth discussing for its various PPPs which have been developed over the years primarily by various Roxbury based non for profit organizations such as Madison Park Development Corporation, Nuestra Comunidad DC, Dudley Square Main Streets.

According to the Boston Zoning Code, the case study area is located in the Roxbury Neighborhood District (Article 50), and is part of the Dudley Square EDA (Economic Development Area) and of the “Boulevard Planning Overlay District” of Melnea Cass Boulevard. This area has a mix of residential, commercial, recreational and institutional uses and

represents the retail and commercial hub of Lower Roxbury - one of the oldest neighborhoods in Boston - located in a strategic position along Roxbury's border with the South End, less than two miles from downtown Boston. The "Dudley Square Commercial District" (DSCD) refers to the retail and commercial concentration in the vicinity of Dudley Station. Historically, the Dudley Square and Street area drew patronage from a wide geographic area, serving as the major shopping area for all Roxbury. Many of Boston's major retailers were located in the district.

Partnership Typology e Composition:

The partnership between the local government and the financial community is essential for the successful redevelopment of the whole area with the Roxbury Strategic Master Plan in the background. At the basis of the projects and actions undertaken by Madison Park Development Corporation and City of Boston for the achievement of the main goal in revitalizing Dudley Square Commercial District is a variety of partnerships with private developers, public bodies, non-profit organizations, financial institutions as a means to restore historic buildings, promote affordable housing, convert vacant lots and abandoned buildings into quality retail and office spaces. For several years, the city of Boston, Madison Park DC and Dudley Square merchant association have been working closely in partnership to create the right "milieu" that will bring additional investment to the private sector. With a harmonious combination of retail, dining, business services, technical support and affordable housing in an area that is renovating nearly every parcel and building, Dudley Square continues to be enlivened by revitalization projects..



Public and Private subject involved in the initiative:

Public

Boston Redevelopment Authority

Private:

Madison Park Development Corporation, Nuestra Comunidad DC, Dudley Square Main Streets -
Tenants – associations – private sector developers

Major Findings

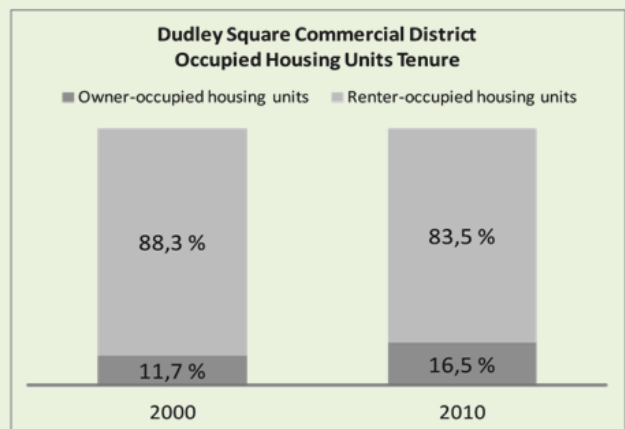
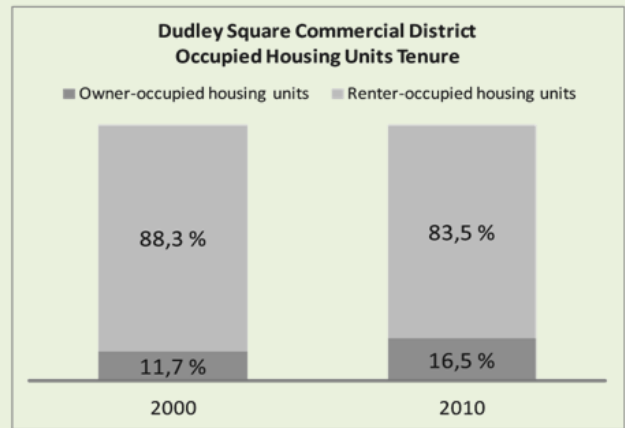
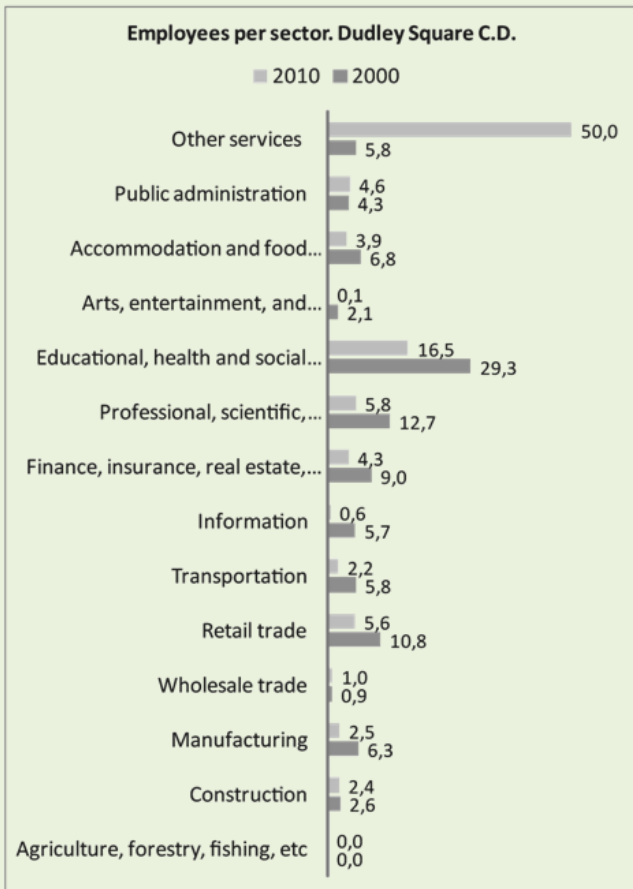
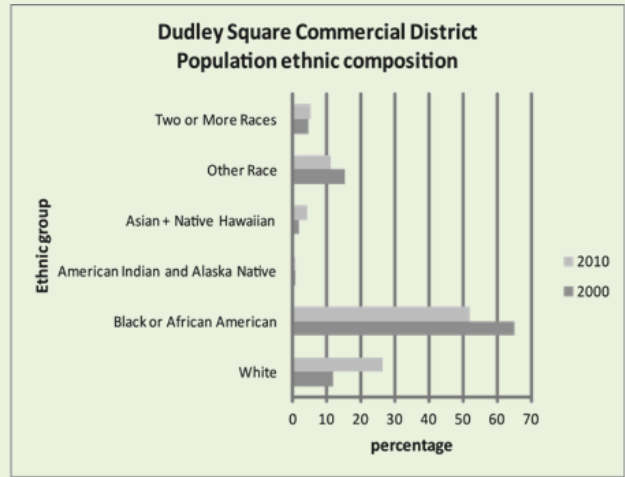
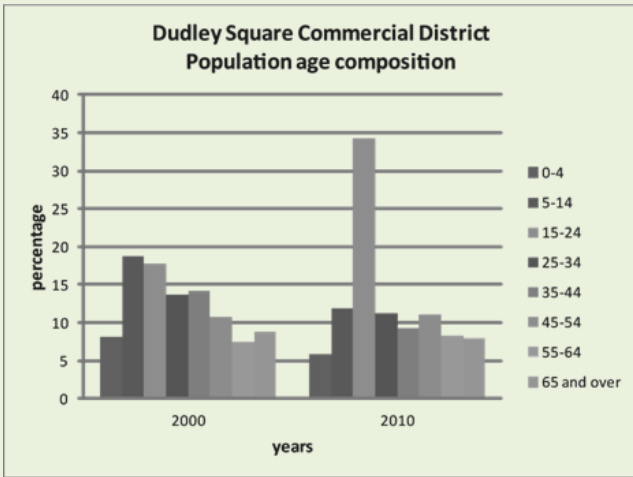
The initiative has showed that community-led organizations are essential to drive a real and successful revitalization and planning processes, according to the consensus view of those interviewed and based on an overall improvement in property values and physical conditions. As a community-based organization, CDCs play a crucial role in helping neighborhoods get better because they ensure that development projects respond to community needs. CDCs help organize the multiple and simultaneous investments needed to overcome the reluctance of any single actor to go it alone. They primarily aim to catalyze a chain reaction of public neighborhood-wide improvement. By demonstrating residents involvement building many different actions, CDCs can stake a valid claim on financial, technical and political support from the broader system. And by investing directly in organizing strong neighborhood and business associations, and in other types of community actions, CDCs help people cooperate to achieve neighborhood improvement goals. Indeed, significant public and private investments were made in Dudley area following highly visible Madison Park DC and Nuestra Comunidad CDC investments and actions, as well as those from public sector agencies (ie. city of Boston) and private sector developers.

Strategic Priorities

- Retail Enhancement: Redevelopment of retail and office spaces (over 76000 square feet) in Dudley Square. Creation of a comprehensive “Retail Strategy” to enhance Dudley area.
- Economic Revitalization: Creation of “Arts, Culture, and Trade Roxbury” (ACT Roxbury), a cultural economic development program promoted in Dudley Square.
- Security and Safety: “Public Safety Committee” and new B-2 Police Station.
- Building Restoration/Renewal: Real estate program finalized to restore historic sites as the Hibernian Hall; New Dudley Municipal Building (Boston Public Schools headquarters).
- Innovation/Green Technologies: Affordable housing with “green features”.
- Education and Training: Initiatives finalized to youth development and civic engagement (RoxVote, Community Action, Summer jobs, etc).
- Cultural enrichment: Cultural program in collaboration of the Roxbury Center of the Arts and promotion of “Discover Roxbury” (innovative guided tours).
- Community Engagement: Creation of a Dudley Vision Advisory Task Force.

Main Initiatives/Projects linked with the case study

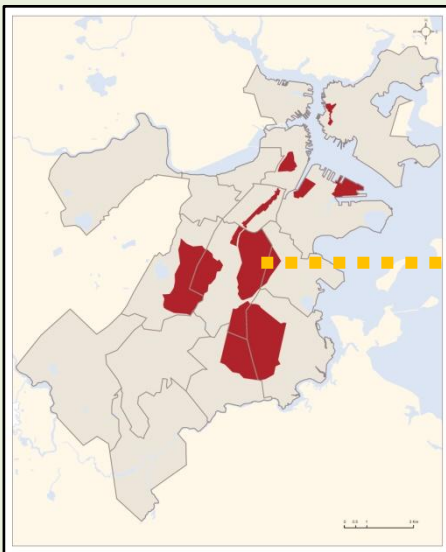
- A. “Dudley Square Vision” project: 1)Dudley Municipal Building LEED Silver certified with new 180.000 gross SF, 6-story facility that contains 20.000 SF of sidewalk level retail (under construction); 2)New Area B-2 Police Station (LEED Silver certified); 3)Renovation of the Dudley Branch Library; 4)Dudley Mixed-Use Development Site (under construction); 5)Mixed-use urban redevelopment of the Parcel 10 (retail: 42.000 SF, office and warehouse: 30.000 SF, residential: 75.000 SF-66 units); 6)Request for Proposal Parcel 8 and 9.
- B. Historic Hibernian Hall restoration that now houses the New “Roxbury Center for the Arts”.
- C. Redevelopment of over 76,000 square feet of retail and office space by Madison Park DC.
- D. RoxVote, participation and civic engagement initiative.
- E. Madison Park received a \$10,000 award from the Met Life Foundation and the LISC for its innovative community-police partnership.
- F. Affordable housing provision with over 90 homeownership units delivered.



CODMAN SQUARE NEIGHBOURHOOD DEVELOPMENT

Audrey Schultz

Planning District: Codman Square, Dorchester, Boston, MA, USA



Area (km²): 5.18

Population (2010): 44,543

Urban density (pop/km²): 8599



Brief Description of the Case Study:

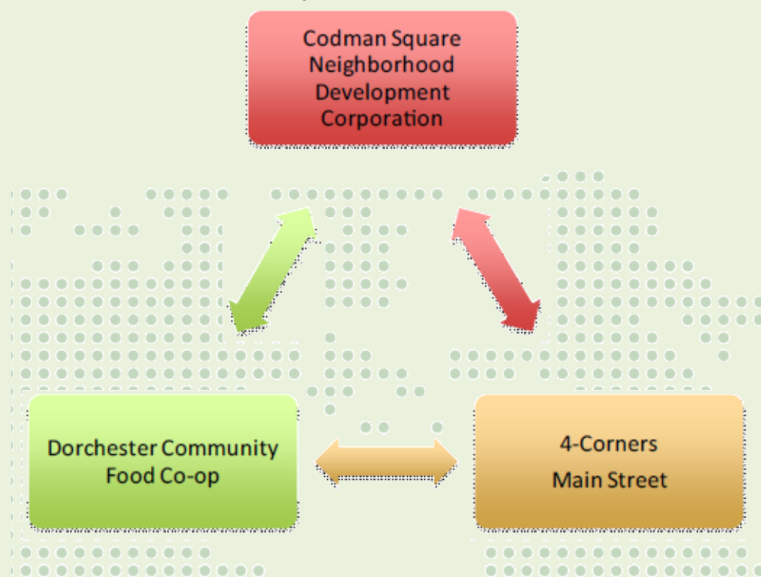
Codman Square Neighborhood Development Corporation is a non-profit community development corporation, also known as CSNDC, which services a 2 square-mile radius/5.18 square kilometre area in the city of Dorchester, located south of Boston, Massachusetts. The mission of CSNDC is to build a stronger, better community by creating affordable housing and commercial spaces that are “safe, sustainable, and affordable, promoting financial and economic stability for residents and for the neighborhood, and promoting residents of all ages with the opportunities and skills to empower themselves to improve their lives (CSNDC 2010-2011 Annual Report P.2). They just celebrated their 30-year anniversary with a strong real estate portfolio consisting of 830 affordable housing units and approximately 80 commercial spaces consisting of approximately 51,000 square feet/0.004738 km² or 0 km² and 4738.0 m². Over the previous 30 years CSNDC has developed over 1,200 units of affordable housing, partnering with local real estate and construction organizations, private investors, public funding bodies and most of all the people who reside in the Codman Square community

Why this case study:

Community Development Corporations (CDCs) - are locally based non-profit organizations that work to help the residents of impoverished areas to improve their quality of life. Such organizations exist in virtually every major urban area of the United States today. CDCs provide residents with a variety of different benefits, including housing, day care for children, nursing home care for the elderly, employment opportunities, job training, and health care facilities. Some CDCs act as part-owners of vital businesses within their neighborhoods, like supermarkets and shopping centers, while others assist residents in starting their own small businesses

Partnership Typology e Composition:

CSNDC acts as a developer and property owner, developing affordable housing for the local community. In the last 30 years they have developed over 1200 affordable housing units and currently own 830 residential units and 80 commercial spaces with 8 commercial tenants. This will change as the new Fairmount-Indigo transit lines opens up more needs for affordable housing and redevelopment of commercial real estate opportunities for CSNDC



Public and Private subject involved in the initiative:

Public

Boston Redevelopment Authority

Private:

Codman Square Neighbourhood Development Corporation 4Corner Main Street Dorchester Community Food- co-op
Neighbourhood associations

Major Findings

The primary mission of the Codman Square Neighborhood Development Corporation is to enhance the quality of life for all residents of Codman Square and to foster the stabilization of the community. This mission is carried out through comprehensive initiatives that encompass real estate development, economic development, and community planning and community building.

-The Fairmount transit-oriented development strategy to develop retail/commercial spaces in 4-Corners, also green space corridor along the Fairmount/Indigo T line.

-Real estate acquisition with the goal of development, mixed used urban village concept Proposed new stops on the Fairmount/Indigo Line.

-Working closely with 3 abutting sister CDC's – Dorchester Bay Economic Development Corporation, Mattapan Community Development Corporation, Southwest Boston Community Development Corporation.

-Acquiring land and building around the line for development (TOD).

-Strategic acquisition of specific sites.

-Undertaking both transit-oriented development (TOD) and non-TOD projects in CSNDC service area.

-Prioritization of TOD for affordable housing work.

-Preservation of community assets and wealth through addressing the foreclosure crisis

Strategic Priorities

- Retail Enhancement
- Economic Revitalization
- Security and Safety
- Building Restoration/Renewal
- Education and Training
- Job Creation/Social works
- Local services/provisions (housing, leisure, etc.)
- Local produce valorization Natural Beauty, Green Space and biodiversity.

Main Initiatives/Projects linked with the case study

- One of the most recent high profile local Private Public Partnership's (PPP) that CSNDC has been involved with is the Boston "Smart Growth" initiative that is creating the new transit development, Fairmount-Indigo line. CSNDC has partnered with three other sister CDC's, local civic organizations and advocacy groups to redevelop commercial spaces, create new jobs, new transit stops and affordable housing along the new Fairmount-Indigo line.
- The neighborhood partnerships have also conceptualized a plan for a 9-mile/14.4840 km green urban village corridor space, which will link park like settings, walking paths and bicycling paths along the transit corridor..

CLUSTER ANALYSIS – EXPLANATORY VARIABLES

The explanatory variables used to build a conceptualization framework of which factors can be considered as really affected the performance of local initiatives fostered by different forms of PPPs are the followings, articulated in 3 blocks: socioeconomic welfare, housing, economic potentials.

The first block, socioeconomic welfare, comprehends:

Demographic fragmentation
Per capita Income
Level of education
Unemployment

The second block, housing, comprehends:

Housing unit
Vacant Housing Units
Owner-occupied housing units
Renter-occupied housing units
For sale only

the third block comprehends:

employees per sector
the budget size of the the initiative
market property value

Socioeconomic welfare

The block of socioeconomic welfare has been investigated to find a synthetic index of welfare by the combination of the demographic fragmentation (Fig. A), Per capita income (Fig. B), level of Education (Fig. C), Unemployment (Fig. D).

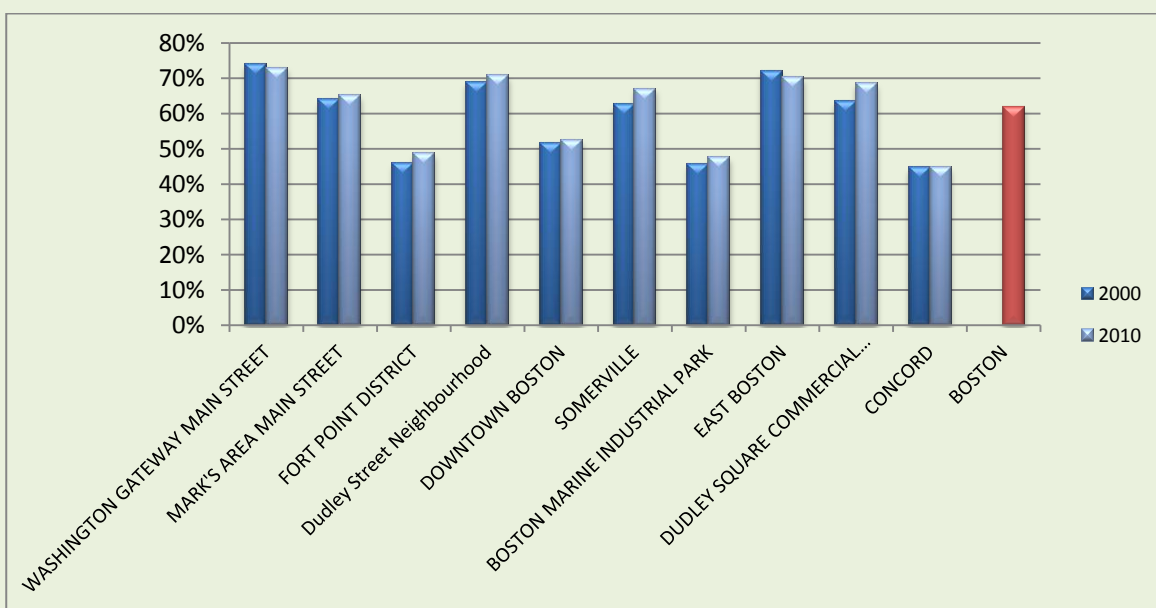


Figure 1 Demographic fragmentation index (elaboration from Census Data 2000-2010)

The index of demographic fragmentation is calculated as the complementary index of concentration (Gini index). High percentage of the demographic fragmentation depicts a high level of distribution of population race in the area.

The index related to the per capita income is calculated with respect the Massachusetts total per capita income as baseline 100.

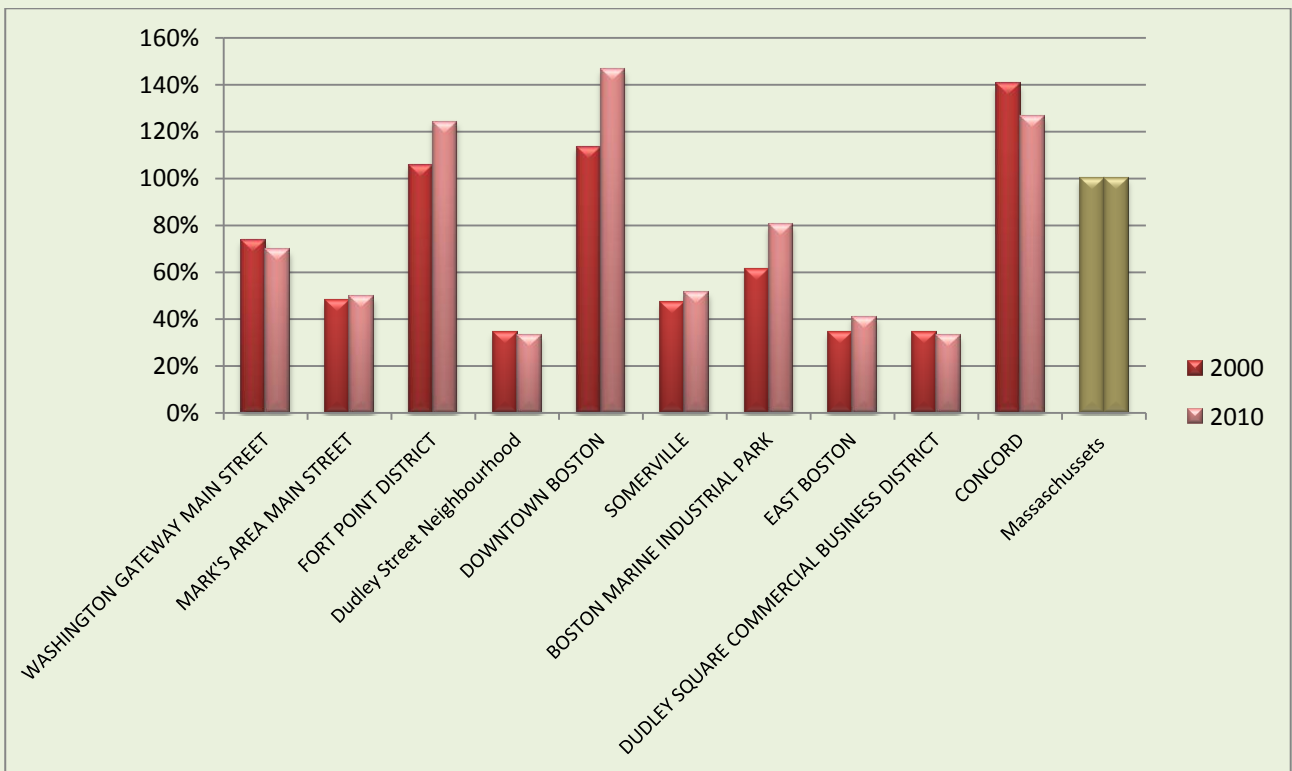


Figure 2 Income per capita index (elaboration from Census Data 2000-2010)

The index of education is calculated by considering the highest level reached about bachelor's degree and Graduate or professional degree.

The index of unemployment is calculated as the percentage of unemployed with respect the total labor force, with additional information about the composition of unemployed - based on the race.

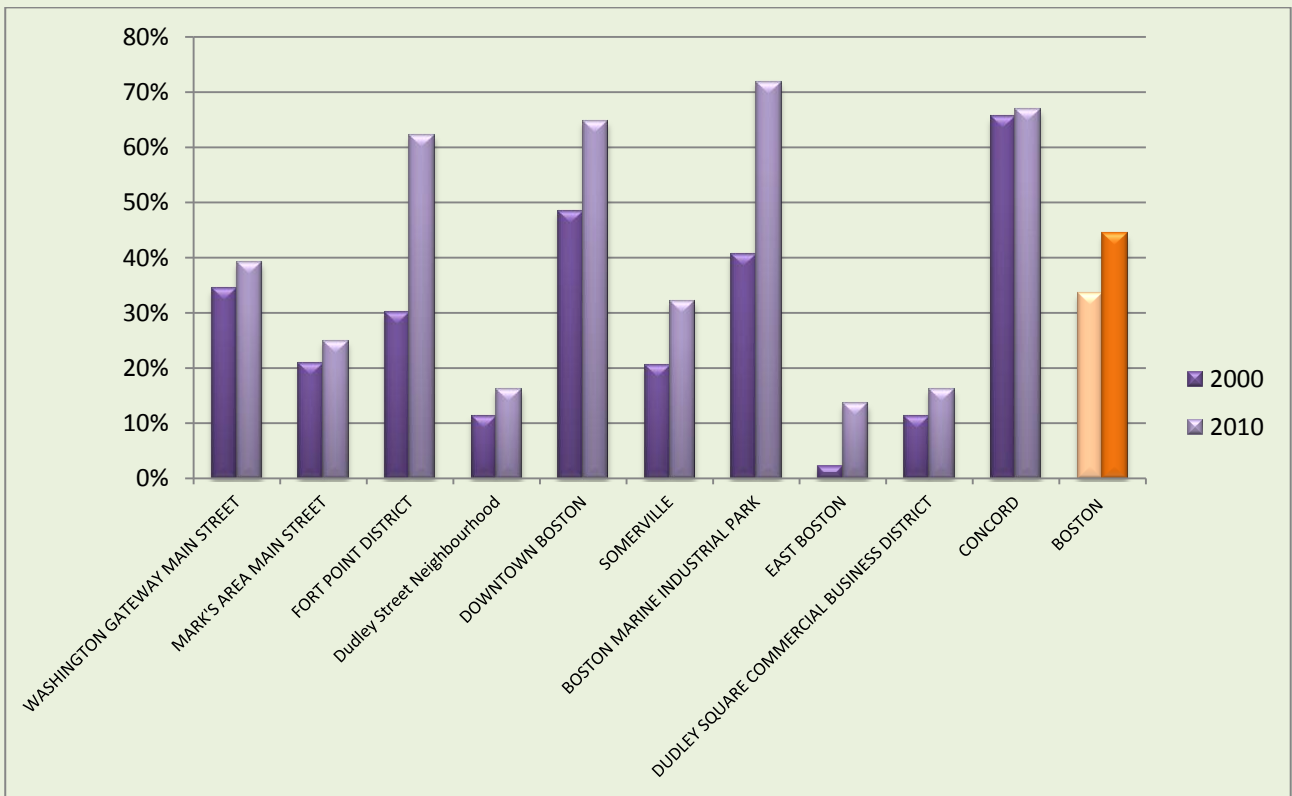


Figure 3 Education index (elaboration from Census Data 2000-2010)

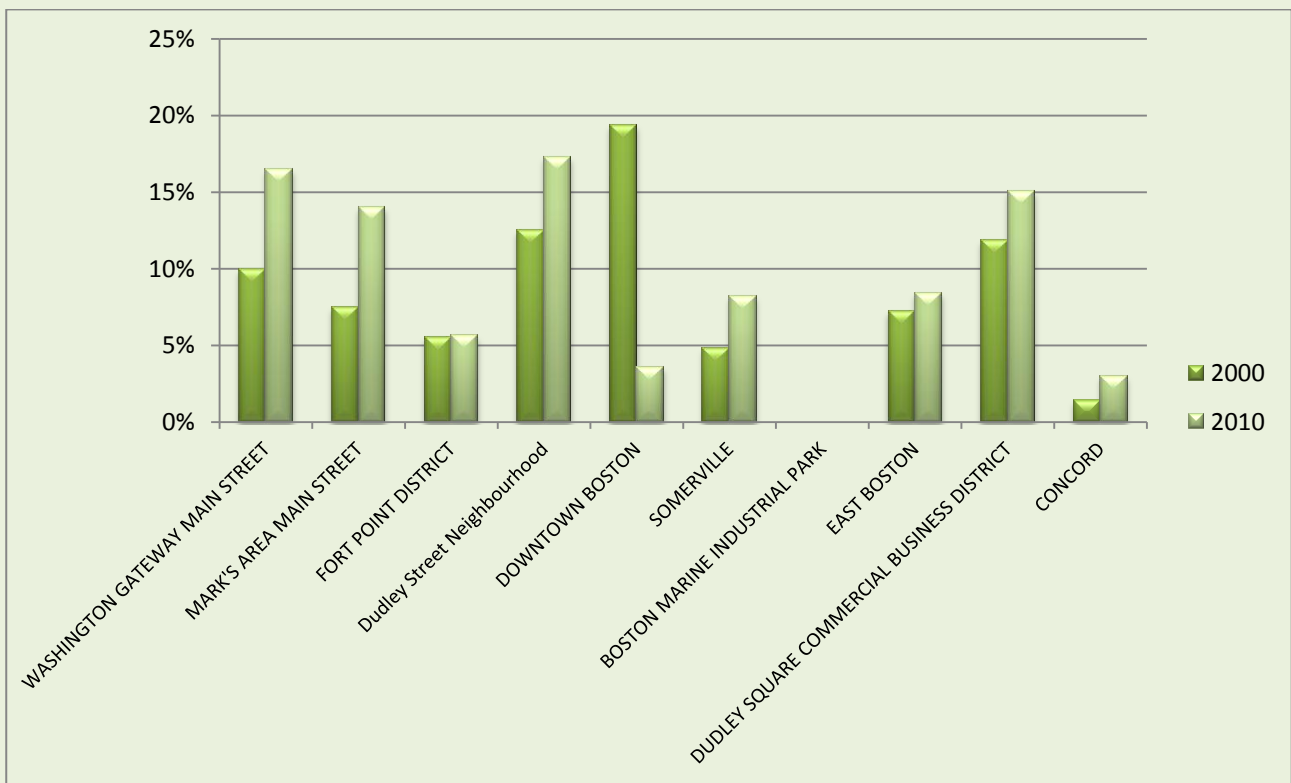


Figure 4 Unemployment index (elaboration from Census Data 2000-2010)

The Welfare block has been correlated with the forms of PPPs for each initiative - case study selected. The aggregate indexes – demographic fragmentation, Education, per capita income and unemployment – have been associated to four grade of values – high medium, medium low, low – through cluster analysis technique based on finding similarities between data according to the characteristics found in the data and grouping similar data objects into clusters.

By dividing the PPP forms into 4 categories (cluster thereby) – Main street commercial led, PPP by formal agreement between public and private sectors, PPP fostered by Transfer Oriented Development (TOD) principles and Community Development Corporations (CDDs) – we found the followings:

- The Main street cluster reached a medium level of performance for the demographic fragmentation, per capita medium and unemployment while a low level in education.
- The PPP formal agreement reached a high level of performance for per capita income and a medium level for demographic fragmentation, education and unemployment;
- The PPP TOD led reached a medium and high level of performance for per capita income, a medium and medium low level for demographic fragmentation and education but a contrast result about unemployment.
- The CDCs community led reached a medium level of performance for unemployment and demographic fragmentation but a medium low level for per capita income and a low level for education.

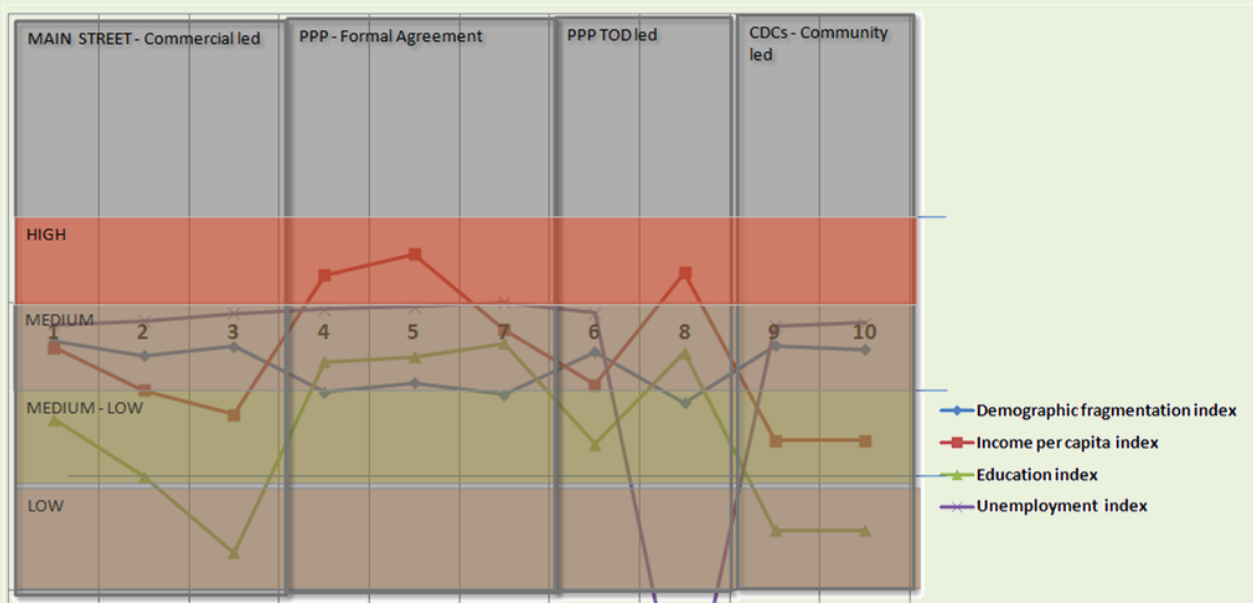


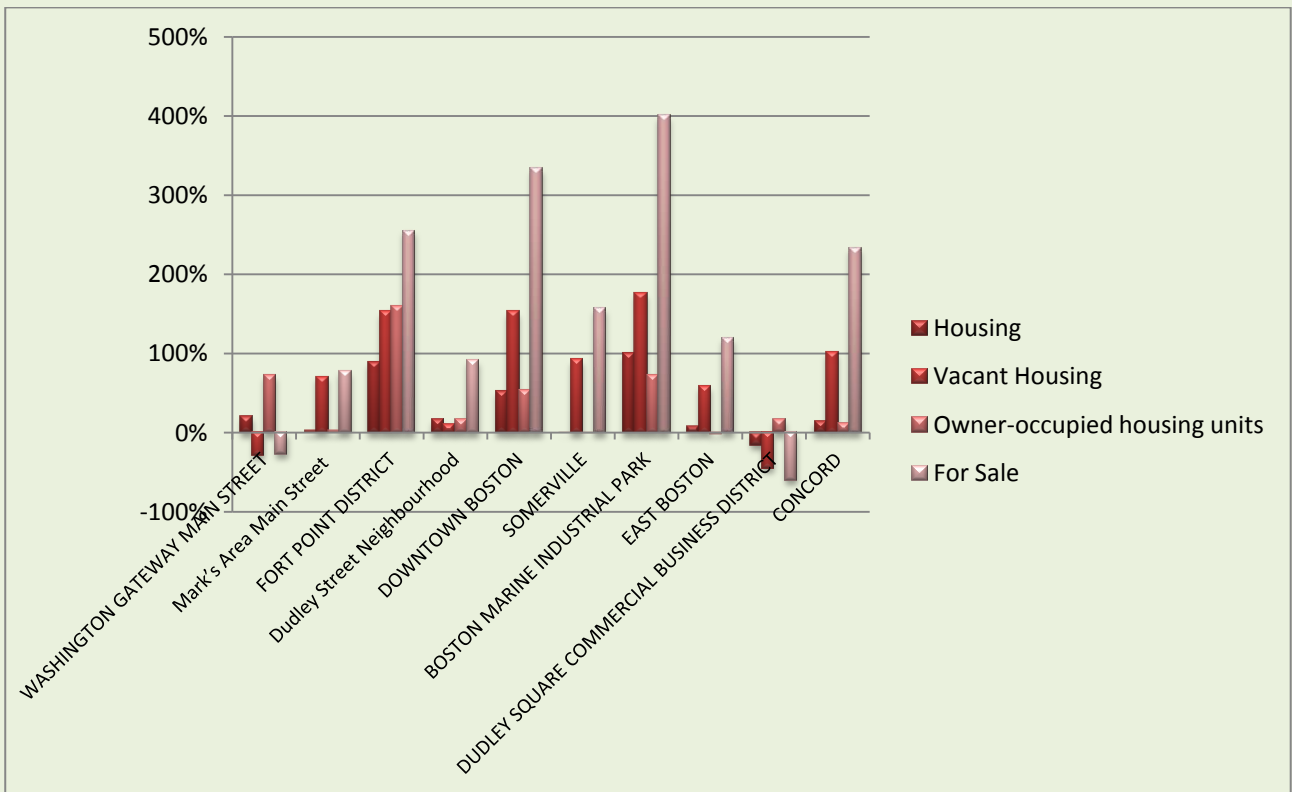
Figure 5 The performance of PPP forms with respect the welfare block

WASHINGTON GATEWAY MAIN STREET	1
Mark's Area Main Street	2
EAST BOSTON	3
FORT POINT DISTRICT	4
DOWNTOWN BOSTON	5
SOMERVILLE	7
BOSTON MARINE INDUSTRIAL PARK	6
CONCORD	8
Dudley Street Neighbourhood	9
DUDLEY SQUARE COMMERCIAL BUSINESS DISTRICT	10

Housing

The Housing block has considered the following variables:

1. Unit of housing – the percentage increase 2000-2010
2. Vacant housing – the percentage increase 2000-2010
3. Owner occupied housing units - the percentage increase 2000-2010
4. Hosing for sale – the percentage increase 2000-2010



Concerning Housing Block, the cluster analysis led to the following considerations, depicted in the figure 6.

The PPP formal agreement and PPP TOD led seems mostly affected y the housing block, with a general high level of performance about all representative index of Housing block.

The Main Street and CDCs showed a general low or medium low performance.



Figure 6 The performance of PPP forms with respect the welfare block

Economic potentials

The Economic potential block has considered the following variables:

1. Budget size of the initiative in the 2010, 2011 and 2012
2. The sale of housing compared to the prices with respect the percentage of increase during the years 2010, 2011, 2012
3. The sale of commercial compared to the prices with respect the percentage of increase during the years 2010, 2011, 2012
4. The employed percentage with respect the years 2000, 2010 and 2011.

The second and third variables have been considered as proxy of the market property value, in terms of how many units and for which price they were sold.

The cluster analysis led to the following considerations, depicted in the figure 7.



Figure 7 The performance of PPP forms with respect the economic potentials block

Matrix of correlation – factors of influence to PPPs performance

In order to understand which factors can affected, either positively or negatively, the four categories of PPP, a matrix of correlation was built. Through the implementation of a factorial analysis, the results are as depicted in the following table.

	Positive factors	Constrains	Cluster
WASHINGTON GATEWAY MAIN STREET Mark's Area Main Street EAST BOSTON	high price of commercial	Education	Main Street – Commercial led
FORT POINT DISTRICT DOWNTOWN BOSTON BOSTON MARINE INDUSTRIAL PARK	Housing unit for sale, Income per capita, Owner occupied housing units ,	Unemployment	PPP – Formal Agreement

budget size			
SOMERVILLE CONCORD	Housing unit for sale, high price of commercial, high price of house	Unemployment	PPP TOD Led
DUDLEY STREET NEIGHBOURHOOD DUDLEY SQUARE COMMERCIAL BUSINESS DISTRICT	medium price of commercial	low budget size education	CDCs