



Resituating the Local in Cohesion and Territorial Development

D10.8 RELOCAL Working Paper Series 2

Including abstracts of 18 draft case studies.

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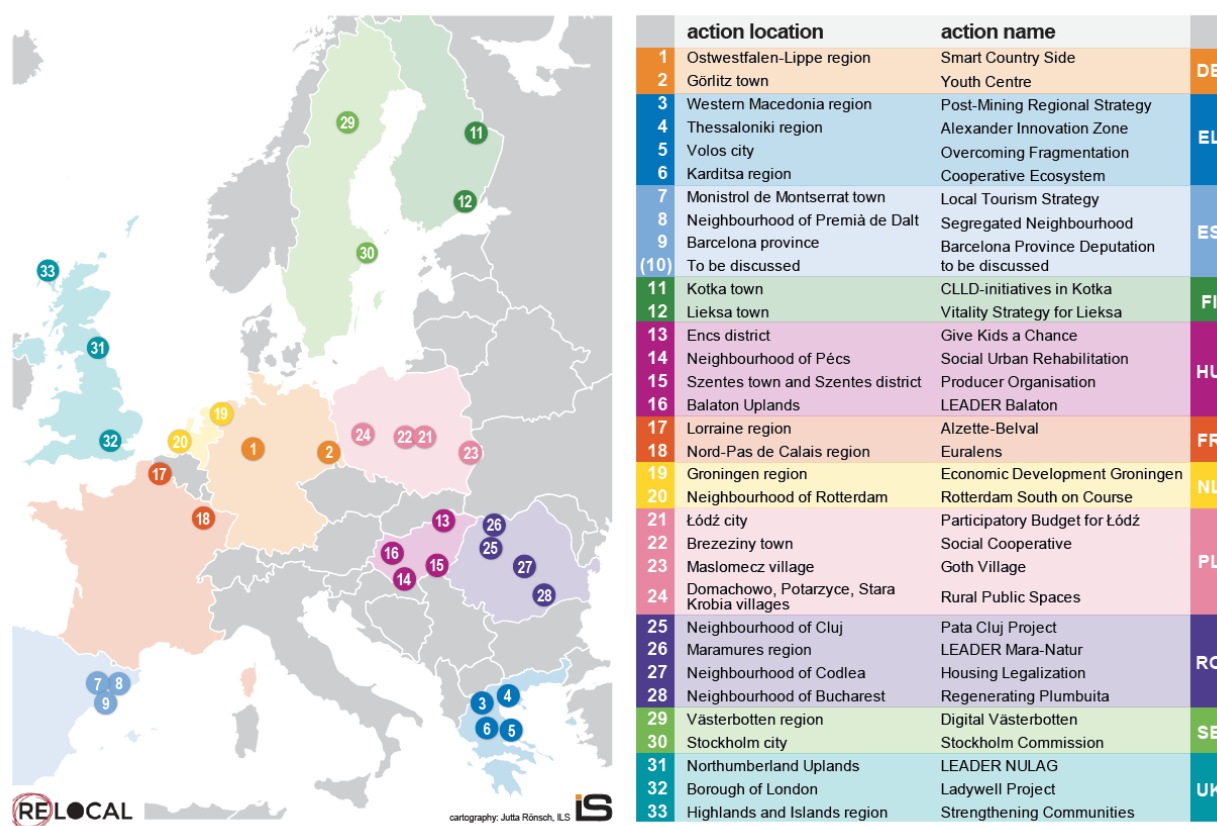
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Introduction

The empirical phase of RELOCAL research started out with work focussing on the selection of eight case studies in October 2017 with the purpose of testing the project's approaches and methodology. Then fieldwork, stakeholder engagement and data analyses were extended to altogether 33 case study areas (see on the Map below) engaging the RELOCAL research teams from eleven European countries. By September this year, 18 of the Case Study Reports have been prepared as 'full drafts' to be circulated and reviewed within the project partnership. The RELOCAL Working Paper Series 2 at hand offers summaries of these to a wider interested audience.



The locations of the 33 RELOCAL case studies (as of 24.9.2018)

1 Case from Germany

1.1 Local Youth as Urban Development Actors (Görlitz)

“The Establishment of a Centre for Youth and Socioculture in Görlitz”

Authors: Viktoria Kamuf, Felix Leo Matzke and Sabine Weck (ILS - Institut für Landes- und Stadtentwicklungsforschung)

What impact can place-based local actions and strategies have on a fair and equitable distribution of resources within a locality? This study aims to contribute to this discussion by exploring the activities of Second Attempt e.V. (hereinafter Second Attempt), a non-profit association for the promotion of youth and socioculture in the German town Görlitz. Second Attempt is an interesting case for the potential of a local association by and for young people, which actively engages in local public affairs and seeks out to involve young people in constructive forms of place making and democratic engagement.

One important achievement of Second Attempt has been to take over the mandate for the establishment of a Centre for Youth and Socioculture as well as the neighbourhood management in the neighbourhood Inner City West. We argue that the association has a specific potential for creating impact in the locality by promoting localised resources and involving vulnerable population groups into urban development. Second Attempt employs staff, engages volunteers, secures funds, carries out regeneration programmes and has become highly professional. They actively lobby for the interests of young people in urban development, and fill a perceived gap with regards to the participation and empowerment of young people in public affairs.

Second Attempt tackles perceived injustices on various spatial levels. The first form of injustice takes place at a state-wide and national level, as Görlitz is regarded as disadvantaged in contrast to other German cities. Furthermore, an injustice was registered in the missing attention for youth issues by the municipality. The action aims to change both these aspects by providing perspectives for the youth and promoting the sociocultural scene in Görlitz. The third dimension is on the local level amongst the neighbourhoods of the town. In this case, a socially disadvantaged neighbourhood shall be revitalised.

In pursuing their activities, the action has benefitted from the backing of the municipality as well as regional, national, and EU funding. However, apart from financial aid, the ESF or other EU programmes do not have a direct programmatic impact on the action. Instead, the action would not have developed to its current state, if Second Attempt had not strategically taken up chances and opportunities and at the same time consequently following their own vision and agenda. A most important driver behind the achievements of Second Attempt is thus the reflexivity and strategic capacity of the associations' main stakeholders.

At the same time, research has raised questions with regards to the role Second Attempt has taken on in local development. If public affairs such as urban development, youth participation and local democracy become common affairs which are dealt with in co-operation between town government and autonomous local initiatives, how are issues of accountability or legitimacy best solved? How does an organisation achieve a balance between its formal role as an urban development actor, complying with funding criteria, and pursuing its original vision and non-hierarchical mode of leadership? These questions still remain unsolved and provide the basis for interesting further discussions.

2 Cases from Greece

2.1 Post-Mining Regional Strategy of Western Macedonia

Authors: Lefteris Topaloglou, George Petrakos, Aggeliki Anagnostou and Victor Cupcea (University of Thessaly)

This Greek Case Study Report (CSR) addresses the Special Development Programme (S.D.P.) of the Western Macedonia Region (Action hereinafter), focusing on the energy axis of the Regional Units of Kozani (EL531) and Florina (EL533). The Action is funded through a levy of 0.5% on the turnover of the Public Power Corporation (P.P.C), based upon the energy production at the local level. The Action met the region's long-standing and fair demand against the environmental degradation due to the use of a non-renewable energy resource such the lignite. Seen in this “top down” respect, the Action could promote under certain conditions, distributive and procedural spatial justice challenges. Assessing however, the overall outcomes derived by a “bottom-up” approach as well as the extent to which the Action manage to pave the way for the transition of the region towards an alternative development path, one could claim that the developmental footprint, could have been much greater.

Undoubtedly, the Action has left a positive imprint in terms of spatial justice, since many projects and interventions could not be realized without it. However, most of the projects were very small, with no critical size and no added value. The dominant spatial justice constraints can be attributed to the lack of visionary leadership and clear vision of “where we want to go”, as well as to epidermal approaches, localism, simplistic solutions, lack of realism, absence of impact indicators and “regional culture” and temporary political benefits in view of the next election cycle. As a result, the Action was not treated by the political staff, longsighted, as a golden opportunity for the region to pre-prepare for a smooth transition from the lignite age to a new growth production pattern.

Besides, finding show that the institutional and political context as well as the administrative arrangements at the national level negatively influence the Action’s spatial justice outcomes. A centre-periphery pattern seems to be dominant in all particular aspects of political, administrative and economic arrangements, associated by large bureaucracy and ineffective central administration. Within this frame, the political parties often intervene in the formation of local and regional agendas exercising “paternalistic” and “top down” practices. As for the European cohesion policy, the mainstream perception for the model of planning was “one size fits all”. Against this background, the EC maintained a high degree of supervision ignoring the many particularities of each locality.

Taking into account the dramatic decarbonisation rates by 2020 and 2030, the only way to avoid making the dreadful 40% unemployment scenarios is a robust recovery plan by appropriately utilizing of all the potential financial instruments. In this direction, in the light of spatial justice, the Action should be integrated into a logical synergy with the ROP and the RIS of Western Macedonia 2014-2020, as well as other initiatives developed at European, national and regional level.

Lastly it should be noted that planning aiming to spatial justice is foremost a political process and choice. This requires a visionary political leadership that adequately comprehends the international, national and local challenges and efficiently responds with certain strategy, priorities and interventions. Should these priorities are politically legitimized then, the planning and implementation, on an operational and technocratic level, become easier and substantial.

2.2 Karditsa's Ecosystem of Collaboration

Authors: Victor Cupcea, Lefteris Topaloglou, Aggeliki Anagnostou and George Petrakos (University of Thessaly)

This Greek Case Study Report (CSR) examines the “Ecosystem of Collaboration of Karditsa” (hereafter the Ecosystem). In particular, the report presents the injustices of the regional unit of Karditsa as perceived by the local stakeholders. The fieldwork conducted in Karditsa, comprising 20 interviews with local stakeholders, shows that different groups have different claims of injustice. Yet, all the groups of the area feel injustice in relation to the Eastern part of the region as well as in relation to the islands. Furthermore, the report shows that the development trajectory of the area (based on which the development plan and vision should be based) is not fully understood and elaborated by the local stakeholders in charge.

There is a strong expression of opinions that the poorer a regional unit is (like the one under examination), the more acute is the social and economic injustice. The recent crisis had played its role. The savings at the moment are kept “under the mattresses”, the banks are not lending any money due to the uncertainty, and the investments in the economy are stagnant. All this creates a vicious circle.

Also, the report defines the mechanisms that generate the inequalities as perceived by the interviewees. Among these mechanisms, the respondents define also the specific mentality of the people: their attitude towards working hard, towards “giving” vs “taking”, towards the notion of “voluntary work”, towards being extrovert, etc. According to the same respondents, the concept of volunteering (which is part of mentality and attitude) in Greece is a poor one.

The report also shows that the Regional Unit of Karditsa is the smallest unit of the region with a density of 49.4 inhabitants per km². As can be seen from the data, the area is among the last (third from the end) regional units of the country in terms of GDP per capita.

Taking this into consideration, and trying to mitigate the spatial, economic and social injustices of the area, the Local Development Agency together with some of the local stakeholders created a mechanism that supports the creation of a network of collective actions in the Social Economy in order to promote bottom-up and inclusive development. The Ecosystem is based on a number of activities, procedures, rules and support mechanisms that include also a “cooperative incubator” at a prefectural level (NUTS 3).

The report indicates that the Ecosystem involves directly and indirectly more than 16 thousands local residents. In 2016 the turnover of the Ecosystem was at least 65 million of Euros. In that year it contributed to the local GDP by 6%. These are the biggest numbers one can see in Greece, in relation to the Social Economy. These numbers are, however, small if compared with countries like the Netherlands and Luxemburg. Hence, the room for improvement is quite big.

Despite serving as a good practice for Greece, and despite the fact that the area has a strong tradition in the collaborative structures, still the Ecosystem faces some problems. One is the small adoption rate by the wide public, given that it involves so many stakeholders. Another one is the legal framework. Thus, there are discussed the inhibitors of success of the Ecosystem.

Finally, the report closes with a parameter that should be kept always in mind: the effects of the crisis are inversely proportional with the size and depth of the social economy in a region. This means that the more employment and turnover a region has in the Social and Solidarity Economy, the less it will be exposed to economic fluctuations, financial bubbles and crises.

3 Cases from Spain

3.1 Monistrol de Montserrat – getting self-organized to overcome the shadows of the Mountain

Authors: Laura Noguera, Marite Guevara, Oriol Biosca, Andreu Ulied and Sally Guzman

“Living in the shade of Montserrat mountain prevented us from properly valuing our assets and attractiveness. In fact, we are now just beginning to understand that we can take advantage of Montserrat. We need our neighbours to get their self-esteem back and to value what we are and what we have”.

Mayor of Monistrol de Montserrat

Monistrol de Monserrat is a 3.000 inhabitants town located in the outer Barcelona metropolitan region. Traditionally, Monistrol was a town with strong industrial activity in the textile sector but like many other areas in Catalonia, it suffered from deep economic restructuring in the 1970 and 1980s, and today industry is merely residual. Territorial complexity (accessibility deficits, lack of suitable land) partly explain why Monsitrol, despite its past, has not been able to re-conduct industrial activities like other neighbouring towns in the region (industry shares between 35% and 65% in many surrounding town). Economy and employment is mostly based today on the tertiary sector, constituting to a higher extent a residential economy.

In this context, the close presence of Montserrat Mountain and monastery is locally perceived as an opportunity for social and economic development of the town, linked to the development of tourism. Being erected in the 12th century as the civil base of the Montserrat Monastery and hosting the Priorate Palace, siege of political and economic power of Montserrat monks, nowadays large tourist flows head to the mountain (more than 2.5 million yearly) but almost none visit Monistrol itself. This, despite the fact that most transit infrastructure heading the mountain is located in town, even if somehow peripherally and somehow with poor designs.

The average family income in Monistrol is 7% lower than in the Barcelona province. Unemployment accounts in 2017 for 14%, much lower than in 2014 when it reached a maximum of 21%. Local employment transitioned in the last 15 years, increasing the weight of services from 62% to 75%, and decreasing the weight of industry from 35% to 25%. Industrial companies went from 25 to 12 during the same period. Construction is currently almost residual, with all eight (8) constructing companies existing in 2001 now closed.

The Monistrol town council promoted in 2008-2009 the Local Strategic Plan Monistrol 2020 setup to foster local economies and develop endogenous potentials to overcome spatial injustice. The initiative aimed at the following objectives:

- identifying local potential for place-based development strategies, and already existing bottom-up initiatives with potential to positively impact local communities both socially and economically
- facilitating horizontal governance mechanisms establishing communication / collaboration structures between the public and private sectors and the organised civil society (cultural and social associations)
- integrating initiatives in a formal policy Local Action Plan that could provide institutional support to ongoing initiatives, and also constitute a roadmap for negotiations with higher administrative levels (e.g. County Council, Provincial Deputation and Catalan Government).

The approach was very much in line with European policies at the time, in particular policy proposals for stimulating rural and transition areas with declining agriculture, mining and industry sectors. The initiative focussed on the aims of diversifying rural economies (as stated by the 3rd and 4th reports on Social and Economic Cohesion), with special focus on the promotion of tourism activities (4th reports on Social and Economic Cohesion) based on the outstanding natural and cultural heritage of the areas (as suggested by the ESDP and the EU Territorial Agenda). It also stressed the need for up-graded infrastructure quality in line with aims by the EU Territorial Agenda and the Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion.

The Local Strategic Plan proposed three action lines, 1) transitioning to more attractive townscape by upgrading the general quality of urban space and addressing precarious housing conditions; 2) promoting a more vital and dynamic town, more diversified in terms of economic activities and commerce; 3) gaining in regional recognition and visibility, especially promoting tourism and attracting visitors.

The process of elaboration of the Local Strategic Plan involved the active participation of all areas in the town council (economic promotion, architecture, patrimony, territory, environment, culture), as well as the main local economic actors (industries, restaurants, hotels, and retails), and the civil society, through a number of participatory activities, stakeholder interviews and expert workshops. At the end of the process, proposals were discussed with higher administrative levels, including the provincial deputation and the regional roads department, and with the Benedictine Montserrat Monastery.

A decade after the implementation of the action, the analysis of this case study discovered that:

- In broad terms, the action plan designed during the Local Strategic Plan development was implemented in high degree. Even if some of the most complex actions are still under way or being negotiated with relevant agents, especially when decision-making involves higher administrative levels (e.g. finding solutions for better locally accommodating large transport infrastructure), most actions depending on local action were successfully implemented. Today Monistrol is clearly 1) more attractive 2) more dynamic and 3) working for being more regionally recognized.
- The general mood and self-perception of citizens and institutions on the current socioeconomic situation of Monistrol seem to have improved to some extent, according to conversations with local agents, being now more positive than back in 2008. Obviously, this cannot be associated directly with the action of the Plan, but the Plan could have contributed to it to some extent.
- The Plan itself did not become a steering force for local public policy until 2020. However, over time, in the mid and long term, the current political team in office considers it as a magnificent witness of the late 2000s pre-crisis political momentum and most relevant challenges existing at the time. In this sense, the Plan is now perceived as being useful for monitoring the evolution of local policy and political action over the last decade, including implementation of key projects and evolution of main challenges.
- The lack of political anchorage of the Plan can partly be explained given a complex balance of political forces in office both at the time of drawing the Plan, and in the following election periods. Also because of the non-binding character of strategic planning processes. In this sense, we have to conclude that better governance arrangements ought to have been designed to facilitate political stability of the action over time, only if considering recurrent difficulties in this sense encountered in other local actions of the same nature.
- The plan was a reflexive process involving social and economic actors of Monistrol, public and private institutions, and the citizenship in general. In this sense, the Plan allowed different agents in town getting to know each other better, a key element for local policy making. In many cases, and especially

concerning the case of civil servants working for the town hall (and not necessarily being local residents), the Plan was the chance to better get acquainted with the diversity of local actors, establishing a basis for further future collaborations (public-private). At the end, the Action process was meant to transform the reactive attitude of the municipality to-wards more pro-active extroverted attitude, better anticipating future challenges and better serving the needs of its residents and businesses.

- The Local Strategic Plan seek to generate a network of local stakeholders that could facilitate in the future more horizontally organised processes of local governance. Civic structures created at the time aimed at a continuation after the finalisation of the plan, both for monitoring action plan implementation and continuing midterm activities of strategic thinking. This objective, like in many other municipalities that undertook processes of strategic planning, did hardly stand over time, as stakeholder's involvement ceased after the finalisation of the action.

3.2 Santa Anna and Tió neighbourhood in the municipality of Premià de Dalt

“Multi-territorial action plan to upgrade living conditions in a spatially segregated neighbourhood split between two municipalities”

Authors: Laura Noguera, Marite Guevara, Oriol Biosca, Andreu Ulied and Sally Guzman

The object of this case study is knowing Santa Maria/Santa Anna–Tió neighbourhood social and spatial injustice state. This neighbourhood has an estimated of 4,100 inhabitants and 21% of them are foreign, a higher rate than the municipality and the county. The unemployment rate is around 16%, higher rate than the municipality and the county. Population from this neighbourhood has low professional training (80% not have high school diplomas or professional training); young people are not integrated in educational or labour environment; women working in informal economy sector and immigrant women have serious problems to find employment. In addition, the neighbourhood suffers from housing public services deficits: small houses with 60-70 m² (80-100 m² other neighbourhoods) and with problems due to precarious constructive solutions.

Santa Anna–Tió neighbourhood is spatially segregated neighbourhood from Premià de Dalt. It is spatially separated from uptown urban area by a motorway. This is physically attached to Premià de Mar neighbouring municipality. Just one street separated them. Therefore, this neighbourhood has an identity by own self despite they are split between two different municipalities.

Premià de Dalt is a municipality of 10.345 inhabitants in the Maresme County in Catalonia and is currently comprised of 5 differentiated urban areas, each one of them with particular socioeconomic characteristics. Whereas, Old town, Remei-Castell and Puig de Pedra-Sot del Pi urban areas can be classified as middle-upper class residential areas. La Floresta and Santa Anna–Tió areas are generally portrayed as working class neighbourhoods, especially Santa Anna–Tió. By the 2009 year, Santa Anna–Tió concentrated 25% of the municipality's population. Considering the size of the municipality, such differences have strong implications in terms of social and spatial justice.

With these socio-economic conditions, some social programmes have been implemented in this neighbourhood. The action under the Catalan Government neighbourhood law: Santa Maria/Santa Anna–Tió (Cotet neighbourhood) comprehensive intervention project had the object to improve the quality of life and increase economic opportunities for its citizens through the development urban actions and social programmes. The action has represented the collaboration between Premià de Dalt and Premià de Mar municipalities. In year 2009, both municipalities decided to submit a candidacy to achieve regional government funding to face common challenges. With the technical support of Province Council of Barcelona and involving civil society, both local governments achieved together in 2010 resource allocation to face physical and social degradation, increase quality of life and social cohesion and, promote cooperation in a multilevel government; those goals required by the Catalan Government are closely aligned with Santa Maria/Santa Anna–Tió challenges.

The action is a top-down government initiative of Catalan Government to support localities through finance resources to achieve spatial justice at local level. Local capacities to face strong challenges, such as neighbourhood structural deficits, are often not enough and they need the support of upper level governments. Even after receiving grants from upper level governments, local capacities must be able to face challenges, such as operational and maintenance costs.

Involvement of diverse and multilevel stakeholders, especially individual actors and associations from neighbourhood during the whole process, has contributed to keep the project alive over the years.

The participation of local actors at neighbourhood level have contributed to build bridges in terms of communication and reliability between citizenship and municipal governments. The neighbourhood has a strong traditional past of associationism with strong identity, which made possible a joint coordination between two neighbouring municipalities despite their different policies, initiatives and low collaboration tradition. In this particular case, the participation of an intermediate administration, Provincial City Council, was a key to achieve a successful development of the local strategy, which was required by top-level framework.

Notion of spatial justice in Premià de Dalt is mostly related to quality and distribution of municipal services per type and target groups. In that sense, local actions are de-signed, such as programmes for youths, elderly or socioeconomic vulnerable targets. The combination of urban projects, infrastructures and community reinforcement has contributed to achieve spatial justice.

This idea and implicit consensus to attend firstly primary needs and services has contributed to overcome historical deficits of the case study neighbourhood, introducing it into the political agendas. The strong identity has been a key factor in the process to achieve spatial justice despite administrative boundaries. Strong neighbourhood identity made possible to face common challenges in the case study but at the same time. A neighbourhood scale intervention is easier to manage, if we consider number of inhabitants, number of stakeholders, and several legal and budgetary frameworks.

Place making process and diverse participatory process strategies have contributed to keep the project alive. Especially with neighbours, level of participation is still strong after 8 years. Women also have become a strong group in terms of participation and empowerment.

There are external factors during the implementation of the action, such as economic crisis, differences between two municipalities, or city's own dynamic have changed expected out-comes and schedules. Actions with short temporal horizon, such as electoral periods, not necessarily could help to achieved spatial justice. Some initiatives from governments are designed considering electoral periods, but if we are considering historical and structural deficits, like in this particular case study neighbourhood, four years is a short time to achieve spatial justice within the locality.

The challenge is now to measure spatial justice progress using current tools of the Premià de Dalt municipality (technical and legal) and even monitoring spatial impacts of ongoing programmes. Spatial tools as we know today have limited capacity to promote further spatial justice. These tools are more related to land use approach than have a strategic vision of the locality or a tool to facilitate spatial measurement of local in-vestment and distribution of resources.

4 Case from Finland

4.1 CLLD initiatives in Kotka city

Authors: Matti Fritsch, Sarolta Németh, Petri Kahila and Patrik Hämäläinen (University of Eastern Finland)

Background

Kotka is a medium sized-city located on the Gulf of Finland about 130 km east of the capital Helsinki. It is part of the NUTS3 region of Kymenlaakso. The key industries in the city have traditionally been the forest industry and the international port. Structural changes in those branches, amplified by recessions in the early 1990s and from 2008 onwards, have led to growing levels of unemployment, including increasing long-term and youth unemployment. This has led to challenges with regard to social and spatial justice in the city. In Finland, in a national comparison, Kotka shows significant levels of unwell-being of groups of residents and neighbourhoods (social marginalisation). This unwell-being includes higher levels of morbidity, substance abuse, mental health problems, which in turn have negative impacts on the overall atmosphere, self-esteem and external perception of Kotka and which also show spatial concentrations in the city.

Against this background, civil society organisations, with the backing of the City, decided to use the CLLD component of the Finnish Structural Funds Operational Programme Priority 5, supported by ESF, for strengthening their co-operation for the benefit of disadvantaged groups of society in Kotka. This initiative was led by the LEADER association in charge of the surrounding rural areas of southern Kymenlaakso. After preparing an Action Plan for Community-Led Development, two consecutive ESF-funded projects have been carried out since 2015.

Findings

The thematic focus of the projects carried out under the banner of CLLD overall responds well to a) local needs with regard to social inequalities (focusing on young unemployed) b) the expectations laid down in OP Finland Priority 5 funded by the ESF. An important value added by the CLLD action lies in its role as an additional platform for collaboration and co-ordination between different third sector organisations and stakeholders for the benefit of their respective target groups. As such, it functions as a sort of integrative force that brings together different fields of activities by the third sector and their target groups. This is important in terms of resource sharing and bringing together local knowledge. However, the activities appear to lack several elements of the community-led local development approach as put forward by the European Union (Common Provisions Regulation (EU) No 1303/2013), especially that CLLD should be “carried out through integrated and multi-sectoral area-based local development strategies”. The action also does not, and does not aim to, utilise citizen participation for then enhancement of local decision-making for the purpose of making it more place-based. As such, it cannot serve as an example of a new mode of governance, something that itself empowers local government with local resources and expertise. However, we have to bear in mind that this Action, as other similar projects, appears to be embedded in the existing governance and management structures of the City of Kotka.

Outlook

With continued funding, the Action is likely to continue to have a positive impact on inter-organisational co-operation and learning between the third sector organisations active in the field of youth

(unemployment), the disabled and integration of migrants. These collaborative structures are also likely to be sustained by the actors themselves following the current project's end.

However, the structural realities (funding and implementation framework set especially by the national level) significantly limit what can be done and achieved in urban CLLD actions in Finland with regard to a) the integration of sectors, b) new and broad-based forms of participation and c) using CLLD actions as an input for local and regional decision-making. These constraints are aspects are also visible in the examined Action at hand. The external structural conditions appear to matter so much that despite having an actor in charge who is well informed of and engaged in CLLD discussions at all levels from the local to the European, the Action could not improve procedural justice and empower the local within the vertical of ESIF implementation.

5 Cases from Hungary

5.1 "Trying to save what we can": Spatial injustice of Child Welfare at the Peripheries

Authors: Judit Keller and Tünde Virág (Centre for Economic and Regional Studies HAS, Budapest)

Background

Our case study is based on fieldwork in the district of Encs, one of the traditionally disadvantaged micro regions, located in the Northern periphery of the country. The settlements are characterized by complex interplay of spatial, social and ethnic exclusion has demographically polarized society with very high unemployment rate and low-level educational attainment. Within the micro-region, intra-regional inequalities are manifest in anomalies of availability, accessibility and affordability of services that are mostly supplied in the district centre but not in villages. Services offered in the district are not affordable or troublesome to reach by those who live in villages due to inadequate transport infrastructure services. The settlement hierarchy/slope also manifests in the quality of services available in villages. The general approach of the Give Kids a Chance programme combined the reduction of child poverty with the eradication of poverty among families, ending segregation and ensuring a healthy childhood that support children's capability expansion. Therefore, the programme has assigned the highest priority to early childhood education and care services, inter-professional institutional cooperation among the local education, social- and healthcare sectors, and long-term strategic planning.

Findings

Give Kids a Chance was unable to change spatial inequalities in the micro-region of Encs in both procedural and distributive dimensions. The procedural injustice of the way marginalized Roma were not given voice to make claims about the goals and means of the programme either by external, or by local actors is strongly connected to the unrealized goal of differentiated distribution of programme resources to localities where mostly Roma live. The programme only provided temporary improvement in the distribution and quality of child welfare services in those small settlements that were primarily targeted by the programme. The programme was unable to realize those expectations that by introducing new services, approaches and methodologies, it would trigger institutional change to ensure a fairer distribution of child welfare services. Instead of changing institutions to ensure more equal distribution of services, it temporarily supplemented basic child welfare services that struggled once the programme ended. We expected positive correlation between the positionality of settlements and the presence of the state in the governance of social welfare and the enforcement of rules and regulations. The weakness of regulatory control enforces informal institutional mechanisms and practices.

Outlook

The central goal of Give Kids a Chance was to resolve bottlenecks and inequality in service provision by introducing new services that improve living conditions for children and trigger institutional changes that not only "modernize" child welfare services through inter-institutional professional cooperation but also transform local institutions in a way that distribute authority more equally among diverse social groups and empower marginalized groups to have better access to services. In the absence of institutional change within the overall framework of child welfare policy regime improvements of

services remained sketchy locally. Overall, the impact of place-based development programmes remains weak as the short time frame of development projects does not support institutional change that is rather a process of incremental transformation than abrupt change. Furthermore, the impact of development projects is weakened if the overall institutional framework of the policy regime does not support the just distribution of public goods, but rather carries counteracting institutional logics that are built on exclusionary mechanisms between state levels, among social groups and a diversity of policy actors. The role of the state, thus should not be disregarded in setting frameworks conditions of spatially just policy contexts.

5.2 György-telep: Ten years of urban regeneration in a poor neighbourhood

Authors: Csaba Jelinek and Tünde Virág (Centre for Economic and Regional Studies HAS, Budapest)

Background

This case study analyses a series of place-based developments carried out in a marginalized neighbourhood called György-telep since 2007. Our field is a former mining colony situated in a peripheral part of Pécs, which is the fifth largest city of Hungary with a population of ca. 150.000, and which is the seat of Baranya county. From 2007 there have been altogether six different development projects with a total budget of ca. 5.5 million EUR. Through these projects 90 low comfort social housing units were renovated, three community houses were established, various social services were provided (both through individual and collective social work), and numerous community programs were organized. The main idea behind these projects was to develop one of the most stigmatized part of the city. The area has been characterized with extremely high ratio of substandard flats, very low level of education, high level of unemployment and high ratio of Roma residents.

Findings

The backbone of our analysis shows how the structure of the local “development coalition” has changed during this decade of consecutive development projects. While regarding unemployment, housing quality, household indebtedness and criminal activities the coalition achieved significant positive results, one unintended consequence of the investments was the emerging role of the Hungarian Charity Service of the Order of Malta as a powerful “translator” in local social issues. Malta’s role became “shadow municipal” as they built a specific model of “informal paternalism” with their clients. While the model clearly helped several hundred people, it has raised concerns from the perspective of procedural and distributive justice, as it was expressed by other, since then side-lined members of the initial development coalition, and by employees of Malta. Most importantly the projects were unable to tackle the systematic production of injustices on a wider scale. While Malta had a central role in this process, a few external factors played a crucial role as well: most importantly the changing attitude of the municipality towards the local civil society, the specific national framework, in which the projects were carried out, and the political economic context of the developments themselves.

Outlook

With Malta as a translator in local issues, the relation between the local residents in György-telep and the Housing Department of the municipality became much smoother, and more constructive. In the future this could provide the basis of more humane treatment of administrative issues related to poverty. However, it is still questionable whether high rank politicians could be influenced in any way. The recent top-down reform of the local housing regulation suggests that the nation-wide shift towards a more oppressive, exclusionary workfare regime has more impact on high rank local leaders, than the positive effects of the György-telep investments. This issue has an important political economic context as well. Almost all the György-telep investments were financed by large international donors (mainly the EU), and not national or local bodies. This characteristic is also true for other similar projects in Hungary. In the context of austerity in the domain of welfare spending, this might imply that the future of György-telep is very much dependent upon the future of the EU’s Cohesion Policy, and the willingness of other donors to step in, in case the available funding for the post-2020 period would shrink.

6 Case from France

6.1 Building an Eco-Cité in Alzette-Belval along the border with Luxembourg

Authors: Estelle Evrard and Cyril Blondel (University of Luxembourg)

The project of building an “EcoCité” in northern Lorraine (France), along the border with Luxembourg was launched late 2000s by a newly constituted association of eight municipalities (CCPHVA) to support the regeneration of this locality that up until mid-1960s played a leading role in the steel industry. It is nowadays characterised with brownfields and significant structural challenges (e.g. attractiveness of Luxembourg for business and workforce, maintaining public services). Given the scale of the challenges and the strategic dimension of this project, located along the border with Luxembourg, the French state decided early 2010s to back up this local initiative and to level it up into a broader planning and development strategy that takes the form of an “operation of national interest”. In French law, this planning tool allows managing a project through a dedicated public body (public development agency, *Etablissement public d'aménagement*, EPA) equipped with all strategic competences to plan the designated area. The management is undertaken by a board gathering all levels of governance (from the municipal to the national level) while the planning activities are supervised by a dedicated team of technicians and engineers. 2018 is a cornerstone year. The first green buildings are being built-up and the renovation of a former mining neighbourhood accelerated. On a more institutional point of view, the EPA revises its strategic operational plan. The EcoCité project contributes to the reconvention of brownfields into green buildings, thus representing a turning point in the redevelopment of this locality. Converting left apart polluted areas into exemplary sustainable building aims at “helping the population re-appropriate the locality, bringing new public services facilities and housing” (EPA, 2014, own translation). It shall also have a long-term impact on the value of land and on the general attractiveness of the locality.

The empirical work confirms the relevance of this case study for RELOCAL. It fits in particular very well with the project’s definition of spatial justice. Distributional justice is addressed at several levels (between neighbourhoods, municipalities, countries). The EcoCité project gathers small municipalities that until then had been relatively passive and/or peripheral when it comes to major development strategy. On the North, it faces the steady economic growth of Luxembourg, that since 2000 implements an unprecedented big project, the reconversion of a brownfield located at the periphery of the second city of the country (Esch-sur-Alzette) into a locality dedicated to research and innovation, teaching, public administration and leisure (Belval area). This locality lays at the border with northern Lorraine and the CCPHVA, both projects are adjacent. Currently, about 70% of the active population living in CCPHVA commutes for work to Luxembourg on a daily basis. On the East, a metropolitan dynamism, partly related to Luxembourg’s economy can be observed along the so-called Nancy-Metz-Thionville axis. On the West, the city of Longwy highly affected by the deindustrialisation benefited from public support in the 1990s (e.g. tri-national free trade zone “*Pôle européen de développement*”). On the side of procedural justice, this project takes the counterpoint to RELOCAL’s assumption. It exemplifies the use of a rather exceptional planning tool in French law where the state “takes back” planning competences while bringing technical expertise and financial means.

7 Case from the Netherlands

7.1 Rotterdam South

Authors: Kees Dol and Joris Hoekstra (Delft University of Technology)

Background

Rotterdam South is a district that has for decades struggled with unemployment, criminality and educational underachievement of children. Many residents suffer from an accumulation of problems such as low incomes, debt, substance abuse and health/mental problems. The district is not considered a positive environment for children to grow up.

Findings

Spatial injustice in Rotterdam South relates to a concentration of socio-economically vulnerable households. It can create neighbourhood effects, where children (and adults) have few positive references in their direct living environment about career prospects that go further than low skilled (underpaid) jobs and/or self-employment in enterprises that only give incomes at the subsistence level. Many adults are in a survival mode, coping with their own problems, and have trouble in supporting children, relatives and friends. Another form of spatial injustice was found in the negative reputation of Rotterdam South, which seems to make employers reluctant to hire individuals from this district. Deviant behavioural codes of youths in the district can amplify this problem.

Outlook

In order to deliver better prospects for residents in Rotterdam South, the central government initiated the Nationaal Programma Rotterdam Zuid (NPRZ), a project with a long term perspective (2012-2030). Local (and national government) stakeholders muster around the NPRZ and take a broad approach: education, employment, housing associations and criminality. The stakeholders use their own means (especially housing associations, employers), but in several cases they also receive additional grants from the governments (education). Given the complex and broad approach, there is no single quantitative indicator that can tell whether the seven focus areas of Rotterdam South have all improved. Furthermore, the expectation is that the real improvements will only show on the longer run. Still, it is considered better than not intervening, as other problem districts in the Netherlands took a turn for the worse. The NPRZ governance has attracted attention and is considered useful in other problem areas. And lastly, the central government recently showed trust in the NPRZ by granting an additional 130 million for the coming implementation program of 2019-2021. One main point of attention in this study is the way in which bottom-up initiatives can support a positive turn for Rotterdam South. Spontaneous activities might be hampered because too many people are in a survival mode, while they often have little formal education and language problems. This usually forms a negative impact on resident's participation, but some interviewees indicate that there is more volunteering and informal organisation than usually show in the statistics. We should emphasize that bottom-up participation need not only apply residents themselves but also networks of entrepreneurs and local organisation (schools, wellbeing etc.).

8 Case from Poland

8.1 Social Cooperative (Brzeziny)

Authors: Anna Janiszewska, Pamela Jeziorska-Biel, Marcin Wójcik, Karolina-Dmochowska-Dudek and Paulina Tobiasz-Lis (University of Lodz)

The model of a Communal Service Cooperative (hereafter Social Cooperative) in Brzeziny, whose aim is to activate people threatened with social exclusion and by their work to revitalize the commune's resources, was the subject of investigation within the second Polish case study in the RELOCAL project. Research activities began at the turn of February and March 2018, and were finalized in September 2018.

This report shows that the Social Cooperative in Brzeziny has a strong impact on both the public space of the town and the locality. Through a wide-range of undertaken activities: from small repairs of facilities and taking care of the public spaces' aesthetics to investments such as revitalization of the current waste sorting area), neglected spaces, perceived as "worse", "uglier", "abandoned", "unwanted" get a chance for new, positive functions. At the same time people become more sensitive to the surrounding space, they start to identify with their place of living.

Along the case study research, it also appeared that Social Cooperative in Brzeziny, as presented in this report constitutes a particular and quite specific "Action". This entity is at the same time an institution, a team of concrete people, forming this institution (without whom it would have not assumed the shape it has today), as well as an idea.

The spaces of social injustice are identified with the degraded areas, which are subject to the revitalisation undertakings. This implies that the notion of spatial justice is analysed in close connection with the notion of social justice.

Such conception and understanding of spatial justice leads to determination of the concrete practical solutions. These are the frames for functioning of the Social Cooperative in Brzeziny. And that is why the implementations of the cooperative, resulting from its pre-requisites and principles of its functioning, are focussed on the broadly conceived assistance for the inhabitants of the town. This assistance is addressed both to the inhabitants in general and to their particular groups. Special kind of addressees is constituted by the per-sons socially excluded, who have been for a long time outside of the labour market. These persons see the return to the professional activity facilitated, and thereby the essential factor of their marginalisation can be overcome. Besides, the activity of the social cooperative, resulting from its profile of providing general purpose services (modernisation and orderliness works) are oriented at the entire community of the town of Brzeziny. In the consequence of this activity the public space gains a new spatial order. This kind of activity is in agreement with the normative pattern of allocation conform to the principles of spatial justice.

9 Cases from Romania

Authors: Enikő Vincze, Cristina Bădiță, Iulia Hossu, Ioana Vrăbiescu and George Zamfir (DESIRE Foundation)

We propose using the analysed actions as cases, which illustrate larger processes of development in Romania both in the sense of the production of spatial injustice manifested in numerous forms, and in the sense of the solutions that different stakeholders conceived at the crossroads of several territorial governance structures in order to tackle them. Starting from how RELOCAL understands spatial injustice (as "the spatial dimension of social injustice", which is about an unfair "distribution in space of socially valued resources and the opportunities to use them"¹), this paper proposes the politicization of the concept by addressing it as a phenomenon created by uneven development,² at its turn being an endemic feature of capitalism as a political economy that generates a development, which inevitably produces inequalities including "spatial imbalances", as the above quoted World Bank statement reflects.

The production of spatial injustice in the larger context of changing political economy

Spatial injustice has several manifestations in contemporary Romania. The actions that we studied are focusing on some of them, as follows:

- Residential segregation (addressed by the Pata Cluj project): the existence of Pata Rât in Cluj-Napoca, defined as Growth Pole and the centre of Cluj Metropolitan Area (North-West Development Region), illustrates how semi-informal residential areas are formed in the isolated and polluted margins of a developed city as a result of several forces, among them: evictions and relocations to this area of impoverished people by administrative measures; the everyday life strategies of looking for cheap housing solutions by people who are enforced to sell their labour force very cheaply; underinvestment in the area formed in the proximity of the landfill; the reduction of the social housing stock under 1.5% out of the whole housing fund available in the city, so this situation and the criteria used for the distribution of social homes are not able to meet the housing needs of the most deprived; real estate development and speculations keep raising the prices on the housing market, which makes the city more and more un-accessible for the low-income people.
- Informal housing (addressed by the Mălin-Codlea project): the formation of this area in the city of Codlea (Brasov County, Center Development Region), a municipality that belongs to Braşov Metropolitan Area or Brasov Growth Pole, dates back to the 1960s, when under the context of socialist systematization and urbanization, a group of Roma families were relocated from another part of the city to its margins nearby the landfill. Mălin neighbourhood existed as such ever since, and for the time being there were no administrative measures that aimed to legalize the settlement, to assure tenure security to the inhabitants, and to improve the living conditions in the area.

¹ Ali Madanipour, Mark Shucksmith, Hilary Talbot, Jenny Crawford: Conceptual Framework for the RELOCAL project, 2017

² E. Vincze: Uneven development, racialized spatial injustice and the case of (de)segregation in Cluj Napoca, Romania, manuscript, conference paper 2018, https://www.desire-ro.eu/?attachment_id=3624

- Urban areas suffering of underinvestment (addressed by Plumbuita PIDU/ Integrated Plan for Urban Development): the area belongs to District 2 of the capital city Bucharest (also the centre of Bucharest-Ilfov region), displaying how spaces of underdevelopment are formed even in the most developed region respectively city. An amalgam of natural and cultural patrimony, of deprived and informal housing, but as well as of new real estate developments, this neighbourhood is also debated in terms of property, becoming a battle field of several interest groups (the Orthodox Church, the Romanian water company, the private developers, the current owners of the historical palace, the local administration) while the needs of impoverished Roma who live there since ages are not represented by anyone.
- Territory disadvantaged by economic collapse and environmental disasters (addressed by GAL/Local Action Group Mara Natur): the zone includes the small town of Baia Sprie and 17 villages belonging to a GAL territory circumscribed in Maramureş County, while Baia Sprie also belongs to Baia Mare Growth Pole and Metropolitan Area. Formerly a mining zone (that socially and territorially was deprived of resources as a result of closing down the mines, but also affected by environmental pollution), where people lost their jobs and the area was emptied of economic activities, this territory nowadays is a pole of transnational emigration as a solution that people find to their severe material conditions, while the resources for the economic renewal of the area remain highly difficult to attract or generate.

The above manifestations of spatial injustice should be seen in the context of the big transformation that Romania went through in the past three decades, i.e. the transformation of state socialism into neoliberal capitalism, which newly created them or aggravated prior forms of unfairness.

The process of uneven development that generates spatial injustice, and the formation and increase of territorial disparities among regions, among counties within regions, between the localities within counties and even among districts of the same locality are results of changing political economy from state socialism to (neoliberal) capitalism. This process is sustained by a state politics that acts on the behalf of creation of market economy; marketization, privatization and the formation of the banking sector being conditions of Romania's accession to the European Union, and generally speaking of its integration into the contemporary stage of global capitalism. Therefore, spatial injustice, created by trans-local forces in several forms is hard to be reduced by the means of a locality, of local resources or of "local communities", even if the latter might be mobilized around development goals and around attracting private capital and EU funds that the accomplishment of these goals needs. In addition, it is to note that a state politics informed by market fundamentalism can hardly be committed at the same time to cohesive and inclusive territorial development. What it does at the most out of this contradiction, is that it justifies the creation of inequalities as a price to be paid for development and creates the legal frames for project-based social interventions implemented by private organizations, which at their turn can hardly eliminate the continuously reproduced effects of the structurally created social and territorial disparities.

The actions embedded in the existing territorial and policy structures of Romania

As a general observation, one should note that all the studied actions (embodied in projects, programs, strategies or plans) were locally circumscribed contents shaped by forms defined at higher scales

(national and European). In a way or another, they are connected to some larger policy frames that the European Union enables on the domain of social and territorial cohesion or inclusion. Moreover, they are reflecting the fact that it is not the state, and definitely there are not its central bodies that effectively coordinate the elaboration and implementation of such measures, but other institutional arrangements conceived exactly for the absorption of the EU Funds, which is a trend inscribed into the general pattern of the changing role of the state in times of neoliberal capitalism. Nevertheless, all the studied cases were actions implemented a few years after the austerity measures of the government as a reaction to how the financial crises hit Romania and in this sense they might be assessed as manifestations of policies which aimed to rebalance a little bit the severe effects of the “reform of the state” or of declaring “the death of social state” in 2010.

At large, the World Bank and its development vision stands behind all of these actions, being the institution that conducted all the studies informing the strategies related to regional and territorial development, integrated (urban) development, social inclusion of the Roma, combatting poverty and social exclusion, and – from a position of consultant for the Romanian Government – it also had a crucial role in elaborating the Partnership Agreement between Romania and the European Commission in what regards the programs of the EU Funds to be implemented in this country. Therefore, no wonder if we could discover that in the case of each and every action under our scrutiny there was a background strategy adopted at different scales (European, national, regional, county, metropolitan, locality) or a national program that could enable them, but a strategy whose measures could only be implemented via projects that could gain financial support on a competition-based project market. These strategies and the territorial governance structures created as a condition for the integration of Romania into the EU were invented exactly to create the potential of the country to absorb the EU funds and through this to implement some of the EU recommendations on social and territorial cohesion matters. All these under conditions of European macro-economic policies and fiscal surveillance of the Member States that enforce the latter to cut the cost of the welfare state.

Each and every action promised to repair something in the way how a particular territory and its inhabitants were treated or affected in the past decades by different factors. They promised to deliver desegregation, legalization, integrated development, or urban regeneration, however none of them used explicitly the concept of spatial (in)justice in order to define the problem and its solution. Other key-terms were used for describing the matter, such as disadvantaged, vulnerable, deprived, or marked by disparities or poverty. At least indirectly, this signals that the unequal distribution of resources existing at a particular time and in a particular place, and the inequality of the opportunities to use them is seen by the vast majority of the institutional stakeholders or an unavoidable consequence of the developmental trends of an emergent market economy or a fault of people or even of the territory where they live. They are perceived as not being able to make themselves attractive enough for the private investments that could ensure a growth that is supposed having a trickle-down effect and eventually leading to the wellbeing of everybody. Even more, the actions do not acknowledge the systemic causes of mass impoverishment or of housing crises across Romania, and for the matter of fact, due to their nature, they cannot really do this, at the best being able to ensure temporary improvements of some of the aspects of the life of some from the thousands of people dispossessed of socio-economic resources and rights.

Two of the studied cases (Pata Cluj, and Mara Natur) are illustrating situations in which the ownership of the actions belonged to some territorial structures without administrative attributions, such as an intercommunity development agency, respectively a local action group administering these actions within geographical spaces that are not administrative territorial units, like the metropolitan area and the GAL territory. The other two cases (Mălin-Codlea, and Plumbuita PIDU) display a different institutional arrangement, the projects being implemented by the City Halls or Local Councils making use of the policy frames defined at national level. In what follows, I am giving a brief synthesis on the institutional and policy backgrounds of the actions under our scrutiny, which – besides all of their concrete aspects regarding how they deliver procedural and/or distributive justice – is one of the most interesting issue to be noted under the RELOCAL research, because it reveals their potential and limits.

- The Pata Cluj project, conceived to prepare the desegregation of the landfill area via the relocation of its inhabitants to other parts of Cluj-Napoca or outside of it, was enabled in 2014 by the newly launched Poverty Alleviation Program of Norwegian Funds. Elaborated by a team that beforehand implemented a preparatory intervention in Pata Rât under the auspices of United Nations Development Program, enjoying the support of the City Hall, from an institutional point of view eventually it was assumed by the Intercommunity Development Agency Cluj Metropolitan Area. The latter, together with all the other similar territorial structures was created through Law 286/ 2006 - Law regarding the modification and completing the Local public administration Law 215/2001, and it is defined as a voluntary association of the local councils serving the localities of the metropolitan area, but also as a compulsory condition for accessing the environmental funds of the EU. The “Cluj-Napoca Development Strategy 2014-2020”, and the “Cluj Metropolitan. Integrated Strategy for 2014-2020. Study for the actualization of strategic documents for Cluj-Napoca Growth Pole, 2014-2020” were the immediate planning documents to which Pata Cluj project could relate, however its results and findings were not institutionally incorporated into any City Hall’s agenda for Pata Rât, they were only referred to on the website of IDA-CMA.
- The Mălin-Codlea project aiming the legalization of an informal settlement in the city of Codlea, was facilitated by a call made in 2014 by the National Agency for Roma on this matter, which is inscribed as one housing-related objective of the national strategy for Roma inclusion. The recent version of this strategy was conceived at its turn in the context of the European Framework Strategy from 2011, while the first one responded to a condition to be fulfilled in the process of Romania’s integration into the EU. The legalization of this informal settlement formed during the 1960s, could have relate to the “Codlea Sustainable Local Development Strategy 2011-2020”, but as well as to the “Integrated Urban Development Strategy of Braşov Growth Pole, 2014-2020” (to which Codlea was attached to as a small town in the Braşov Metropolitan Area), or to the large “Development Strategy of Braşov country, 2013-2020-2030,” or even to the “Development Plan of Central Region, 2014-2020.” But this small local project was not acknowledged as a foreseen action of these strategies, and its fulfilment would have been needed a consistent change in the national legislation on informal settlements.
- The Plumbuita PIDU/ Integrated Plan for Urban Development targeted District 2 of the capital city of Romania, Bucharest, suffering of underinvestment, but having a huge development potential as foreseen by its multiple owners (the Local Authorities of District 2 Bucharest/PS2, the National Administration “Romanian Waters”, the Romanian Orthodox Church, and the descendent of the

restituted Ion Ghica Palace). Even though there are several governance levels where the transformation of the area could have been carefully planned (besides Plumbuita PIBU, one should note the Integrated and Sustainable Local Development Strategy of District 2 for the period 2016-2025, The Bucharest Growth Pole, Bucharest Metropolitan Area, the Plan for Regional Development of București-Ilfov region 2014-2020), its desired regeneration was limited by several factors. Among them the limited legal capacity of District 2, and the fact that only those individual projects could have been implemented from the whole strategy that managed to gain funds on the market of EU funded projects.

- The GAL/Local Action Group Mara Natur initiative aims to redress a former mining and today disadvantaged territory in Northern part of Romania through the management potential of a Local Action Group created as a unit able to absorb EU Funds through the LEADER program targeting rural areas. The inflation of development strategies (of the Regional Development Agency North-West; of Maramureș County; of Baia Mare Metropolitan Area; of Mara-Natur GAL territory; and of each territorial administrative unit) makes it difficult to navigate and correlate them productively, particularly when some levels are managed by different political parties. The case reflects how people involved into such initiatives foresee the urgent need for an administrative reform across the whole country as the economy and demography of the region vastly changed, while territorial administration has not.

7.1 Pata Cluj – Residential desegregation

“Social interventions for the de-segregation and social inclusion of vulnerable groups in Cluj Metropolitan Area, including the disadvantaged Roma”

Background

“Pata Cluj” was an action implemented at local level in the form of a project supported between October 2014 - April 2017 by the poverty alleviation program of Norway Grants Romania. It targeted a disadvantaged area from a relatively well developed locality of Romania (the city of Cluj-Napoca, Cluj County, North-West Development Region) with the aim “to prepare the social inclusion of the communities located in Pata Rât and Cantonului area, the most vulnerable group of Cluj Municipality and partly of the Cluj Metropolitan Area.” Indeed, the most astonishing manifestation of spatial injustice in Cluj-Napoca is the ghettoization of Pata Rât near the city's landfill, an area which displays the cumulative effects of a polluted environment, geographical isolation, socio-territorial segregation, housing deprivation, cultural stigmatization and racialization of both the space and the people inhabiting it. The case under our scrutiny was a hybrid type of action created at the crossroads of local and transnational stakeholders, and of bottom-up and top-down perspectives. Its objectives were identified within a former project (run between 2012-2013) under the auspices of United Nations Development Program. “Pata Cluj” was elaborated by the UNDP project team, and at the time of its inception was sustained by both UNDP and the City Hall. Eventually it got financial support via a so-called predefined Norwegian financial scheme, and it was implemented by the Inter-Community Development Agency - Cluj Metropolitan Area, and in particular under the management of the former UNDP project team trained in the spirit of this institution’s practice around community development, participation, and delivering integrated projects.

Findings

The full title of the project refers to Cluj Metropolitan Area, and in particular, to its vulnerable groups, including the disadvantaged Roma, nevertheless its beneficiaries were only the inhabitants of the Pata Rât neighbourhood of Cluj-Napoca. Two thirds of the 35 families who were relocated from Pata Rât (cc 10% of the inhabitants) were given apartments bought or constructed by project money outside of the city of Cluj-Napoca, in three of the villages of Cluj Metropolitan Area (Apahida, Florești, Baciú). Moreover, the 15 school-aged children who benefitted of the project's educational services, eventually were enrolled into schools outside of the city of Cluj-Napoca (located in Cojocna and Cara villages). The Pata Cluj project started without a housing component, requiring funds for the latter in a subsequent moment of its lifetime. It used a lot of resources on the behalf of improving procedural justice: on fuelling “community empowerment” via the work of several facilitators, case managers, experts on restorative practices; on creating “the participative community”, via consultations run in Pata Rât and via a careful discursive construction of the project; on cultural events aiming to raise awareness among the majority population about the area and about the need to be involved into actions as volunteers; on extending the circle of stakeholders involved in the project beyond its managerial and implementation team. The latter not only had the role to bring expertise on different matters, but also served the aim of creating a general positive consensus around the project, including the cause of desegregation as well as the way how it was conceived and implemented as “good practice”.

Outlook

The action not only aimed to improve people’s life, but also to prepare the mainstream public services “to reach out for the most vulnerable groups in the society...” One may note, however that it might have had an impact on the social workers hired at the specialized department of the City Hall, but it did not generate change in its policies regarding Pata Rât or evictions or social housing or urban development, and its team was not sustained by IDA-CMA for a very long time after the project budget was consumed. The full socio-territorial justice to the inhabitants of Pata Rât is awaited to be delivered by further externally funded projects. No political accountability, no institutional change, no financial or other types of contribution is enacted by the decision-making bodies of local public administration towards improving living conditions in Pata Rât or relocating the inhabitants into adequate homes in other parts of the city.

7.2 Mălin-Codlea – Housing legalization

“Accountability of citizens in the field of housing”

Background

In 2001, as a precondition for EU accession, the Romanian Government adopted the National Strategy for improving the condition of the Roma. The strategy defined housing as one of its key domains. In 2004, the National Agency for Roma was established. A second national strategy for the inclusion of Roma citizens of Romania (2014-2020) was adopted in the larger context of the European Framework Strategy (2011). In 2014, NAR started to give financial support for short-term projects under the aegis of "Citizen Participation and Empowerment." These projects' aim was to identify and provide legal solution for the informal settlements inhabited by Roma. One of the 16 successful projects, entitled "Accountability of citizens in the field of housing," was implemented between July and December by the Local Administration of Codlea City (Braşov County, Central Development Region) in collaboration with the Roma Association of Făgăraş (who actually elaborated the project by a Roma expert representing the Roma Party in a town that is 52 km away from Codlea). The project targeted a Roma community that was living without property documents in Mălin district of Codlea since its relocation in the 1960s to this area nearby the landfill, a relocation that happened in the context of socialist systematization, and a situation that was not legally regulated ever since. In parallel with these Roma-specific actions, starting with 2015, the National Land Cadaster and Registry Program launched a long-lasting process of registering all the lands and buildings in Romania that until now were not cadastered or fiscally regulated.

Findings

None of the projects financed by NAR could be completed in the terms set in the call for application. This was due to the short implementation period, to the administrative procedures' (including public auctions and acquisitions) calendar, and as well as due to the lack of national legislation on legalization of informal settlements, and the non-acknowledgement of the various situations that different settlements display. It was expected that the Mălin-Codlea project will legalize all the 150 households living in this area, and will enforce people's citizenship status under conditions in which the Romanian legislation connects the latter stated by an identity document to the existence of a recognized domicile. But only 10% of the households ended successfully the process of legalization, and up to all the obstacles that this process encountered, they had to buy the land under and around their houses. Therefore, an action that promised to repair the injustice that this community suffered in the past (not being legally recognized for almost 60 years nor during socialist or post-socialist times), ended up re-creating injustice among its members. Besides, framing the project as action for citizen empowerment and accountability, the mayorship was convinced that, by implementing it, he has done what he possibly could, and affirmed that those who did not become accountable citizens were not able to legalize their homes and they do not really want to improve their situation.

Outlook

Three years after the implementation of the Mălin-Codlea initiative (in October 2017), the municipality started a project co-financed by the European Social Fund under the Community-Led-Local-Development Program. M.Ă.L.I.N aims at solving the situation of the rest of the households in the community by financing the cost of land acquisition from project funds. It is a positive development for

those who benefit out of it, but it creates a sense of injustice among those who had to pay for the land from their own resources. At the end of the day, these two initiatives, despite of the promise to solve a decades-old problem of spatial injustice, created tensions and new forms of unfair treatment. Most importantly, our case study demonstrates that there is a need of a national legislative measure that could identify and recognize the existence of informal settlements, and could regulate their existence. However, policy-makers should not forget that in the case of many people informal housing is a solution to their disparate condition in which they cannot allow to provide to themselves and to their families other housing alternatives. Even more, one should also note that legalization in the case of situations characterized by housing deprivations cannot be a final aim. In such cases, this endeavour should be completed by improving people's housing and infrastructural conditions, their access to public transport and public utilities, but as well as by eliminating all the sources of pollution from the neighbourhood where people are supposed to enjoy their property rights. Last, but not least, it is to be noted that such initiatives are very much part of a larger trend of housing politics in Romania and in the contemporary world, which targets homeownership as the most ideal type of tenancy, while reducing to minimum the role of the state as developer of public/social housing offered to people in need.

7.3 PIDU Plumbuita - Steaua Rosie - Petricani, Bucharest – Urban regeneration

"Integrated Plan for Urban Development for the area Plumbuita / Steaua Rosie / Petricani (District 2)"

Background

"Plumbuita" was an action implemented at local level, by the City Hall of District 2 in Bucharest, the capital city of Romania. The case study started by addressing the micro-urban locality within the context of national and city centred urban regeneration programs and politics of cohesion. It was a multi-layered project supported partially by POR program of EU funding scheme, implemented between 2010-2014, although some of its components were finished by 2015 and 2016. It targeted a disadvantaged area from a developed locality, namely the city of Bucharest, the capital of Romania. The Integrated Plan for Urban Development (PIDU) is a "long term strategy for area development aiming at job market and economic growth. This strategy will be implemented by individual projects identified in the action plan." The role of EU Cohesion Policy and other EU policies was essential for the initiation and development of the action. They did have a conceptual influence apart from the financial support, and thus constituted the understanding of a broader development of the area, not only for the benefit of the local population. This strategy (PIDU) had several objectives: physical regeneration of urban environment; infrastructure rehabilitation; economic development by growth of economic activities; employment opportunities; ethnic group integration. Eventually the strategy got financial support for one of the 12 individual projects and for one of the seven components of a second individual project.

Findings

The full title of the project "Integrated Plan for Urban Development for the Area Plumbuita/Steaua Rosie / Petricani from District 2, Bucharest" refers to a territory including three neighbourhoods. The latter's most challenging feature is the multiple property regime around which the involved stakeholders are strongly fighting among each other (the Local Authorities of District 2 Bucharest/PS2, the National Administration "Romanian Waters", the Romanian Orthodox Church, and the descendent of the restituted Ion Ghica Palace). On this scene, the poor inhabitants of the area, and most importantly the disadvantaged Roma are hardly represented. Out of all the individual projects of PIDU, the streets were asphalted and the video surveillance camera system was put in place as a mean of securitization that could have symbolic messages for attracting visitors, but definitely did not improve the life conditions of the local impoverished. Moreover, many of the foreseen projects were dependent on the local authorities' legal capacity to administer the areas on which they wanted to act on, which was not obtained in due time. For the part of the projects implemented, the City Hall of District 2 used public resources to co-fund the EU supported projects.

Outlook

The action aimed at urban regeneration and restoration of the defined area of District 2, with a clear consequence on improving the quality of life for the inhabitants. The scarcity of projects implemented left the area almost at the same level of under-development and no foreseeable plan for emancipation. The decision-making capacity of the district is very limited. The Local Administration of the district do not have property but can only manage different public areas given to them by the state. According to the evaluation of PS2 only the first component of Project 2 and Project 9 have been implemented. All the other projects could not be implemented "due to the lack of financial resources, to managerial

capability, to the disapproval of shifting the management of certain territories and water to the PS2 or due to the fact that the desired development directions in the area falls outside the authority of PS2.”

7.4 Mara-Natur – Renewal of disadvantaged territories

"Microregional Association Local Action Group Mara-Natur"

Background

Mara-Natur is one of the 239 local action groups in Romania that are a part of LEADER, an European Union's initiative destined to improve rural livelihoods at European level. LEADER is measure 19 of Romania's National Program for Rural Development, specifically tailored to match EU funding, particularly the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development. The association was formed in 2011 at the initiative of the municipality of Baia Sprie, a small city in the county of Maramureş, North-West Romania. The rest of the 17 territorial administrative units consist of neighbouring villages stretched between Baia Mare, the county capital, and another small city, Târgu Lăpuş – neither which are group members. Geographically, the area's relief is relatively diverse, stretching over 1258 km²., yet most of it has been influenced both by long-term mining for precious metals and polymetals, as well as by the cessation of mining activities in 2007. The flows of mass emigration increased drastically, although not significantly different compared to other regions. Ecological disasters (spilling of contaminated mining residue into local rivers) occurred repeatedly, affecting wild and human life in and outside the area. As opposed to other larger scale funding opportunities, Mara-Natur can open calls for applications for small-scale projects of up to several tens of thousands of Euros. According to the LAG's local development strategy, the objectives regard the conservation and promotion of natural and cultural heritage, increasing the area's economic output, supporting social equity through social services, and developing the area's 'good governance'.

Findings

Mara-Natur manages funding for both private and public applicants, covering a wide range of economic initiatives (e.g. installation of young farmers) and public interest actions (e.g. repairing public roads). For most public stakeholders, LEADER is not a particularly new format, as they are used to adapting to any available funding opportunity for their communities, as well as to the discourse of locally led development. In this regard, the characteristics of the concept of LAG appears as not vastly different from one of the other superimposed bureaucratic structures. However, the way in which the LAG was formed and the shape of its territory are the product of local political intuition and agility because of the restrictive ratio of urban population of a LAG that puts small urban centres in direct competition for the attraction of surrounding villages. A common concern related to European funding, including LEADER, is over-bureaucratization, also when comparing to stories heard from experiences in other UE states. This affects administrations lacking adequate means (e.g. sufficient personnel) and/or experience in dealing with EU funding, more so when application windows are tight. The inflation of development strategies (Regional Development Agency North-West; Maramureş County; Baia Mare Metropolitan Area; Mara-Natur; each territorial administrative unit) makes it difficult to navigate and correlate them productively, particularly when some levels are managed by different political parties. The relevance of political colour for local and regional development is overlooked by the concept of LAG.

Outlook

As an ongoing project, Mara-Natur provides some welcomed benefits with no major drawbacks – although the decision making process could be improved. In the larger scheme, however, administrative

reform is seen as an impending necessity as the economy and demography of the region vastly changed, while territorial administration has not. Propositions include merging the smallest TAU with the closest cities. Perhaps this conclusion is triggered by the occurrence of the LAG as an experiment on territorial development. While most stakeholders agree that there is still a need for investment in infrastructure development and maintenance, the factor that could speed up the reduction of territorial inequalities is the presence of solid economic investors in other areas besides urban centres. Large scale initiatives such as major transport infrastructure projects and the development of mountain resorts would bring the needed economic boost in the region, but the administrative fragmentation of the territory reduces the possibility. Because EU funding is regarded as highly necessary, a lack of ensured access (increased support for applications to larger sums) could breed resentment among the most underfunded areas of Mara-Natur.

10 Case from Sweden

10.1 Stockholm Commission

Author: Thomas Borén (Stockholm University)

Background

Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, represents a prime example of an internationally successful and competitive city, structured around a high cost, innovation-driven economy. But it is also a highly socially, economically and ethnically segregated city. In 2014 Stockholm City Council got a new political majority, that decided to do something about the growing inequalities. In the city budget of 2015, the most important governing document of the city, the new ruling coalition stated that the development towards a more divided Stockholm should be halted and turned. Moreover, one of the four prime or directive objectives (*inriktningsmål*) of the city up to 2018 was stated to be that Stockholm should be an integrated (*sammanhållen*) city.

As one important measure to achieve this goal, the city created the “Commission for a Socially Sustainable Stockholm” (*Kommissionen för ett socialt hållbart Stockholm*), from hereafter “the Commission”. The work of the Commission is the focus of this case study; it is an action by the city carried out 2015–2017 that in a direct sense addresses inequalities and spatial differences in living conditions within the city. The concrete task of the Commission is to “analyse differences in life conditions in Stockholm and to propose measures for an equal and socially sustainable city”. Under the auspices of its key concepts – equality in life conditions and social sustainability – the action is analysed as broadly and concretely concerned with issues of spatial justice.

Findings

Preliminary results from the Stockholm case study suggests that the action, that is the work of the Commission, may contribute positively to spatial justice. Empirical results so far suggest that the organizational learning processes, generated by the action, and the specific suggestions for change emanating from these learning processes, have had concrete effects in important documents governing the urban administration and indirectly also on external partners to the city (e.g. developers), and, finally, in the long run, most likely, influence the living conditions of the inhabitants. These documents, e.g. the yearly City Budget as well as the longer term Comprehensive Municipal Plan, govern certain aspects of spatial justice and as such are important for democratic empowerment.

Outlook

Preliminary results support the view that the *organizational form* of the action can be characterized as a type of experimental governance, which might be a useful instrument also in other cities, given local support from top urban politicians and top urban officials. It is an instrument that in the case of Stockholm managed (based on preliminary results) to produce a) organizational learning in the field of spatial justice, and b) to produce substantiated suggestions for change, and c) based on these results over time acquired a stronger position in the city at large in key governing documents. A fourth point (d) is that the organizational form seems to be adaptable to different cities.

Similar organizational forms for similar agendas of spatial justice have been tried more or less independently in the three largest cities in Sweden, thus apart from Stockholm also in Malmö and Gothenburg. Regarding the latter point (d) the inherent localized aspects of the organizational learning would most likely be crucial. In short, localized organizational learning seem to be key to the capacity of

this organizational form to ‘travel’ successfully. It would ensure that out-of-context solutions are not even becoming suggestions.

The organisational form has been tried in three cities in Sweden in relation to similar issues (the other two examples are to be addressed in more detail in the National Report) and preliminary results suggests that the form is well adjusted to adapt to local circumstances, not least so since one of the first measures of these types of action is, at least in the Stockholm case, a local empirical mapping of the local conditions of the issues addressed. A second step is to use *both* city external and city internal expertise to formulate substantiated suggestions for change. Moreover, relying on external academic (and thus city independent) researchers seem to be an important feature of the external expertise, bringing in general academic knowledge to the action. Most likely, the national context could vary as long as the locality is autonomous and have some degree of real power, including financial power, to address the issues at stake. But financial capacity of the locality seems preliminary not to be the main issue, rather using existing resources in new, innovative ways are key. In short, with proper and localised organisational learning, things done anyway could be done differently.

11 Cases from the UK

11.1 Lewis and Harris, Outer Hebrides (Scotland)

Authors: Mags Currie, Annabel Pinker and Andrew Copus (The James Hutton Institute)

The Isles of Lewis and Harris are part of the Western Isles which are located off the west coast of Scotland. The Western Isles are on the periphery of both Scotland and Europe. Population decline in the area is a key challenge in these remote islands. Without targeted action in place to target the long-term and continual population decline the long-term sustainability, viability and resilience of these islands is questionable.

In this case study, we consider how a specific place-based intervention is attempting to tackle these spatial inequalities within Lewis and Harris but also relative to Scotland as a whole. Highland and Island Enterprise's (HIE) *Strengthening Communities* is a specific place-based action that has been implemented in Lewis and Harris to tackle local challenges and develop locally-defined community projects. *Strengthening Communities* aims to develop and grow social and economic development in communities particularly in HIE's self-defined "fragile areas". This makes it an interesting case study as Scottish policy is not currently grounded in spatial justice but is more focused on tackling inequalities at an individual level. It is also an area where European money has been heavily invested and there are implications of that money not being maintained post-Brexit.

Research in this case study area focused on spatial inequalities both within Lewis and Harris, as well as comparing Lewis and Harris to Scotland as a whole; and attempted to assess and understand the ways in which the Strengthening Communities programme effectively provided spatial justice opportunities to empower and enable communities, and the autonomy the communities consequently experienced.

Interviews were conducted with key individuals within HIE as well as other individuals who had direct understanding of what the programme entailed and how it played out within Lewis and Harris.

Key issues considered through this case study are:

- Community land ownership and the ways it enhances (and/ or curtails) the empowerment of communities
- Understanding place-based processes of empowerment and enablement in communities
- Effectiveness of spatially targeted interventions in addressing inequality.
- New models of local governance and how this affects community-based organisations (community trusts, buy outs, centralisation of HIE)
- The interactions of multiple institutions working in a place.

11.2 Northumberland Uplands Local Action Group (NULAG) - The LEADER approach

Authors: Elizabeth Brooks, Mark Shucksmith, Ali Madanipour (University of Newcastle)

Background

NULAG (Northumberland Uplands Local Action Group) is a LEADER action group based in a self-defined upland territory within Northumberland, the northern-most county of England. It has operated in two phases between 2007 and the current period. It is largely volunteer-led and run, with, in the current phase, one paid programme officer who undertakes administration. NULAG manages a centrally-allocated grant pot which is distributed to local applicants through a competitive bid process. A central feature of LEADER funding is that it does not cover all costs, but requires significant match funding, the proportion depending on the category of project.

In common with the majority of UK LEADER groups, NULAG has a host body which provides office space and employs the programme officer, an accountable body, providing legal and financial backing to the project, and a managing body, a regional branch of a national agency which shapes the programme strategy, decides eligibility criteria and pays out grant monies. In the first phase, the host body was the Northumberland National Park Authority, representing only part of the NULAG territory; in the second phase, the Northumberland County Council, for which NULAG represents only a small part of its county-wide territory.

Findings

The action can be said to be unique in delivering locally-steered, small and medium-scale development funding to a remote and sparsely inhabited uplands area. It has also leveraged considerable match-funding in the form of charitable trust grants, bank loans and personal contributions. This can be said to be timely in the Northumberland local government context where in 2009, six lower-level district authorities merged into one unitary, which is focused on the areas of denser population the south east lowland areas of the county. Other development funding available within the county is mainly medium to large scale, and mediated through regional bodies which for reasons of both scale and outreach, increasingly focus on lowland parts of the county.

The action is directed at furthering rural sustainability through environmental actions, social inclusion actions and amenity, services and job creation – though in the second phase, mainly the latter. The capacity of the action to decide its own focus, and in particular to benefit disadvantaged and deprived local people, have been constrained both by its structural inaccessibility to disadvantaged groups and by its framing through higher-level governance ultimately shaped in accordance with ministerial agendas.

Outlook

In both phases, the action has achieved impressive and sustainable flagship developments in the locality. These projects may broadly be said to improve the area's amenities to the benefit of local people, bring economic benefit to the area (helping it to retain jobs and population), improve its offer for tourism and to some extent raise its profile nationally. The action has also made numerous very small grant allocations, as low as £2,510, that have enabled rural micro-enterprises to develop and grow.

There is however considerable regret among those involved with the first phase of the action that it is no longer able to support to any significant extent the kinds of projects that would build rural social capital and further individuals' capabilities. The situation in particular of young people, of unemployed

and low paid people and of isolated older people, is both of increasing concern and decreasing visibility. Some of the most remote northerly settlements also appear under-included.