



Resituating the Local in Cohesion and Territorial Development



Case Study Report
Llei de Barris in Premià de Dalt
Action Plan for the Promotion of Quality of Life in a Segregated
Neighbourhood, Spain

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Abbreviations

AAVV	<i>Asociació de Veïns</i> - Community Association
DIBA	<i>Diputació de Barcelona</i> – Barcelona Province Council
EC	European Commission
EFRD	European Fund for Regional Development
EGTC	European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
LAU	Local Administrative Unit
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
PDU	<i>Pla Director Urbanístic</i> – Urban Planning Master Plan
POUM	<i>Pla d’Ordenació Urbanística Municipal</i> – Land-use Planning
SME	Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises

Executive Summary

Santa Maria/Santa Anna–Tió neighbourhood is a working class neighbourhood in Premià de Dalt, a high-income residential municipality. This neighbourhood has a concentration of socioeconomic problems: population from this neighbourhood has low professional training; young people are not integrated in educational environment or labour market; and women, especially those immigrants, have serious problems to find an employment. The neighbourhood also suffers from housing defects: the houses are small and have structural problems due to precarious constructive solutions.

In addition, it is geographically isolated from Premià de Dalt. The neighbourhood is spatially separated by a motorway, and it is physically attached to Premià de Mar neighbouring municipality. Just one street separates them. Therefore, this neighbourhood has an identity by own self. These issues have strong implications in terms of social and spatial justice at local level.

In order to reduce the disparities within the municipality, Premià de Dalt presented a proposal to be participant into Catalan Government Neighbourhood Law. The objective was increase the opportunities of the neighbours of Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió through the development of social programmes and improve the public space through an urban comprehensive intervention. With the technical support of Province Council of Barcelona and involving civil society, the local government achieved in 2010 resource allocation to face physical and social degradation and increase the quality of life of the neighbourhood residents. The intervention at neighbourhood scale made easier to definition, implementation and manage of the action.

Over the years, the local perception is that the neighbourhood has improved in urban terms, although the financial crisis stopped the execution of the majority of the urban renewal actions. Related to social aspects, the neighbourhood has now a more active associativism and groups as women or youths seem to feel part of the neighbourhood dynamics. This has been possible due to the participation framework created, in which diverse and multilevel stakeholders were involved, from regional level to local scale. The action is designed trying to cover all the collectives of the neighbourhood: women, youths, elderly or socioeconomic vulnerable targets. The combination of urban projects, infrastructures and community reinforcement has contributed to achieve this.

The initiative comes from Catalan Government although during the process of implementation it has engaged the residents and drawn on their own local expertise. Therefore, the action has been based on “local knowledge” with the aim that the Plan answered to the neighbourhood reality. For this reason, the residents felt part of the process since the first moment and the majority was motivated to be involved during the development of the action. This has contributed to keep the project alive over these years, building bridges in terms of communication and reliability between citizenship and municipal government. The involvement of citizens has been partially possible due to the strong identity of the neighbours from Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió.

There have been external factors during the implementation of the action, such as economic crisis, differences between Premià de Dalt and neighbour municipality Premià de Mar, or city's own dynamic, which have caused changes on expected outcomes and schedules. Nevertheless, the general impact of the action on the neighbourhood in terms of urban and social improvements is considered positive.

1. Introduction

Premià de Dalt is a residential periurban municipality, located 20 Km northwest from Barcelona with 10.345 inhabitants (2017). The proximity to Barcelona and the socioeconomic structures become Premià de Dalt as a fully integrated municipality in the context of the metropolitan area of Barcelona.

The town is physically segregated into two areas: uptown neighbourhoods with high income per capita, where approximately 65% of local residents live, and a working class neighbourhood, under this analysis, with low income per capita, where live 35% of the remaining inhabitants. It is Santa Anna –Tió, an administratively neighbourhood from Premià de Dalt, but spatially separated from the others neighbourhoods. In fact, it is physically attached to Premià de Mar municipality (to Santa Maria neighbourhood). Both, Santa Anna – Tió / Santa Maria are socially understood as a unique neighbourhood, which has generated an own identity over the time.

The neighbourhood under analysis is the result of a rapid and disorganized growth process that took place in the decade 60-70. It became a marginal nucleus halfway between two municipalities (Premià de Dalt and Premià de Mar), deficient in terms of free spaces, equipment and services, and surrounded by physical barriers (Maresme highway, and agricultural areas).

In general, it is a neighbourhood (Santa Anna – Tió/Santa Maria) aged and with a strong Spanish migratory presence. It is a socially vulnerable neighbourhood, characterized by a population with low academic training and low professional qualifications, where young people have difficulties to integrate both in the educational field and in the workplace. Up to 80% of the residents have a low level of education. In addition, the migrant population has serious problems to remain in the labour market long periods.

With this socio-economic conditions, social action programmes are implemented, but without much collaboration with the other adjacent municipality Premià de Mar. The action under the Catalan Government neighbourhood law and the full name of Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió comprehensive intervention project represent a unique collaboration among them. In year 2009 after developed the strategic plan, both municipalities decide 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 Plan was a multilevel stakeholder involvement: Premià de Dalt municipality; Premià de Mar municipality and local civil society such as social and economic actors at the neighbourhood level, have been part of the whole process.

The Plan has four main strategic goals:

1. The connection of both urban areas through the elimination of physical obstacles and public equipment attraction to the neighbourhood of Santa Anna-Tió, eliminating the traditionally stigma that has characterised this neighbourhood.

2. The intervention in the internal public space, through the creation of an axis public space;
3. The improvement of quality of life and the neighbourhood opportunities
4. The establishment collaboration mechanisms between both municipalities to join efforts to avoid comparative grievances.



Figure 1. Pla de Barris blog, where are updated the actions and activities of the Plan. Source: Pla de Barris

2. Methodological Reflection

- One of the aspects that has raised some internal debate in the elaboration process of the Plan has been the name of the neighbourhood. The neighbours call it simply "neighbourhood" (*"I am from the neighbourhood, I was born in the neighbourhood, buy in the neighbourhood, or that problem in the neighbourhood is..."*). The residents talk about going up to Premià (de Dalt) or go down to Premià (de Mar). The names of the neighbourhood, however, are that of Santa Maria (it takes its name from the parish that was built in 1982) by Premià de Mar, and Santa Anna-Tió (taking also the name of the historical parish) by Premià de Dalt. The name Santa Anna is repeated in various places and facilities: the Torrent de Santa Anna, the Santa Anna School... The joint initiatives, for example the neighbours' association that brings together the whole area of the neighbourhood, is called AAVV of Santa Maria-Santa Anna-Tió. However, the neighbourhood is known, both by its neighbours and by the rest of the locals such as "Barrio Cotet", its popular name. This denomination is used frequently by the elderly neighbours, but also by the young people and children. Formerly, "Cotet" may have had negative connotations, now it is now used normally.

- The name used to describe the case study neighbourhood, and the action, has been replicated from Official Reports. Santa Maria/Santa Anna Tió (Cotet neighbourhood) comprehensive intervention project, is the official action name under the framework of the 2/2004 Law of the Catalan government, best known as "Llei de Barris" (neighbourhood law). This strategic plan and its implementation are also best known as "Pla de Barris", this nickname is currently used for another similar initiative from Barcelona City Council.

- There are not many statistical data sources at sufficiently small scales to support statements at the neighbourhood level. Case study area is a neighbourhood with an estimated 4.000 inhabitants. Premià de Dalt municipality has around 10.000 inhabitants. Statistical data of the neighbourhood have been taken from the diagnosis of the Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió (Cotet neighbourhood) comprehensive intervention project document.

- Interlinks between different action programmes, municipal services and city council sector areas make it difficult to delimitate impacts and work patterns of a single programme, like "Llei de Barris". Still, this really is inherent to most work programmes across Europe, even more considering the strategic interest of creating synergies between such programmes.

- The interviewed experts are mainly local to know the impact of the action on the neighbourhood. There were members from the local government, technicians and civil society. There was identified an association as *Community Association from Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió*, which concentrates a representation of all the social groups from the neighbourhood (women, youths, shopkeepers...). The interviews have been conducted following a questionnaire based on the questions of the case study guidelines. The questionnaire has been adapted according to the stakeholders' role, having a particular questionnaire for members from the local government, one for technicians and one for the civil society. Perceptions of residents have been considered as well by a series of on-street questions, randomly performed. This process aimed at gasping changes in local (self-) perceptions.

3. The Locality

3.1. Territorial Context and Characteristics of the Locality

Premià de Dalt is a municipality of 10.345 inhabitants in the Maresme county with 6,75 km² of extension (1,5 inhab/km²). It is 9 km away from the county capital Mataró, and 22 km from Barcelona. The municipality is fully integrated in the context of the metropolitan area of Barcelona.

The municipality is currently comprised of 5 differentiated urban areas, each one of them with particular socioeconomic characteristics: Old Town, Remei-Castell, Puig de Pedra-Sot del Pi and La Floresta and Santa Anna-Tió, which are spatially separated from the others by a highway.

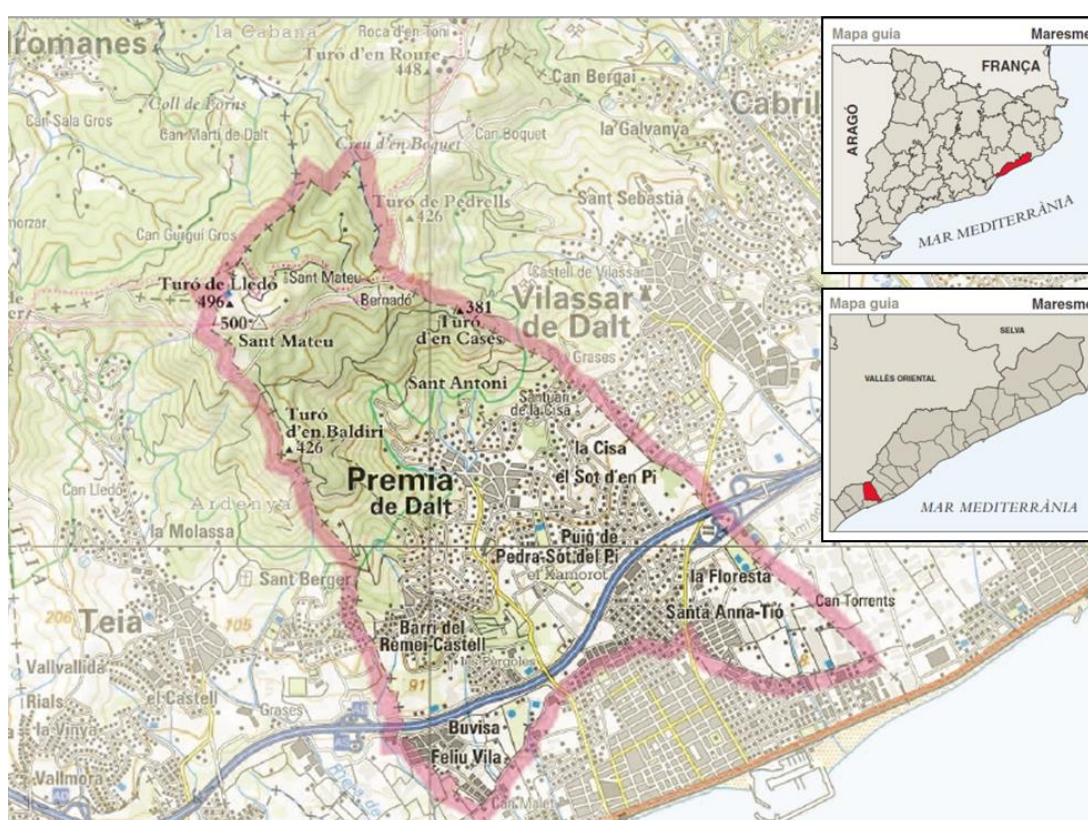


Figure 2. Premià de Dalt. Source: Premià de Dalt. Geoportal, 2017.

Next table briefly characterises the case study area, as a reference.

Name of Case Study Area	Premià de Dalt
Size	6,57 km2
Total population (2017)	10.345inh.
Population density (2017)	1574,58 (people per Km²)
Level of development in relation to wider socio-economic context	Disadvantaged population bags within a highly developed municipality
Type of the region (NUTS3-Eurostat)	Urban
Name and Identification Code of the NUTS-3 area, in which the locality is situated (NUTS 3 Code(s) as of 2013)	ES511
Name and Identification Code of the NUTS-2 area, in which the locality is situated (NUTS 2 Code(s) as of 2013)	ES51

Table 1. Basic socio-economic characteristics of Premià de Dalt. Source: Idescat, 2017

Premià de Dalt's population is younger compared to Maresme county and Barcelona province. Group of 0-14 year-old is stable around 17% between 2007 and 2017, and this rate is higher than the county and regional rate. At the same time ageing population rate (>65pop/15-64pop) has increased 4% since 2009, and now represent 25% of total population. Nevertheless, this rate is lower than the county (27%) and Barcelona region (28%) rate. Population growth is stable around 1% (2005-2015 period) and, during the last decade; this increasing is due to foreign immigration, most of them with kids. Only 17% of Premià de Dalt population were born there.

Indicator	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017	Trend	Observations
Total Population	9.944	10.168	10.319	10.392	10.345		Population has increased until 2015
% ageing population (>65 / 15-64)	19,0%	20,6%	22,0%	24,2%	25,3%		Aging population rate is increasing but is lower than the county
% Children and youths (0-15 / tot pop)	16,8%	16,8%	16,6%	16,8%	16,8%		Children and youth rate is stable
Childbearing age population (20-39 residents/ total pop.)	28,1%	26,8%	25,2%	23,9%	22%		Childbearing age population is decreasing
Working age population (16-64)	6.970	7.031	7.069	6.983	6.867		Working age population is decreasing since 2011
% foreign immigration (foreign resident / total pop)	8,4%	9,2%	9,4%	8,6%	8,4%		Immigration stable around 8%
Unemployment Rate (unemployment pop. / active pop.)	13,1%	15,5%	17%	14,4%	10,4%		Is decreasing and lower than the county average
Registered unemployment	570	697	774	668	490		Decreasing but and mostly temporary contract
Employment Services Rate (services employ. / total employ.)	60%	60%	64%	68%	70%		Increasing and higher than de county
Employment Industry Rate (industrial employ. / total employ.)	22%	19%	17%	17%	14%		14% of the companies are dedicated to industrial sector
Employment Construction Rate (construction employ. / total employ.)	14%	15%	13%	9%	8%		Resilient after the crisis
Number of Services companies	144	141	155	164	156		Has decreased since 2015
Number of construction companies	45	45	33	35	35		Has increased after the crisis
Number of industrial companies	36	39	32	30	31		It is decreasing since 2011
Gross household income available	186.989€	194.968€	199.604€	210.793€	222.936€ ¹		Increasing since 2009
Municipal Budget	9,4M€	10,5M€	10,8M€	11,9M€	10,9 M€		Increasing income from capital transfers.

Table 2. Megatrends at a glance in Premià de Dalt, 2001-2017. Data source: Catalan Institute of Statistics, 2017

In 2015, only 9% Premià de Dalt population are foreigners, lower rate than the county average but higher than neighbouring municipalities. Foreign residents were mostly born in Europe (34%) (from France, Italy and Russia), in Africa (from Morocco) (34%), or in Latin America (15%) (from Argentina, Colombia and Ecuador).

In Premià de Dalt, there are located 2.281 jobs (employees and self-employees) and 72% of them are in the services sector, 12% are in the industry and construction sector and 4% are in the agricultural sector. Unemployment rate in Premià de Dalt is 10% by the year 2017; much lower than the county average and with clear a downward trend, although it is unbalanced between neighbourhoods. This is a very low value in the context of Spanish municipalities.

There are differentiated areas inside Premià de Dalt. In general terms, the 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 Ana-Tió areas are generally portrayed as a working class neighbourhoods, especially Santa Anna-Tió. By the 2009 year, this neighbourhood concentrated 25% of the municipality's population, representing the highest density in the municipal context and it has 15% of foreign population.

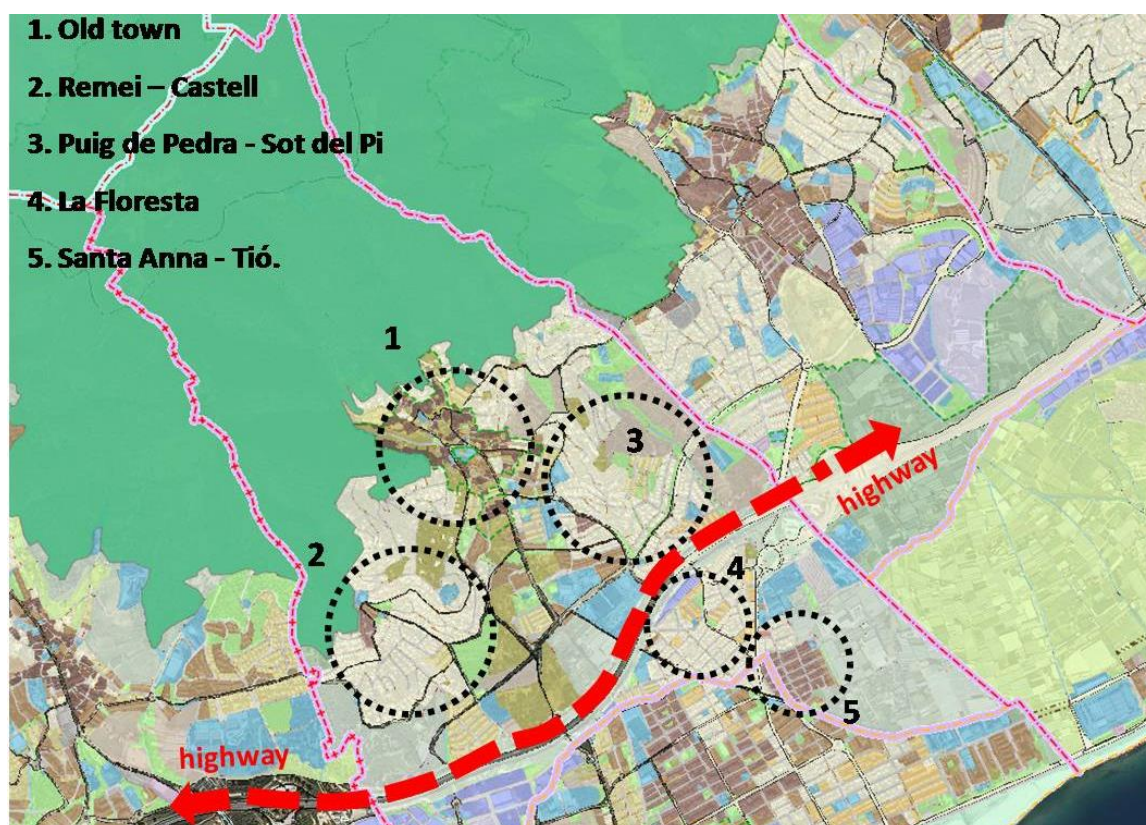


Figure 3. Premià de Dalt principal urban areas. Source: Cartographic and Geological Institute of Catalonia.

Santa Anna - Tió neighbourhood from Premià de Dalt; Santa Maria neighbourhood from Premià de Mar

Santa Anna-Tió is an administratively neighbourhood from Premià de Dalt, which is spatially separated from uptown urban area (Old Town, Remei-Castell, Puig de Pedra-Sot del Pi). This neighbourhood is physically attached to Premià de Mar municipality (only separated by Torrent de Santa Ana and Torrent de la Font Santa Ana streets), and its neighbourhood Santa Maria. Both neighbourhoods shares the same socio-economic characteristics which constitutes a unique continuous socially neighbourhood, even though they administratively are part of two municipalities.

The neighbourhoods born in an informal and undeveloped urban area, located in the limit of both municipalities, after the parcelling of agricultural land. It was settled in floodplain area, and the self-built housing development without any planning criteria did not take account

public green spaces and municipal facilities. That is why the current public infrastructure has been built in the surrounded areas and trying to connect them to the neighbourhood.

Traditionally, the area has historical barriers that surround it, such as the highway, agricultural areas and other physical elements. The historical origin and the separation from the town centre of Premià de Dalt, it has generated a neighbourhood identity of its own that residents from both neighbourhood shares. The historical and common name of the neighbourhood is Cotet, but now it is not the officially one.

Santa Maria/Santa Anna–Tió neighbourhood, by the year 2009, had an estimated of 4,063 inhabitants: 94% of them living in Premià de Dalt and the other 6% in Premià de Mar municipality. Foreign people represent 21% of its population, mostly from Africa (74%) and Latin America (19%).

The unemployment rate in the Santa Maria/Santa Anna–Tió neighbourhood is around 16%, higher rate than the municipality and the county. People from these neighbourhoods are characterized by having low economic resources and low professional training (80% of the inhabitants do not have high school diplomas or professional training.), which means less opportunities and more difficulties to enter to educational and labour market, especially vulnerable groups as young people, immigrants, or women.

Santa Maria/Santa Anna–Tió neighbourhood suffers from some housing public services deficits. The housing park is characterised by relatively small multifamily houses with 60-70m² with scanty size of courtyards, wastewater filtrations, precarious constructive solutions and no facilities for persons with reduced mobility.



Figure 4. Torrent Santa. Source: Pla de Barris.

3.2. The Locality with regards to Dimension 1&2

Analytical Dimension 1: Perception of spatial (in-)justice within the locality

Spatial injustice within the municipality could be understood as deriving by perceived socioeconomic differences among residents in different municipal neighbourhoods. Physical distance and barrier effects of the by-crossing motorway are only elements that reinforce this perception. Within Premià de Dalt municipality, spatial justice perception is related to quality of municipal public services and quality of life but, at same time, they are aware of deficits in social cohesion among its neighbourhoods. Identity is strong at the neighbourhood scale but weak at the municipal scale. Old Town or Santa Anna–Tió have strong identities that do not necessarily link with the municipal identity.

Thus, perception of spatial injustice within the municipality could be detailed in physical, socio-economic and demographics scopes:

- **Physical, the highway represents a huge barrier inside the municipality according to the residents, which split the municipality in two realities completely different.** It is perceived that neighbourhood physical conditions and its current urban landscape contributes to generate social differences among Premià de Dalt neighbourhoods. Neighbourhoods located upper to the highway have a house park based on villas with garden. Santa Maria / Sant Anna-Tió is traditionally characterised by the low quality of housing, poor public facilities and services, low free spaces...surrounded by physical barriers. The lack of services or the bad conditions of the housing stock could be seen as an effect of distributive injustice processes that have been happening in this neighbourhood over the years, comparing to the other neighbourhoods of the town which concentrates the main municipal equipment, for instance.

Local residents see the neighbourhood as *“a neighbourhood where the houses have bad conditions, where there are a lack of public facilities and services, and green-open spaces ... in general, this a neighbourhood completely different from the others. It has its own socially and economically dynamic”*.



Figure 5. Old Town of Premià de Dalt. Source: Google Maps & Premià de Dalt website, 2018.



Figure 6. Santa Anna-Tió portrayed as a working class neighbourhood. Source: Google Maps, 2018.

- **Socio-economic, there are vulnerable population groups located in specific areas inside Premià de Dalt, such as Santa Anna-Tió neighbourhood, that contribute to the lack of social cohesion within the municipality.** Population from Santa Anna-Tió present low rates of education. Some group have difficulties to access to labour market such as immigrant women. The unemployment rates and poverty are higher in this neighbourhood, which

reduce the standards of social cohesion within the neighbourhoods and also within the citizenship of Premià.

Some residents from the neighbourhood though that *“the neighbourhood has traditionally had the stigma to be problematic and insecure, where some people consumed drugs, and where migrant flows made the neighbourhood relations more difficult. Years ago, it could be happen...but now the coexistence is changing”*.

- **Demographic, there are different population trends inside the municipality and with a specific location**, such as immigration in Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió neighbourhood, ageing population in Old Town or higher population growth rate in some neighbourhood than others.

“Immigrant population in Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió suffer predominantly energy poverty. Many families can not pay electricity and water supplies, and have to live in small flats sharing bedrooms. This was higher during the economic crisis”. Professionals from social services of Premià de Dalt.

Some of current deficits and inequalities are seen and understood as historical. Despite of the investment and continuous efforts from town councils, problems remain and public infrastructure and municipal services can be better according to the local population. The neighbours perceive that the cooperation and collaboration between two local administrations is too low. This is considered one of the main causes why the initiatives addressed to overcome the stigma and improve the quality of life in the neighbourhood, have not had great impacts: *“the understanding between two municipalities is not sufficient...which means that it is difficult to solve the daily incidents and conflicts”*. This could be related to procedural injustices processes due to the low links and misunderstanding between these two local councils had made the implementation of urban renewal actions and social programmes unsuccessful.

“It does not matter if we are from Premià de Mar or from Premià de Dalt; we are neighbours of the same neighbourhood and we have the same problems and want the same solutions.” Citizen from Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió neighbourhood

In local narratives from local institutions, the neighbourhood of study has concentrated the efforts for overcoming the injustices of vulnerable groups. In this sense, activities, services and public infrastructure addressing to most vulnerable groups are located in the Santa Anna-Tió neighbourhood. Here is located the Municipal Employment and Economic Promotion Service or Pla de Barris office. Meanwhile, in Old Town, Remei-Castell and Puig de Pedra-Sot del Pi neighbourhoods there are the infrastructure related to gastronomy, tourism, municipal market.... The museum and the Cultural Centre are located in Old Town. Throughout the municipality there are lack of strong local commerce (initiatives or associations) or internal collaboration between companies; this harms the use of opportunities to boost local economic development and contribute to perceive Premià de Dalt as a dormitory city.

In terms of intermunicipal cooperation is easier between municipalities with similar characteristics and target groups. For this reason, perception from Town Council members is that municipalities which are mainly composed by middle-upper class residential neighbourhoods (such as Cabrils, Cabrera, Teià, Argentona and Masnou municipalities) have better inter-institutional relationship among them than with other municipalities composed by working-class neighbourhoods (such as Premià de Mar municipality, which is closer).

Analytical Dimension 2: Tools and policies for development and cohesion

Given the idiosyncrasies of the neighbourhood, and for contributing to its economic development and increasing the social cohesion, the Town Council of Premià de Dalt has promoted several social programs. Moreover, some municipal services as Social Services or Local Employment Service are located there (*Ongoing programmes identified. Annex - Table 3*).

Among all the programmes initiated in the case study neighbourhood, it is remarkable “*Llei De Barris*”, from the Catalan Government Neighbourhood Law. Local government actors were aware of the vulnerability of the neighbourhood and the lack of funds to overcome urban and social problems there. For that reason, in 2009 Premià de Dalt and Premià de Mar municipalities started a process of collaboration to developed a strategic plan called *Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió (Cotet neighbourhood) comprehensive intervention project*, with which they achieved resources allocation from 2/2004 law of Catalan Government, best known as “*Llei de barris*”.

This initiative had the objective to generate an instrument of social redistribution; promote the integral rehabilitation of special neighbourhoods; undertake social improvement actions to promote cohesion and integration in neighbourhoods; improve environmental sustainability; and promote economic dynamism of selected neighbourhoods of Catalonia. The target were neighbourhoods, urban areas and villages that required special attention in terms of urban regression processes, low quality of housing, poor public infrastructures and public spaces; demographics problems caused by aging or accelerated growth of population; ongoing social, economic or environmental problems or, persistence social and urban deficits.

“*Llei de barris*” is financed by Catalan Government through regional fund to co-finance and promote actions on Catalan neighbourhoods. The municipalities with lower budgetary receive funds and they have to implement the designed actions after a citizen participation processes. The contribution of Catalan Government has a minimum of 50% and a maximum of 75% of the project global budget participation, in a maximum mandatory period of 4 years; with a possible extension between 2 and 4 years.

According to the law, the plans should include these main goals:

1. Improvement of public spaces and provision of green areas
2. Rehabilitation and equipment of collective buildings elements
3. Provision of equipment for collective use
4. Incorporation of information technologies in buildings
5. Foster sustainable urban development, especially in terms of energy efficiency, saving water consumption and waste recycling)
6. Gender equality in urban space and public infrastructures
7. Development of programmes focused on social, urban and economic neighbourhood improvement
8. Accessibility improvement and suppression of architectural barriers

The initiative has to deliver a final report including outcomes and indicators related to urban and spatial functionality, trade and economic structure, environmental implications, social cohesion and gender equality.

According to technicians of the Generalitat de Catalunya responsible for the implementation of the *Llei de Barris*, the assessment of the socioeconomic impact that the integral intervention projects have, has been positive. They believe that these kinds of projects have improved the urban and infrastructure conditions of those neighborhoods that have participated. Related to a survey carried out on the resident population in the neighborhoods where the Law of

Neighborhoods has been implemented (*Evaluation of the Neighborhood Law in the municipalities*), 43% of neighbors believe that their neighborhood improves with the development of the proposed actions in *Llei de Barris* plans, while 23% do not know the impacts in the long term. Also, 15% believe that it will not improve, while 19% accept they will continue to be in the same point. Thus, the technicians conclude that the neighborhood plans substantially improve the perception and expectations of life in the neighborhoods, but that do not change other aspects such as the degree of sustainability, for example.

Despite having a positive perception about first results of the Plan, local actors are aware of the difficulties involved in carrying it out, which means that it is difficult to achieve all of the objectives set, taking account the internal limitations and the external circumstances that they have been found in the development of the actions. Internal constraints have been largely conditioned by the lack of tradition in intermunicipal cooperation processes between Premià de Dalt and Premià de Mar, which has led to some difficulties in executing some actions that required the agreement between both municipalities. In addition, the economic context of recent years in Spain has reduced the investment capacity of town councils and the development of new plans and programs. In this regard, Catalan Government failed to assume the transfers of funds in time and quantity.

The reflections and contributions to the “Pla de Barris” are not responding only to local and national level. These plans are also a reflection of some European policies about urban renewal, as it has been the case of the URBAN. In addition, the actions of social cohesion and urban transformation must also be supported in the policies derived from the issues of labour, cultural and collective integration. Programs such as EQUAL or PEMO are taken as reference (Urbanism Services. Diputació de Barcelona, 2008).

4. The Action

4.1. Basic Characteristics of the Action

The action, under the Catalan Government Neighbourhood Law, ***Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió (Cotet neighbourhood) comprehensive intervention project*** represents a unique collaboration among Premià de Dalt and Premià de Mar municipalities, focusing the efforts on Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió neighbourhood and to the vulnerable groups, which live there.

In 2009, both municipalities decided to submit a joint candidacy to *Llei de Barris* program with the objective to achieve funds from Catalan Government to face common challenges related to unemployment and poverty rates shared within the two neighbourhoods from both towns. With the technical support of Province Council and involving civil society, in 2010, both local governments accomplished together the resource allocation to face physical and social degradation, increase quality of life and social cohesion and, to promote cooperation in a multilevel government. The plan, called Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió (Cotet neighbourhood) comprehensive intervention project, follows four strategic goals:

1. Connection of two urban areas through the elimination of physical barriers and through the attraction of public facilities to the neighbourhood
2. Intervention in internal public space, through the creation and generation of new open citizen spaces
3. Improvement of quality of life and neighbourhood opportunities
4. Collaboration mechanisms and programmes between municipalities to join efforts and avoid comparative grievances

Diagnosis aspects		Santa Maria / Santa Anna - Tió Programe Goals	Description
Fracture between the two municipalities, divided just by a street.	1	Connect two neighbourhood areas across the municipal border	Through the development of a neighbourhood axis , new public space, the continuity of streets, square land management, road widening, development of the school path, urban land management and future public infrastructure
High density, vehicular chaos, mobility difficulties, barriers, inadequate public spaces, women exclusion of public spaces, insecurity public spaces for children.	2	Public space upgrade	Through the incorporation of the neighbourhood to the north and south surrounded areas . The development of residual areas taking account existing infrastructure, expropriation of empty houses, development play spaces, joining residual areas to become a public space, improvement of urban furniture and managing on-street parking.
Aging population, disadvantaged community groups, lower level training, loss of trade fabric, barriers and insalubrious housing.	3	Improvement of quality of life and opportunities	Two main strategies: a) Support and subsidize civil society (persons and neighbourhood committees) through improvement of public services, to expand them and the creation of new ones. Strategies to improve coexistence, training and employability. b) To pay attention to housing problems through the implementation of a funding program to support rehabilitation as well as a programme to eliminate architectural barriers and implementation of elevators.
Comparative grievances in access to services, duplicate initiatives, difficulty in maximizing resources.	4	Stable collaboration mechanisms	Foster the collaboration with 3 strategies: Institutional collaboration , through signed agreements by both municipalities, the management of the plan and the creation of a unique team Citizen participation , through the development of a continuous participatory process. Civil initiatives , which its consolidation and prosperity are expected.

Figure 7. Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió (Cotet neighbourhood) comprehensive intervention project.

4.2. Assessment of key impacts of the action

Analytical Dimension 3: Coordination and implementation of the action in the locality under consideration

The action involves multilevel-stakeholders interventions: Government of Catalonia, Barcelona Deputation; Premià de Dalt municipality; Premià de Mar municipality and local civil society such as social and economic actors at the neighbourhood level; have been part of the whole process of action implementation. A coordinated work of the actors have been relevant to develop the action, and especially it has been understood as very necessary the creation of synergies between two municipalities' councils involved.

Thus given that the action was located between the municipalities of Premià de Mar and Premià de Dalt, the coordinated action of both municipalities was considered crucial for the optimal development and execution of all the actions. Therefore, it was proposed an Integral Intervention of the neighbourhood, which meant the establishment of collaborations agreements between these two councils through the creation of three work commissions.

The organizational structure created has facilitated the leadership of the project.

On the implementation of the Plan were defined coordination mechanisms to guarantee the transversal work in the management and execution of the actions. There were:

- *Political Commission*: composed by representatives of the government both councils, and the coordinators of the project from both municipalities. The role of this Commission has been the coordination and supervision of all interventions that both Town Councils were going to develop, especially the actions focus on urban and social aspects. This Commission has the capacity and the legitimacy to coordinate by itself the action development. This Commission was permanently assigned to the two Mayors to ensure maximum agility and transparency in decision making, and facilitating the execution and coordination of the multiple sectoral actions.
- *Technical Commission*: integrated by the coordinator of the project and the staff from different municipal services, who are in charge of taking executive decisions and coordinating the actions and teams involved in the project.
- *Citizen Commission*: composed by members of representative local associations and entities with the objective to evaluate the development of the action from participatory processes.

Political, technical and citizen mechanisms in Project Management Office			
	Members	Task	Mechanism or tool
Political committee	Government representatives: Councillors, Delegates with direct dialogue with the mayor's office. Agents that are considered pertinent.	Monitoring of the agreement and assessment of the project. Strategic decision-making.	Direct communication with the mayor's office.
Technical committee	Chaired by the project coordinator from both municipalities.	Executive decision making, coordination of the Project implementation and monitoring of team tasks	They must report each semester to the Evaluation and Monitoring Committee.
Citizen committee	Civil society representatives from existing neighbourhood, educational, trade and other associations.	Monitoring of the project through participatory mechanisms.	Plan guidelines and its indicators.

Table 3. Cooperation mechanisms scheme. Source: Llei de Barris.

The organizational structure created has facilitated the leadership of the project, close to the decision-making bodies, and at the same time with easier coordination and transfer of knowledge and technical competences.

Also, there was created an *Evaluation and Monitoring Project Committee*, which was mandatory and was implemented with multilevel stakeholders. According to the legal framework of Catalan Government, this committee must be implemented and financed using the project fund. The objective of this body, is provided continuous monitoring, and it is comprised by 6 Regional Government representatives, 1 territorial government delegation, 10 local governments representatives (5 of Premià de Dalt and 5 of Premià de Mar), 1 community representative and 4 economic and social stakeholders. *Evaluation and Monitoring Project Committee* became weak after Catalan Government was unable to accomplish its agreements. According to the head of Pla de Barris in Premià de Dalt municipality, the evaluation and monitoring meetings of this committee have not been convened on time.

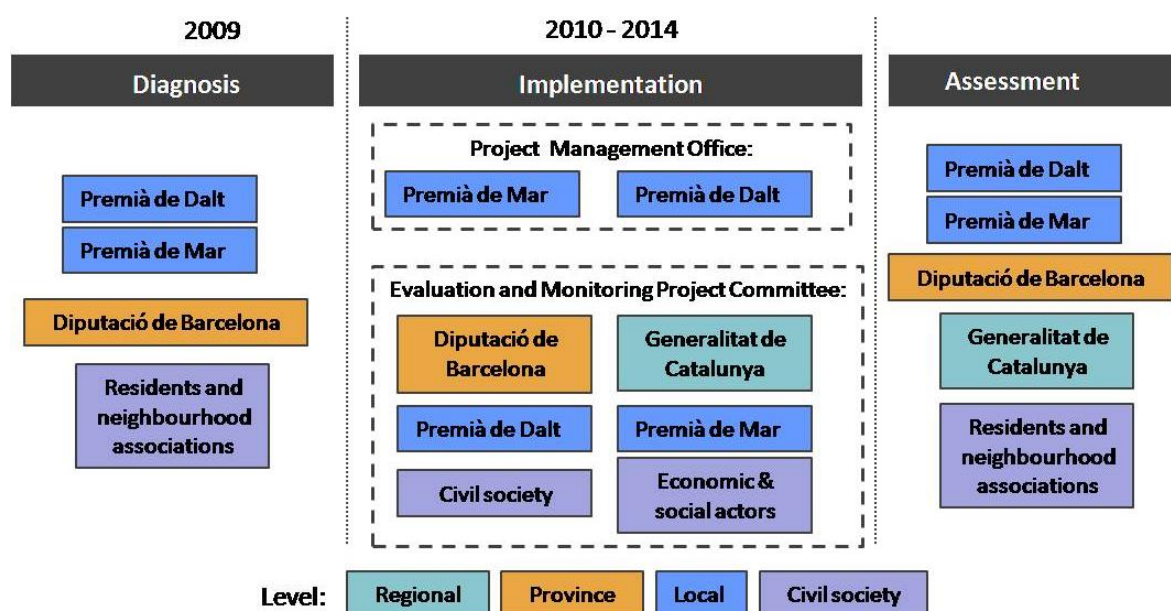


Figure 8. Stakeholder involvement during the action process. Source: Llei de Barris initiative.

The creation of the *Information Office of the Plan*, as a meeting point between citizenship and institutions, contributed to facilitate the relations between all the actors involved on the Plan.

Assuming the sharing leadership between two municipalities, physically translated into the *Information Office*, that allowed to give more visibility both internal and external action and guaranteed the concentration of human and financial resources. The office was settled in Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió neighbourhood to make easier links with neighbours in order to achieve greater involvement. It was not only composed by technical staff from Premià de Mar and Premià de Dalt, but also by political actors who provided communication with decision-makers. The whole implementation of the project has been managed by both municipalities, political, technical, social and financially. City councillors had this role providing political supervision.

The coordinator of the Plan was local and known by the neighbourhood. This contributed to facilitate the involvement of the neighbours in the process.

Bottom-up approach strategies have been part of the whole project process, neighbourhoods, and neighbouring associations and strategically grouped of multilevel stakeholder has been part of the participatory diagnosis. Therefore, during the implementation, multilevel stakeholders have been still given inputs and feedbacks. In part, this was possible due to the coordinator of the Plan, who was from the neighbourhood and known by the neighbours. The coordinator was physically in the *Information Office*. She has been the visible face of the project, and had direct contact with the citizenship. This contributed to make easier the involvement of the population in the whole process.

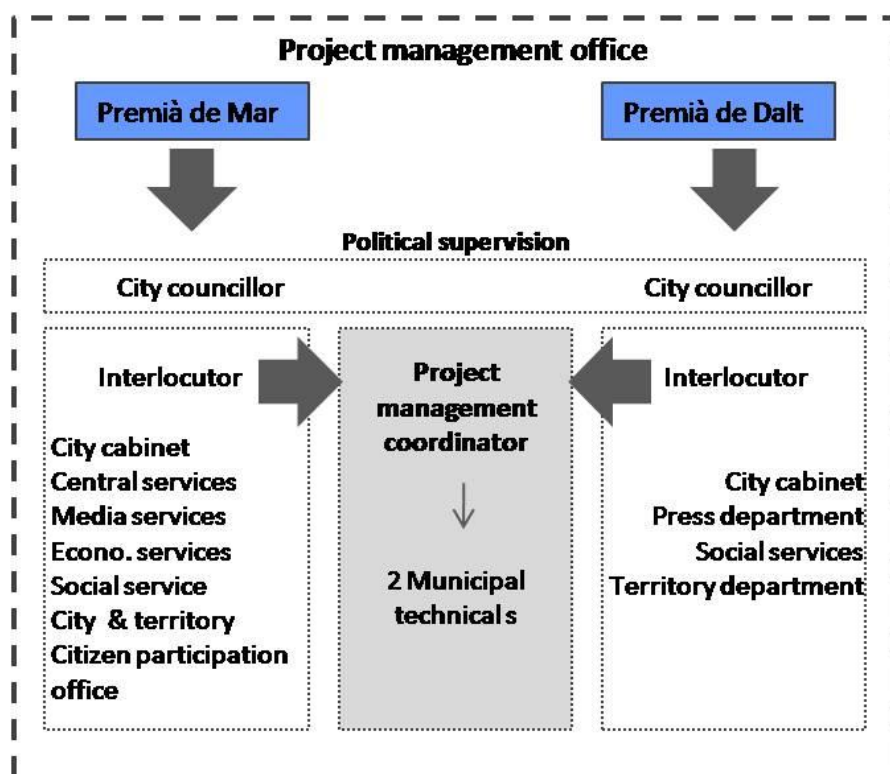



Figure 9. Stakeholder's involvement during the action process. Source: Llei de Barris.

The economic context conditioned the implementation of the action, which had to be postponed over these years.

According to the Regional Government guidelines for the elaboration and execution of any project ascribed to Neighbourhood Law, the action should to be implemented in 4 years. Previously, during 2 years there was a participatory process to elaborate a social and economic diagnosis about the reality of the neighbourhood, with the support of Barcelona Deputation.



2009-2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Diagnosis	Implementation				Assessment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participatory diagnosis • Citizen participation sessions • Submission of the Santa Anna-Tió / Santa Maria neighbourhood proposal to achieve <i>Llei de Barris</i> Funds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aid legal framework • Welfare programmes started • Urbanisation of streets • New public facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improvement of streets • Pacification of traffic • Improvement of TIC in buildings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New neighbourhood square • Report writing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finish all work executions • Finish public tenders processes 	

Figure 10. Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió (Cotet neighbourhood) comprehensive intervention project phases. Source: Pla de Barris.

The lack of funds from Catalan Government and the slowly transfer processes to local governments, due to economic crisis, caused the extension of the period of the implementation phase. In this sense, some projects are still being implemented. At the end of 2016, both municipalities requested to Catalan Government 4 additional years to complete the action development. The request was denied, and municipalities are being great efforts to finish the action at the end of 2018. Premià de Dalt has already implemented 90% of its proposals projects.

The action has established indicators to measure local level coordination among Premià de Dalt and Premià de Mar municipalities. Because of the relatively low collaboration between both municipalities, one of the main goals of the project was focused on the establishment of collaboration mechanisms. They were: a) The capacity of both municipalities to develop the project together; b) Conflicts mediation if there are; c) Dysfunctions that may occur; d) The ability to generate stable mechanisms (discussion boards) and; e) Guarantee circulation of information. However, the perception from Premià de Dalt until now is that there is still having a relatively low collaboration.

“The plan was a very good opportunity to create bridges between two municipalities. It was understood as the first step to start processes of collaboration between to municipalities in order to improve the social and urban conditions of the neighbourhood...after these years, I have doubts if we have achieved this...for me, the cooperation is still low”. Coordinator of the Pla de Barris intervention in Premià de Dalt.

Analytical Dimension 4: Autonomy, participation and engagement

The citizen participation program was one of the most important elements prior to the development of the Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió Neighbourhood Plan. The participatory workshops that were carried out with the citizens gathered the proposals that would later be reflected in the *Pla de Barris* project. Therefore, the participatory processes were done mainly on the preparatory period.

There was elaborated, a participation and communication project plan. It was made to address and centralized communication and dissemination strategies. This plan was a tool that defined the stable actors during the participation and monitoring phases. Principal aims were: to improve relationship between the community and their respective municipalities, improve

neighbouring involvement as a collective opportunity, and improve the perception and image of the neighbourhood from outside and between them.

The neighbourhood participation was very active since the initiation of the Plan, which has facilitated the successful of the action.

During 2 years, Premià de Dalt and Premià de Mar municipalities carried out a joint diagnosis involving neighbours in the decision making process. At the beginning, the authorities had to encourage the participation among the citizens to involve them into the process. Although over the years, the citizens have been engaged actively during all the process.

Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió comprehensive intervention project has incorporated citizen participation as decision-making process according to *Llei de Barris* guidelines. During the diagnosis phase, there were four meetings in order to guarantee the community involvement:

- a. **Initial meeting.** It had the objective to make public the submission of neighbour candidacy to *Llei de Barris* initiative. In 2009, neighbours and neighbouring entities participated in an informative session carried out by both municipalities. After this, the participatory process started as well as the development of the action.
- b. **Workshops in the neighbourhood.** There were presented to citizenship the main project goals and the specific projects addressed to each objective, starting the discussion among civil society about the future of the neighbourhood. The debate let to the coordinators of the project knew and elaborate the diagnosis of the neighbourhood reality and concrete the projects that the neighbours had imagined for its neighbourhood. In this sense, the feedback received from the community was fruitful. After these sessions, municipal technicians continued including inputs until the approval of final version of the Plan.
- c. **Action progress session.** Neighbours entities and individual neighbours were invited again to participate in a new session, in which there was evaluated the progress of the action; which projects had been started and which projects not. The reformulation of some proposals was included to the Plan after this meeting.
- d. **“Workshop in the street”.** The last meeting organised in the diagnosis phase, was carried out in Torrent Santa Anna Street, the main public space in the neighbourhood and a reference for all the residents. In this event was presented the final version of the plan. With a symbolic walk with neighbours like elderly, youths and women, the diagnosis participatory process was culminated. Technicians were still listening final comments.

In this sense, there were generated public spaces to discuss the actions and the development of the plan. It was the mechanism that aimed to create links between neighbours and upper-level stakeholders and to listen to their demands. This public discussion took into account opinions and inputs in a participatory way since the beginning of the project. Work at the neighbouring level or even at the “street level” was key to collect specific characteristics of the neighbourhood reality and trying to incorporate all of them in the Plan. From the Technical Committee the involvement of the population was the best way to adequate the action to the neighbourhood and for the successful of the project.

Moreover, the creation of the *Information Office* and the figure of the coordinator of the Plan made possible continuous contributions also over all the implementation phase of the Plan.



Figure 11. Citizen participation processes and activities. Source: Pla de Barris

The participation process followed a multilevel stakeholder involvement framework, which was considered a good opportunity to incorporate to the Plan the vision of the all actors involved on the neighbourhood dynamics.

Involvement of stakeholders has had different levels of contributions and engagement, depending on human resources, technical support and amount of funds.

Multilevel stakeholder engagement and contributions			
Level/type	Name	Specific department or actor	Contribution
Regional	Government: Generalitat de Catalunya	Department of Spatial Policies and Public Works	50% of fund, monitoring and assessment
Provincial Council	Government: Diputació de Barcelona	Department of Housing Services, Urbanism and Activities; Department of Citizen Participation	Support on diagnosis, report, monitoring and assessment, GIS, monitoring and assessment.
Local	Government: Premià de Dalt &	Municipal architects, Department of Technical Services, Department of Youths, Department of Economic Promotion; Department of Education, Department of Finance.	25% of the fund, monitoring and assessment
	Premià de Mar municipalities	Mayors cabinet, Department of Image and communications, Department of services, Department of personal services, Department of Territory	25% fund, monitoring and assessment

Civil society	Civil society: Neighbourhood associations	Neighbours, Neighbourhood associations (representing NGOs, schools, local business...)	Information and inputs for neighbourhood diagnosis, implementation, assessment and monitoring
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Table 4. Stakeholder's involvement and their contributions. Source: Llei de Barris.

The participatory process was based on “local knowledge” through the involvement of local entities and neighbourhood associations.

Neighbourhood entities and associations, and the consolidated identity of belonging to the neighbourhood have allowed creating more easily the participation structures. There are neighbourhood association, which are in charge of many of the activities that take place in Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió. They have had an active role in whole action development as the main representative actor about the local reality. The strong associativism at neighbourhood level responds to the neighbourhood long tradition of associative initiatives, born from the 70's struggles to get the basic infrastructure and services (drinking water, electricity, sewerage...). There were at least three journals about the neighbourhood issues, which is an example of the neighbourhood vitality.

The involvement of all groups represented in the neighbourhood contributes to increase the visibility of some neighbourhood collectives as women or youths.

The involvement of the neighbourhood association allowed perceiving those social collective that are not generally represented in the dynamics of the neighbourhood. In this case, it was the women. For the reason, and with the objective to empower the women collective of the neighbourhood, there were organised initiatives exclusively addressed for them: courses, educational programmes... It was created the *Committee of Women* in order to allow for all women in the neighbourhood to be represented. Also, these initiatives have reached the generation of women network between them as a way to share personal experience and to feel the support of the society. Generally, the women that have participated belong to problematic families with low resources and opportunities.

Other group of social initiatives were focused on youths. They were not very represented and did not feel the belonging of the neighbourhood as adults. It was a way to reincorporate the young generation to the neighbourhood dynamics and in the participation of the definition about neighbourhood future. There have been organised theatre courses, sports and musical activities... In that sense, the young people now have a higher involvement in the activities of the neighbourhood. For example, they participate in the organization of neighbourhood festivities, a fact they did not do before.

Analytical Dimension 5: Expression and mobilisation of place-based knowledge and adaptability

The spatial scope of intervention was based on the history of the place, conditioned by common background on structural deficits of housing and social problems related to poverty and unemployment.

The neighbourhood of Santa Maria/Santa Anna - Tió is an area urbanized between 1960 and 1970, without any planning on equipment and infrastructures. The neighbourhood built and made up of immigrant population (from other regions of Spain), and was born isolated from the urban centres, becoming a very dense and compact neighbourhood between the two margins of the Torrent de Santa Anna, which establishes the municipal boundaries between Premià de Mar

and Premià de Dalt. The isolation that characterized it in its beginnings is a characteristic that with the years has remained, and one of the reasons for which the Plan wanted to remedy. The approach of the institutions to the neighbourhood and neighbourhood in the institutions has been one of the objectives of the intervention in this area, together with the social and economic conditions shared in the neighbourhood and between both municipalities.

Thus, the historical context of the place, which was constituted as a single urban unit, and with a common background, has defined definitely the scope of the intervention. In addition, the social and economic context represented in the neighbourhood which summarizes the same type of action regardless of the municipality, influenced it.

However, the “Llei de Barris”, by itself, defines a series of criteria that must be met in order to be able to apply and participate in the program; population, economic, social indicators, provision of services or infrastructure... However, these indicators reflect partially the problems that the neighbourhood suffered. In that case, the main problems were associated to lack of a quality public space inside the neighbourhood, the bad conditions of housing, and the low of opportunities for its residents, which were not reflected in the objective indicators proposed by Neighbourhood Law.

The involvement of neighbours has been possible thanks to existence of consolidated self-organization structures, which could be incorporated directly to the participation process following the criteria of place-based knowledge.

The participation of local actors at the neighbourhood level, such as associations and individual actors; have contributed to guarantee the implication of citizenship through whole process, which at the end have let to build bridges in terms of communication and reliability among neighbours and different levels of governments, even after the unfulfillment of action schedule. In this sense, people is still participating in the action and some local groups have become stronger than before, such as the women collective. Therefore, in this case, a bottom-up approach was more likely to succeed due to the empowerment of civil society, which already exists. In diagnosis phase, there were identified diverse groups of people with wide knowledge of the neighbourhood, such as *Neighbourhood Association (AAVV) de Santa Maria/Santa Ana-Tió*, *Casal de la Gent Grant*, *AMIPA del CEIP Santa Ana*, or *La Fletxa Negra youth club*. All of them participated on diagnosis process and now they still being part on the progressing of the action. In addition, these associations are now more visible among local population as well as for local government, which let them to have a direct contact with the administration.

Especially, the involvement of neighbours was possible thanks to the existence of consolidated self-organization structures. Therefore, the strong background of associationism in the area has make easier whole the process at local level. Considering this background and characteristics the action area was carried out in one neighbourhood despite of the administrative boundaries. The neighbourhood is characterised by having a strong identity. The sharing identity and common challenges to solve among all residents made possible a joint coordination between two municipalities, despite of the different policies and initiatives in course and a low institutional collaboration tradition. This contributed to the execution of the action even though the administrative boundaries.

The involvement of diverse and multilevel stakeholders, from neighbour association to Catalan Government technicians, has also contributed to keep the project alive. It has generated a horizontal learning process. Participatory activities during the action implementation let to adapt the projects and initiatives according to the real necessities of the local population, and adapt to the socio-economic context. It was considered the best way to produce a real plan.

Generalitat de Catalunya designed overall program framework, although local government defined the actions; which actions, how to execute them, which groups were addressed... The Catalan Government had the objective to increase successful odds of local initiatives, designing a general strategic framework. Catalan government guidelines of “Llei de Barris” initiative, partially marked off the policies designed by local administration considering multilevel stakeholder involvement, from neighbourhood scale to regional scale. In this case, the participation of an intermediate administration, Provincial City Council, was a key actor to achieve a successful development of the local strategy, which was required by top-level framework. Municipal technicians and local level employees, with the support of Provincial City Council, adapted and feed into the eight mandatory regional government-funding guidelines in order to be able to achieve the grant. Multilevel stakeholder involvement has been a key mechanism to achieve the objectives of the plan, to guarantee engagement and empowerment of the Premià de Dalt citizenship. In this case, to overcome some issues related to spatial injustices at local level have needed to be supported by upper level governments and taking into account smaller local stakeholder such as current local organised civil society.

The Plan was flexible in terms of the modification of some actions due to the economic context difficulties during the implementation of the Plan.

The action has suffered some modifications regarding to actions developed and timeline of implementation. It was mainly caused by the economic crisis. Due to the difficulties of financing transfers between Catalan Government and municipalities, the regional government proposed to extend the action execution period. The action has taken 4 years longer than it was expected. It meant the use of more human resources by both municipalities. It was possible because that mandatory guideline of the “Llei de Barris” were not too rigid in terms of adaptability. Therefore, local governments were able to change or modify the projects previously identified during diagnosis phase, without changing the main goals of the project. For example, the action was changed in terms of urban interventions due to the lack of economic resources. The action made an evolution to social aspects, which did not required a huge amount of funds to be developed as programs to vulnerable groups of the neighbourhood (women, youths...).

“Due to the economic difficulty of the Catalan Government, it has opted for improvements in training and employment to the detriment of urban development. We must find the mechanism that guarantee the collection of subsidies before dealing with the building of huge infrastructures. Until December 31 2012, the Town Council of Premià de Dalt has made investments in the neighbourhood for 160.000€, 75% of which have been subsidized by the Generalitat. Premià de Mar has done around 180.000€, half of which correspond to the Generalitat”. Mayor of Premià de Dalt

Moreover, given administrative division of the neighbourhood (Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tiό) neighbours there was different rhythms of execution in each municipality. Despite that neighbours recognise them as a single neighbourhood, awareness of the limits made possible to Premià de Mar inhabitants to compare Premià de Mar and Premià de Dalt action executions and be able to demand to each municipality the fulfilment of the actions. The rhythms of execution have been closely linked to difficulty to identify which actor was going to assume the cost of operation and maintenance of the outcomes over the years. There were specific actions that did not required maintenance costs but others needed funds for their continuity. The entity or actor that assumes the sustainability of the action is not necessarily the same that promotes and finances it. It will depend on the type and scope of the outcomes. In this particular case, the action needs funds to maintain social programmes.

5. Final Assessment: Capacities for Change

Synthesising Dimension A: Assessment of promoters and inhibitors

Promoters

- **Awareness of disparities and their competences by local stakeholders.** Premià de Dalt is a middle-upper class residential municipality, but technicians and decision-makers at local level are cognisant of the disparities among neighbourhoods in terms of socioeconomic scope, social cohesion and identity.
- **The strong identity of the neighbourhood.** It was one of the main factor to turn on the action, despite of the administrative boundaries between the two municipalities. The strong neighbourhood identity made possible to face common challenges.
- **Political and technical support from upper-level governments.** The support from regional level institutions was important to increase the capacities of Town Councils for developing the action. Also, they provided the economics funds for execution the Plan. This action has been carried out with the support of Catalan Government and the Barcelona Deputation, who have provided technical resources and funds to develop the action. In this sense, Catalan Government had had an important role as the actor, who define the main strategic lines of the Plan and provide the resources for its execution.
- **Place-making process through participatory activities guarantees the residents participation at neighbourhood level.** The participatory tools have contributed to keep the Plan alive, and especially have contributed to build bridges in terms of communication and reliability among neighbours and governments. Level of participation is still strong after 8 years. Recognizing a familiar face from the neighbourhood during the action process generates bonds of trust, which is a key to obtain better information, feedback and outcomes during the whole process.
- **A small-scale intervention area.** This facilitated to find specific features of the locality. The action has been able to identify and involve different local actors and take into account their specific needs. A neighbourhood scale intervention is easier to manage compared to a metropolitan scale, if we consider number of inhabitants, number of stakeholders, and several legal and budgetary frameworks, and also to involve of stakeholders.
- **The flexibility of the framework guidelines.** The guidelines were not too rigid, which contributed to better adaptability of the action, considering the economic and political contexts. The “Llei de Barris” and its guidelines were not too rigid in terms of adaptability. Local governments were able to change some actions, without changing the main goals. This flexibility helped to adapt non-identity aspects during the diagnosis or adapt the implementation of the action following the inherent dynamic of cities.

Inhibitors

- **Economic difficulties of Catalan Government to mobilise funds for the project.** The lack of funds from Catalan Government and their slowly transfer due to the economic crisis made changes on the actions. After the crisis, the Plan focused more in social programmes such as training and employment courses. The urban renewal actions were ambitious, especially those

designed prior to the economic crisis. During the crisis, and without large budgets, these kind of actions were too difficult to implement.

- **The stakeholders' involvement was unbalanced.** Premià de Dalt and Premià de Mar collaboration were not had the same degree of involvement in the action progress. The general perception among neighbours was that Premià de Dalt municipality has contributed more than Premià de Mar in the implementation of the action.
- **Administrative timelines from the different government levels are not aligned.** This reduces real time to make the most of opportunities from cooperating entities. Some of the funding opportunities from Catalan Government are scheduled with timelines that do not necessarily fit into local governments timelines, taking account the available technical staff that a Town Council have to manage the bureaucracy required for apply for funds, for instance.
- **Some actions are planned in short temporal term.** Some initiatives from Town Councils are designed taking account 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.
- **Upper level support (economic or human resources) was conditioned by Town Councils competences.** The guidelines were not necessarily feed into the particular characteristics of the locality. "Llei de barris" initiative has no intervention in housing despite the fact that deficits in housing were one of the most serious problems in the case study neighbourhood.
- **Difficulties to overcome physical barriers as the highway.** The urban infrastructural elements as the highway contribute to generate spatial segregation and they have been difficult to overcome, at least for now. The highway and other physical barriers built next to the neighbourhood contributed to spatial segregation according to the stakeholders.

Synthesising Dimension B: Competences and capacities of stakeholders

Contributions of multilevel stakeholder have been a key to develop the action. Specific advantages and disadvantages of each one are displayed below.

Premià de Dalt stakeholders capacities and competences in terms of spatial justice and its achievement				
Level/type	Specific agent	Advantage	Disadvantage	Result
Regional: Generalitat de Catalunya	Department of Spatial Policies and Public Works	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Competences in spatial policies - Capacities to design flexible policies. - Capacities to Fund Assessment 	Weak in terms of provide fund after Spanish crisis	"Pla de barris" action has been prudent and austere due to lack of Generalitat de Catalunya funds, that is why despite of invest in infrastructure, resources have been made in social issues.
Provincial: Diputació de Barcelona	Department of housing services, urbanism and activities; Department of citizen participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Capacities to design policies according to local characteristics - Interlocutor between local and regional level. - Predisposition to provide technical support to local governments. - They could be predisposed to be involved. 	Designed requirements to provide support or funds not necessarily feed into the localities.	DIBA has provided support to "Pla de barris" through the Catalogue of Services and Activities (Catalogue of Services and Activities)
Local: Premià de Dalt municipality	Mayor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Capacity to put the spatial justice issue in the 	Lack of specific knowledge of the spatial	Ongoing programmes are related to Social

		political agenda.	justice issue	cohesion, employment, welfare, youth, citizen attention, and local consumption
	Policy-makers and technicians: Municipal architect, Department of technical services, Department of Youths, Department of economic promotion; Department of Education, Department of Finance.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Knowledge of the municipality competences - Knowledge of current tools to achieve spatial justice. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of an updated strategic spatial plan - Lack tools to measure of spatial impacts. - Perception of more assignation of task if we introduce them new concepts or issues 	
Neighbourhood: Civil society associations	Local organized population: AAVV de Santa Maria/Santa Ana-Tió, Casal de la gent grant, AMIPA del CEIP Santa Ana, <i>La Fletxa Negra club</i> , youth initiative.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Traditional past of neighbourhood associationism due to their capacity of get primary public services and infrastructures since year 1960. - Consider itself as an only neighbourhood despite the administrative boundaries. - Place-based knowledge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of recognition 	Support on bottom up approach to "Pla de Barris" action

Table 5. Stakeholders' capacities. Source: "Llei de Barris" initiative

The Catalan Government was unable to accomplish of the programme disbursement of funds on time. For that reason, its role of monitoring and assessment was weaker than expected. According to the coordinator of the "Pla de Barris" since 2014 the political committee composed by regional government and Town City Councils has not met again. Despite of the weakness of upper-level actor, local stakeholders have tried the continuity of the action, and the plan is still working nowadays in spite of the delays.

According to coordinator of "Pla de Barris" in Premià de Dalt, local administration is the institution which has to give continuity to the Plan. It means that it has to make huge efforts to maintain involved the local stakeholders. Nevertheless, the coordinator pointed out that it is necessary the economic support from higher administrations. They recognise that the municipalities do not have enough budget to implement actions like those identified on Pla de Barris. Through institutional agreements with Barcelona Provincial Deputation or Catalan Government, Town Council will be able to assume the development of current actions and the design of others.

Synthesising Dimension C: Connecting the action to procedural and distributive justice

- The combination of urban projects, infrastructures and social programmes has contributed to improve to social cohesion among neighbours. The action was designed considering investment in infrastructure and also in social programmes jointly to address inequalities. Current accomplishment of the action (90%) has contributed to reduce historical deficits spatially located in the neighbourhood. The urban renewal has created a new public and common place between both municipalities. Nowadays several activities are being carried out in the new neighbourhood axis, which is located in the common street between Premià de Dalt and Premià de Mar. Now, the neighbours understand this place as an important part of the identity of the neighbourhood.

- The municipality guaranteed the participation of inhabitants from Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió during the whole implementation process of the action. Citizen participation is still strong after 8 years of the initiative because of its involvement since the begging of Plan. Nowadays neighbourhood participation is strong, especially in communal activities promoted by the municipality and in the monitoring action process. Nevertheless, there a risk that at the

end of the action, this level of participation could start to decrease if these activities are no longer free.

- The Plan has contributed to the empowerment of some vulnerable groups that the neighbourhood had as women. They have become a strong group, which has had and still has an important role in the development of the action and its maintenance. The different activities organised through the Plan has encouraged its participation in theatre and festivals activities, social gatherings, walks...

- After the urban transformation, neighbourhood has now more visibility and neighbours feel more proud to belonging. At some point, this has contributed to break the social stigma that Santa Maria, Santa-Anna- Tió neighbours have during the years due to the historical background. Moreover, the urban renewal increased and in some way facilitated the redistribution of resources and opportunities through all neighbourhoods. At the end, it has an impact in terms of quality of life of Premià de Dalt citizenship.

- Action has been resilient despite of lack of funds from the Catalan Government. Both municipalities were agreed to increased efforts to continue the action even invest more resources and update necessary issues changing the specificities for overcome any difficulty; all of the according to the community demand and respecting initially main goals.

- The collaboration between two municipalities, with a different socioeconomic framework, has been the first step for contributing to an institutional change for achievement all those points proposed. The cooperation between these two towns could be better after the “Pla de Barris”, but at least both municipalities have more knowledge about the other and the socioeconomic situation in the neighbourhood. The point here would be the consolidation of the collaboration mechanisms created, which are actually are not being really used by the local administrations.

- Main threat of the action outcomes is that there is not fund for its sustainability. The design of the action focused on the diagnosis, implementation and assessment but no in its sustainability. In terms operational and maintenance costs, there are not stakeholder engagements yet (governments from different scales; Generalitat de Catalunya, Diputació de Barcelona), but probably it is expected to be assumed by the municipality.

6. Conclusions

What is being achieved in terms of delivering greater spatial justice to the respective localities?

I) The urban renewal has improved the neighbourhood physical conditions although the economic difficulties due to the financial crisis have not allowed achieving global results. The action focused on a segregated neighbourhood, which is located between two municipal administrative boundaries, and on which the urban conditions were not appropriate, especially those related to public space, housing, and the quality of the municipal equipment. In addition to these conditions, the neighbourhood was also vulnerable in terms of high rates of unemployment, high density, and the presence of people in risk of exclusion. Traditionally, the Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Ti  had been associated a stigma linked to poverty, migration, and low-income population.

Through these years, the stigma is becoming less relevant, and the quality of the neighbourhood in terms of urban conditions has improved a lot, despite of the economic crisis, which limited the execution of the all the actions programmed. Therefore, the financial crisis has not allowed achieving global results of the urban transformation of the neighbourhood. The economic crisis caused changes on the main object of the actions. The actions during the crisis focused on social programmes, which contributed to improve the unemployment rates of the neighbourhood, although the social context difficulties at regional and national level.

II) The participatory processes have contributed to build bridges in terms of communication and reliability among neighbours and local government. The action has structured following a horizontal framework, although at the beginning the upper-level administrations (Catalan Government and Barcelona Provincial Deputation) had kick-started the process, support local government in a technical and economic way. Now it seems that people are actively engaged. During the process of elaboration, implementation and development of the action, there were involved actors from different level; from the regional administrative level to associations and entities of the neighbourhood. The involvement of all the actors, and the interrelations between them, has facilitated to remain active the project. The interaction between the stakeholders, and knowing during all the process their opinion about the development of the action, allowed adapting the action to economic and social dynamics of the neighbourhood.

At this point, it has been relevant the coordinator of the project, physically situated at Project Office in the neighbourhood. The coordinator was from the neighbourhood and was known by the neighbourhood residents. She had also a closely relation between associations and entities of the neighbourhood.

III) The action has contributed to the reinforcement of the identity and the sense of belonging to the neighbourhood. In the participatory processes, the action has wanted to involve all those representative groups of the neighbourhood. Guarantee their participation has let to know their ideas and opinions about the action. They have participated since the first moment. This has been possible because there were already active associations and entities created in the neighbourhood. Thus, the action has been based on “local knowledge” with the aim that the Plan answered to the neighbourhood reality.

Now, some collectives from the neighbourhood as women are stronger. They have been participated actively during the development of the action, involving in each participatory activity organised. For this reason, many of the social programmes planned were addressed to them. Also, now youths feel the identity to belong to the neighbourhood. They are involved in some entities from the neighbourhood.

What are the policy changes ahead for bigger impact?

The areas that were object of the “Llei de Barris” were chosen as urban spaces with difficulties, and where vulnerable population groups were concentrated. There was a clear political commitment to allocate resources there to combat social inequalities. However, over the years technicians involved on those plans wonder if these neighbourhoods are still considered segregated and socially marginal areas by their own residents despite the efforts that have been made.

The actions that have been carried out since the beginning of the “Llei de Barris” have been many and diverse. Among these actions, there are remarkable those have complementary initiatives. Complementary dynamics and opportunities have been created according to other policies with implication on the territory, such as the “Treball als Barris”, aimed at developing insertion policies, training and improvement of the local labour market. In these cases, the successful of the action has been higher.

For this reason, it has been important the organization framework of the “Llei de Barris”. It has been organised following a transversal perspective in those neighbourhoods that concentrated certain problems, situations of inequality and social exclusion. Regional administration and local authorities have focused the attention identifying the problems of each neighbourhood, to plan the properly actions before allocating the financial resources.

This initiative has worked on urban regeneration and social cohesion, although the concept of social cohesion was not completely integrated in many policies at municipal level. The initiative has prioritized as well the community's dynamism, involving them in the whole process of the development of the action, and making the residents and neighbours the main beneficiaries of the actions in order to increase the social conditions of all age groups.

Generally, the impact of the “Llei de Barris” is considered positive for the majority of actors involved on it but this impact has not been the same everywhere. The municipalities have deployed each action in a diverse way, taking into account the peculiarities of its territory. In this way, there have been good experiences that have demonstrated the functionality of the tool when the social dynamics are used to influence local improvement. However, the impacts will be really visible in the long term. In the long term, it will be when it should be observed the potentialities of the action, if it has reduce the difficulties in these areas and contribute to increase and improve the social cohesion within the municipality.

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8. Annexes

8.1. List of Interviewed Experts

List of interviewed experts	Date of interview	Type of expert
S1	March 2018	Representative of "Pla de Barris" Programme
S2	March 2018	Technicians from Town Council (3)
S3	April 2018	Technician from Town Council
S4	April - June 2018	Street interviews with citizens (10)
S5	June 2018	Neighbourhood Association
S6	June 2018	Technicians from neighbour municipalities (6)
S7	September 2018	Technicians from Town Council
S8	September 2018	Local government representatives
S9	September 2018	Local government representatives
S10	September 2018	Local government representatives

8.2. Stakeholder Interaction Table

Type of Stakeholders	Most relevant 'territorial' level they operate at	Stakeholders' ways of involvement in the project (What do we gain, what do they gain)
Local politicians	Premià de Dalt Town Council	Participation in individual interview
Local administration	Premià de Dalt Town Council and other municipalities of Maresme county	Participation in individual interview Workshop
Associations representing private businesses		
Local development companies/agencies		
Municipal associations	Premià de Dalt	Workshop
Non-profit/civil society organisations representing vulnerable groups		
Other local community stakeholders	Citizens	Street Interviews and perception surveys
Other local community stakeholders		
Local state offices/representations		
Regional state offices/representations		
Regional state offices/representations		
Ministries involved in (national or EU) cohesion policy deployment		
Cohesion Policy think tanks (national/EU-level)		
Primary and secondary educational institutions		
Colleges and universities		
Social and health care institutions		
Cultural institutions and associations		
Media		

8.3. Maps and photos

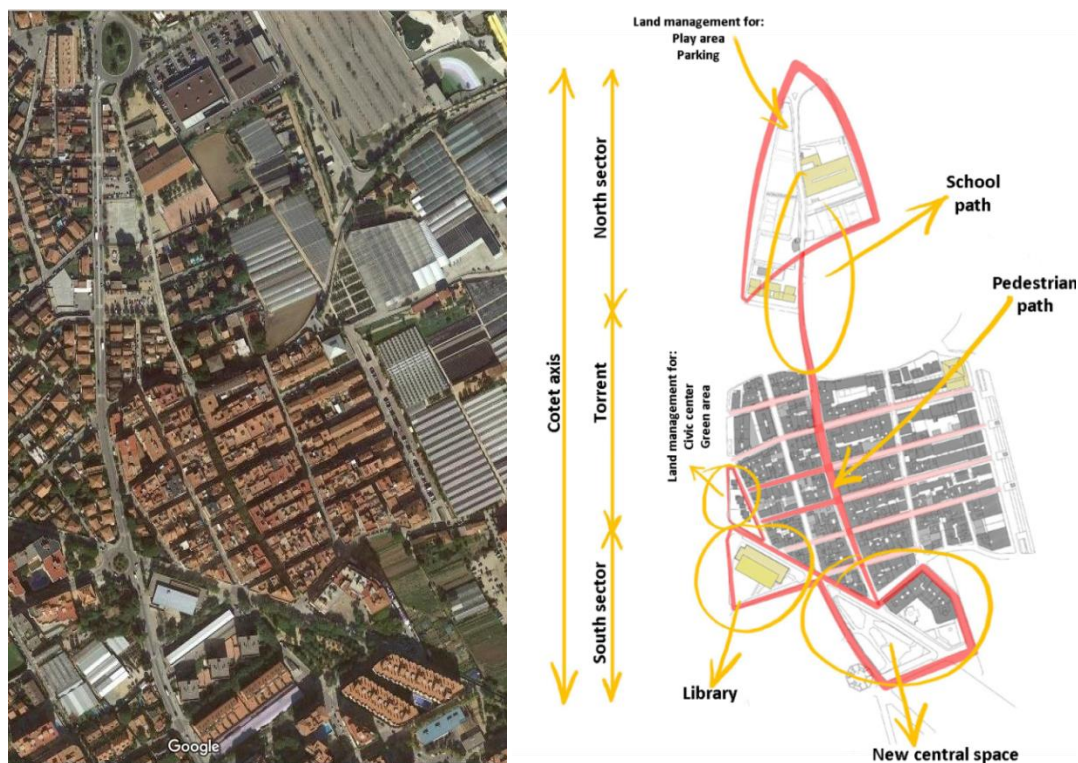


Figure 12. Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió (Cotet neighbourhood) comprehensive intervention project. Source: Llei de Barris initiative.



Figure 13. Torrent de Santa Anna Street. Source: Google Maps, 2018.



Figure 14. Torrent de la Font Santa street. Source: Google Maps, 2018.



Figure 15. Location of Santa Maria/Santa Anna-Tió neighbourhood. Source: Llei de Barris, 2009

8.4. Additional Information

Municipal Service of Employment and Economic Development		
Goal: Combat unemployment, and support on training. Promote the economic development through support entrepreneurship and the business sector.	Target group: The users of the service are unemployed people or in process of seeking it, active workers who want to improve their training, companies and entrepreneurs and, general socio-economic agents and citizens.	<p>a) Initiatives related to employment and training Employment agency and counselling services; provision of infrastructure, facilities and resources for job searching; provision of courses for unemployed; programmes that encourage hiring; competence improvement and training programme, establishments of agreements with companies and their social departments; subsidise companies, entities and self-employees who hire target group persons; subsidise unemployed who have initiated a self-employed business activity</p> <p>b) Initiatives related to companies and entrepreneurship Counselling service to entrepreneurs and companies in process of consolidation and link them with stakeholders; provision of training courses; promotion of local commerce initiatives; subsidise unemployed persons who have initiated a self-employed business activity; encourage business networking; dissemination of activities of the programme and other related issues.</p> <p>c) Initiatives related to tourism and trade sector Organisation and encouragement of activities to promote fairs related to commerce, handicraft products, municipal market and promotional campaigns.</p>
Social cohesion activities from the Culture Department		
Goal: Improve social cohesion.	Target group: Premià de Dalt Community	Value and improvement of built heritage identified by the Premià de Dalt inhabitants; provide cultural habits from schools; organisation of cultural activities such as the annual major town celebration and popular and traditional culture in order to disseminate the diversity of popular culture inside Premià de Dalt neighbourhoods; improvement of an "identity hotel" and, a co-working space.
Welfare		
Goal: To offer comprehensive response to people who need especial attention in order to improve social cohesion.	Target group: Childhood, adolescence, families, elderly, foreign people and communities, people with functional diversity, with dependences and in vulnerable situations.	Offer information and support in processing aids; coverage of basic needs like housing, supplies and food; attention to people with functional diversity and dependences; provide educational support to families and primary reception to foreign; offer assistance to prevent men's violence and support the elderly.
Youth		
Goal: Guarantee the access of youths to public resources in order to promote their participation and involvement in society.	Target group: From people in adolescence to people who reach personal autonomy. Approx. 12 – 30 years old cohort.	<p>Revitalisation of the information: Information campaigns of youth concerns, tutorials to prevent school dropouts, network for the school-work transition, participatory involvement activities and socio educational workshops.</p> <p>Support and foster youth associationism: Advice services, aids for youth project and support and collaboration for the developments of their activities.</p> <p>Youth local plan: Revision of the youth situation diagnosis, guidance and planning of youth policy according to current issues.</p>
Citizen attention		
Goal: Provide information and facilitate municipal services and public infrastructure to neighbours.	Target group: Premià de Dalt inhabitants and anyone who demands it.	Provide information and support related to municipal procedures, other institution procedures and provide information and facilities to use municipal infrastructures and services.
Consumer office		
Goal: Ensure the rights of consumers	Target group: All Premià de Dalt inhabitants, legal person and representatives of trade and service sectors.	Legal guidance in queries and claims in cases where the rights of natural persons, trade and service sector have not been respected, receive customer complaints in order to refer them to the companies, information campaigns to encourage education and training in consumer issues.

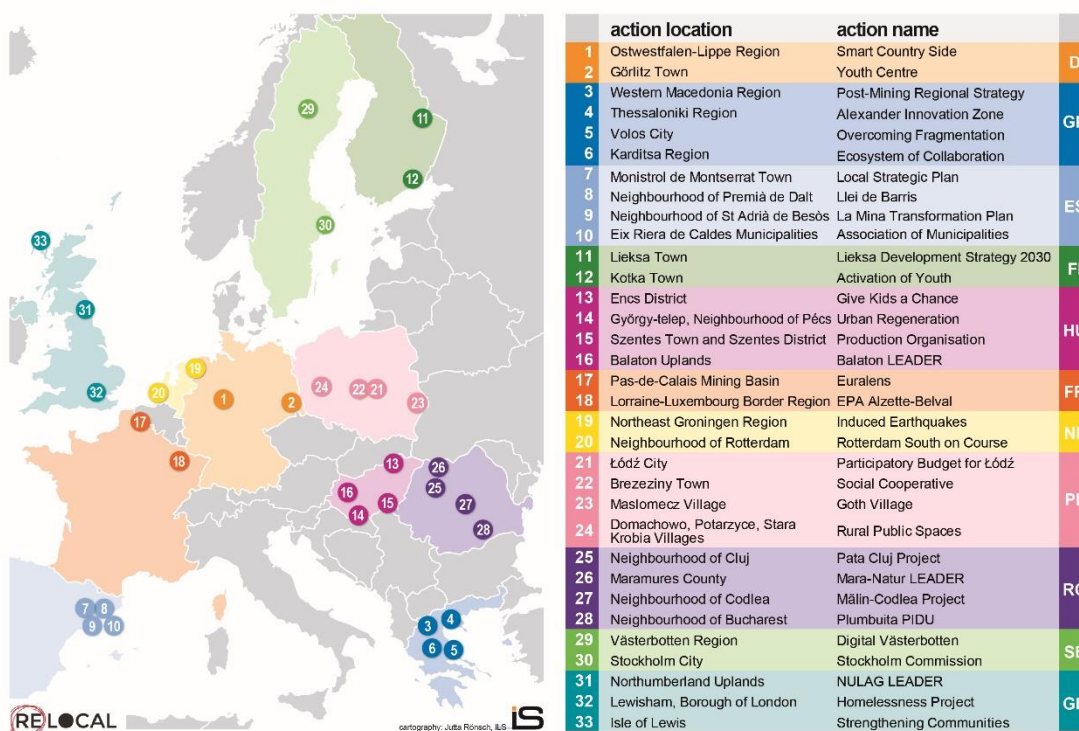
Table 6. Ongoing ordinary programmes of Premià de Dalt. Source: Premià de Dalt Municipality website and SMOPE Strategic Plan, 2018

The RELOCAL Project

EU Horizon 2020 research project 'Resituating the local in cohesion and territorial development' –RELOCAL aims to identify factors that condition local accessibility of European policies, local abilities to articulate needs and equality claims and local capacities for exploiting European opportunity structures.

In the past, especially since the economic and financial crisis, the European Social Model has proven to be challenged by the emergence of spatially unjust results. The RELOCAL hypothesis is that **processes of localisation and place-based public policy** can make a positive contribution to spatial justice and democratic empowerment.

The research is based on **33 case studies** in **13 different European** countries that exemplify development challenges in terms of spatial justice. The cases were chosen to allow for a balanced representation of different institutional contexts. Based on case study findings, project partners will draw out the factors that influence the impact of place-based approaches or actions from a comparative perspective. The results are intended to facilitate a greater local orientation of cohesion, territorial development and other EU policies.



The RELOCAL project runs from October 2016 until September 2020.

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