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Social innovation, governance and community building

SINGOCOM

Final report

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Preface

Within the Fifth Community RTD Framework Programme of the European Union (1998–2002), the Key Action 'Improving the Socio-economic Knowledge Base' had broad and ambitious objectives, namely: to improve our understanding of the structural changes taking place in European society, to identify ways of managing these changes and to promote the active involvement of European citizens in shaping their own futures. A further important aim was to mobilise the research communities in the social sciences and humanities at the European level and to provide scientific support to policies at various levels, with particular attention to EU policy fields.

This Key Action had a total budget of EUR 155 million and was implemented through three Calls for proposals. As a result, 185 projects involving more than 1 600 research teams from 38 countries have been selected for funding and have started their research between 1999 and 2002.

Most of these projects are now finalised and results are systematically published in the form of a Final Report.

The calls have addressed different but interrelated research themes which have contributed to the objectives outlined above. These themes can be grouped under a certain number of areas of policy relevance, each of which are addressed by a significant number of projects from a variety of perspectives.

These areas are the following:

- ***Societal trends and structural change***

16 projects, total investment of EUR 14.6 million, 164 teams

- ***Quality of life of European citizens***

5 projects, total investment of EUR 6.4 million, 36 teams

- ***European socio-economic models and challenges***

9 projects, total investment of EUR 9.3 million, 91 teams

- ***Social cohesion, migration and welfare***

30 projects, total investment of EUR 28 million, 249 teams

- ***Employment and changes in work***

18 projects, total investment of EUR 17.5 million, 149 teams

- ***Gender, participation and quality of life***

13 projects, total investment of EUR 12.3 million, 97 teams

- ***Dynamics of knowledge, generation and use***

8 projects, total investment of EUR 6.1 million, 77 teams

- ***Education, training and new forms of learning***

14 projects, total investment of EUR 12.9 million, 105 teams

- ***Economic development and dynamics***

22 projects, total investment of EUR 15.3 million, 134 teams

- ***Governance, democracy and citizenship***

28 projects; total investment of EUR 25.5 million, 233 teams

- ***Challenges from European enlargement***

13 projects, total investment of EUR 12.8 million, 116 teams

- ***Infrastructures to build the European research area***

9 projects, total investment of EUR 15.4 million, 74 teams

This publication contains the final report of the project 'Social innovation, governance and community building', whose work has primarily contributed to the area 'Towards social cohesion in Europe'.

The report contains information about the main scientific findings of SINGOCOM and their policy implications. The research was carried out by eight teams over a period of 40 months, starting in September 2001.

The abstract and executive summary presented in this edition offer the reader an overview of the main scientific and policy conclusions, before the main body of the research provided in the other chapters of this report.

As the results of the projects financed under the Key Action become available to the scientific and policy communities, Priority 7 'Citizens and Governance in a knowledge based society' of the Sixth Framework Programme is building on the progress already made and aims at making a further contribution to the development of a European Research Area in the social sciences and the humanities.

I hope readers find the information in this publication both interesting and useful as well as clear evidence of the importance attached by the European Union to fostering research in the field of social sciences and the humanities.

J.-M. BAER,

Director

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. WP1 - A critical overview of the literature on TIM

This is the ”negative‘ starting block for the construction of the Alternative Model for Local Innovative development (ALMOLIN): the critical analysis of the endogenous development models as used in regional and urban economics or economic geography as of the 1980.

This WP provides a critical review of the international literature on Territorial Innovation Models (Industrial Districts, *Milieux Innovateurs*, New Industrial Spaces, Local Production Systems, etc.). The review is organized in two steps. First, the main features of each of these models and their view of innovation are compared. Second, their theoretical building blocks are reconstructed and evaluated from the point of view of conceptual clarity and analytical coherence.

TIM (Territorial Innovation Model) is the generic name used in this WP to include a wide variety of ”territorialised‘ development models based to some extent on some form of local innovation potential. As shall be argued, there are profound differences in emphases and concepts. Some models focus more on the economic dimension of innovation and the ”competitive‘ assets of localities in a market-led logic; others focus more on the social dimension of innovation and the role of collective knowledge, social interaction and local institutions; others, still, focus more on the political dimension of local ”governance‘. Furthermore, there is a tension - often a straightforward ambiguity - between descriptive models and normative ones: very often theoretical analyses have been translated into policy paradigms, without the necessary caution. Finally there are also ”scale‘ issues, i.e. different notions of ”territories‘, ranging from the neighbourhood, to the municipality, to larger subnational regions. Still, although the TIM literature mainly focuses on the region, with the agglomeration of a number of municipalities or an urban region as the minimum spatial scale, the lessons drawn on institutional dynamics to a large extent also hold for the neighbourhood or district level, or for smaller cities and municipalities.

It is found that despite some semantic unity among the concepts used (economies of agglomeration, endogenous development, systems of innovation, evolution and learning, network organization and governance), Territorial Innovation Models (TIMs) suffer from conceptual ambiguity. The latter is partly a consequence of the differences in the specific national and regional contexts where TIMs are observed and/or theorized (institutional, as well as social and economic). But it is also, to a very large extent, influenced by a growing political bias, namely the tendency to view territorial innovation in terms of a technology driven innovation and of a business culture that is mainly instrumental to the

capitalist market logic. This pressing ideological priority pushes the ”conceptual flexibility‘ of TIMs across the border of coherent theory building and feeds the call for a socially innovative approach in spatial development analysis.

2. WP2 - Theorising socially innovative development

Work-Package 2 of the project, was devoted to *surveying socially innovative local development initiatives* - both theoretically and through case studies - with the aim of identifying the main elements of —alternative models of local innovative development‟ (ALMOLIN), needed for the subsequent phase of the project (WP3).

Deliverable 2.1 - State of the literature on socially innovative local development models and Deliverable 2.2 - Surveys of socially innovative local development initiatives partially overlap and have been merged in one report (*Scientific periodic progress report-Month 18*, April 2003, pp. 259). In this report socially innovative ideas, movements and initiatives have been surveyed, from the origins in the social philosophy, utopian models, and social movements of the 18th and 19th centuries, up to more contemporary contributions on social economy, institutionalist planning, alternative urban development movements and initiatives, in each of the 6 countries considered, in order to identify the theoretical roots and the main dimensions of *social innovation*. Such a survey was carried out both from a theoretical point of view and through the analysis of a number of case studies (historical and contemporary).

Deliverable 2.3 - Alternative models of local innovation presents a coherent synthesis of the major elements and dimensions of social innovation identified through the previous analysis. The ALMOLIN framework represents the structuring device for the in-depth case studies carried out in the third year of the project (WP3). By combining scale, time and social relation dynamics, it manages to highlight the triangular dialectics between the satisfaction of human needs, the mobilisation of resources for the local social economy and the organizational as well as institutional dynamics of civil society - including empowerment.

2.1. Deliverable 2.1 and 2.2 - Survey of social movements and socially innovative initiatives

The objective of this part of the project was to trace the *historical roots* of contemporary social movements and to *identify the elements and mechanisms of social innovation* in the evolution of social movements, across the 6 countries under observation. In other words, the analysis aimed at identifying the philosophical models, cultural matrixes, and/or social visions of the past which inspired or influenced contemporary social

movements, on the one hand; and the main elements and dimensions of social innovation that characterised past and present social movement practices, as a way to understand social innovations processes. In this exercise, veritable trajectories - at times nation-specific, but often common to several countries - were found; in some cases the evolution was less linear and/or innovation was found to have occurred by contrast and rupture, rather than continuity. In the end the survey contributed to highlight the main dimension and building blocks by which alternative models of local innovation (ALMOLIN) can be assessed.

The first chapter of the report is a —transversal" reading of European social philosophies and movements, from the 19th century to date. The subsequent chapters present the 6 country surveys.

In the report, first some considerations about the meaning and general characteristics of social movements are laid out; secondly, a rough sketch of the historical matrixes (philosophical trajectories) of contemporary social movements is presented. The main tensions and relevant elements of the social movements and initiatives reviewed are then pointed out. Finally, the country surveys are presented

Four main philosophical matrixes, i.e. *trajectories* (or *visions*) have been identified in the *history* of European social movement, starting as of the second half of the 19th Century:

a) *liberal-bourgeois* philanthropy and reformism, ranging from reformist pressures for social legislation, to community initiatives, to utopian experiments, with philanthropic, charity and/or —moralising" aims;

b) *church*-initiated charity initiatives, ranging from centralised Roman Catholic organisations to decentralised parish/community initiatives, whether protestant, anglican, or militant catholic;

c) self-help and *mutual aid* associationism, whether trade -or community-oriented, including the diversified realm of *cooperative organisations*;

d) *socialist* labour movements in their main reformist, communist and anarchist strands.

Obviously, these main trajectories are not clear-cut: they overlap, interact, contaminate each other quite a bit, especially in specific historical/regional contexts, often giving rise to interesting hybrids. Moreover, over time they further split into diverse trajectories, some times re-converging and re-combining into new variants. They all stem from *two*

basic *approaches* to social action: what can be labelled the *reformist* approach and the *utopian-anarchist* approach.

Stretching the *historical* review of all visions/movements up to the end of the 1970s, i.e. to the end of Fordism and the beginning of the post-fordist course (neoliberal government discourse and practice), two more *post-WWII* typologies were added to the above four trajectories:

e) *mass* movements, i.e. protest movements, in some sort of continuity with the workers movements of the 19th century, which contributed to revive the latter and/or to aggregate other social forces (women, middle class, minorities) into broad urban, regional, national or international movements, struggling for a variety of social and political aims: from better housing provision to divorce legislation, from antinuclear energy policy to greater social security coverage, from alternative urban planning to better schools;

f) *niche, alternative,* self-standing *experiments*, more reminiscent of the 19th century self-help organisations, utopian experiments, or community initiatives, on the one hand, and more in tune with the anarchist doctrine on the other hand, which attempted alternative lifestyles, consumption, production and/or community organisations: from communal housing in abandoned or empty apartments (the —squatters" movement), to cooperative organisation of production and services, to artistic reinterpretation/reappropriation of objects and places.

The country surveys show that there *is* a —Western European" common philosophical heritage in the historical deployment of social movements. It was born in the Renaissance urban societies, was rekindled by the principles of Enlightenment and the French revolution, took full speed with the Industrial revolution and the workers movements, and was revived in the post-WWII economic miracle. Indeed, all the countries investigated have experienced social movements belonging to most of the philosophical trajectories identified.

On the other hand, the philosophical matrixes, the historical trajectories, and the case studies reviewed in the report clearly show that *social innovation* - i.e. innovation brought about by and within social movements - is a highly *contextual* phenomenon: it depends on the time and place of its occurrence, as represented by specific institutional contexts. What may represent a social innovation in one place at a given time may not be such in another place or another time. Nonetheless, all the country surveys confirm that *social innovation* - in both its *product* and *process* dimensions - is characterised by

at least three forms of achievements, alone or in combination, accomplished through some form of *collective* action, as opposed to individual action:

1) It contributes to satisfy *human needs* not otherwise considered/satisfied.

2) It increases *access rights* (e.g. by political inclusiveness, redistributive policies, etc.).

3) It enhances *human capabilities* (e.g. by empowering particular social groups, increasing social capital, etc.).

The latter form of social innovation, that which allow for —capacity building", i.e. the creation and accumulation of social capital in marginalised places and/or within deprived social groups, is the most referred to - whether implicitly or explicitly - in most country surveys. It focuses on the process rather than product dimension of innovation.

The surveys also show the inherently *short-term* character of social innovation. There is some sort of a *life cycle* of social movements: once incorporated into some permanent institution, social action loses its innovative momentum (by definition), until a new innovative pressure brings further change (for the good or for the bad).

Throughout the history of social movements, from the 19th century workers movements up to very contemporary initiatives, a basic tension was acknowledged between what can be labelled as the *reformist* soul and the *utopian-anarchist* soul. The *reformist* approach, which believed in class-based membership, hierarchical organisation, and large-scale collective action, was traditionally aimed at gaining —permanent" or —lasting" improvements for the involved social group and/or for society as a whole, *within* the existing socio-political system and through *institutionalised* measures (reforms): legislation, programs, activities. The *anarchist* approach, in contrast, was anti-autoritarian and fragmented; more related to the utopian philosophy and self-help tradition, which translated into self-reliant, fragmented, local-based (—community"-based) initiatives and actions. It was traditionally not aimed at —improving the system", but at gaining —limited" or —temporary" goals, just for the group or community involved, *outside* and/or *despite* the system. This tension was clearly visible in the 1970s and 1980s, when small scale, fragmented types of initiatives (alternative or in opposition to mainstream practice, very focussed —inward" and not interested in changing the system) were often in conflict with large scale, *mass* mobilisation movements (be it left movements, feminist movements, student movements, anti-nuclear, environmentalist, etc.), fighting for greater democracy, participation and civil rights, and trying to achieve significant changes —through" and —within" the system (the state).

The above tension is parallel, and somewhat overlapping, with that between *community*- and *society*-oriented actions (in classical sociological terms: *gemeinschaft* vs. *gesellschaft*). This antagonism assumes new meanings in the *community* vs. *cosmopolitanism*, local vs. global debates. In fact, community-oriented social initiatives, while more rooted into people's needs and with more democratic decision-making processes, may also end up being *exclusionary and self-contained*. Society-oriented movements, while being more impersonal and giving way to some decision-making automatism (through institutionalisation), may, on the other hand, be more socially *inclusive*, i.e. allow for *diversity*, which is a trait of —cosmopolitanism". This tension is explicitly referred to, e.g. in the Belgian country report.

Also partially overlapping with the above is the tension between the *local* level of governance and the *central* state. Especially in situations where governance is heavily centralised, this tension often originated quite innovative social movements seeking greater local control over public action. On the other hand, the antagonism between the local and the central, can be dangerously simplified, leading to the idea that devolution and decentralisation are —inherently good". A number of cases show that the crux of the matter is control over *resources*. Decentralisation of governance, without access to resources cans actually —de-empower" communities[1]. Ultimately, there are different scales for different governance levels and actions. And one of the domains that must remain at the central state level is that of welfare. Without this basic *redistributive* role there are strong risks of further social and territorial imbalance. The Austrian case of centralised funding and decentralised action in the 1980s is a case in point.

Although all the above tensions can be found throughout history, places and cases, there are also examples where they do find some form of compromise. The Vooruit experience in Belgium, the New urban left initiatives in the UK, some 1980s experiences in Austria show how a bridge can be worked out - even temporarily - between self-help and reformism, community and society, local governance and central government.

As a last remark, the report brings the attention onto the *re-emergence of old basic needs*. 19th century social movements had developed in times of social exploitation and were related to improve access to basic material needs. Post-WWII social movements occurred in times of growing prosperity and aimed at acquiring greater social rights. The establishment of the neo-liberal paradigm in the 1980s somewhat reshuffles things: what was given for granted twenty years ago, maybe the object of renewed social struggle. A

[1] Fiscal autonomy is very good for rich communities (e.g. Basque Region and Cataluna), but a disaster for poor regions, which have no productive basis to tax. In Italy, for example, fiscal autonomy will further reduce the already scarce public resources of Southern regions.

new *material* hardship is re-appearing, related to: a) the re-polarisation of income distribution, after thirty years of relative convergence, i.e. the re-emergence of poverty even among old residents; b) the more or less evident reduction in welfare state coverage; c) the new wave of often illegal immigration (from Eastern Europe, but also from traditional Third World countries), which has especially involved formerly immune Southern European member states (Italy in particular). A growing share of the national populations is now socially excluded, not just particular groups in particular areas.

Closely related to the above is the issue of the Third Sector as a —Third Way". Is it a real *alternative* to inefficient state and market organisations or just an alibi for a retrenching Welfare State? Opposite to 19th century self-help and mutual aid initiatives, the current —institutionalisation" of the social economy in many countries (cf. the Italian and Austrian country reports) is not a social innovation that —fills a void", but rather an institutional innovation that *replaces* an acquired right (the dismantling welfare state).

2.2. Deliverable 2.3 - Alternative models of local innovation

Starting from the lack of ”institutional openness‘ in the Territorial innovation Models, their ontology which is highly inspired by market-competition oriented agencies and their change dynamics which are unilaterally factored by market and technology driven strategies, it became obvious from the early stages of the research that an ”alternative‘ model for territorial development would be needed to steer the analysis of socially innovative initiatives and organizations at the local, and in particular the neighbourhood level. To this purpose the SINGOCOM consortium developed the ALMOLIN model, a heuristic device to analyse alternative models of local innovative strategies.

ALMOLIN both theorises and empirically calibrates different elements/mechanisms of social innovation, in particular in relation to social inclusion/exclusion processes at the local level:

a) Processes of social exclusion and inclusion that have played a particular role within the localities or neighbourhoods, and how these processes have articulated themselves at various spatial levels. Example: migration processes and reception/rejection of migrants in local community. Example: complementarity vs. reinforcement of forces of civil society and welfare state.

b) Mobilization, empowerment and power relations. These forces do not have an a priori ”socially innovative‘ impact or outcome. In reality, there will be (strong) antagonisms between movements for social inclusion and social exclusion, or in favour of status quo. Example: local empowerment movements, often in

coalition with city hall, or neighbourhood councils, must counter mechanisms of social exclusion stemming from higher-level public authorities (e.g. cuts in social security spending, wage cuts, collective redundancies, etc.) The utopian anarchist initiatives sometimes play an important role here, since the more established movements may operate in an atmosphere of disbelief and lack of vision.

c) The triangular dialectics between the satisfaction of human needs, the mobilisation of resources for the local social economy and the organizational as well as institutional dynamics of civil society - including empowerment. These dialectics must be read from a multi-scalar dynamic perspective. These are expressed and commented upon in the following figure - basically an improvement of MOULAERT (2000).

d) Visions, movements and empowerment. Movements for change in all their forms and spatial scales (community committees, national coordination of locally active civil society organizations,…) are at the core of the dynamics of social innovation. Visions can change through strategy and action; but they can also change as part of institutional transformations (visions not only as empowering but also as organizational culture of movements).

e) Path and context dependency. Very important here is the dynamics of ”being driven by history and social context‘. This is partly structural, partly institutional determination. Structural: community development in a ”raw‘ capitalist environment is a different challenge than in a ”welfare state‘ or ”mixed economy‘ environment. Institutional: a long tradition of private-public cooperation in local development (e.g. Industrial District, powerful local social emancipation foundations) will also point the direction of new future institution building and social innovation in governance relations. In this respect, institutional planning stresses the impact of local institutional histories and cultures that can be empowering as well as disempowering. However, social innovations at one time can become institutional ”lock ins‘ at a next time, probably involving the need of a repeated or continuous evaluation of the meaning of social innovation at a particular time, within a territorial context.

f) Re-ordering of domains of action and institution building between civil society, state and market sectors. These dynamics are certainly directly related to the dynamics pointed out from b. through e.. But there is also the role of the struggle and reorganization within the state and (capitalist) market sectors

themselves. And these ”talk to‘ the constraints on development, many of them are real, some of them imaginary. Example: how gloomy is the imagining of the global? The State plays an important role here: the space left by capital for non-market economy oriented social innovation is largely dependent on the interpretation the State gives to it - also the State as an arena for class struggle.

g) Territorial specificity. This is the closing piece of a holist definition of social innovation at the local level. The specificity of a local territory is not only defined by the factors identified by the dynamics pointed out before, and by path dependency as well as context specificity; there is the role of contingency and what we could call casual and micro-agency that occur in specific territories and, therefore, become constituents of the real character of the territory.

3. WP3 - Concrete Experiences of Social Innovation

Case-study analysis was undertaken for 16 initiatives of social innovation (in 10 cities across 6 European countries), most of them established within neighbourhoods facing problems to achieve economic development, employment and social-political inclusion.

3.1. Territoriality and social innovation

A distinction can be made between: (1) neighbourhood centred initiatives; (2) neighbourhood initiatives with a wider spread effect; (3) ”neighbourhood-located wider impact‘ initiatives; and

(4) city-wide initiatives. The spatial reach considered here only takes into account the impact of the initiative as such and not the”parallel‘ learning and communication dynamics in which most of these projects are involved. For example, many of the projects are involved in pan European networking and exchange of experience, either within formal European arrangements (URBAN e.g.), or through spontaneous affinity search (as is the case for CityMined, BOM, Leoncavallo, AQS, Olinda).

The distinction between neighbourhood focus and wider-spatial scale targeting is scientifically and politically significant, and the research shows that a combination of scales, especially for partnering and resource mobilization feeds the chance of positive outcomes in social innovation initiatives. Contrary to the neoliberal *adagio* that targeting deprived neighbourhoods is a strategy based on a ”negative choice‘, some of the most successful strategies (BOM, AQS Naples) show that such neighbourhood focus can work very well if mobilization of resources and governance of partners is established at complementary spatial (institutional) levels. This does not mean that all locally inspired

social innovation strategies should target neighbourhoods; the metropolitan or urban - the city as a whole - level is the appropriate level when a better integration of inter-area cooperation and an improved integrated of urban governance scales are pursued.

Further comparison of features of social innovation shows a number of quite interesting phenomena or point at more ”ad hoc‘ hypotheses about contemporary dynamics of social innovation (or their obstruction):

- The role of arts and culture in socially innovative initiatives grows and is multi-faceted: arts as an expression of identity, of cultural heritage, but also as a use-value, potentially marketable. But culture and arts also function as modes of communication, and vehicles of popular expression, resistance and socio-political mobilization. *For example, 9 of the 16 initiatives employ artistic and cultural talents as resources to their activity and organization.*

- The failure or suboptimal achievements of some of the initiatives is seldom a consequence of internal malfunctioning, miss-strategising or lack of skills, but the outcome of a venomous State paternalism, cuts in public spending as a consequence of a neoliberal State philosophy and practice favouring market initiatives and privatization, causing in turn increased competition over scarce resources and patriarchal dependency relations on increasingly domineering State sponsors.

- The decline of integrated approaches to territorial development is the combined outcome of reduced resources, increasingly complex bid procedures for ever more sophisticated project oriented application and assessment rules, removing ”change skills‘ from the ”core business‘ of social innovation, to the financial management of short-term income flows.

- The increasing difficulty of civil society organizations and the growing control of local authorities lead to an integration of socially innovative initiatives into the local State service provision structure. Such development is quite visible in Antwerp, Naples and Newcastle. As a consequence, links with local constituencies and need groups are broken once again and the crisis of the local democratic system is reconfirmed.

3.2. Dynamics of social innovation: types and trajectories

The core dynamics of the ALMOLIN model consists of the triangular dialectics between ”Visions of Social Innovation ” - ”Culture and identity building‘ and ”Organizational and Institutional Dynamics‘. The latter refer to internal and external, social and political dynamics of the socially innovative organizations. To simplify the analysis, the social economy initiatives can be considered as the ”real (economic?) thing‘ or infrastructure connected to the ”superstructure‘ of triangular socialization dynamics. The dialectics between the processes of exclusion on the one hand, and the ”social innovation fabric‘ constitute the core logic of ALMOLIN: social innovation as a reaction to or growing from the alienation - renaissance dynamics in particular conditions of exploitation and exclusion.

- How much social economy?

The presence of social economy activity in the initiatives depends on the definition of social economy that we utilize. Only five initiatives include the ”social market‘: Olinda, Leoncavallo, BOM Antwerp, Rhondda Arts Factory (Windmills generating electricity) and New Deal Newcastle. But if we include the provision of social services and/or the improvement of their quality then also AQS and Piazzamoci in Naples, Marzahn and KF Wedding in Berlin and Alentour in Roubaix/Lille should be added to the list. And if in addition we also look at democratic and efficient urban management, also the Viennese experiences (Area Management, LA 21) should be added to the list. Observe that Olinda, Leoncavallo and BOM respond to all three criteria.

But whatever their ”social economy affinity‘ all these initiatives have responded in a unique way to alienated allocation systems, lack of purchasing power, lack of quality or accessibility of goods and services.

- Reordering domains of action and institution building between civil society, state and market sectors.

This is probably the most painful and discouraging conclusion drawn from the study. Mobilization and empowerment increasingly materialise as Tantalus torments and Sisyphus labours combined. Although the degrees of conflictuality vary significantly, there is not a single initiative within the SINGOCOM research without frictions between local authorities on the one hand and the leaders or/and constituencies or client groups of the initiatives. Conflicts concern: fights over leadership - including personality conflicts, authoritarian integration of successful civil society initiatives into the State apparatus, democratic control, budget cuts, tensions between State levels affecting the

smooth functioning of the socially innovative initiatives, views of change (Conservative local powers), the role of ethnic minorities, etc. Successful initiatives especially in Antwerp, and Berlin have been disciplined in the name of efficiency and the necessary return to ”physical renewal‘; a most remarkable way for local authorities to smash away their good practice experiences.

- Path and context dependency - The link with multi-level governance

Despite the appealing generality of some of the main findings, space and time continue to matter - and maybe even more so in this era of globalization. Most of the case-studies in SINGOCOM cover a time span of 20 to 30 years and also connect to local, regional and national political conditions and ”regime‘ changes. For example, the changes in urban policy in Antwerp, Berlin, Milan and Vienna are well covered in the study. They show the recent tendency toward the entrepreneurial local state, the reliance on real estate development for urban renaissance, the privatization and/or internalization of service provision, the reconquest of public space by either the private market or the technocratic local state at the expense of civil society initiatives. They also show the gradual replacement of local democratic participation by ”political communication show life‘ - public hearings which function as confession for the public rather than commitment making for the local councillors, and how bottom-up initiatives fight desperate struggles to counter this trend.

In the short run it seems a lost battle, with as an outcome the transformation of civil society change agents into social service managers. In the medium and long run, the tight network relations which many of these initiatives have with peers in their country, but also across Europe, point at new possibilities. The wealth of socially innovative capacity that is shared among these initiatives can be connected to the expertise of global networking which already exists in these peer spheres, but which could be made more instrumental to the reinforcement of local change initiatives. The experience of Participatory Budgeting promulgated by the Alter-Globalization movement after the positive experiences in many Brazilian cities is one example of how global networking can help to reinforce the impact of good local practice. But the approach should be broadened to include issues as the redistribution of income, Integrated Area Development, the role of arts and culture in urban development, traffic and environmental control, first-line health care, etc.

4. WP4 - Socially Innovative Projects, Governance Dynamics and Urban Change: A Policy Framework

4.1. Deliverable 4.1. Governance Dynamics and Socially Innovative Projects

- Introduction and context

The emergence of a wide range of socially innovative activities in local area developed has to be considered in the context of wider political economic transformations. Most socially innovative projects are directly concerned with the delivery of unsatisfied services and the provision of ”goods‘ that are neither provided by the state nor by the market. Post-materialist and other affective economies became articulated through newly emerging civil society based activities and actions: emotional affect, mutuality, ecological sensitivities, every day life qualities.

These deeply political, but innovative economies, remain largely outside the aegis of traditional state-forms of service delivery and welfare, while market forces have little or no purchase in satisfying these central, yet uncommodified, social and cultural needs. Moreover, market-based satisfaction of socio-cultural needs is particular precarious for social groups whose economic position is rather weak.

As documented in the SINGOCOM case studies, there has been, in recent years, a growing emphasis on ”joining-up‘ service delivery, a practice that actively fused market, state and civil society initiatives in all manner of urban and other development projects. Collaborative partnerships, stake-holder networks, multi-partite institutional arrangements and other new governance formations have signalled a move away from the traditional commanding heights of state-based delivery to a collage of fuzzily organised formal and informal, but often highly innovative, practices

These arrangements of governance are decidedly Janus-faced. Re-centering the state-market-civil society triad at the expense, primarily of traditional hierarchical, state intervention, opens up all manner of contradictory and potentially emancipatory or perverse effects. Notwithstanding the potential contribution of and the importance of strengthening such initiatives, it is imperative to recognize possible pitfalls.

- The ”embedding‘ of the initiatives within the state/civil society/market triangle

All initiatives arose out of a sense of ”failure of the state‘ on the one hand and ”failure of the market‘ on the other in the provision of a series of essential services. Operating between state and market, but with varying degrees of overlap, these initiatives actively

provide key services, secure institutional recognition and a certain degree of power, and mobilise a wide variety of social actors and agents.

A networked form of organisation is a key characteristic as well as a desire to transform both traditional state-based forms of urban regeneration and development and provide alternative and empowering forms of organisational embedding. They all suggest the importance of a renaissance of civil society movements and organisations and signal the considerable innovative potential energised through bottom-up grass-roots initiatives.

- The ”Innovative‘ Character of the initiatives (with respect to Human needs, Institutional innovation, and Empowerment)

There are of course important differences between case-study projects and, consequently, different impacts, particularly in terms of their longer-term sustainability and the dynamics of innovation. Three main tendencies stand out with respect to both of these issues: their origin and driving motivations, their articulation with state and/or market, and their scalar effect. Stimulating and fostering socially innovative projects has become a vital and necessary component of urban social change.

4.2. Deliverable 4.2. Policy Recommendations

The policy framework revolves around three interrelated issues. The first part will consider the policy strategies from the perspective of civil society initiatives themselves. The second and third part will look at the domestic and EU policies respectively.

Actually existing impact of EU policies

Most projects receive direct and/or indirect support from the European level. Although generally seen as important in securing long-term survival, it was often felt that both the lengthy and complex administrative procedures mitigated against effective mobilisation of resources and often resulted in civil society initiatives unable to secure EU-based funding. Unless the initiatives generate sufficient in-house social capital AND secure the support of the local or national state, access to EU funding is limited or difficult.

Moreover, obtaining EU support depends crucially on fostering good relationships with the local or national state and makes oppositional strategies more difficult to pursue. In addition, innovative dynamics are often confronted with regulatory and bureaucratic conditions that prevent innovations to be implemented or experimented with.

Notwithstanding these observations, the analysis supports the view that EU policy and financial support might have a leverage effect on generating and maintaining socially

innovative dynamics in urban development. This requires a sensitivity to local activist and civil society initiatives and their dynamics on the one hand and to the particular arrangement between state and market in which they operate on the other.

General Framework and key objectives

In order to permit networked partnership approaches that permit local civil society to pursue the above, higher level policy frameworks should:

a) Recognise contingency and particularity, avoid formulaic ”good practice‘ approaches.

b) Allow space for redundancy, ambiguity, invention and failure, which may all contribute to learning and to generating civil society initiatives.

c) Facilitate civil society groups in their efforts to make linkages and develop initiatives rather than controlling and shaping them.

d) Tolerate and respect the variety of ways in which activism in civil society is manifest, and keep an eye for potential oppressions and exclusion.s

e) Help to develop a good community awareness of the various networks within and between government and civil society, and assess any state programme for its impact in building on, expanding, using and misusing the capacity of these networks before initiating a project or programme with a ”community participation‘ or ”empowerment‘ dimension.

f) Encourage rich and varied debates about issues, to create a strategic understanding and knowledge base of both governance processes and the wider, multi-scalar social, economic and environmental dynamics which shape both problem issues and the possibility of innovative responses.

g) Encourage a recognition of social identity with places as well as with social groups, with identity understood as a multiple, open and revisable concept, as a way to build a force for maintaining an integrated agenda of interventions in local area development.

h) Encourage experiments with small initiatives and be cautious of grandiose and flagship big developments.

i) Avoid counter-productive over-management of any programme or project.

j) Expect and encourage conflict and challenge, as a sign of engagement and of the potential for innovation.

European Union and National Policy: pointers towards supporting socially innovative development initiatives.

Effective innovative social development models require re-adjusting policy frameworks in a number of ways. Paramount in this is the recognition of civil society actors as generating considerable social capital that enables both self-development as well as socio-economic and cultural cohesiveness.

Each of the case-study reports provide a valuable set of mutually re-enforcing policy recommendations that are based on recognising the transformative capacity of socially innovative projects in urban development.

II. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT

This is the final report of the FP5 project SINGOCOM, i.e. Social Innovation and/in Governance in (Local) Communities. This project continues the research trajectory initiated about 15 years ago with a research on Integrated Area Development for the DG Social Policy and enhanced with the FP4 URSPIC project on Urban Restructuring and Social Polarization in the City. Both projects have been largely covered in the literature (Oxford University Press, eds. Moulaert, Swyngedouw and/or Rodriguez) and can also be consulted from the IFRESI website (www.ifresi.univ-lille1.fr, Programmes de recherche).

SINGOCOM has done four things.

First, SINGOCOM has reviewed the literature. Part of the literature deals with territorial innovation, especially social innovation in governance relations and development agendas at the local, and in particular the (urban) neighbourhood level. Another part of the literature addresses the history of social movements and philosophies that are the basis of social innovation and change in society.

Second, SINGOCOM has developed an alternative model for the study of social innovation at the local level, i.e. ALMOLIN. This model is the basis for both a wider theoretical exploration of the scientific and political meaning of social innovation, and empirical analysis of cases of social innovation in 10 European cities across 6 countries.

Third, SINGOCOM has undertaken empirical analysis of 32 cases of social innovation, historical or contemporary, followed by an in-depth study of 16 cases for which all dimensions of ALMOLIN have been studied. A large part of the results is available on the SINGOCOM website http://users.skynet.be/frank.moulaert/singocom/

Fourth, SINGOCOM has devoted particular attention to institutional and political dynamics of social innovation.

Formally, the SINGOCOM work is finished. But scientific commitment will lead us to further exploration of the commonalities and particularities of social innovation, both from the social economy and the institutional change point of view.

Finally, a number of publications have been staged: a book with Il Mulino, another the Presses Universitaires Québecquoises; a third one is in the process of negotiation. Two special journal issues will be out before mid 2006: Urban Studies on the theory of social innovation, European Urban and Regional Studies on path- and context dependency of social innovation.

May our passion for social change and innovation affect you all.

Lille-Newcastle 30 April 2005

Frank Moulaert

Erik Swyngedouw

Flavia Martinelli

III. SCIENTIFIC DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT RESULTS AND METHODOLOGY

A) WP1 -Territorial Innovation Models: a critical survey of the international literature

Singocom Network[2]

1. Abstract

This paper provides a critical review of the international literature on Territorial Innovation Models (Industrial Districts, *Milieux Innovateurs*, New Industrial Spaces, Local Production Systems, etc.). The review is organized in two steps. First, the main features of each of these models and their view of innovation are compared. Second, their theoretical building blocks are reconstructed and evaluated from the point of view of conceptual clarity and analytical coherence.

It is found that despite some semantic unity among the concepts used (economies of agglomeration, endogenous development, systems of innovation, evolution and learning, network organization and governance), Territorial Innovation Models (TIMs) suffer from conceptual ambiguity. The latter is partly a consequence of the differences in the specific national and regional contexts where TIMs are observed and/or theorized (institutional, as well as social and economic). But it is also, to a very large extent, influenced by a growing political bias, namely the tendency to view territorial innovation in terms of a technology driven innovation and of a business culture that is mainly instrumental to the capitalist market logic. This pressing ideological priority pushes the ”conceptual flexibility‘ of TIMs across the border of coherent theory building.

2. Introduction

Over the last couple of decades, regional economists, geographers and planners have devoted a considerable part of their time and energy to the search for a ”new‘ model of regional development. Once the euphoria of the reconstruction after World War II had waned, the structural economic weaknesses, particularly in traditional manufacturing regions, but also in backward agricultural ones, became increasingly visible. Inspired by location theory, investment and employment subsidies were granted to corporations, which came to invest in these regions (BROWN and BURROWS, 1977). And, following the

[2] Collective author including Oana Ailenei, Lucia Cavola, Joan Coaffee, Etienne Christiaens, Julia Gerometta, Sarah Gonzalez, Hartmut Häussermann, Patsy Healey, Ali Madanipour, Flavia Martinelli, Kevin Morgan, Frank Moulaert, Johan Moyersoen, Pasquale de Muro, Farid Sekia, Erik Swyngedouw, Andreas Novy, Vanessa Redak, Huw Thomas, Serena Vicari, Geoff Vigar. Final editing: Flavia Martinelli, Frank Moulaert and Oana Ailenei.

logic of the growth pole model (PERROUX, 1955), infrastructure works combined with significant aid to investment were expected to generate the necessary production initiatives in lagging regions.

The effects of these policies on regional development were ambiguous. On the one hand, these infrastructure and cost subsidising measures did encourage new employment in local firms and did attract external direct investments to the regions, offsetting at least partially the loss of employment in traditional industries and agriculture. But on the other hand, in many regions little linkages developed between the new investments (often assembly branch plants) and the local economic structure, and no self-sustained development process was engineered (MARTINELLI, 1998). These limits became overt with the advent of the economic crisis in the mid 1970s, when many branch plants began to reduce their activities or closed down, together with the remaining coal mines, steel and textile plants, shipyards, etc. and when central governments, pressed by budgetary constraints, became increasingly selective in their regional development policy (de MONTRICHER, 1995). This selectivity meant in the first place a shift in political ”clientele‘ from loss-making old industrial firms to promising new initiatives applying new technology and advanced services. Selectivity was furthered by the creation of the European competitive space (European Union) and by the several rounds of GATT negotiations, which not only led to the creation of the WTO, but also to the proliferation of a global ”market watch‘ by the geo-economically dominant regions (North America, Europe, Japan) over each other‘s industrial and competition policy (see GENEVA Papers and Progress Newsletters)[3].

It is in this climate of crisis in ”traditional‘ regional policy that, starting in the 1980s, an appeal for (endogenous) local and regional initiatives for economic development started to emerge. The genesis of this trend is multiple and different contradictory movements converge in building this ”local‘ focus. In the first instance, must be mentioned the generalised social mobilisation for greater civil rights, democratic governance, and more balanced development, which arose in most European societies, starting in the 1970s (the workers, feminist, peace, ecological, etc. movements), which in many countries had a strong —grassroots‟ and local dimension. Secondly, must be mentioned the strong pressures for ”regionalization‘, which also developed in many European countries, although with different emphases and political trajectories. With regard to the latter point, it is worth mentioning that the political discourses legitimising claims for greater regional administrative autonomy are quite different, e.g. in the UK or Spain, from those

[3] For a theoretical analysis of the tension between competition and regional policy in the European Community, see MARTIN and STEINEN (1995).

e.g. in Italy. Last, but not least, must be mentioned the (re-)emergence of the SME sector - both as a reality and as an analytical topic - in many countries, which actively contributed to reassert the value of the local and regional development potential, as an alternative to National State-led regional economic policy. The latter component - i.e. the focus on small firms as the main engine of the ”regionalisation‘ of development - has come to dominate the current debate and accounts for the significant political ambiguity of local development strategies.

Historically, thus, in many countries, the ”regionalist‘ critique to development policy and the pressures for more ”self-determination‘ in policy choices was originated in the radical, left, and community movements. Throughout the 1980s, however, it was ”appropriated‘ by the hegemonic neo-liberal discourse, shedding all the progressive dimensions and retaining only the economic aspect of competitiveness and a technocratic approach to policy.

TIM (Territorial Innovation Model) is the generic name used in this survey to include a wide variety of ”territorialised‘ development models based to some extent on some form of local innovation potential. As shall be argued, there are profound differences in emphases and concepts. Some models focus more on the economic dimension of innovation and the ”competitive‘ assets of localities in a market-led logic; others focus more on the social dimension of innovation and the role of collective knowledge, social interaction and local institutions; others, still, focus more on the political dimension of local ”governance‘. Furthermore, there is a tension - often a straightforward ambiguity - between descriptive models and normative ones: very often theoretical analyses have been translated into policy paradigms, without the necessary caution. Finally there are also ”scale‘ issues, i.e. different notions of ”territories‘, ranging from the neighbourhood, to the municipality, to larger subnational regions. Still, the TIM literature mainly focuses on the region, with the agglomeration of a number of municipalities or an urban region as the minimum spatial scale.

In academic circles, the beginning of an interest in the ”localized/territorial‘ dimension of development can be traced in the early works of BECATTINI (1975, 1979), BAGNASCO (1977), and BRUSCO (1980) on Italian industrial districts. They were followed by AYDALOT (1986) and the GREMI, who laid the grounds for the regional endogenous development approach. More in the footprints of —orthodox‟ growth theory, a regional version of the endogenous growth model was put forward (BARRO and SALA-i-MARTIN, 1992). —Local‟ growth and development factors, such as human capital, local business culture and schooling system, infrastructure, quality of production factors and systems, learning from the regional experience for renewed regional development (RATTI, 1992)

were put in a context of territorial *innovation* dynamics. This was the beginning of a literature on ”territorial‘ development and regional ”innovation‘ systems (KAFKALAS, 1998) that is now almost twenty years old.

Many convergent or competitive academic currents contributed to the development of this debate. In the US, the Californian school of economic geography stressed the relationship between technical innovation, industrial organisation and location (STORPER and WALKER, 1989) and launched the notion of New Industrial Spaces (STORPER and SCOTT, 1988). The industrial district school, which historically preceded the GREMI, but only later begun to explicitly tackle the innovation dimension of competitiveness, focused on the quality of formal and informal social, economic and political relations in the region, as a determinate factor of sustained reproduction and long-term economic development (BRUSCO, 1982; BECCATINI, 1981; GAROFOLI, 1992). The French current of ”Systèmes Productifs Locaux‘ came in the footprints of the Industrial District school and stressed the founding role of artisan production systems in the diffusion of manufacturing patterns in urban and rural areas (COURLET and PECQUEUR, 1990).

The regulationist school, in line with its institutional tradition, modelled some of the archetypes of industrial relations accompanying the successful application of technological innovation. It gave a social and territorial content to the concepts of ”technological paradigm‘ and system of innovation (LEBORGNE and LIPIETZ, 1988; MOULAERT and SWYNGEDOUW, 1989). More recently, the role of the local ”institutional context‘ in explaining industrial districts performance and local development success has been further investigated, linking the debate about post-Fordism to the question of ”institutional capacity‘ and institutional ”thickness‘ (AMIN 1994, 1995, 1997, 1999). Along this line, the ”regional innovation system‘ and the ”learning region‘ models have provided a new interpretation (a synthesis?) of the territorial innovation model (BRACZYK, COOKE and HEIDENREICH, 1998; MORGAN, 1997).

After more than fifteen years of theoretical debate, analysis and policy implementation the *Territorial Innovation Models* (TIMs) are up for critical evaluation. This paper seeks to contribute to such an evaluation and, to this effect, it pursues two tasks:

- The presentation of the various TIMs, from BECATTINI, BAGNASCO and AYDALOT till today‘s learning region, stressing as much as possible the varieties found in the literature, especially with respect to the concept of innovation (section 3);

- The analysis of the building blocks on which these models were built: the main concepts (economies of agglomeration, endogenous development, systems of innovation, evolution and learning, network organization and governance) and the

generic theories (e.g. regional development and evolutionary innovation theory). This analysis includes an evaluation of the conceptual clarity and analytical coherence of the different TIMs (section 4).

It is found that, despite their apparent semantic unity, these models are conceptually quite diverse and in many cases their theoretical building blocks are used in incongruent ways. This is a consequence of many factors. In the first place it certainly stem from the variety of cases investigated, belonging to different institutional, social, economic and political contexts. Secondly it also reflects nation- and region-specific theoretical and political trajectories, which affect the way ideas and practices are developed and implemented. Finally, in many instances, it stems from superficial theoretical reflection, a hegemonic technocratic view of innovation and a strong ideological attachment to the capitalist market logic of development.

3. The territorial innovation models

"Territorial innovation model' (TIM) is used here as a generic name for models of regional innovation in which *local institutional dynamics* play a significant role. Still, at least three traditions can be distinguished within the population of TIMs. In the original French model on the "*Milieu Innovateur*', which was the basis for the synthesis produced by GREMI (AYDALOT, 1986), the role of endogenous institutional potential to generate innovative dynamic firms is emphasised. The same basic idea is found in the literature on the Industrial District model and the Local Production Systems, stressing even more the part of cooperation and partnership in the innovation process. Therefore, the Innovative Milieu and the Industrial District, both with a strong focus on local institutional endogeneity, can be considered as a first family of TIMs. A second tradition is more in line with the broader set of innovation literature: a translation of the institutional co-ordination principles found in the sectoral and national innovation systems toward the regional level of development (EDQUIST, 1997) and an evolutionist interpretation of the *learning economy* concept at the regional level (COOKE, 1996; COOKE and MORGAN, 1998). A third tradition stems from the Californian School of Economic Geography: i.e. the *New Industrial Spaces* (STORPER and SCOTT, 1988; SAXENIAN, 1994). A final category, close to Porter's clusters of innovation concept, is the "spatial' *Clusters of Innovation* model, which has gained great popularity with policy makers, but suffers from severe inconsistencies from a theoretical point of view.

We will now present the main features of most of these territorial innovation models as put forward by their protagonists. At the end of section 3, we will confront the various dimensions of their views of innovation: core of innovative dynamics, role of institutions,

place of innovation in regional development, culture and types of relationship with the environment.

3.1. Innovative Milieus (IMs)

In the theory of the '*milieu innovateur*' developed by the GREMI, the firm is not an isolated innovative agent, but part of a milieu with an innovative capacity. In their theoretical and empirical works, the GREMI authors seek to analyse the relationships between firms and their environment and to study the modes of organisation characterising them (RATTI, 1992, p. 54). They distinguish between three functional spaces for the firm: the production, the market and the support space. It is the support space that empowers the enterprise to face uncertainty. The support space is constituted around three types of relations: (i) qualified or privileged relations with regard to the organisation of production factors; (ii) strategic relations between the firm, its partners, suppliers and clients; (iii) strategic relations with agents belonging to the territorial environment. In particular it is the support space that determines the relations between corporate innovation and spatial development; it is this space that qualifies the nature of the ”milieu innovateur‘ (RATTI, 1989; RATTI, 1992, p. 56). The current research agenda of the GREMI stresses the concept of ”apprenticeship‘, which means that the innovative capacity of the different members of the milieu depends on their ”learning‘ capacity. Learning enables them to perceive changes in their environment and helps them to adapt their behaviour accordingly. Today, the apprenticeship dynamics and the cooperative organisation based on interaction constitute the core of the ”milieu innovateur‘ theory; it converges quite well with the more recent theory of the ”learning region‘ (CAMAGNI, 1991).

3.2. Industrial Districts (IDs)

The theory of the *Industrial District* (ID), starting with Becattini and Bagnasco in the late 1970s, stresses the innovative capacity of SMEs belonging to the same industry and local space. The industrial district is commonly defined as a geographically localised productive system, based on a strong local division of work between small firms specialised in different steps in the production and distribution cycle of an industrial sector, a dominant activity, or a limited number of activities. There are multiple relationships among firms, and between the firms and the local community, within as well as outside the market. The latter relationships are based on ”trust‘ and ”reciprocity‘. This hybrid mode of organisation, combining competition and cooperation, formal and informal institutional relations, cannot be understood without highlighting the role of historical and socio-

economic factors crucial to the success of a district (BECATTINI, 1987; BRUSCO, 1986, 1992; DEI OTTATI, 1994a; MOULAERT and DELVAINQUIÊRE, 1994).

The modes of coordination (market, firm, cooperation) of agents, and particularly small firms, in the economic system have received considerable attention in the ID literature (DEI OTTATI, 1994a, 1994b). The coordination of complementary activities among many small firms with specific roles and specializations in the production and distribution systems calls for greater information and knowledge than the price system can grant. — Local customs and particularly the custom of reciprocal cooperation […] play an important role in the ID by making possible transactions that would otherwise be blocked because they are too risky …" (DEI OTTATI, 1994b, p. 465).

In many ways the Industrial District comes quite close to the Innovative Milieu. BECCATINI (1981) talks about the Industrial District as a ”creative milieu‘, to which he, like BRUSCO (1982), attributes features that are also typical of the *Milieu Innovateur* - especially those fostering the ”support‘ space of firms (KAFKALAS, 1998, p. 6). The commonalities of the Industrial District and *Milieu Innovateur* approaches rest on the role of the local socio-economic community, based on cooperation and complementarity among functionally specialised agents. But the ID literature goes further in analysing relations of trust versus opportunism, the role of culture as a vehicle of change, and the way in which agents who ”behave incorrectly‘ with regard to the norms of community interaction are penalised (DEI OTTATI, 1994a, p. 531).

The notion of social capital, the role of the quality of social and cultural relations and its links with democratic governance in a locality are increasingly investigated as a major factor in explaining local development (see PUTNAM 1993; MUTTI 1998). AMIN has recently stressed the role of ”institutional capacity‘ and institutional ”thickness‘ as a major factor in explaining the successful performance of IDs and other localities. From this point of view his work converges with the Regional Innovation system and Learning Regions models (see below).

3.3. Localized Production Systems (LPSs)

The LPS model can be considered as a generalization of the Industrial District view of local economic development. The main distinctive element of differentiation with the ID seems the fact that it does not necessarily refer to a ”sectorally‘ defined system of firms (see on this point also BRUSCO and PABA 1997). From this point of view it is, possibly the most ambiguous and less defined Territorial Innovation Model (FM). The term was introduced in the early 1980s (see e.g. WILKINSON 1983). GAROFOLI (1983) uses it to reviews the different models of territorial clusters of firms in Italy. The French scholars

talk of *systèmes industriels ou de production localisés* (RAVEYRE and SAGLIO 1984; COURLET and PEQUEUR 1991; COURLET and SOULAGE 1994). CROUCH et al (2001) use this label to encompass several of the TIM families reviewed here.

As stressed by COURLET (1999), the LPS model has no agreed-upon definition. In the frame of the colloquium on —Les systèmes productifs locaux‟ (Toulouse 1999) it was losely defined as a system characterized by the territorial proximity of productive units (firms, plants, services suppliers, R&D centres, training institutions) interlinked in different forms (formal and informal, material and immaterial, market and non-market). As with industrial districts, LPSs view industrialisation as a process occurring in urban or rural areas with an explicit artisan tradition (process of diffuse industrialisation). Key to the development of the LPS are: the "productive system" itself (in terms of workforce, technology, methods etc.), which, although a result of the industrialisation process rather than a condition for its start, represents a basic condition for its reproduction and renovation (COURLET, 1999); —external economies‟; non transferable knowledge; specific forms of regulation; strong local identity. (COURLET, 1999).

In contrast with fordist industrialisation that seeks to shape (and shake!) space to the exigencies of industrial society, diffuse industrialisation is a process of continuous evolution that, unlike the industrial district approach, fears ruptures in development trajectories. The LPS model conceives a dialectics between local diffuse industrialisation rooted within a local community and the economic pressures from ”outside‟ (national and international conditions of development). LPS proponents have, indeed, taken the local-global tension on board from the beginning - another difference with ID scholars, who only acknowledged such a tension after having been criticised for their local bias.

3.4. New Industrial Spaces (NISs)

STORPER and SCOTT launched the notion of *New Industrial Spaces* in 1988. It combines insights from the literature on Industrial Districts (BRUSCO, 1986), flexible production systems (PIORE and SABEL, 1984), social regulation (BOYER, 1986; LIPIETZ, 1986) and local community dynamics (STORPER and WALKER, 1983). In many instances, it links the concept of ”flexible specialisation‟ with post-Fordist restructuring trends (see AMIN 1994 for a survey).

STORPER and SCOTT (1988) identify ”flexible production systems‟ by referring to

> *forms of production characterized by a well developed ability both to shift promptly from one process and/or product configuration to another, and to adjust quantities of output rapidly up or down the short*

run without any strongly deleterious effects on levels of efficiency. (p. 24)

The authors link the efficiency of the flexible production system to locational agglomeration of a selected set of producers:

This locational strategy enables them to reduce the spatially-dependent costs of external transactions. In flexible production systems, the tendency to agglomeration is reinforced not only by externalization but also by intensified re-transacting, just-in-time processing, idiosyncratic and variable forms of inter-unit transacting, and the proliferation of many small-scale linkages with high unit costs. (p. 26)

Referring to the history of industrial districts and other spaces of activity, STORPER and SCOTT observe that the flexible production system has bloomed in places unburdened by fordist institutional legacies. New Industrial Spaces involve more than agglomerated production systems, because they also involve a social regulation system providing:

(i) the coordination of interfirm transactions and the dynamics of entrepreneurial activity; (ii) the organization of local labor markets and social reproduction of workers; and (iii) the dynamics of community formation and social reproduction.(p. 29)

While we observe that this list of challenges to regulation shows significant overlaps with the definition of the *"espace de soutien*‘ (or "support space‘) of the GREMI, it is not evident that these three domains of regulation can be reconciled through an economic approach (see section 4). In the above TIM family could also be included the work of SAXENIAN (see below), although, from a disciplinary point of view, her background is more in the political science field, rather than geography.

3.5. Clusters of Innovation (CIs)

ENRIGHT (1994) provides a good survey of publications on "the [spatial or regional] clusters of innovation‘, that are often considered as an offshoot of the New Industrial Spaces literature. However, the cluster of innovation approach offers no analytical "family‘ coherence, except for its reference to MARSHALL‘s (1920) analysis of the advantages of localised systems. One of the most cited sources is SAXENIAN and her work on the now mythical Silicon Valley case (SAXENIAN, 1994), in which she underscores the role of local institutions and culture as well as industrial structure and corporate organisation for economic performance. She contrasts the creative impact of

the network based industrial system in Silicon Valley with the integrated corporate structure of Route 128 (cited from EHRENBERG and JACOBSSON, 1997, pp. 333-334).

In our opinion, the literature surveys (ENRIGHT, 1994; EHRENBERG and JACOBSSON, 1997) enforce an artificial relationship between SAXENIAN‘s work on regional innovation in Silicon Valley and Porter‘s notion of clusters of innovation. SAXENIAN‘s analysis combines agglomeration economies, industrial organisation, flexible production systems and regional governance and belongs rather to the —New Industrial Spaces“ family. It is much richer than Porter‘s original model, which emphasises market and competition rather than networking and social interaction as success factors for clusters of innovation, and showed only a marginal interest in ”regional‘ dimensions of innovation (PORTER, 1990).

But, as with so many concepts in management science and economics, geographers have also embraced the notion of the cluster. Porter‘s view of the sources and nature of technological development, his short prayer to localised processes and the gradual ”networking of the clusters‘ lay the grounds for the spatial operationalisation of the ”regional cluster‘ as the most practice oriented, but also the most market logic-led version of the model of territorial innovation (see LAGENDIJK, 1998).

3.6. Regional Innovation Systems (RISs)

Another family of TIMs belong to the ”systems of innovation‘ literature: a translation of the evolutionist view of economic development and of institutional co-ordination found in the sectoral and national innovation systems at the regional level (EDQUIST, 1997). Here we are mainly concerned with the regional systems of innovation (MALERBA 1993; BRACZYK, COOKE and HEIDENREICH, 1998) and (in the next section) with the regional learning economy (COOKE, 1996; COOKE and MORGAN, 1998).

The theory of *Regional Innovation Systems* stresses the role of ”collective learning‘, which in turn refers to deep cooperative relationships between members of the system. This theory is indebted to the evolutionary theory of technical change. Rather than a result of a research activity, innovation is a creative process, with the following features: the interaction between agents of the process (built on feed-back), the cumulative aspect of, and increasing returns to, the innovative process and the "problem-solving" orientation, which shows the specific nature of the innovation. Moreover, innovation is not only a technological but also an organisational process. And it is this organisational dimension that is of paramount importance and determines the technological innovation itself.

There is little risk in arguing that the Regional Innovation System is a lower-scale offshoot of the National Innovation System - whatever the latter‘s definition may be (EDQUIST, 1997, chapter 1). Still, as LAGENDIJK (1998) indicates there are in this theoretical corpus at least two basic interpretations of the region as an innovation system: either as a subsystem of national or sector-based systems, or as a reduced version of the National System of Innovation, with its own dynamics.

3.7. The Learning Region

The notion of the learning region was launched by COOKE, MORGAN, ASHEIM and others, and can be considered as an intermediate synthesis in the debate on TIMs (COOKE, 1998; MORGAN and NAUWELAERS, 1998). The model integrates innovation systems literature, institutional-evolutionary economics, learning processes, and the specificity of regional institutional dynamics. MORGAN (1997) provides an excellent summary of the logic of the learning region. The purpose of his article, the author declares, is —to connect the concepts of the network [or associational] paradigm - like interactive innovation and social capital - to the problems of regional development in Europe“ (p. 492). First, MORGAN highlights the state of knowledge in evolutionary economics by stressing two of its main propositions: a) innovation is an interactive process; b) innovation is shaped by a variety of institutional routines and social conventions (p. 493). Together these propositions have helped —to stimulate an interesting, and highly significant, debate about the nature of capitalism as a learning economy“ (see section 4).On this issue, MORGAN cites LUNDVALL (1994) and claims that “knowledge is the most important strategic resource and learning the most important process.“ Then, MORGAN underscores the importance of the growing interests of economic geographers, planners, etc. in innovation dynamics: —Within economic geography a number of tentative efforts have been made to utilise some of the insights of evolutionary economic theory, especially with respect to learning, innovation and the role of institutions in regional development.“ (p. 494). MORGAN especially refers to STORPER‘s recent work as ”the fullest attempt to marry the two disciplines‘.

STORPER (1997) recognises ”the principal dilemma‘ of economic geography as the re-emergence of regional economies at this time of globalisation. He explains this phenomenon by the association between organisational and technological learning within agglomerations, based on traded (input-output relations) and untraded interdependencies (labour markets, regional conventions, norms and values, public or semi-public institutions).

Figure 1 summarises the view of innovation represented in each of the TIM families just reviewed: 1) definition of innovation; 2) role of institutions and organisations; 3) view of regional development (evolution, learning, role of culture); 4) view of culture; 5) type of relations between different development agents (network concept); 6) type of relations with the outside world.

Figure 1. Views of innovation in territorial innovation models

Model **Features of innovation**	**Milieu innovateur / Innovative milieu (MI)**	**Industrial District (ID)**	**Regional Innovation Systems (RIS)**
Core of innovation dynamics	Capacity of a firms to innovate through the relationships with other agents of the same milieu	Capacity of actors to implement innovation through cooperation, in a system of common values	Innovation as an interactive, cumulative and specific process of research and development (path dependency)
Role of institutions	Very important role of institutions in the research process (university, firms, public agencies, etc.)	Institutions are "agents" and enabling social regulation, fostering innovation and development	As in NIS, the definitions vary according to authors. But they all agree that the institutions lead to a regulation of behaviour, both inside and outside organisations
Regional development	Territorial view based on "milieux innovateurs" and on agent's capacity of innovating in a cooperative atmosphere	Territorial view based on spatial solidarity and flexibility of districts. This flexibility is an element of innovation	View of the region as a system of "learning by interacting/and by steering regulation"
Culture	Culture of trust and reciprocity links	Sharing values among agents - Trust and reciprocity	The source of "learning by interacting"
Types of relations among agents	The role of the ”support‘ space: strategic relations between the firm, its partners, suppliers and clients	The network is a social regulation mode and a source of discipline. It enables a coexistence of both co-operation and competition	The network is an organisational mode of "interactive learning"

Type of relations with the environment	Capacity of agents to modify their behaviour according to the changes in their environment. Very 'rich' relations: third dimension of support space	The relationships with the environment involves constraints and opportunities. Capacity to react to changes in the environment. 'Rich' relations. Limited spatial view of environment	Balance between inside specific relations and environment constraints. 'Rich' relations

Source: authors

Model **Features of innovation**	**New Industrial Spaces**	**Local Production Systems**	**Learning Region (synthesis?)**
Core of innovation dynamics	A result of R&D and its implementation; application of new production methods (JIT, etc.)	Same as for ID	As for RIS but stressing co-evolution of technology and institutions
Role of institutions	Social regulation for the co-ordination of interfirm transactions and the dynamics of entrepreneurial activity	Same as for ID, but with focus on role of governance	As in RIS but with a stronger focus on role of institutions
Regional development	Interaction between social regulation and agglomerated production systems	Diffuse industrialisation, i.e. socio-economic development based on an evolutionary process without rupture	Double dynamics: - technological and techno-organisational dynamics; - socio-economic and institutional dynamics
Culture	Culture of networking and social interaction	Role of local social-culture context in development	As in NIS but with a strong focus on interaction between economic and social cultural life
Types of relations among agents	Interfirm transactions	Interfirm and inter-institution networks	Networks of agents (embeddedness)
Type of relations with the environment	The dynamics of community formation and social reproduction	Close to MI	As in RIS

Source: authors

Figure 1 suggests a strong semantic unity and complementarity among the features of innovation. But this semantic unity of concepts is only superficial. This can be illustrated by considering the notion of innovation and the meaning of culture in the various TIMs. None of them defines the purpose of innovation explicitly. Reading through the various contributions one concludes that the main shared purpose of innovation is the development of new technology and its implementation. There is more clarity, but also diversity, in the way TIMs identify the innovation process: capacity of firms to innovate (*Milieu Innovateur*), innovation as an interactive cumulative process (*Regional Innovation System, Learning Region*) or an R&D process (*New Industrial Spaces*). As to the driving forces - and impact - of innovation (not included in figure 1), most models refer to competition and/or improving the competitive position (see also SWYNGEDOUW 1992, who stresses how competition among places is a major feature of the new global regime). There is no reference to improving the non-(market) economic dimensions of the quality of life in local communities or territories. This becomes particularly clear when the meaning of culture is considered: culture is ”economic culture‘, or ”community culture‘ to the extent that it is functional to improving the competitiveness of the local or regional economy. Of course, this functional link between culture and market economic performance means an impoverished view of territorial development since it is limited to only its economic dimensions, within the current logic of capitalist growth and competition.

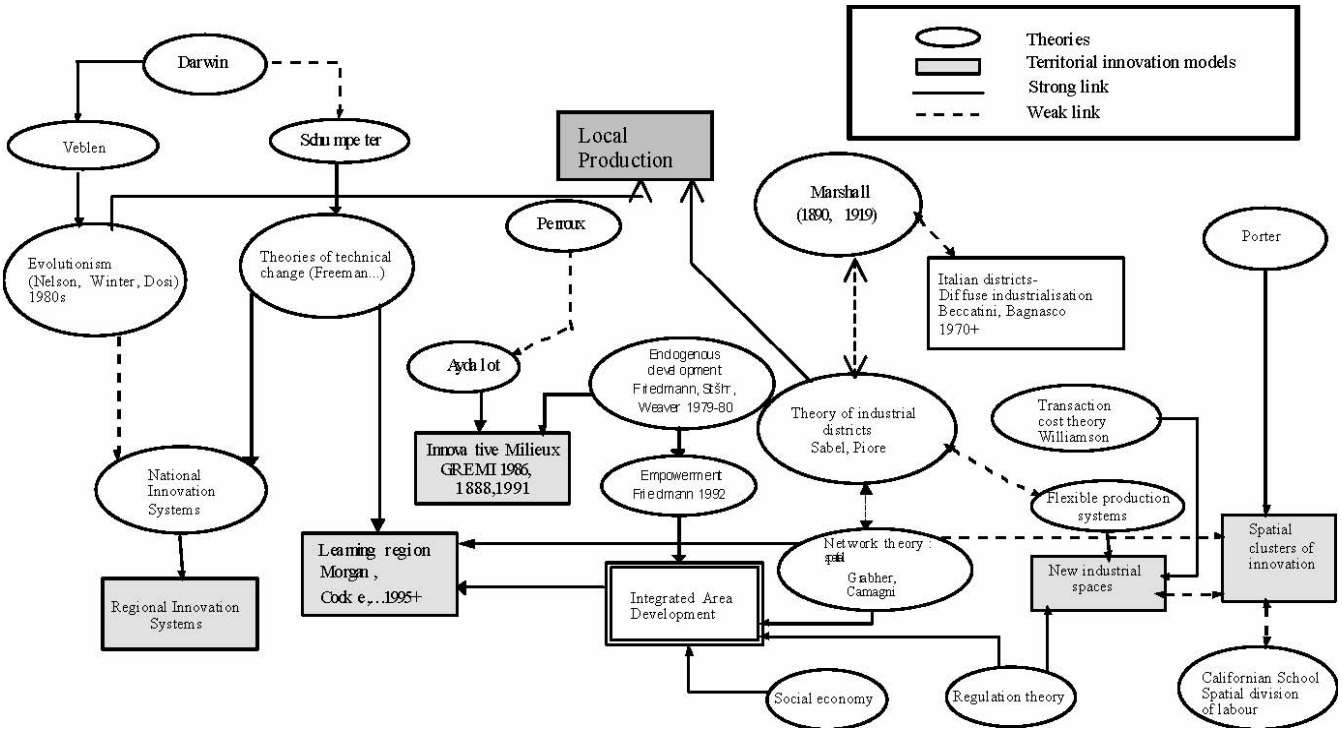
The conceptual superficiality of the TIM literature is a consequence of several factors. As already mentioned, it partly stems from the different theoretical, political, and economic trajectories of specific regions and countries (see the national literature surveys in Part II), which inevitably leads to a conceptual ”plurality‘ and, often, inconsistency. To a large extent, however, it depends on the way theories are appropriated in policy practice - and, in turn, on the way theories respond to hegemonic political discourse. There are, indeed strong links with the current regional economic competition policy (many TIMs contributed to legitimise it). There is a general trend in today‘s scientific practice towards ”fast theory building‘ and a diffused confusion of analytical theory with normative modelling.

4. The building blocks of the territorial innovation model

In the previous section we pointed out how Territorial Innovation Models share a significant number of *concepts*. But also well-known *theories* belong to the common ground of TIMs: endogenous growth and development theory, innovation systems theory, network theories, etc. But how real is this ”sharing‘ of concepts and theories? First of all, not all concepts and theories play a comparably significant role in all TIMs.

Second, their use is often diverse or ambiguous. The lack of clarity about the concept of innovation and its various dimensions is revealed also from the theorising "à la carte' utilised in the various TIMs. Let us look at the diversity in the use of the most important concepts and theories.

Figure 2. Territorial Innovation Models: theoretical roots and challenges



Source: authors

Figure 2 provides a synthetic survey of the strong and weak links between the various economic, social, geographical and planning theories, on the one hand, and the different TIMs, on the other hand. TIMs are presented in rectangular boxes, theories in ellipsoids. Some of the main theories and their *conceptuarium* (i.e. the body of concepts that they mobilise) are discussed in the sequel of this section.

4.1. Economies of agglomeration

"Agglomeration economies' are portrayed as a general concept, although it refers to a number of different theories. In fact, the debate on the appropriate content for the notion of economies of agglomeration in regional economics is far from finished. Various viewpoints oscillate today between the original Weberian formulation in terms of minimum transportation costs and industrial organisation, the Marshallian conceptualisation of external economies, the Hooverian reformulation in terms of localisation and urbanisation economies, and the innovation process-oriented revisiting of

the concept as mentioned in various TIMs. Recent contributions to the latter debate were offered by CAMAGNI and SALONE (1993) and MOULAERT and DJELLAL (1995), who make a plea to involve various spatial scales in the analysis; MALMBERG and MASKELL (1997), who enrich the notion by a targeted qualitative analysis of the network dynamics in regionally specialised agglomerations; MOULAERT and DJELLAL (1995), again, who provide a qualitative interpretation of locational and urbanisation economies; and several other authors who, in the context of the regional innovation literature, pursue the ”qualitative calibration‘ of the agglomeration concept (MOULAERT and DJELLAL, 1995; MALMBERG and MASKELL, 1997). The counter position is given by PORTER (1996) who argues that it is time to shed ”agglomeration economies‘ (p. 87, cited from LAGENDIJK) and concentrate on the nature of the network externalities.

This said, the concept of agglomeration economies is explicitly used in the *New Industrial Spaces* and the non Porterian version of the *Clusters of Innovation* model. In the *Industrial District* and the *Milieu Innovateur* models the economies of agglomeration come in through the Marshallian backdoor, stressing the role of externalities for industrial organisation. In general, when used in TIMs, ”agglomeration economies‘ tend to receive a rather qualitative content, with positive externalities stemming from local and regional business culture, learning by clustering and networking, and urbanisation economies resting on the educational system, research infrastructure as well as the culture industries in the case of large agglomerations.

The use of the concept of economies of agglomeration for defining territorial innovation models leaves a tremendous ambiguity regarding their *spatial* character. We observe that even in the most culturally rooted institutional models (*ID*, *MI*, *NIS*, *RIS*, *LR*) the interpretation of local business culture varies according to the socio-political discourse in which the notion of district or of industrial space is used. Meanings range from the institutional capability to carry technological innovation policy (technology determined institutional dynamics), to endogenous institutional dynamics of localities leading to strategic socio-political choices.

4.2. Endogenous development theory

Endogenous regional development theory combines the three principal dimensions of development: the economic dimension, i.e. economic development based on inputs that are at least partly available or generated locally; the socio-cultural dimension, which reflects cultural needs and community identity; and the political dimension, relative to political decision-making and involvement of local institutions, interest groups and individuals in the policy process. A large range of interpretations and combinations of

these three dimensions can be found in the literature. Endogenous inputs can be defined in a technical-economic way, looking at natural resources, human resources, entrepreneurship, existence of an industrial structure, technical know-how, etc. (COFFEY and POLESE 1984; GAROFOLI, 1984); or they can include the wider socio-cultural fabric of growth coalitions involving the educational system, Chambers of commerce, business and professional associations, etc., leading to a definition of the region as ”the clustering of social relations, the place where local culture and other non-transferable local features are superimposed‘ (GAROFOLI 1992, p. 4; FRIEDMANN and WEAVER 1979); or, from a more socio-anthropological point of view, they can involve the institutional dynamics of all groups in the local population (STÖHR, 1984; FRIEDMANN, 1992). In the latter case endogenous development derives from the *empowerment* of deprived groups whose needs are structurally alienated, and who gradually manage to establish their bottom-up development models.

Another important dimension of the plurality of endogenous development interpretations is the relation of endogenous to ”exogenous‘ development factors, and how significant is the role played by the endogenous portion of the development assets (GAROFOLI, 1992). This issue is strongly related to that of the ”spatial scale‘ of endogenous development: how ”far‘ does a locality or a region reach in its endogenous strategy? Is endogenous development a response to destabilising external factors? (STÖHR, 1984). Here the debate on endogenous development evokes to a great extent concepts derived from the *theory of systems*. Beyond the polarisation between self sufficiency - quite unrealistic - and complete openness to competing external dynamics - which means abandoning the political possibilities of self-determination - where are the ”boundaries‘ of the endogenous regional system?

To this regard, one strand of analysis focuses on the decision-making process about the type of local potential that should be valorised, and which external assets should be integrated into the regional development cocktail. STÖHR and TÖDTLING (1977) talk of ”selective regional closure‘, referring to a strategy aiming at spatial equity between groups of human beings in terms of material well-being, but also with respect to the right of being different and seeking self-fulfilment. The strategy should not be autarkic, but rather a combination of territorial aspirations and functional exigencies. This means that endogenous development involves a dose of regional preferences with respect to production and exchange, as well as a selection of relations with the extra-regional environment. The STÖHR-TÖDTLING view implies a ”co-habitation‘ of two logics that are hard to reconcile: the functional logic - national or international - embodied in the strategies of TNC's and the various logics (economic, socio-cultural, political) of local communities whose objective is to achieve their own development, based on their own

identity. PECQUEUR (1989) describes the local aspirations of the communities as an ”autonomous reaction‘ to the constraints originating from the extra-territorial environment (qualifying them as ”herenomous pressure‘).

The core of endogenous development theory is, thus, a new conception of space: ”territorial‘ space replacing functional space. An internal dynamics of development replaces space as a ”simple‘ support of economic functions[4]. In the territorial approach, in addition to (or in interaction with?) the usual economic attributes privileged by prior theories of regional development, space is ”upgraded‘ with a new content of socio-cultural values and traces of the local history. Economic space is now more articulated, and contains the ”*milieu de vie*‘ of a human community where the members are mutually linked by economic, cultural and historical values. Territorial space becomes a *”cadre d‘action*‘ of a particular human group.

It is a small step from this ethical judgement to an ecological development approach. Human beings should live in harmony with their natural environment, in order to valorise local resources, in full respect of the environment. However, when employed in ”a practical‘ economic development context, this enriched view of territorial development becomes easily re-functionalised, as SACH‘s eco-development approach illustrates (figure 3).

Figure 3. SACH‘s eco-development approach

SACHS (1980) in his eco-development approach analyses the cohabitation of two different logics as they are also portrayed in the theory of endogenous development. The author stresses that the eco-development approach ”allows to solve the increasingly dramatic conflict between growth and the state of nature, in ways different from stopping growth ” (p. 12). In regional economics a similar approach can be found in what PERRIN (1983) calls the ”eco-ecological paradigm‘. Briefly, this ”paradigm‘ illustrates the dialectical relation between economic organisation and the ecological organisation of human activity; these dialectics create the possibility of ”autonomous territorial organisation‘. In a similar way the theory of endogenous development, stresses that the process of development originates partly from the local capacity to organise, without wasting natural resources. However, despite the

[4] E.g. in the meaning of distance, representing a transportation cost; in the technical view of space according to PERROUX; or in space as a ”temporality‘ in the social division of labour in the theory of spatial division of labour.

original link between the eco-development and the endogenous development approaches, the recent theory of sustainable development has been designed in complete independence from regional development theory.

Indeed, in most TIMs the combination of the three dimensions fabricating endogeneity often receives a strong economic-deterministic flavour. The orientation is towards local and regional development defined with reference to the dominating growth images: high technology production, new producer services, capital intensive cultural *filières*, etc.

Forces of globalisation and regionalisation can both be integrated in *innovative milieux*, as GENOSKO (1997) argues. But contrary to this author‘s beliefs, when global market forces are followed, local dynamics are coloured by the dominant growth images. Only local political forces can counter this dominance. But in reality most often politics legitimise and catalyse this ”globalised endogenous‘ growth strategy. The growth coalition model is, therefore, the most celebrated conception of institutional dynamics within a locality or a region seeking to reconcile the global with the local. The question becomes: which are the institutional forces that can be geared towards the appropriate (but usually ”exogenously‘ pre-cooked) endogenous development strategy? How can socio-political forces be adapted to the ”right‘ model? We are confronted here with ”institutional instrumentalism‘, whose sole endogenous ingredient is the capability to produce the ”orgware‘ and the human resources to accomplish the exogenously imposed or inspired economic growth targets. The other sides of the institutional dynamics, such as participatory governance (AMIN, 1995a, 1995b), basic needs determination (FRIEDMANN, 1992), bottom-up innovation in governance systems (MOULAERT et al., 2000) are left out of the picture.

4.3. Systems of innovation, evolution and learning

The multi-faceted character of the ”innovation and learning process‘ has been discussed quite openly in the scientific literature and, particularly, in evolutionary economics (see for example EDQUIST, 1997).

The earlier debate about the *nature* of *innovation* led to the gradual recognition that innovation is neither a one-way diffusion process, nor a clear-cut factor-impact relationship between the creative innovative entrepreneur and the firm, but a process and/or a system of innovation. One strand of this early debate was a confrontation between epidemic diffusion models and organisational learning processes (RATTI, 1992). A second concerned the various interpretations of SCHUMPETER‘s theory on the innovative entrepreneur (GALLOUJ, 1994).

A third strand concerned the dynamic aspects of the innovation process, stressing retro-activity but also path-dependency (EDQUIST, 1997; DOSI, 1984).

A more recent debate deals with the *nature* of *national innovation systems*, and especially the way institutional dynamics are interpreted (EDQUIST and JOHNSON, 1997; LUNDVALL, 1992; MOMIGLIANO and DOSI 1983). Here the whole range of views on the role of institutions is discussed, i.e. the opposition between technological and organisational determinism, on the one hand, and the social and political dimensions of learning, on the other. There is a growing consensus in this literature that innovation is a socio-organisational process; but there remains some divergence of opinion on the relationship between technological and organisational innovation. And so far there is no answer to the question about what the role of social dynamics and democratic decision-making in innovation trajectories should be. The socio-organisational dimension is now fully integrated in the technological innovation debate; but the innovation process remains in the first place subject to market laws and economic efficiency imperatives.

A third debate concerns the nature of the innovation process at the *local and regional level*. Most of the contributions on the nature of innovation in TIMs refer to innovative dynamics based on technological change, organisational learning and path dependency. We are here at the heart of the application of contemporary concepts of evolutionary economics. The theories of the technological paradigm and trajectories (DOSI, 1984, 1988) were a good starting point, but became soon criticised by the founding fathers themselves (DOSI and MARENGO, 1994) and by authors of the regulationist school for missing the proper dynamics of the social fabric within leading (innovating) firms and across territories (LEBORGNE and LIPIETZ, 1988; DJELLAL, 1993).

Organisational selection, learning processes, path dependency, networks, institutions, governance, etc. became distinctive elements of new theories (CARLSSON and JACOBSSON, 1998), which probably managed to distance themselves from the economically determinist interpretation of the innovation process more effectively than the critical authors participating in the first and second debate (STORPER, 1997). It is explicitly recognised by economists of this (evolutionary) approach to innovation that:

> *Learning and technological change are therefore rooted in the present economic structure; they are local in nature and include strong elements of path dependency (CARLSSON and JACOBSSON, 1998, p. 267)*

In any case, there seems to be more clarity about the meaning and role of the innovation process as used in TIMs, than is the case for the concept of agglomeration economies or endogenous growth potential. Still, the diversity in interpretation remains great, ranging

from technological determinism at one extreme of the spectrum, to socio-organisational innovation trajectories at the other extreme. The works of SAXENIAN (1994), MALMBERG and MASKELL (1997) and STORPER (1997) particularly stress the socio-organisational dimensions of the regional innovation process. However, even for these authors, innovation remains a process mostly obeying a market-economic logic.

An even more fundamental problem is the fact that, in theorising innovation and learning, the biological metaphor of evolution is constantly referred to, but without clarifying which concepts and theories of evolution are used as sources of theoretical inspiration. Of course, a biological metaphor is not mandatory for a social theory of development or evolution; but when it is used, at least some definitional efforts on the principles of genesis, heredity, selection etc. should be provided (see HODGSON, 1993). Moreover in a social theory of evolution, other modes of social evolution like associativity, reciprocity and solidarity should be considered (KROPOTKIN, 1972).

4.4. Network theory

As can be seen from figure 2, most of the territorial innovation models cited in this paper use the *network* concept as a key-element. The *Industrial District* literature, the *Milieu Innovateur*, the STORPER-SCOTT and SAXENIAN versions of the *New Industrial Spaces* and the *Learning Region* models all use a network approach which bypasses, more or less, the mainstream technocratic interpretation of the professional, technological or industry network. Gernot GRABHER (1993) provides a good synthesis of the use of the network concept in socio-economics. According to GRABHER, working in the footsteps of GRANOVETTER, a generic ”form of exchange‘ called ”network‘ can be identified, which obeys the following four basic features: (i) reciprocity; (ii) interdependence; (iii) loose coupling; (iv) power. Some of the features are close to those in the *ID* (trust, reciprocity, loose coupling). But of course when we start analysing the interplay dynamics from the perspective of *power* within or imposed to, and of the ”finality‘ of the network, we may end up with quite unbalanced configurations, which can be more reminiscent of the relations of exploitation in the medieval putting-out system (MASSEY, 1984) or the Japanese automobile production system (CHILD-HILL, 1989). If we confront this network concept with the blend of ideas present in the TIM literature (for partial surveys, see HANSEN 1992; CARLSSON and JACOBSSON, 1997), we notice that networks are, in the first instance, introduced as *intermediate organisational forms* between markets and firms, when these fail in efficiency and efficacy. In particular, trust (reliability in terms of technical features, timing, etc.), demand or supply specificities, and possibilities for co-operation are the basis for the choice of supplier-producer and buyer-subcontractor network relationships, such as extended family networks or cooperative networks. These

have formed the organisational structure of local small firms production systems, where the market was not able to provide this type of function (HANSEN, 1992, p. 100-101). However, they are slow to develop in peripheral regions, where trust and co-operation are limited (MARTINELLI 1998). For example, SME's in peripheral regions have no access to advanced producer services because of the absence of specialised public-private networks (CAVOLA and MARTINELLI, 2001, for the case of the Italian Mezzogiorno).

4.5. Governance

The discussion about ”networks‘ leads to the even more contemporary discussion about ”governance‘. Fashionable in most social sciences, the term is (re) used to widen the debate about the administration of social entities (firms, organisations, groups, neighbourhoods, localities, cities) and the role of agents (workers, members, citizens) in the decision-making and ”governing‘ processes (KING and STOKER, 1996). The spectrum of interpretations is again wide. From the discussion on market and hierarchy and intermediate forms initiated by COASE and others in neo-institutional economics, the improvement of the ”urban growth coalition‘ and ”urban machine‘ literature (MOLOTCH 1976; STONE, 1989; LOGAN and MOLOTCH, 1987) and the contemporary debate on local governance at the regional and urban level (LE GALÊS, 1998; STORPER, 1997; MOULAERT et al., 1996) there emerges a wide array of notions of governance. These notions can easily be related to various views of planning and political theories (FAINSTEIN and FAINSTEIN, 1996) or to the theorising of the relationships between structure, institutions and agency (social theories). This pluralism in the views of governance is again present in the territorial innovation literature, almost in the same way as for the notion of network. This is quite natural for those concepts of governance in which networking - in its different interpretations - stands central. Networking could be considered the most challenging concept for administration and the key notion in theories of government and public governance. However, it would be misleading to identify administration with a top-down approach; and networking with a democratic or horizontal approach to governance. In fact networking can be more alienating than a top-down, but justice-based, administration. In the same way, ”local‘ governance can be a form of ”selective social closure‘, privileging the growth coalition to the detriment of grassroots movements. This is especially true when local governance is based on private instead of public norms (informal agreements instead of legislative regulations), which can further undermine democratic decision-making.

5. Towards a community-based concept of territorial innovation

There is a broad field of tensions among the various TIMs about how territorial innovation is theorised. The apparent semantic uniformity and the shared theoretical sources hide a pluralism of interpretations of innovation dynamics and their theoretical inspirations. This pluralism could be interpreted in a positive way, as a creative and/or converging stage in the building of a new theory. But for the time being, ambiguity predominates and there is a clear need to achieve some analytical clarity.

There appear to be two possibilities for the epistemological improvement of Territorial Innovation Models. The first one is to admit that there is ambiguity and to provide a decent definition of the nature, process and forces of market-led innovation at the local and regional level. As of today, none of the TIMs provides such a definition. Even in the light of a shared definition of innovation, it would still be necessary to launch a detailed and systematic rediscussion of all the ingredients of the model. Such an endeavour may succeed if the observed confusion between normative innovation strategies and positive - sometimes less innovative - development strategies are disentangled. But that is a difficult working task to impose on a community of scientists that is often deeply involved with regional and local policy and institutional sponsorship of their research. Moreover, thinking in terms of path dependency, this recommended way out from the epistemological malaise is a bit counter-intuitive, because it is hard to return to an established research trajectory and to reformulate the epistemological borderlines of territorial innovation that were misspelled from the beginning. Path dependency theory aptly enlightens the difficulty here. In fact, the revisiting of the various concepts and theories in the light of new epistemological boundaries may be much easier than resetting the boundaries themselves. The second possibility is to recognise the contradiction between a market-led view of innovation on the one hand, and a community-based view of development on the other. There is certainly a strong need to broaden the discussion on innovation in all its dimensions, as a leading theme for the progress of humanity at the local level. This broadening up of the debate on innovation is not easier than the first approach, i.e. the epistemological improvement of TIMs. Just think of the multidimensionality of the desired new concept of community-geared innovation, the role of non-market economy innovation agents, the affinity with community culture, etc. But the undeniable advantage of this second approach would be that it applies more directly to the complexity of local and regional development than any TIM that is oriented solely towards the logic of market-led economic development (MOULAERT and NUSSBAUMER, 2001).

The above critical survey merely lays the grounds for further investigation in the relationships, differences and common elements of TIM families. It also represents a provisional analytical framework for reviewing the specific national trajectories - both with regard to the theoretical debate and the policy initiatives - as illustrated in Part II. The surveys of national literatures included in Part II, clearly show how both theoretical analyses and policy strategies are strongly influenced by national specificities. They also contribute to highlight the role of a number of dimensions just touched upon in this first critical survey. Therefore, before addressing the task of reformulating a coherent and integrated TIM, which fully encompasses the social and political dimension of development, it is necessary to further highlight a number of aspects: a) the issue of ”scale‘, i.e. the different perceptions of the territorial ”boundaries‘ of a locality in the various models, and its impact in terms of development strategies and policies; b) the role of local government institutions, not only in terms of devolution of authority from the central government, but also in terms of their capacity to ”empowering‘ the local society; c) the relationships of TIMs with recent theoretical and political developments in the domain of sustainable development, ecological development, bio-regionalism, etc.; d) the possible contribution of theoretical work in other disciplines concerning the social economy, the ”Third sector‘ and non-market supply-delivery systems.

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B) WP 2 - THEORISING SOCIALLY INNOVATIVE DEVELOPMENT. SUMMARY REPORT.

1. Preface

Work-Package 2 of the project, was devoted to *surveying socially innovative local development initiatives* - both theoretically and through case studies - with the aim of identifying the main elements of —alternative models of local innovative development" (ALMOLIN), needed for the subsequent phase of the project (WP3).

Deliverable 2.1 - State of the literature on socially innovative local development models and Deliverable 2.2 - Surveys of socially innovative local development initiatives partially overlap and have been merged in one report (*Scientific periodic progress report-Month 18*, April 2003, pp. 259). In this report socially innovative ideas, movements and initiatives have been surveyed, from the origins in the social philosophy, utopian models, and social movements of the 18th and 19th centuries, up to more contemporary contributions on social economy, institutionalist planning, alternative urban development movements and initiatives, in each of the 6 countries considered, in order to identify the theoretical roots and the main dimensions of *social innovation*. Such a survey was carried out both from a theoretical point of view and through the analysis of a number of case studies (historical and contemporary).

Deliverable 2.3. - Alternative models of local innovation presents a coherent synthesis of the major elements and dimensions of social innovation identified through the previous analysis. The ALMOLIN framework represents the structuring device for the in-depth case studies carried out in the third year of the project (WP3).

2. Deliverable 2.1. and 2.2. - Survey of social movements and socially innovative initiatives

The objective of this part of the project was to trace the *historical roots* of contemporary social movements and to *identify the elements and mechanisms of social innovation* in the evolution of social movements, across the countries under observation. In other words, the analysis aimed at identifying the philosophical models, cultural matrixes, and/or social visions of the past which inspired or influenced contemporary social movements, on the one hand; and the main elements and dimensions of social innovation that characterised past and present social movement practices, as a way to understand social innovations processes. In this exercise, veritable trajectories - at times

nation-specific, but often common to several countries - were found; in some cases the evolution was less linear and/or innovation was found to have occurred by contrast and rupture, rather than continuity. In the end the survey contributed to highlight the main dimension and building blocks by which alternative models of local innovation (ALMOLIN) can be assessed.

The first chapter of the report is a —transversal" reading of European social philosophies and movements, from the 19th century to date. The subsequent chapters present the 6 country surveys.

2.1. The legacy of history in contemporary social movements: in search of socially innovative mechanisms

F. Martinelli, F. Moulaert and E. Swyngedouw

In this chapter, first, some considerations about the meaning and general characteristics of social movements are laid out; secondly, a rough sketch of the historical matrixes (philosophical trajectories) of contemporary social movements is presented. The main —invariants", i.e. common traits, as well as the main —variants", i.e. differences, among countries, are then highlighted. Finally, the main tensions and relevant elements of the social movements and initiatives reviewed are pointed out.

Four main philosophical matrixes, i.e. trajectories (or visions) have been identified in the history of European social movement, starting as of the second half of the 19th Century:

a) *Liberal-bourgeois* philanthropy and reformism, ranging from reformist pressures for social legislation, to community initiatives, to utopian experiments, with philanthropic, charity and/or —moralising" aims;

b) *Church*-initiated charity initiatives, ranging from centralised Roman Catholic organisations to decentralised parish/community initiatives, whether protestant, anglican, or militant catholic;

c) Self-help and *mutual aid* associationism, whether trade-or community-oriented, including the diversified realm of *cooperative organisations*.

d) *Socialist labour* movements in their main reformist, communist and anarchist strands.

Obviously, these main trajectories are not clear-cut: they overlap, interact, contaminate each other quite a bit, especially in specific historical/regional contexts, often giving rise to interesting hybrids. Moreover, over time they further split into diverse trajectories,

some times re-converging and re-combining into new variants. They all stem from *two* basic *approaches* to social action: what can be labelled as the *reformist* approach and the *utopian-anarchist* approach. Stretching the *historical* review of all visions/movements up to the end of the 1970s, i.e. to the end of Fordism and the beginning of the post-fordist course (neoliberal government discourse and practice), two more *post-WWII* typologies were added to the above four trajectories:

e) *Mass movements*, i.e. protest movements, in some sort of continuity with the workers movements of the 19th century, which contributed to revive the latter and/or to aggregate other social forces (women, middle class, minorities) into broad urban, regional, national or international movements, struggling for a variety of social and political aims: from better housing provision to divorce legislation, from antinuclear energy policy to greater social security coverage, from alternative urban planning to better school.

f) *Niche, alternative*, self-standing *experiments*, more reminiscent of the 19th century self-help organisations, utopian experiments, or community initiatives, on the one hand, and more in tune with the anarchist doctrine on the other hand, which attempted alternative lifestyles, consumption, production and/or community organisations: from communal housing in abandoned or empty apartments (the —squatters" movement), to cooperative organisation of production and services, to artistic reinterpretation/reappropriation of objects and places.

As shown in the country reports presented in the subsequent chapters of the report, there *is* a —Western European" common philosophical heritage in the historical deployment of social movements. It was born in the Renaissance urban societies, was rekindled by the principles of Enlightenment and the French revolution, took full speed with the Industrial revolution and the workers movements, and was revived in the post-WWII economic miracle. Ideas and related social practices, although born in particular countries, spread quite rapidly in the others. Indeed, all the countries investigated have experienced social movements belonging to most of the philosophical trajectories identified.

There are, thus, a number of —*invariant*" features across countries, such as the industrial revolution which created masses of urbanised factory workers; the existence of strong central states, which determined social pressures for more direct democracy and devolution; the relevance of the —urban question", i.e. the strong urban dimension of all movements (from housing to governance). On the other hand, there are also

national/regional —specificities", which explain differences related to specific historical/geographic/institutional conditions. Among these can be mentioned: the intensity of the industrialisation processes; the extent of the cooperative movement; the role of the Church (difference between Catholic, Anglican and Protestant organisations); the extent and timing of immigration; the —openness" of the corporatist state to reformism and the status of —community" work.

The philosophical matrixes, the historical trajectories, and the case studies reviewed in the report clearly show that *social innovation* - i.e. innovation brought about by and within social movements - is a highly *contextual* phenomenon: it depends on the time and place of its occurrence, as represented by specific institutional contexts. What may represent a social innovation in one place at a given time may not be such in another place or another time. Nonetheless, all the country surveys confirm that *social innovation* - in both its *product* and *process* dimensions - is characterised by at least three forms of achievements, alone or in combination, accomplished through some form of *collective* action, as opposed to individual action:

1) It contributes to satisfy *human needs* not otherwise considered/satisfied.

2) It increases *access rights* (e.g. by political inclusiveness, redistributive policies, etc.).

3) It enhances *human capabilities* (e.g. by empowering particular social groups, increasing social capital, etc.).

The latter form of social innovation, that which allow for —capacity building", i.e. the creation and accumulation of social capital in marginalised places and/or within deprived social groups, is the most referred to - whether implicitly or explicitly - in most country surveys. It focuses on the process rather than product dimension of innovation.

The surveys also show the inherently *short-term* character of social innovation. There is some sort of a *life cycle* of social movements: once incorporated into some permanent institution, social action loses its innovative momentum (by definition), until a new innovative pressure brings further change (for the good or for the bad). In other words, once social innovations establish themselves, they become *norms*, which can assume —automatic", —mechanistic", —bureaucratic", even —authoritarian" forms - thereby spurring reactions and new social movements. In this perspective, for example, we can understand the —shift" observed in the form and aims of social movements in the 1980s: the social innovation brought about by organised —mass" movements within the reformist tradition had reached its limits and more creative, utopian-anarchist, localised

initiatives emerged to fulfil —new" social needs. On the other hand, the latter experiences have, in turn, their own life cycle and their innovative dimension expires in time.

Throughout the history of social movements, from the 19th century workers movements up to very contemporary initiatives, a basic tension was aknowledged between what can be labelled as the *reformist* soul and the *utopian-anarchist* soul. The *reformist* approach, which believed in class-based membership, hierarchical organisation, and large-scale collective action, was traditionally aimed at gaining —permanent" or —lasting" improvements for the involved social group and/or for society as a whole, *within* the existing socio-political system and through *institutionalised* measures (reforms): legislation, programs, activities. The *anarchist* approach, in contrast, was anti-autoritarian and fragmented; more related to the utopian philosophy and self-help tradition, which translated into self-reliant, fragmented, local-based (—community"-based) initiatives and actions. It was traditionally not aimed at —improving the system", but at gaining —limited" or —temporary" goals, just for the group or community involved, *outside* and/or *despite* the system. It involved —self-contained" actions, with a utopian, —alternative", and/or straightforwardly critical attitude vis à vis the existing socio-political system, often *ex tempore* and ephemeral. This tension was clearly visible in the 1970s and 1980s, when small scale, fragmented types of initiatives (alternative or in opposition to mainstream practice, very focussed —inward" and not interested in changing the system) were often in conflict with large scale, *mass* mobilisation movements (be it left movements, feminist movements, student movements, anti-nuclear, environmentalist, etc.), fighting for greater democracy, participation and civil rights, and trying to achieve significant changes —through" and —within" the system (the state).

The above tension is parallel, and somewhat overlapping, with that between *community*- and *society*-oriented actions (in classical sociological terms: *gemeinschaft* vs. *gesellschaft*). This antagonism assumes new meanings in the *community* vs. *cosmopolitanism*, local vs. global debates. In fact, community-oriented social initiatives, while more rooted into people's needs and with more democratic decision-making processes, may also end up being *exclusionary and self-contained*. Society-oriented movements, while being more impersonal and giving way to some decision-making automatism (through institutionalisation), may, on the other hand, be more socially *inclusive*, i.e. allow for *diversity*, which is a trait of —cosmopolitanism". This tension is explicitly referred to, e.g. in the Belgian country report.

Also partially overlapping with the above is the tension between the *local* level of governance and the *central* state. Especially in situations where governance is heavily centralised, this tension often originated quite innovative social movements seeking greater local control over public action. On the other hand, the antagonism between the local and the central, can be dangerously simplified, leading to the idea that devolution and decentralisation are —inherently good". A number of cases show that the crux of the matter is control over *resources*. Decentralisation of governance, without access to resources cans actually —de-empower" communities[5]. Ultimately, there are different scales for different governance levels and actions. And one of the domains that must remain at the central state level is that of welfare. Without this basic *redistributive* role there are strong risks of further social and territorial imbalance. The Austrian case of centralised funding and decentralised action in the 1980s is a case in point.

Although all the above tensions can be found throughout history, places and cases, there are also examples where they do find some form of compromise. The Vooruit experience in Belgium, the New urban left initiatives in the UK, some 1980s experiences in Austria show how a bridge can be worked out - even temporarily - between self-help and reformism, community and society, local governance and central government.

As a concluding remark, the first chapter brings the attention onto the *re-emergence of old basic needs*. 19th century social movements had developed in times of social exploitation and were related to improve access to basic material needs. Post-WWII social movements occurred in times of growing prosperity and aimed at acquiring greater social rights. The establishment of the neo-liberal paradigm in the 1980s somewhat reshuffles things: what was given for granted twenty years ago, maybe the object of renewed social struggle. A new *material* hardship is re-appearing, related to: a) the re-polarisation of income distribution, after thirty years of relative convergence,

i.e. the re-emergence of poverty even among old residents; b) the more or less evident reduction in welfare state coverage; c) the new wave of often illegal immigration (from Eastern Europe, but also from traditional Third World countries), which has especially involved formerly immune Southern European member states (Italy in particular). A growing share of the national populations is now socially excluded, not just particular groups in particular areas.

[5] Fiscal autonomy is very good for rich communities (e.g. Basque Region and Cataluna), but a disaster for poor regions, which have no productive basis to tax. In Italy, for example, fiscal autonomy will further reduce the already scarce public resources of Southern regions.

Closely related to the above is the issue of the Third Sector as a —Third Way". Is it a real *alternative* to inefficient state and market organisations or just an alibi for a retrenching Welfare State? Opposite to 19th century self-help and mutual aid initiatives, the current —institutionalisation" of the social economy in many countries (cf. the Italian and Austrian country reports) is not a social innovation that —fills a void", but rather an institutional innovation that *replaces* an acquired right (the dismantling welfare state).

2.2. Italy

P. Lembi and S. Vicari

The Italian country report is strongly centred on the Third Sector. This focus is explained by at least two national specificities. First, the third sector - as opposed to both private and public initiatives - has experienced a strong, very recent, growth in the country, also because of the enactment of specific legislation. Secondly, initiatives belonging to the third sector, although with strong roots in older philosophical matrices, represent some sort of a —rupture" with previous dominant social movements, i.e. with the highly structured tradition of both —white" and —red" mass mobilisation organisations, as well as with the latter strong reformist dimension: contemporary non profit, third sector initiatives substitute for absent, authoritarian, and/or inadequate public services.

First, the authors trace the main philosophical —matrices" of contemporary Italian social movements and action. They identify at least four distinct traditions: 1) the secular matrix; 2) the political parties; 3) the Catholic matrix; 4) the area of social movements and libertarian left. While some of these matrices belong to what could be considered the —Western European" cultural/philosophical heritage, a number of specifically Italian features also emerge. One major national specificity is the mobilising capacity of political parties after WWII, especially the antagonistic —white" Christian Democratic Party and —red" Communist Party with their respective mass organisations. Another national specificity - which is shared, nonetheless, with Belgium - is the progressive and innovative role played, especially starting in the 1970s, after the Second Vatican Council, by some sectors of the Roman Catholic Church, opposed to the traditional top-down and hierarchical approach of the Church itself. Quite in tune with trends observed in other countries is the transitional character of the 1970s in Italy: this decade marks the highest point of organised, nation-wide social mobilisation within mass political parties, while, at the same time, it reflects the end of this form of social action and the beginning of more dispersed, less structured and more —libertarian" social initiatives.

In the subsequent section, the genesis and recent evolution of the Italian Third sector, as the contemporary arrival point of previous trajectories, is sketched. Three national

specificities are pointed out: a) the strong presence of voluntary associations and workers; b) the legacy of the Catholic Church and political party organisational tradition, as stressed earlier, although significantly transformed; c) the important presence of initiatives geared to the provision of social service, often in the form of —social cooperatives".

In the last part of the chapter, the authors provide examples of contemporary socially innovative initiatives in the Milan and Naples metropolitan areas, to illustrate the above described trajectories. Cases are grouped into three major types, based on the content of their dominant activity: a) —expressive" initiatives, i.e. initiatives based on cultural and/or artistic expression as a way to mobilise and finalise resources (both financial and human); b) urban regeneration initiatives, i.e. initiatives geared to appropriate urban public spaces and/or reformulate planning projects; c) social services provision, i.e. initiatives geared to provide assistance to deprived or marginalised social groups.

2.3. Austria

A. Novy and E. Hammer

The country report for Austria strongly focuses on *social innovation in urban governance and social policy*, within a historical perspective. The authors distinguish between the *product*-and *process*-oriented dimensions of social innovation, which, among other things, help understanding the evolution of urban governance. Four major phases are identified in Post-WWII Vienna:

In the first phase, covering the *1950s-1970s*, the governance model was that of the typical Fordist/Keynesian state, i.e. a centralised, top-down conception of policy formulation and implementation. The prevailing dimension of social innovation was outcome oriented, i.e. in the form of social policy and reforms obtained via the institutionalised bargaining process between employers and employees organisations at the central —corporatist" State level.

The second phase covers the *1980s*, especially the first part of the decade. These were the most innovative years in terms of social action: the Keynesian state had not yet been dismantled but more decentralised, bottom-up initiatives were accommodated. Process-, as well as outcome-oriented innovations were experimented with, within a community development approach and more participatory practices. New political and social instances, such as the —green", emerged and were integrated into this new urban governance/social policy practice.

The third phase, which covers the *1990s*, was marked by the return to power of the conservatives and the full establishment of the neo-liberal paradigm in economics. It meant also a return to a corporatist type of governance. It was the end of experimentation in urban governance and social policy. Similar to in Italy, a process of —economisation of the social" began, in which procedures were institutionalised and social workers professionalized. Cultural initiatives, e.g., were marginalised in favour of initiatives more accountable in terms of economic returns.

The fourth phase covers the *2000s* and is marked by a right-wing government, which further enforces the 1990s trends. Only market-oriented initiatives and services are considered, within a very strict budgetary approach (—social liberalism").

Four case studies in Post WWII Vienna are then presented.

Although it only focuses on the second half of the 20th century and mostly on urban governance in the metropolitan area of Vienna, the Austrian case is very useful in highlighting the important role of the *Keynesian/Fordist/Corporatist* central in *centralising* bargaining procedures (among political parties, trade unions, capitalist interest groups and their organisations) and in conveying civil society needs and demands. *This governance model is also the one that allowed, within its somewhat rigid organisational structure, the development of seeds of social innovation, by evolution and/or reaction*.

This is also witnessed by the *funding* aspect: monies came from the central state, but were freely used at the local level, by civil society organisations. A successful, but short-lived formula was experimented with: centralised funding coupled with local/self-help organisation. This was possible because of the enlightened vision of policy-makers and administrators. Austria is also a good case, as is Italy, to illustrate the *involution* of the 1990s. The institutionalisation into a structured Third Sector, often for-profit and with professionalised staff, of many social economy initiatives started in the 1980s, which were managed on a local or community basis, with high levels of civil society participation, has meant the end of social innovation.

2.4. France

O. Ailenei

The French report focuses on the historical roots of its *social economy*, which are mostly found in 19th century philosophical visions and social initiatives. The 19th century was indeed a period of very rich and diversified social experimentation in France, linked to the unfolding of the industrial revolution. The latter, with its corollaries of social problems (proletarianisation, inurbation, poverty, etc.), is a major factor in explaining the search

for alternative solutions, within the generalised authoritarian, exploitative and repressive regime of the time.

Two major approaches are reviewed, which have left lasting traces and/or are resurfacing in contemporary French social economy: a) *utopian socialism* and b) *industrial patronage*. Marxism and organised socialist workers movements are deliberately left out, although they did play an important role in shaping French governance at the municipal level throughout the 19th century and the French welfare state later.

With regard to *utopian socialism*, France gave birth to the founding fathers of this visionary line of thinking: Saint-Simon and Fourier. Out of their basic principles, many further philosophical developments and social experiments were made, in France and abroad. Particularly relevant for their implications to the French social economy were Godin‘s —*Familistère*“, Proudohn‘s *mutualism* initiatives and Derrion‘s *consumer cooperatives*. With regard to *industrial patronage*, France hosts a number of quite interesting experiences, especially in the North-Eastern regions, those most rapidly industrialising, which are a very good example of the bourgeois-liberal trajectory sketched in the first chapter. They are also an interesting example of how trajectories overlap, since in many cases the utopian vision cannot be clearly distinguished from religious fundamentalism and capitalist control.

The author point out that, whether utopian or paternalistic, several social innovations and organisational principles of these early initiatives have been progressively institutionalised and/or are re-emerging today in the French social economy sphere (two of such case studies are presented). A number of social service (education, health) and the social security system (pensions, sick-leaves, accident insurance, unemployment compensations) have, indeed, become a feature of the modern welfare state; producer and consumer co-ops have grown in many countries to represent a significant component of the economy; credit co-ops and new (micro) credit institutions are taking new momentum; Local Exchange Trade systems are spreading anew. Quite relevant appears the issue of *housing*, which was a major element of both utopian and patronage experiments. In the French case, a number of the historical experiences were forerunners of the 20th century cheap housing schemes.

2.5. Germany

J. Gerometta and H. Haussermann

The German country report focuses to a great extent on *housing*, as a central issue in explaining social visions, movements and policies, over a three-centuries period. The impact of the cooperative movement on the birth and development of the Third Sector is also stressed. First the authors identify the main German philosophical trajectories (bourgeois-liberal, Christian, and socialist). Subsequently they trace the movements and actions following these inspiring visions, up to contemporary experiences of local mobilisation.

In the German *bourgeois liberal* approach of the second part of the 18th century the Enlightenment principles of freedom, equality, and brotherhood were developed into a community-and common interest- approach. Civic associations spread, addressing the issue of poverty as a —social" issue and supporting self-help initiatives, training and employment institutions, in substitution of the state. As in France, 19th century German bourgeois reformism focussed especially on the *housing* issue, since decent housing was seen as a mean to reduce social depravation. The family remained the central pillar of society and housing ownership the main brake to socialist movements. Cheap housing programs were launched (e.g. in Berlin after 1848) and building cooperative supported in the 1860s and 1870s.

Christian social reformism, although strongly rejecting the liberal principles of democracy and condemning socialism, recognised the —social" character of poverty and exploitation and supported a solidaristic view of society, as well as —Christian" workers associations in an anti-socialist strategy. Today Christian associations, both Catholic and Protestant, contribute a very large part of the German Third Sector employment.

Within the German *social reformism* trajectory of the second part of the 19th century there was a strong influence of Utopian socialism. This vision was mainly bourgeois/liberal, but it had some revolutionary aspects in the notion of communal work and ownership, which made the basis of the cooperative movement. Ferdinand Lassalle, founder of the German workers brotherhood, was a major figure in the German production cooperative movement. Schulze-Delitzsch, founder of commercial cooperatives and Raiffeisen, founder of peasant cooperatives, were also quite influential.

These different trajectories merged in the German *social democratic* policies of the Bismarck period (1880s) and, later, of the Weimar Republic (1919-33), which, in turn, laid the foundation for the modern Welfare State. In such social policies *housing*

programs and *building cooperatives* had a prominent role. The authors argue that it is in the years of the Weimar Republic that the German Third Sector was born, as an alternative to both the Market and the State, in the area of housing. National Socialism obviously interrupted these processes: housing policies were centralised and only the most authoritarian aspects of the social experimentation were retained, losing any connection with the local communities.

This centralisation of authority and the mass production of housing were not completely abandoned at the end of the war, with the restoration of democracy in Western Germany. According to the authors, the reaction to centralised and authoritarian post-WWII renovation policy (—pull-down renovation") explains the development of the —squatters" movement in the late 1970s and 1980s. These movements, together with Third Sector initiatives, not only in the area of housing, but also in other activities (such as LETs), all aim at recuperating a —local", —community" dimension in social initiatives, very much in line with 18th century civic associations and self-help traditions. The German case studies presented show, once again, how the 1970s and 1980s are a period of profound transformation, during which some organised mass reformist movements reach their limit and new more scattered and anarchistic social experiments emerge.

2.6. Belgium

E. Christiaens and J. Moyersoen

The Belgium report focuses on the country's *social economy* and its historical roots, in terms of both philosophical visions and social practices. Three main trajectories are reviewed: a) the cooperative movement; b) the anarchist movements; c) the post-WWII urban movements.

The *cooperative* movement has the oldest roots (19th century) and has developed the strongest organisational apparatus, although it has now lost much of its former ideal dimension and has bent to capitalist rationality. As in other countries (e.g. Italy, Austria), also in Belgium this form of social organisation developed within two main camps: the Socialist and the Christian (Catholic). Most influential in the socialist camp were Saint Simon and especially Owen, which opened the way to the reformist strand: cooperative organisations could achieve more democratic management and better redistribution of wealth within the capitalist system. The *social christianism* camp had a more paternalistic and anti-socialist approach, but there were also numerous truly democratic and emancipatory initiatives, both in the rural areas (Raiffeisen-type credit cooperatives) and among industrial workers. The Belgian cooperative movement was active in *production* (although limited to craft and skilled manufacturing), in *credit* (although most developed

among urban middleclass and catholic peasants), and especially in the *reproduction* sphere, linked to mutuality initiatives (typically Belgian is the pharmacy cooperatives experience).

The *Anarchist movement* also had, in this country very strong support and several currents between the 19th and the 20th centuries. In its various forms the Belgian anarchist movement theorised and experimented *organisation without hierarchy and without centralisation of decision-making*, in strong opposition with the approach of the socialist movements and, later, parties. Ranging from utopian experiments to —direct actions", the social practice of anarchist groups, although they progressively lost ground to the socialist organisations, has proved a mould for quite innovative organisational experimentations, which are an important philosophical legacy and can be witnessed in many contemporary Belgian initiatives.

Post-WWII *urban movements*, as in most Western countries during the late 1960s and the 1970s are in Belgium years of renewed social mobilisation. The main characteristics of these social *urban* movements are: i) the focus on the reproduction sphere; ii) the struggle for greater political participation in political decision-making; iii) a tension between community and cosmopolitan goals. With regard to the first, in the wake of the —situationist" movement, a new dimension - that of creativity and artistic expression - is introduced in the struggle against capitalist alienation and for the —reappropriation of everyday life". With regard to the second, the claim for a more direct role of citizens in the public sphere was evident in the 1970s neighbourhood movements against centralised urban (renewal) policy, whereas in the 1990s it expressed itself in a claim for direct democracy through the referendum tool. Finally, the latest urban movements are characterised by a tension, not always solved, between the community ideal, which may tend to be exclusionary, and the cosmopolitan ideal, which accommodates diversity. These elements and tensions are quite evident in the case studies presented for Brussels. In all these urban social movements the anarchist tradition, especially in terms of organisational forms and social practices, is quite present.

2.7. United Kingdom

S. Gonzales, H. Thomas and L. Court

The U.K. report focuses on the *philosophical matrixes of social movements* from the 18th century to date. Six main historical matrixes/trajectories are identified, to which many contemporary social movements implicitly or explicitly refer. Case studies from the Cardiff and Tyne and Wear areas are presented to illustrate these roots. Within the *utopian* matrix - which was, indeed, initiated by British philosopher Thomas More as far

as the 16th century - quite influential were the actions of Owen, who was also the father of British cooperativism and trade unionism, and Hebenezer Howard, who was somewhat a precursor of British town planning with his —Garden city‟ model, based on low density housing, factories, farms and public services. The utopian matrix is recognisable in many post-WWII 1970s and 1980s —communes‟, including —New Age‟ meditation, organic farming, and other types of —alternative‟ communitarian experiments. With historical utopianism these experiences share the fact that they do not attempt to change the system and represent —gated‟ - self-contained - experiment of alternative organisations.

Within the *cooperativist* matrix, Owen was, again, quite influential. He linked the cooperative movement to trade unionism, making cooperatives an element of socialist emancipation. However, the *producer* cooperatives were a limited and not very successful experience in Great Britain. *Consumer* cooperatives, on the other hand, were much more successful and worked until WWII. Today, the U.K., as other countries experience a revival of the cooperative organisation in the domain of *social services*. On the one hand, cooperative organizations are a way to tackle unemployment; on the other, they are an implementation of the —Third way‟ of the new Labour party government of 1997. More than economic models, however, cooperatives should be viewed engines of community capacity building.

The *anarchist* movement was never historically strong in the U.K., but echoes of its doctrine and inspiration can be found in several contemporary social movements, especially 1960s and 1970s experiences that developed outside formal politics and where characterised by a voluntary, functional and temporary organisational form, small-size and self-contained dimensions and a generally scattered and unrelated nature. With the development of the Internet, a whole new realm of loose networking opportunities has opened up for this type of initiatives.

The *socialist* matrix in the U.K. is quite important. Because of its —utopian‟ roots, on the one hand (Owen) and the Chartist influence, on the other hand, socialist movements in the UK took a specific —parliamentary‟ and —reformist‟ turn. This was evident in the Fabian political organization and parliamentary reform action and was embedded in the 20th century Labour party, which fought, especially after WWII for social legislation and welfare reforms.

Another relevant matrix is that of *voluntarism and self-help*, which, although historically dominated by bourgeois Victorian philanthropist and Protestant Christianism, also hosted an important component of bottom-up self-help, in the form of *friendly societies*, i.e. community and workers associations that pooled resources to provide relief in the case of

sickness or death. These initiatives had a strong influence in building local civic society throughout the 19th century. Later in the 20th century the experience was somehow replicated with the *building societies*.

A very important - and quite U.K. specific - offshoot of the voluntarism and self-help matrix is, finally, the British *Community action*. In the 1960s, there was a revival of such an approach, which led to the institutionalisation of community work as a *profession*. The Gulbekian Report about deprived neighbourhoods opened the way for community development projects, community organising, social planning and work, quite similarly to the U.S. experiences. Opposite to the early bourgeois and Christian philanthropy, in the 1960s and 1970s initiatives there was a distinct —radical" edge. Indeed, community work in the U.K. merged with welfare rights movements, neighbourhood resistance to authoritarian planning and redevelopment projects, —squatters" movement, unions activism, ethnic minority organisations, feminist groups, movements for devolution, etc. Most importantly, community work was supported by government policy. In the late 1970s and early 1980s it was a major component of the New Urban Left experiences. From this point of view, British community work is a very interesting example of how the organised mass-movement approach can be bridged with the utopian-anarchist approach.

3. Deliverable 2.3 - Alternative models of local innovation (ALMOLIN)

Frank Moulaert, Jacques Nussbaumer, Abdel Hamdouch

3.1. Introduction

ALMOLIN or "Alternative Model(s) for Local Innovation' has various faces and functions. Originally *only* meant as a heuristic device to organise the case-study work on social innovation at the local level, it has *over the last months* also become a framework for the discussion of the meaning of social innovation, from both an analytical and a normative point of view. To develop ALMOLIN as a framework of discussion, several lines of thought should be combined.

First of all there is the *"movement and social philosophy line'*: which movements and philosophies inspired or carried social change? And can social change be considered as synonym of social innovation? And does social innovation have an ethical dimension, for example, providing more opportunities to people who are excluded from the satisfaction of a large part of their human needs?

Second, there are the *"living experiences'*, with or without a history, with most probably more pragmatic definitions of social change. These living experiences are mainly covered

in the so-called ”historical‘ case-studies in this paper, detailed in figure 6 and summarized in section 4.

The third line is that of the *theoretical debate on the meaning of social innovation.* Here analytical and normative perspectives will talk to each other and hopefully mutually enrich each other‘s approach towards a ”pragmatic‘ approach of social innovation at the local level.

3.2. Definitions of social innovation

The concept of ”social‘ innovation is not a top-issue in theoretical debates today. This research network, that started as a smaller group in the late 1980s, could even be considered as having coined the scientific concept in neighbourhood development, although the term had been used before by other authors in spontaneous reaction against outspoken technological and managerial views of innovation and innovation strategies in economics, sociology, business administration, etc.

Social innovation was a structuring concept in a new approach to neighbourhood development as a strategy against poverty in the European Community (Moulaert et al. 1992).[6] Integrated Area Development was defined as an alternative to sectorial, a-historical and top-down strategies to local development - especially neighbourhood development. For local development to be successful, various domains of intervention (economy, housing, education and training, local democracy, culture, etc.) had to be integrated; but the agencies and the spatial scales of intervention needed to be articulated in territorial networks, often consolidated in territorial pacts or agreements. The integrating dynamics had to come from ”social innovation‘ in at least two meanings: (i) social innovation through the satisfaction of unsatisfied or alienated human needs;

(ii) innovation in the social relations between individuals and groups in the neighbourhoods and the wider territories embedding them. In an ideal situation, both views of social innovation should be combined. For example, strategies of neighbourhood development should pursue the satisfaction of failed needs, through strategies emanating from innovation in relations of governance in the neighbourhood and the wider communities.[7]

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[6] (with Lila Leontidou et al.) Local Development Strategies in Economically Disintegrated Areas: a Pro-Active Strategy against Poverty in the European Community. Lille-Athens, intermediate report for the European Commission, DG V, 1992.

[7] For a survey on the literature on Integrated Area Development see Moulaert F. et al. Integrated Area Development in European Cities. Oxford: OUP, 2002.

In the mainstream social science literature of the 1990s the term ”social innovation‘ was almost exclusively used in management science and business administration as a dimension of innovative —business“ strategy. The meaning that was given to it in these disciplines basically boiled down to a change in human and institutional capital that would contribute to improved competitiveness.

In contemporary social science literature the concept of social innovation is not treated in depth, despite its spreading —loose“ use. Basically, four domains of coverage of the discussion on social innovation can be found in today‘s social science literature.

The first is related to the discussion in managerial science already signalled above. The focus there is on the role of ”improvements‘ in social capital that would lead to a better working of organizations in the non-profit sector. An interesting spin-off quite relevant for ALMOLIN is about social innovation in the non-profit sector (see e.g. Stanford Social Innovation Review).

The second examines the complex relations between —business success“ and social and environmental progress. This link is also quite important for ALMOLIN, e.g. with respect to the definition of the social economy and its relationships with the market economy (see forthcoming article by Moulaert and Ailenei in special issue of *Urban Studies*).

The third links notions of creativity in the arts to social innovation in the voluntary sector. This link will be treated in a future publication.

The fourth one is our own social innovation at the local level. We will cover this extensively in the special issue of *Urban Studies*.

A related strand of literature refers to the quality of life and existence[8].

3.3. Dimensions of social innovation

In these 4 domains, the discussion about social innovation is both *analytica*l and *normative*. Various dimensions of social innovation are examined, several of which we will use in this paper. We will especially stress three dimensions, preferably occurring in interaction with each other:

- *satisfaction of human needs* that are not currently satisfied, either because —not yet“ or because —no longer“ perceived as important by either the market or the

[8] Wolfgang Beck, Laurent J.G. van der Maesen et al. (2001) Social Quality: a Vision for Europe. The Hague: Kluwer Law International.

state (content/product dimension). The stress will be on the satisfaction of alienated basic needs, although it is admitted that these may vary among societies and communities;

- *changes in social relations*, especially with regard to *governance*, that enable the above satisfaction, but also increase the level of participation of all but especially deprived groups in society (process dimension);

- *increase in the socio-political capability and access to resources* needed to enhance rights to satisfaction of human needs and participation (empowerment dimension).

If we were engaged in a mainstream debate on innovation, we would argue that an innovation process is effective if it contributes to higher productivity and greater competitiveness of a firm, an organization, a community,… *But of course social innovation is more comprehensive, more context- and community- dependent, and not so easily assessable as within the mainstream approach to innovation. Therefore, we need to use a more indirect assessment approach..We could say that social innovation in the SINGOCOM context means changes in institutions and agency that are meant to contribute to social inclusion. "*Institution' is used in its most general meaning here as laws, regulations, organizations, habitus … In other words: formal and informal socialization mechanisms and processes that have attained a certain stability and/or regularity over time in the form of habitus, laws and rules of behaviour and sanctioning, organizations as institutionalised multi-member agents. "Social inclusion' refers to a condition of (partial) exclusion at the outset, a condition that is to be changed through institutional changes and agency. Understanding the nature of social exclusion processes is an essential factor of determining inclusion actions and strategies.

It is important to stress that such changes do not necessarily refer to something "new'. A return to old institutional arrangements or agencies can sometimes be quite innovative in the social sense

(e.g. the re-introduction of free education for all; free art classes for all citizens; etc.). *Social innovation in the sense of changes in institutions can, therefore, also mean a return to "old' institutional forms, forms that could even be considered as reformist*.

Social innovation is path dependent and contextual. It refers to those changes in agendas, agency and institutions that lead to a better inclusion of excluded groups and individuals into various spheres of society at various spatial scales. Social innovation is very strongly a

matter of process innovation, i.e. changes in the dynamics of social relations, including power relations.

As social innovation is about social inclusion, it is also about countering or overcoming conservative forces are eager to strengthen or preserve social exclusion situations.

Social innovation therefore explicitly refers to an ethical position of social justice. The latter is of course susceptible to a variety of interpretation and will in practice often be the outcome of social construction.

This means that ”novelty‘ involves (re)turning to mechanisms towards inclusion - if the old serves inclusion better, then we opt for the old.

Also in contrast with the mainstream approach to innovation, it does not make sense to talk about innovative behaviour as ”optimal‘ behaviour: best practices are a normative concept, without real meaning in reality or for actual socially innovative strategies. *What counts for social innovation is ”good practice‘, i.e. a practice that has shown some contribution to social innovation in other or similar contexts, or ”good formulae‘ that could contribute to social innovation in the future.*

SINGOCOM is also about social innovation at the ”local‘ level. However, this does not mean that the previous definitions of social innovation should only be qualified as ”local‘: local agency, local institutional change, local agendas,… There are several reasons why this should not be the case. We only mention a few here.

First, there is the danger of *socio-political localism*: an exaggerated belief in the power of the local level agency and institutions to improve the world, disregarding the inter-scalar spatiality of development mechanisms and strategies.

Second, there is the danger of *existential localism,* the idea that all needs should be satisfied within the local *heimat*, by local institutions. This of course does not make sense, for economic, social, cultural and political reasons.

Third, there is the trap of ”misunderstood subsidiarity‘, by which the higher state and capital levels tend to ”shed‘ their budgetary and other responsibility upon the lower and especially the local levels.

Therefore, social innovation at the *local* level must be interpreted as follows:

- innovation in local *community dynamics*, according to the norms for innovation in development agenda, agency and institutions spelled out above;

- innovation in the articulation between various spatial levels, *benefiting social progress at the local level* (agendas, institutions, responsibilities).

The latter can mean a number of things: multi-scalar institutions (networks), spatially combined agendas, with a division of labour according to spatial reach and power constellations. What should be avoided at any price is local level institutional dynamics that would be completely conform to higher level political decision-making and institutionalization: we are not up for a Russian dolls local development model, in which the little one in the dark centre is completely corseted by the overlaying dolls.[9]

3.4. ALMOLIN as a framework for theoretical discussions about social innovation

We have developed a number of syntheses of elements that can be used to feed the theoretical debates on the building of ALMOLIN. These syntheses have been assembled in 2 tables: figure 1 or theory table and figure 3 or philosophy and movement table. We will use elements from of these tables as ingredients for the theoretical discussion and for the construction of the case-study methodology. Figure 1 lists the different themes that will be analysed in a special Urban Studies issue. At this stage these themes are taken up as elements of the dynamics of social exclusion and inclusion, and of social innovation as they may be of importance to understand these processes in the case-studies. We listed some of these elements, by each time combining some dimensions from the theory papers as listed in table 1.[10] These dynamics should be considered when analysing the inclusion/exclusion dynamics in the case-studies; but they can also be of use in delivering more coherent theoretical papers.

[9] In a later text, the following themes will be developed: Social innovation as the diffusion of social technologies, social tools (closely related to B. Franklin's approach to social innovation; what about the pragmatist approach to the relationship between social policy and theory?) Maybe a 4th meaning of social innovation, relating to the mainstream terminology in economics?

[10] Most of the inspiration for these links, was developed at the Vienna Workshop.

Figure 1. Table surveying theoretical elements useful for analysing social innovation dynamics, in relation to dynamics of inclusion and exclusion

Inputs from theory papers Dimensions of ALMOLIN	Civil Society	Civil Society Neighbourhoods	Institutional Planning	Social Economy
TERRITORY, POPULATION and DEVELOPMENT/PLANNING	Changing state/civil society relations have impact on territorial organization and development	Features of deprivation processes in neighbourhoods Social diversity among population groups	Concept of development trajectories	Governance
SATISFACTION of HUMAN NEEDS – STRATEGIES	Civil society and neighbourhood networks – Solidarity networks between privileged and deprived groups	Complementary arrangement between welfare state and civil society Civil society defines needs more directly	Impact of involvement in governance episodes on identity	Economic functions Soc. Innovative Development strategies
RESOURCES FOR LOCAL SOCIAL ECONOMY – human, organizational, financial	Shifting power geometries have impact on associational dynamics at various spatial scales	Mobilisation and association of resources within civil society	Governance network resources may help to mobilise initiatives, if have appropriate qualities	Funding mechanisms (public/private)
ORGANISATIONAL and INSTITUTIONAL DYNAMICS – CIVIL SOCIETY	Re-ordering of contours of governability	Reach of civil society: Solidarity building Mediating role	Relations of governance Governance capability	Governance of local economy (social enterprise, neighbourhood) – Allocation systems

LOCAL AUTHORITIES and STATE	Rescaling of state as a consequence of crisis of state	Tensions/Complementariness with civil society	Relationships between formal government actors and other critical actors – how to cultivate positive synergies	State as social entrepreneur?
CULTURE and IDENTITY	Institutional Planning Civil Society and neighbourhoods	Foster role of civil society in neighbourhood community – communication	Interaction of identities in discourses and practices	Culture of economic solidarity/reciprocity
VIEWS, VISIONS, MODELS of social innovation from point of view of ALMOLIN	Hybrid forms of government and governance	Visualisation of resources within a down-scaled civil society: they lie within local social milieus and depend on local governance arrangements	Recognising plural visions and working out how they may interact	Integrated approach to satisfaction of human needs and innovation in governance relations
CONSTRAINTS ON DEVELOPMENT	Tensions between State/Market/Civil Society	Constraints on civil society	Impact of local institutional histories and cultures can be empowering as well as disempowering	Budget constraints Norms set by market competition

RELATIONS with "OUTSIDE WORLD" – SPATIAL SCALES	Rescaling of relations between civil society, economy and state	"Foster role' of civil society in neighbourhood community/communication Diversity of orientations/social and civic milieus	How multiple spatial scales are implicated in all levels of governance and how these may be negotiated	Multiscalar organization
METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS			Analyses of processes of change in governance	Holistic definition and theory

Source: authors

We will both theorise and empirically calibrate different elements/mechanisms of social innovation, with particular reference to social inclusion/exclusion processes at the local level:

a) Processes of social exclusion and inclusion that have played a particular role within the localities or neighbourhoods, and how these processes have articulated themselves at various spatial levels. Example: migration processes and reception/rejection of migrants in local community. Example: complementarity vs. reinforcement of forces of civil society and welfare state.

b) Mobilization, empowerment and power relations. These forces do not have an a priori ”socially innovative‘ impact or outcome. In reality, there will be (strong) antagonisms between movements for social inclusion and social exclusion, or in favour of status quo. Example: local empowerment movements, often in coalition with city hall, or neighbourhood councils, must counter mechanisms of social exclusion stemming from higher-level public authorities (e.g. cuts in social security spending, wage cuts, collective redundancies, etc.) The utopian anarchist initiatives sometimes play an important role here, since the more established movements may operate in an atmosphere of disbelief and lack of vision.

c) The triangular dialectics between the satisfaction of human needs, the mobilisation of resources for the local social economy and the organizational as well as institutional dynamics of civil society - including empowerment. These dialectics must be read from a multi-scalar dynamic perspective. These are expressed and commented upon in the following figure - basically an improvement of MOULAERT (2000).

d) Visions, movements and empowerment. Movements for change in all their forms and spatial scales (community committees, national coordination of locally active civil society organizations,…) are at the core of the dynamics of social innovation. Visions can change through strategy and action; but they can also change as part of institutional transformations (visions not only as empowering but also as organizational culture of movements).

e) Path and context dependency. Very important here is the dynamics of ”being driven by history and social context‘. This is partly structural, partly institutional determination. Structural: community development in a ”raw‘ capitalist environment is a different challenge than in a ”welfare state‘ or ”mixed

economy‘ environment. Institutional: a long tradition of private-public cooperation in local development (e.g. Industrial District, powerful local social emancipation foundations) will also point the direction of new future institution building and social innovation in governance relations. In this respect, institutional planning stresses the impact of local institutional histories and cultures that can be empowering as well as disempowering. However, social innovations at one time can become institutional ”lock ins‘ at a next time, probably involving the need of a repeated or continuous evaluation of the meaning of social innovation at a particular time, within a territorial context.

f) Re-ordering of domains of action and institution building between civil society, state and market sectors. These dynamics are certainly directly related to the dynamics pointed out from b. through e.. But there is also the role of the struggle and reorganization within the state and (capitalist) market sectors themselves. And these ”talk to‘ the constraints on development, many of them are real, some of them imaginary. Example: how gloomy is the imagining of the global? The State plays an important role here: the space left by capital for non-market economy oriented social innovation is largely dependent on the interpretation the State gives to it - also the State as an arena for class struggle.

g) Territorial specificity. This is the closing piece of a holist definition of social innovation at the local level. The specificity of a local territory is not only defined by the factors identified by the dynamics pointed out before, and by path dependency as well as context specificity; there is the role of contingency and what we could call casual and micro-agency that occur in specific territories and, therefore, become constituents of the real character of the territory.

The inclusion of invited papers in the theoretical debate has added new dimensions to the analysis of inclusion/exclusion processes.[11] Suffice to list the following:

a) Integration of social innovation approach in urban policy.

b) The multiplicity of relations between culture and territorial identity (religion, artistic traditions, movements,…)

c) Diffusion of practice, informal norms and procedures to other neighbourhoods within the same or other cities, but also to other regions and countries.

[11] These papers were presented at the SINGOCOM Workshop in Vienna.

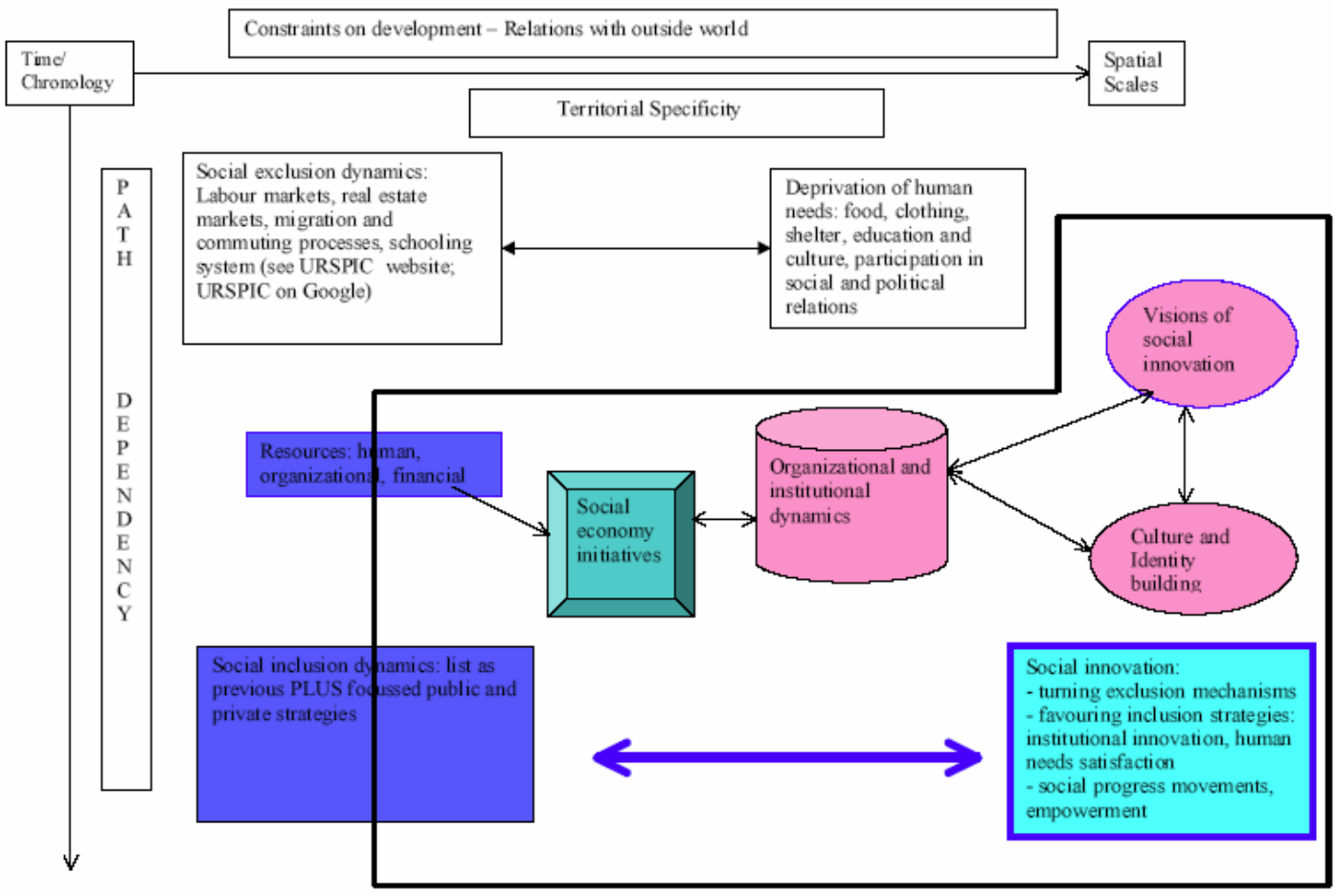
d) Social exclusion as a process of spatial fragmentation of social networks.

As an example of path dependency: historical trajectories of the construction of territories of exclusion - and how can they be reversed or, better, refocused?

Organizational and institutional dynamics: relationships with legal and justice system, tacit justice system (violent penalisation of non respect for norms); relationships between neighbourhood dynamics and political systems (clientelism). The previous dynamics can be visually represented as in the following figure 2. This figure is not exhaustive but shows how a more dynamic reading can be made of processes of social inclusion/exclusion and how social innovation can play a major part (in both? - inclusion for one group, exclusion for the other?)

The boxes are written in a macro-language, and should therefore be used keeping their detailed content in mind, trying to understand how over time they determined their social innovation and neighbourhood development strategies in reaction to exclusion dynamics and situations of deprivation; how initiatives in the social economy were launched, agenda‘s set, institutional dynamics promoted or hampered them (e.g. institutionalization of civil society organization vs. power games of city hall; networking as an empowering strategy, etc.

Figure 2. Dynamics of social exclusion/inclusion and social innovation



Also culture and identity building with regard to ”wider‘ debates on visions of social innovation were involved in the analysis. For example, where did BOM obtain its views of neighbourhood development? Through its connection with other movements at various spatial scales, its ”path dependency‘ on the movement history of the 1960s and 1970s, its networking at the European level, etc.

It is important to test some of the basic dynamics/processes in your case studies against the list of dimensions and dynamics suggested in figure 2. But these should be completed by information on social philosophies and movement histories that, we collectively found out, play a direct or indirect role in social innovation initiatives at the local level.

In fact a special dimension of path dependency and agenda setting is the role of social philosophies and movements, many of them developed at the local level, before becoming the grand philosophies or platforms of multi-scalar movements and parties. To improve this dimension of ALMOLIN, we draw elements from the transversal analysis of philosophies and movements as effectuated in the introduction to the Month 18 report (Martinelli, Moulaert and Swyngedouw 2003). These are summarized in figure 3 (so-called movement table).

The theoretical inputs deriving from the historical social movement and philosophy analysis, and especially those shedding a light on the dynamics of agenda setting and organization by social change movements, can be summarized as follows:

a) The world of social change movements is endlessly broad. Still a number of features of change dynamics seem to be shared among movements.

b) Movements can arise at various spatial scales: at the local level against urban renewal projects eradicating a neighbourhood, at the regional level against changes in regional policy or oppressive practices of a retail chain, etc., at the national level against changes in employment policy or to achieve greater civil rights.

c) Movements can be very pragmatic in origin, a plain reaction to mechanisms of exploitation or oppression; or they can be inspired by grand ideologies, such as bourgeois philanthropy, liberal justice, anarchist liberty, socialist solidarity, revolution, etc.

d) Still the grand movements and ideologies very often surrender to and are reshaped by the pressure of the political, social and cultural contexts.

e) This submission can take on two major forms: that of the ”reformist soul‘ that will strive for institutional improvements to allow for a better world (more social justice, freedom of speech and expression,…); or that of the ”utopian anarchist‘ who chooses for insulated experiences, protected from the big bad wolf (world, State, Church, Capital). The anarchist movement has often been a breeding ground for radically new life styles, communitarian forms of organization, etc. It has generally been more creative, but also short-lived and with a narrower societal impact. The more reformist movements may in general have had a longer life, a wider spatial impact, or broader social benefits, but in contrast to the more utopian experiments, they have also been more prone to bureaucratisation and have lost touch with their original hunger for social innovation.

f) In fact, long living social movements often go through a life cycle, which involves increasing formalization, professionalisation and possibly collusion with the established political system. The most typical phenomenon is the integration of successful civil society organizations in local public administrations or services (Moulaert et al. 2002).

g) All social movements have to deal with the tension between Community and Society (*Gemeinschaft* und *Gesellschaft*). This tension has various dimensions: the embedment of the (smaller or more specific) communities into the broader society with its dominant trends that are often alienating the emancipatory strategies of the communities; the ”elitist‘ character of the development paths in ”daringly‘ innovative communities; the exclusion of ”non communitarians‘ etc.

These dynamics of movements and social philosophies, often contradictory in nature, will certainly be a major issue in ”holist‘ analysis of the case-studies; but also at the theoretical level should they play a role, in the explanation of the dynamics of social change or consolidation.

Figure 3. Social philosophies and movement histories

Inputs from movement analysis Dimensions of ALMOLIN	Life-cycle	Social philosophy, political ideology	Tensions	Various trajectories of socio-philosophical dev.
TERRITORY, POPULATION and DEVELOPMENT/PLANNING	Life-cycles of movements		Upscaling of local social innovations - building of countervailing powers ←→ losing the "roots of the grass'	1. Bourgeois philanthropic reformism 2. Church philanthropy 3. Utopianism, mutual aid and cooperation 4. Socialist labour movements **Links of contemporary initiatives with these traditions are sometimes relevant.**
SATISFACTION of HUMAN NEEDS	1st gen: bread butter 2nd generation: fun and health? 3rd gen: bread again (and butter only if you behave…)		Allocation through (re)distribution ←→"Socialized' market economy	
RESOURCES FOR LOCAL SOCIAL ECONOMY (human, organizational and financial)		State? Charity? Market?	"Marketization' of cooperatives	
ORGANISATIONAL and INSTITUTIONAL DYNAMICS - CIVIL SOCIETY	Tendency towards short-term experiences	Bottom-up? Top-down?	Spontaneity ←→ Institutionalization	
LOCAL AUTHORITIES and STATE	Stage of integration in state	Role of the state		
CULTURE and IDENTITY		Of various ideological and political colours		
RELATIONS with — OUTSIDE WORLD" - Articulation of spatial scales	Re-scaling of local movements	Progressive/conservative relations with outside world	Local focus ⇔ wider	
METHODOLOGY	Historical, context sensitive approach			

Source: authors

3.5. ALMOLIN as a framework for case-study analysis on social innovation at the local level

Case-studies should especially refer to the nature of the social innovation - socially innovative content - and the dynamics that nourished or created the socially innovative action (Why? In reaction to? How? Inspired by? What? Which empowerment struggle?) We summarized in the list below the elements from figures 1, 2 and 3. Elements from the theory tables were occasionally used to improve the classification of the various dimensions in the social innovation dynamics. Moreover, the — Why? In reaction to? How? Inspired by? What? Which empowerment struggle?‟ can be perfectly matched onto the core of figure 2.

As a bridge to the sections 3.1.and 3.2. observe that — Why? In reaction to? How? Inspired by? What? Which empowerment struggle?‟ reflects the three dimensions of the definition of social innovation and that the real challenge is to build the links between them.

We will especially stress three dimensions, preferably occurring in interactionwith each other:

- *satisfaction of human needs that* are not currently satisfied, either because.notyet. or because.no longer. perceived as important by either the market or the state (content/product dimension). The stress will be on the satisfaction ofalienated basic needs, although it is admitted that these may vary among societies and communities;

- *changes in social relations*, especially with regard to *governance*, that enable the above satisfaction, but also increase the level of participation of all but especially deprived groups in society (process dimension);

- *increase in the socio-political capability and access to resources* needed to enhance rights to satisfaction of human needs and participation (empowerment dimension).

From sections 3.1.and 3.2.

3.5.1. Why? In reaction to?

- Reaction to deprivation, alienation and exploitation: poverty in *inner cities*; poor housing; unemployment; negative effects of property-led regeneration; human, social and physical decay of neighbourhoods; against capitalist exploitation in factories; against the functional doctrine and the urbanism of the ”fait accompli‘.

- Reaction to failing systems and institutions: failing banking system and social support programmes, decline of social and cultural services, privatisation of public space and commodification of leisure; in reaction against the institutional dominance of local political headquarters and parties; against the sacking of the ”Lebensraum‘ of the inhabitants; in reaction to complex (local?) government structure; legitimisation crisis of social democracy.

- Reaction to crisis in morale, local identity, culture: decline in community spirit, —set up by a group of local people who refused to be labelled a ”problem‘ and decided to become part of the solution“; for the ”right of the city‘ and the ”reconstruction of the city‘ for the people living in it.

- Definition of new needs: recognition of rights of self-determination and self-reliance of people with social and mental problems; creating sphere of dialogue between different users of the city; the city as a laboratory of experiences and encounters; institutional innovation for the bundling and timing of resources; alternative approach to the treatment of psychiatric patients.

3.5.2. Inspired by? (philosophical matrix)

- Movements: worker and associative movement, cooperative experience (Raiffeisen), social movements of 1960s and 1970s (principles of self-organization), mutual aid movement, Socialist First International, Cooperative Alliance, Anarchist movement, Situationists, urban social movements, Canadian predecessor experiment.

- Radicalization of movements: from small business to politically and artistically empowering movements, from squatting to social, political and cultural movement (Officina 99).

- Values: sharing of ownership and power (utopian), right of satisfaction of basic needs for all citizens and non-citizens.

- Search and preservation of identities: community based oral history project (living records).

- Ideologies: old forms of urban patronage, Christian solidarity, Utopianism.

- Role of leaders and charismatic figures: grassroots leaders, local minister.

- Intellectual and political figures: Owen, Proudhon, Castells, Lefèbvre, etc.

3.5.3. How?

- Mechanisms of change: cluster of urban temporal initiatives that target a micro-geographical scale, to have a positive impact on the development of another, often larger scale (up-scaling of change dynamics); participatory turn in planning; controlled experiment of integrated area development; LA 21 as an instrument for the democratisation of the central top-down as the bottom-up forms of governance.

- Organizational models: ad hoc initiatives (squatters group, peace and environmental actions), groups of volunteers, community-centred management and organization structures, cooperatives, citizen associations, non profit organisations. How formalised or ”institutionally loose are they?

- Approach: top-down/from outside vs. bottom-up/from within. The role of power relations, conviction, ideological, political, religious and ethical arguments.

- Networking: building connections between the world of social, work and income assistance and the world of production (social economy, market)

- Constraints on movement and emancipation processes: difficulties of various kinds lack of skills and/or organizational capabilities, political blocks, ”hitting the concrete wall of the logic of capital‘…

3.5.4. Socially Innovative Content

- Citizenship: promotion of active citizenship (social and political rights) through the production of cultural and social services; Fostering a culture of integration and tolerance, of respect of diversity.

- Satisfaction of human needs: improvement of living conditions, new activities in environmental sphere, new services of neighbourhood, promoting use of public space.

- Factors/mechanisms making economy more social: training, launching of new activities (which?), social and ethical micro-credit, consulting to small and social economy initiatives.

- Innovation in social relations and governance relations: changes in workplace relations, integration of organizations of responsible finance in a network of actors, community-owned and managed governance structure, create ”zones‘ for creativity in various domains of urban life, possibly in specific neighbourhoods, build explicit links between local networking and basic needs satisfaction.

- Mobilisation of resources: new funding mechanisms (micro-credit e.g.), consulting on small and social economy initiatives, creation of space for non-commercial cultural activities, completing individual resources of young initiators with community means, development of bottom-up structures meant to mobilise human and institutional capital.

- Look for new modes of articulated cooperation with public sector: e.g. social City in Berlin; local area offices acting on behalf of the City as ”its sensors on a local basis‘.

- Which spatial scales and articulating spatial scales: work not only with local actors but attract actors on other scales in the city as well, new modes of building inter-scalar connections involving public and market as well as social economy sector.

3.5.5. Empowerment and Social Struggle

Many of the social innovations mentioned above already refer to this. In addition, the a-historical case-studies mention:

- Politicise local communities: communities against oppressive (local) State: fight budget cutbacks, action to maintain local services; fight political monopoly of ”city fathers‘; movements against conservative party politics and machines; movements against real estate owners and developers, capitalist investment and disinvestment; struggle for the control of the local economy; lobbying for democratic planning procedures.

- Personal emancipation: work for all abilities and interests, generation of hope through self-development and community support; initiatives to support children (education, arts, sports …) and mothers (listening, tutorship, consulting on practical issues, micro Kindergartens).

- Identity building: through social enterprise and art projects mobilising the community.

- Community building: gaining public consensus for alternative model of a civic social centre.

3.5.6. How long the ”new‘ was ”new‘?

This especially refers to the life-cycles of movements and initiatives. In addition to the grand tensions suggested above (reformist vs. radical, community vs. society, spatial widening versus local focusing, professionalisation vs. ” young creativeness‘) there are also the crude factors of real life that refer to several of the dynamics mentioned in the theoretical evocation. Crude factors of real life - how the initiative or movement came to an end: conflict with (local) government, transformation from production into service centre, reformist institutionalization necessary for survival, … This overlaps with the constraints signalled in section 5.3. Rosy factors of real life - how ”sustainability‘ seems to be possible: ”market niche‘, unique tool, providing scarce facilities for creative processes, mobilization of artists as a unique breeding ground for social change and mobilization.

3.6. Structure of case study analysis

This section presents the structure for the in-depth case study analysis. Although it is a rather open structure, it should be followed with care. It will also refer to ingredients of the previous 3 sections, which should then be mobilised to clarify some issues. On the one hand, a more or less exhaustive list of variables etc. to be brought forward in each case study is necessary. But on the other hand, working with a check-list also raises the risk for the case-study report to become a list of features and factors only, without entering into the real interesting part of the discussion, i.e. the *dynamics* of social exclusion, social innovation, etc. Therefore it is suggested to organize the case-study reporting as follows.

3.6.1. Brief evocation of the main socially innovative dynamics

(which type of social innovation? Main institutional dynamics? Main agencies) and the spatial scales at which they take place. This is like an abstract of what you find the most typical in terms of social innovation - in all three meanings, possibly combined -for your case study; you are supposed to mobilise the relevant elements mentioned in the discussion of what social innovation is/means. Possibly also include a chronology of the case, identifying significant events.

3.6.2. Factual information on the various dimensions of ALMOLIN

This is the ”real‘ checklist. It contains these elements that should be covered. But although it is important to mention some factual information (e.g. neighbourhood surface, geographical situation, politico-institutional status, etc., a digitalized map, etc.), it is preferably to include the more analytical dimensions of this checklist in the analysis

of the dynamics in 3.5.3 and 3.5..4. In other words: this is a checklist, to help you conclude if you are missing important points in your case-study analysis and reports. It is obvious that not all case-studies will connect to all types/items of information. But they should reply to social innovation dynamics; otherwise they should be replaced by other case-studies, or they should explain quite clearly why social innovation, although intended or planned, did not work in this case.

Checklist

Dimensions of ALMOLIN	Types / items of information
TERRITORY, POPULATION and DEVELOPMENT/PLANNING	- territorial dimensions: neighbourhood, district, quarter, urban configuration with focus on particular neighbourhoods; - population: composition, evolution, - administrative status - form of administration (neighbourhood council, mayor, network structure,…) - main planning and policy tools that interfere in neighbourhood - geographical map, 4 characteristic pictures (all digitalized) - consider relations with outside world and articulation of spatial scales
SATISFACTION of HUMAN NEEDS	-which needs are at the forefront of the inclusion/exclusion and social innovation dynamics? -which are the main agents carrying or supporting social innovation? - dynamics of needs revealing: See 3.5.1., Why? In reaction to?
RESOURCES FOR LOCAL SOCIAL ECONOMY (human, organizational and financial)	- human resources - organizational resources - financial resources - political (governance) resources - cultural and artistic resources - constraints on (resources for) innovation dynamics; see 3.5.3., last bullet pint
ORGANISATIONAL and INSTITUTIONAL DYNAMICS - CIVIL SOCIETY	- relations of governance (stressing non state, non market), governance capability, governance of innovative initiatives - interaction between spontaneous and formal organization, relation between bottom-up and top-down modes of organization - solidarity building networks, mediative institution -also look at 3.5.2-4, organizational dimensions. Consider relations with 3.5.5 ”Empowerment‘.
LOCAL AUTHORITIES and STATE	- changing roles of local state; rescaling of state as consequence of (fiscal) crisis of state - state as social entrepreneur? - shifts in functions between state, market and civil society - complex relationships between local state, civil society and market -relations with 3.5.3. and 3.5.5.

CULTURE and IDENTITY	- role of culture and identity in fostering neighbourhood and community communication - variety of identities, ideologies, political coulours playing a role in neighbourhood socialization processes -relations with 3.5.3. and 3.5.5.
VIEWS, VISIONS, MODELS of social innovation from point of view of ALMOLIN	- this mainly refers to the innovative views in innovation agendas, organizational and institutional forms and empowerment instruments; - see figure1, corresponding line; elements of sections 3.5.3., 3.5.5. and 3.5.6.
CONSTRAINTS and CONTROL ON DEVELOPMENT	- see links with ”Resources for local social economy‘ - tensions between State/Market Civil Society - constraints on civil society iniatives - democratic control on citizens‘ initiatives - impact of local institutional histories and cultures can be empowering as well as disempowering - budget constraints; norms set by market competition - marketization of social economy initiatives - see also 3.5.3.
RELATIONS with —OUTSIDE WORLD“ - Articulation of spatial scales	- socio-political and socio-economic context as it is relevant to case-study rescaling of relations between civil society, economy and state - various spatial and institutional levels (and the relations between them) of the innovative agendas as well as the organizational and empowerment dynamics; multi scalar organization; - multi-scalar networking between agents in civil society, market economy and state; progressive/conservative relations with outside world; - rescaling of social movements over time; -relations with 3.5.3. and 3.5.5..
METHODOLOGY	- combination of essentialist and holist perspectives (Moulaert and Ailenei 2002) - ethnographic, historical and contextual approach combined - strong affinity with institutional approaches in various social science disciplines - these methodological approaches are implicit, they will only be presented in an explicit way in the special issue of Urban Studies.

Source: authors

3.6.3 Analysis of the main dynamics of social exclusion/inclusion and innovation in the case-study

Most elements explained above can be used to guide this analysis. But especially figure 2 and the explanation of figure 1 (items a through g in section 3.4.) should frame the approach. 3.5.2. should help to check if sufficient detail is provided. But the main challenge is to provide the dynamics, the links between various challenges, processes, strategies, instutionalizations, etc. It is important to evoke and test these in your

interviews with privileged witnesses and external observers. We will try to give a few examples of interview questions in section below.

3.6.4. A focus on the features of the social-innovation dynamics in the case-study

To do this we will the features 3.5.1. through 3.5.5. above. Several of these features will already show up in 3.5.3. (Dynamics …), but for the purpose of comparability it is important to provide (and sometimes repeat) them in this section.

Template for in-depth case-studies

Maximum length: 8000 words, times 12, single interlinea. Footnotes, tables, figures as for Oxford University Press.

Abstract: brief evocation of the main dynamics of social inclusion/exclusion, social innovation (1 p.) (3.6.1.)

a) Introduction - the main questions answered in the in-depth case study (1p.)

b) Factual information on case-study: see checklist above (3.6.2.)

c) Main dynamics of social exclusion, inclusion and innovation - in relation to each other (3.6.3.)

d) Features of the social-innovation dynamics in the case-study (3.6.4.)

- Why? In reaction to?
- Inspired by?
- How?
- Socially innovative content?
- Empowerment and social struggle
- How long the ”new‘ was ”new‘?

e) Conclusion

List of figures and tables.

Sources and references.

Small table containing the features of innovative dynamics of your in-depthcase studies.

C) WP3 - Concrete Experiences of Social Innovation

1. Kommunales Forum Wedding - innovation in local governance

Julia Gerometta Humboldt University Berlin

1.1. Abstract

The Kommunales Forum Wedding (KFW) initiative has introduced a new culture of citizen participation and public deliberation for distressed neighbourhoods in central West Berlin. KFW has been inspired by the participatory turn in urban planning which in Berlin had found its implementation in the —careful urban renewal" in the early 1980s, following the experience with lack of participation in large-scale pull-down renewal since the 1950s. KFW has produced a number of socially innovative experiments and sustainable projects following area based approaches to local employment and quality of life, community work and local learning, working all three dimensions of social innovation. In these projects networking and partnership with other civil society organizations, politicians and administrative bodies have been as important as citizen participation and empowerment. Resources were drawn from and given to various institutions at different spatial scales and to actor groups. Refusing institutionalisation options, KFW has become a professional neighbourhood organization and change agent, and is part of a larger social movement for community development and local social economy.

1.2. The story of KFW action

Kommunales Forum Wedding (KFW, the Forum) brought about social innovation in Berlin Wedding/Mitte. This neighbourhood organization with a vision towards an increase in the quality of life of its citizens improved the Berlin landscape of participatory urban planning and local governance. The characteristics of innovation refer to social economy on one side, and political culture and institutional capacity on the other side.

The approach is an integrated one, aiming at improving a place-based quality of life by targeting work and employment, learning, participation and networking and cooperation between actors. Its success depends strongly on mediation between local social groups, administration and politics, and civil society. KFW is part of a larger social movement of place-based action and community work pursuing quality of life.

The Forum grew with the participatory turn in planning, which found its expression in Berlin‘s careful urban renewal strategy, involving intensive tenant‘s participation and close cooperation of all actors through the mediation of renewal agents (for its history

and actions fields see Table 1, for its objectives and methods see Figure 1). Following careful urban renewal and the related actions by members of the movement of place based action, administrative and political programmes have changed over time.

Berlin‘s urban development policy and administration now promote and develop a social urban development strategy with citizen participation, place based action and the increase of institutional density as central aspects. Neighbourhood management and Social city are recent examples of programmes expressing this trend. KFW in turn has gained influence in local development in the course of these programmes.

The action fields of KFW have varied over time. In the beginning, participation in and the establishment of a public discourse on local development were dominant, then employment and the support of social economic activities built one of the core foundations of the Forum. Later, attention switched to local learning and intercultural mediation. The increase in local institutional interaction and the promotion of civil society interaction were core objectives at all times.

Table 1. Chronology of KFW action

1979 -1981	Culmination of squatter movement, lethal crisis of pull-down renewal
1984 -1987	*Internationale Bauausstellung IBA* (International Building Exhibition in Berlin)
1982	PAULA Unemployed Self-Help Initiative
1988	PAULA Project: Interdisciplinary Research Project „Local Economy", at Technical University Berlin (until 1992)
Nov. 1989	Constitutional meeting for "*Kommunales Forum Wedding*"
1989 - 1996	Over 50 public forums held by KFW in Wedding
19. May 1990	First District Labour Market Conference
End of 1990	Own offices in the premises of a bankrupt industrial enterprise, "Rotaprint-Block"
1991	Start of paid work in KFW through "detour financing" (labour market integration, short term contracts)
1991 -1993	Urban planning and community work in "Rotaprint-Block"
1991 - 1998	Newsletter "Communal Pages"
1994	Neighbourhood work in Sprengelkiez "Planning For Real" in Sprengelkiez Neighbourhood centre Aktiv im Kiez in Sprengelkiez International cooperation
1994 - 1997	Labour market insertion measures with ca. 80 employees in "Weddinger Project Compound", "Senior citizens aid services Wedding and Moabit" and "Senior citizens aid services Reinickendorf-Ost and Wedding-Nord"
13.-17. Nov. 1995	"Wedding Employment Week – Building Stones for a district labour market policy"
1997	"Local Partnership Wedding – towards employment, quality of life and social cohesion"
Sept. 1997	56. and last Kommunales Forum: "No future with *ABM*[12] - Why KFW withdraws from short term labour market insertion measures"
	KFW founding member of "European Network for Cities and Regions in the Social Economy" (REVES)

[12] ABM = Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaßnahme, legal term for the most common kind of labour market insertion measure.

1998	Urban Political Conference "Work and Neighbourhood – Integrated, Area-Based Concepts for the Enhancement of the Quality of Life in Distressed Neighbourhoods– Local Partnership Wedding"
Jun 1998 to day	Qualification project "Work and Neighbourhood"
1998	"Integrated, area based action plan 'Work and Neighbourhood'" Re-opening of the neighbourhood centre "Aktiv im Kiez"
1999	KFW gets appointed as neighbourhood management team for Quartiersmanagement Sparrplatz
	Foundation of the Federal Working Group for Community Work (*BAG Gemeinwesenarbeit*)
2000	Failed application for six projects in the context of the new District Partnership for Employment
2001	Local Partnership Wedding ceases to work District fusion, new responsibilities in the new large District of Mitte out of Wedding, Tiergarten and Mitte
2001	Stadtteilgenossenschaft Wedding e.G.
2001 - 2006	Regional Activity and Learning Agency Berlin – Mitte (RTL)
2003	Preparation of project "Pathways to Learning", KFW coordinates project with German, Irish and Hungarian partners
Dec 2003 - Nov 2006	XENOS project against xenophobia, racism and social exclusion with GWZ (GIS e.V.), Stadtteilgenossenschaft Wedding e.G., City-VHS Mitte
2004	Qualification program "Work and Neighbourhood" continues, new intensifiedfocus on adult education and empowerment
2004	"Aktiv im Kiez" moves into Sprengelstrasse 15
2004	Forum GWA, a self-organised regional learning process

Source: authors

Figure 1. Self-representation of KFW

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">KFW links people from different areas of work and activity with the vision of — Improving the quality of life in the neighbourhood!"</td></tr>
<tr><td>Our partners are:
-Local politics and administration.
-Local and/or social enterprises.
-Independent trusts and organizations in the neighbourhood.
-Self-help initiatives and citizens' groups Residents and unemployed in Berlin (Mitte), Germany and Europe.</td><td>Kommunales Forum Wedding
-Initiates and moderates exchange on social, cultural and economic developments in the neighbourhood.
-Accompanies foundation and development of initiatives, and participates as a trust or partner in model projects for social neighbourhood development.
-Takes into account experiences from elsewhere in order to gain new insights and creatively use them in its local activities.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">The association initiates and supports the foundation of co-operations, projects and services and works as a trust for them through the promotion of
Meeting - participation - education - employment</td></tr>
</table>

Source: Author's translation and formatting of Kommunales Forum Wedding (2004)

1.3. Social innovation through KFW action

1.3.1. Social movement fostering local quality of life

A social movement usually builds around a common protest against a development which threatens a group. It involves a broad range of actors who pursue common objectives. The socio-cultural characteristics of social movements have successfully been analysed in the constructivist perspective of framing (Snow and Benford, 1988; Gamson, 1992). According to this approach, social action and collective action are determined by the actors' collective construction and/or adoption of meaning, and thus of motives, strategies and objectives. The three subframes to be considered are the diagnostic frame (problem definition), the identity frame (creation of sense of belonging) and the prognostic frame (definition of strategy and objectives). The common problem definition is the spatial concentration of social exclusion. The identity frame is that of integrated area based approaches to neighbourhood development and the battle against social exclusion. The prognostic frame is the pursuit of local integrated area development in a multi-sectoral approach which mobilises research in all related fields, provides networking and the distribution of information, as well as experience and actors. Altogether, the KFW appears to be an active member of a social movement in community work.

Its core support and partners in cooperation belong to the intermediate sphere of agencies and actors in urban development and welfare policy. They are the other neighbourhood network organisations in Berlin‘s centre (Mitte district), Stadtteilverein Tiergarten and Moabiter Ratschlag, each covering a distinct place of activity. KFW is a member of a neighbourhood management team itself and has good cooperation with a number of other neighbourhood management teams; there is considerable agreement with those teams on the vision behind community work. Other partners include local churches, such as *Ostergemeinde*, a local Church in Sprengelkiez. Mutual support existed between KFW and Ostergemeinde on a number of occasions. Yet other partners are independent trusts, unions and welfare organizations, which offer sectoral local expertise to partnerships undertaking KFW projects. Many of these organizations have a common understanding of community work and social economy. Some are active in Forum Community Work [*Forum Gemeinwesenarbeit*], a network organization on a Berlin wide scale, initiated by several actors, among them KFW. Some are active in the Germany wide Working Group Community Work and Social Urban Development [*Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Gemeinwesenarbeit und Soziale Stadtentwicklung*], or in the Berlin network for the promotion of social enterprises [*Berliner Netzwerk zur Förderung Sozialer Unternehmen*] (NEST). Not to be underestimated is the cooperation with scientific organizations, such as departments and working groups of all three Berlin Universities and other Universities and Polytechnic Colleges that undertake studies on issues related to the Forum‘s work or run scientific assessments of its projects. The Forum has proved sustainable over time and acts highly flexibly in targeting issues and partnerships in order to make the best use of available resources as answers to local needs; and it has resisted institutionalisation offers on a number of occasions.

1.3.2. Local Governance

Political opportunity structure

Fainstein and HIRST (1995) explain that the fragmented and parochial nature of most urban social movements limits their capacities, and that these movements are thus usually issue-dependent and seldom effective partners in broad coalitions. In our case, the social movement has managed to gain coherence in a context of increasing problem pressure for political actors, and a lack of solutions. In the past decade, the policies targeting urban social exclusion have become strong in many European states. A number of fragmented social movements eventually joined forces around this issue to formulate strategies to address the problem. The actors are academics in urban sociology, planning and social work, members of neighbourhood initiatives and organisations following up on the alternative and new social movements, professional social workers and planners, and

members of local administrations. When they were re-elected into government after 16 years of conservative reign, the German Social Democrats in coalition with the Green party finally admitted the necessity of tackling spatially concentrating poverty and social exclusion and implemented the federal and regional states' integrated area development programme, —Social City -Neighbourhoods with special need for development", with the regional speciality of neighbourhood management.

The Berlin programme incorporates a neighbourhood community development strategy, which WALTHER and GÜNTER (2004) interpret as the attempt to bring the two administrative levels closer to the urban society and give more coherence to the political and administrative reform. The euphoria of German re-unification had come to a definite end because its negative consequences on economy and social structure had become too visible. De-industrialisation with massive losses in employment had brought the unemployment rate to a post-war record high, and a large migration flow from East to West Germany had led to shrinking cities. At the same time, integrated area development against social exclusion had become *the* programme available to tackle multi-dimensional urban social exclusion on a local level. This strategy was proposed by HÄUßERMANN and KAPPHAN (1998) in their report for the Senate Administration for Urban Development in Berlin, —*Sozialorientierte Stadtentwicklung*", by ALISCH and DANGSCHAT (1998) reporting on experience with the —Program to tackle poverty" [*Armutsbekämpfungsprogramm*] in Hamburg and the experience of Nordrhine-Westfalia in this field (FROESSLER et al., 1998).

Complex interaction for social innovation in local governance

For the local initiatives of KFW, district reform in Berlin in 2001 meant the loss of established partners due to new competencies given to administrative officers. The local partnership, Wedding, fell victim to this development but neighbourhood management appears in some measure to be a replacement for it. The funding for neighbourhood management is related to the strong control taken by the district officer for neighbourhood management. Due to pressure of short-term funding mechanisms, the participants permanently run the risk of having to give up on their original objectives. In the medium term, KFW manages to stick to its ideals, while in the short term it sometimes has to show flexibility because of these funding structures and demands. Berlin's fiscal crisis has increased the competition between local organizations. The tapping of funding from higher administrative levels, such as for example in the case of RTL (*Regionale Tätigkeits - und Lernagentur* or Regional Activity and Learning Agency), with the Federal Ministry of Education and Research as a financer of innovation in

education and research, increases KFW‘s autonomy as it provides a broader financial base.

Through the dense mix of actors and diagonal working of the RTL, it establishes a place of mediation which is can pass on people‘s learning needs to the decision making sphere. In *Lernhaus*, close co-operation of public and independent trusts takes place. The core partners are KFW and City-VHS, the District‘s adult education centre, who run the RTL. Members of these organizations together with another neighbourhood association, Stadtteilverein Tiergarten e.V., manage project development, and local trust education organizations provide the services. In individual talks with District Administration, Stadtteilverein and potential partners, RTL raised awareness of the development of Lernhaus and ideas for project design have been taken on board. The cooperation has had an influence on local development planning for education where Lernhaus is now recognised as a place for innovation in education. Funding is split between the Berlin Senate budget for education, the City-VHS resources (the major partner), welfare insertion programmes and neighbourhood management. Additional projects for international networking are funded by the European Union, through programmes such as —Pathways to Learning“ in GRUNDTVIG I and II.

The outstanding example of current support and cooperation from the public sphere in the District of Mitte is the partnership with the Adult Education Centre Mitte, City-VHS. Its director is perhaps the most supportive and central member of the District Administration in Berlin-Mitte of KFW‘s projects and visions. This fact has been key for KFW‘s latest development, and provided the political opportunity structure for acquiring a core position in RTL. This is an example of the complex relations behind the strategy of KFW. The success of the initiatives and their model character has motivated the partners to cooperate or independently implement programmes for neighbourhood management, the localisation of employment policy and, with RTL, local learning. Developments on larger scales are not favourable to the conditions in which KFW operates. Global competition in combination with a failed political attempt to transform Berlin into a global city has led to a net loss in jobs and a severe fiscal crisis.

Whereas neighbourhood management provides a local building block for social innovation in an attempt to overcome local social exclusion, German welfare policies are currently re- orienting towards stronger individualisation of unemployment risks and responsibilities and cuts in welfare allowances and thus counter these dynamics. Altogether, in spite of the socially innovative action of KFW and its partners, unemployment is on the rise, educational achievements are low and polarised, (disappointing especially for ethnic minority youth), and public infrastructure is reduced.

Economic policy of the district and the Senate does not seriously consider a local approach, so actions in this field are limited to self-organised projects, such as the neighbourhood cooperatives.

1.3.3. KFW as change agent - do good, where possible

KFW adds to social innovation by satisfying local needs, by intense networking and institutional capital building, and by motivating and resourcing citizens‘ initiatives and their institutional embedding. The fields of action speak for themselves: the establishment of meeting spaces and local centres, local learning, intercultural communication, partnership building, support of new projects in other initiatives, inter-regional and intra-regional exchange of ideas and experience. Based on thorough analyses of the potential and needs of people and actors in place and based mainly in distressed urban neighbourhoods, a lot has been done. The KFW approach is a flexible one with a number of fields that are eligible for action. Depending on the political opportunity structures, one or other field of action is brought forward or postponed. At the moment, for example, intercultural communication, a difficult area in other participatory approaches such as in the Sparrplatz Neighbourhood Management process, is addressed. RTL has established a Working Group ”Intercultural Communication in the Municipality‘ in the Intercultural network Berlin - Mitte. It mobilises and links the partners‘ experience in this field to that of civil servants of the district council. The trust running GWZ, the Neighbourhood Cooperative StaGe and RTL together are active in a 3-year-XENOS project against discrimination and racism in the District of Mitte. StaGe for example uses this resource in order to attract ethnic entrepreneurs for membership in the cooperative. This has been an issue in the organization for some time and in KFW for an even longer period, but resources had been too scarce to thoroughly address this crucial field of action in the multi-ethnic, often ethnically fragmented neighbourhoods. The combination of aspirations to reach socially innovative content and the method of intense networking and partnership building, making best use of available resources, make KFW a change agent towards social innovation in the localities in which it is active.

1.3.4. Socially innovative delivery of public services

Especially important are the neighbourhood centres that KFW helped to build or has built itself as places which provide originally neglected public services and answer local needs. The established neighbourhood centres are Neighbourhood centre *Aktiv im Kiez*, GWZ and *Lernhaus*. Furthermore, a number of temporary public spaces have been created alongside projects. People interaction, needs articulation and debate take place in the projects and welfare services are provided. In the case of Lernhaus, these are learning

facilities. Services provided through KFW sponsored centres are closer to the people and their needs than those delivered by their administrative counterparts. This proximity is secured by the resource and deficit analyses which run through each project. This method includes dialogue with local citizens and actors and analysis of needs and resources in local areas. The need for GWZ, for example, was revealed in the activating poll among local residents and organizations which led to the definition of the fields of action of the neighbourhood management process in the area of *Sparrplatz*. Part of the innovative dynamic includes the process steering. Individual KFW projects are scrutinised for their relevance to locals and monitored for their success, and adapted or even given up if this is more sensible for attaining the organizational aims. An example of this is the management and coordination structure of Lernhaus, where a monthly plenary session [*Plenum*], monthly or bi-monthly ideas laboratories [*Ideenschmiede*] and a broader informal network, support a structure for the exchange of ideas, expression of needs, and the demands and evaluation of the project. In this way, and in many cases supported by various kinds of public funding, welfare services are delivered for the people and with the people, supported by a range of intermediate organisations. These innovations serve as prime examples of public authority service delivery. The localisation of services to easy-access spaces, their cross-sectoral coordination, hierarchical coordination with civic actors and citizens, and, also more directly, the continuing education of civil servants on various issues, often enhance and improve public welfare provision through the transfer of experience, skills and knowledge.

Figure 2. Core features of social innovation in KFW

Core features of social innovation in KFW	
Process dimension	KFW as an intermediary organization networking, building partnerships and an advocate for citizens‘ participation
Content dimension	KFW as a change agent towards integrated area based development for distressed neighbourhoods KFW as an innovator that introduces locally innovation from other places in Europe KFW as an innovator in the fields of action of local employment, learning, and planning
Empowerment dimension	KFW as an intermediary organization strengthening civil society and linking it to other spatial scales and other levels of hierarchy KFW as an advocate of citizen empowerment
KFW is a change agent and an innovator for all three dimensions of social innovation in Berlin Mitte. The organization imports innovation from other places in Europe. It takes part in a larger social movement for an integrated, area based approach to local social integration and citizen and civil society empowerment.	

Source: authors

1.4. Conclusion

In the 1980s and 1990s KFW, a neighbourhood organization set up in Berlin, worked as a change agent in a number of fields related to neighbourhood development. The action fields are community work and citizen participation, local learning and local employment.

The pursuit of employment had great appeal for and recognition from the local community as it touched the nerve of the crisis that was shaking the city. In terms of social and political organization, networking, partnership and intermediation play a considerable role and uphold the innovation process which KFW introduced and helped institutionalise in local urban development. The enhanced provision of public services through KFW working as a trust for the local and Senate administration is a convincing illustration of the ”content‟ dimension to social innovation.

The fragmented political and administrative system of the city had both fostered and constrained the organization‟s actions. Whereas generally KFW could find trusted partners in the administration of both the district and regional state and among political parties and politicians in Berlin, and thus managed to carry out projects, the major political forces and current strategies, (namely the area of economic policy) have not been supportive of its activities.

Together with a number of other organizations, KFW forms a social movement of community work and socially oriented urban development, seeking solutions for socio-spatially concentrated social exclusion. Solutions, such as identifying opportune moments in the political arena and occupying a void between problem pressures and the means of tackling them, were used by politicians on a regional and federal level to create a public policy programme of neighbourhood development - —Social City - Neighbourhoods with special needs for development‟. Each regional state has specified the programme according to its own specific views. The Federal counterpart programme, in this co-funding arrangement between regional state and federal state, is the —Socially oriented neighbourhood development‟ with —neighbourhood management‟ as its core feature.

Altogether neighbourhood management [*Quartiersmanagement*] did not lead to the fulfilment of all the aims of the movement, or those of the Forum. At the same time, it provides a field of experimentation in a number of their approaches. For two years in Berlin, the distribution of certain amounts of funding for local action has been delegated to neighbourhood juries composed of private citizens and local civil society organizations, for example [*Quartiersfonds*]. This bottom up resource distribution is clearly akin to the ideas of the movement. KFW worked as a change agent in Mitte, pursuing the implementation of an integrated area based development approach in the fields of

planning, employment, networking, partnership and citizen participation, and provided the district and the city with relevant experience in innovative approaches to related and new fields of high problem pressure. Through the building of networks and partnerships, it prepared the institutional base for further, institutionalised action.

To avoid one-sided institutionalisation and the erosion of critical potential and innovative capacity, KFW tries to attract further funding from different partners and increase its activity in new fields. At the moment local learning serves as a new activity platform for the organization which is working on a number of innovations to provide potential answers to increasingly pressing local needs. A priority is the thorough integration into the projects of members of fragmented and excluded ethnic minorities. An existing well funded project against xenophobia and racism in Mitte was built upon and used to target this emerging action field.

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Fieldwork

11 thematically centred Interviews with actors related to KFW action

Participatory observation and informal talks at events, workshops and conferences related to the work of KFW

Group discussion at the SINGOCOM Local Workshop on Social Innovation in Berlin, Humboldt University Berlin, Jun 2004

2. QuartiersAgentur Marzahn NordWest: integration of the resettlers

Julia Gerometta - Humboldt University

2.1. Abstract

In the Berlin neighbourhood of Marzahn NordWest, a group of resettlers from the former Soviet Union, starting from a marginalised position, has achieved an integration process. This local social innovation was possible because of a number of contextual innovations in the socio-political and institutional settings. A neighbourhood management programme was implemented with a local intermediary body to link and activate the local actors and group locally available resources into a strategic plan for the neighbourhood. This body helped to empower the resettlers in the course of the programme by giving a strategic position to an influential member of the existing cohesive community. Furthermore, the political programme brought new financial and institutional resources to the neighbourhood. Altogether, the intermediary body was successful in linking the resettlers to the super-local institutional sphere. Social innovation has occurred in all three dimensions developed in the ALMOLIN model: empowerment, content and process.

2.2. Innovation in the institutional arrangement of urban development

After German re-unification the large housing estate district of Marzahn - today Marzahn-Hellersdorf - experienced dramatic changes in urban development, housing and planning. Socialist housing estates, highly thought of in the socialist era because of their modern standards, were seen in a new light after re-unification. Billions were invested especially between 1991 and 1998 to turn the young monotonous housing estate areas into more mixed-use liveable neighbourhoods (see Table 1) and to maintain the better off segments of the population who moved into the newly suburbanising urban fringe.

The planning system re-organised the structure of urban space and Marzahn-Hellersdorf was ascribed one major centre with corresponding facilities, and a number of medium-rank and local centres. The neighbourhood of Marzahn NordWest only has local centre status and therefore received less attention than the other areas from investors and planners (NÜTHEL, 2000). Participatory processes accompanied the urban renewal process in the district, which houses the largest housing estate in Western Europe (about 55,000 housing units and 150,000 inhabitants on 7x3 kilometres). The coordinator of the actors involved in the process and of organising public participation was a private, publicly funded and newly appointed intermediary body.

This same organization has been appointed to run the neighbourhood management process in the distressed neighbourhood of Marzahn NordWest, which had been implemented in 1999 following downward social mobility processes (see HÄUßERMANN and KAPPHAN, 1998; compare Table 1). The new social democratic urban policy of the Social City and the related neighbourhood management is based on a participatory, integrated area approach to a social urban development.

Table 1. Chronology of integration processes of the resettler community in Marzahn NordWest

1987	Completion of building of neighbourhood Marzahn NordWest
1991-1998	Renewal of socialist housing estate of Marzahn
1998	Marzahn Nord classified distressed neighbourhood
1999	Social City – Neighbourhoods with special need for development(programme implemented in Marzahn Nord)
2000	Vision e.V.
Jan 2002	Gallery KLIN
June 2002	Berlin German Russian Chekhov-Theatre
Summer 2002	AOA - Resettlers Orient Resettlers
Oct 2002	Memorial for displaced Germans in the Soviet Union
Oct 2002	Journal "Neighbours"
Spring 2004	Exhibition on life of resettlers in Kiezclub, Marzahn Mitte

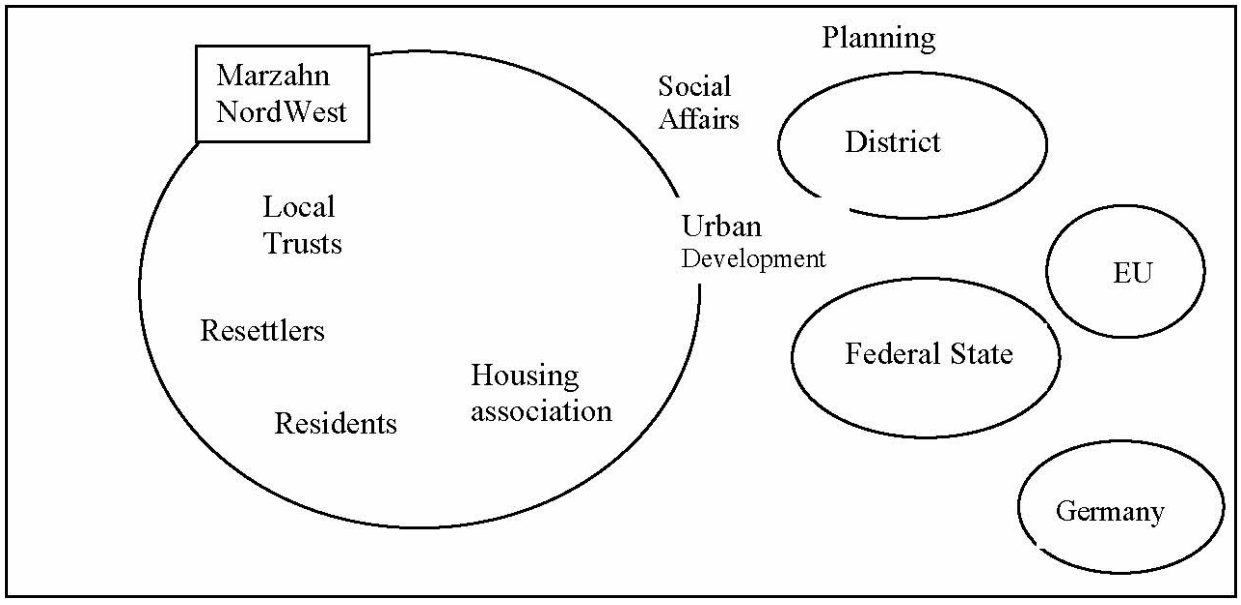
Source: authors

The development of a dense civil society sphere, cooperating and networking closely with all local and relevant super-local actors from politics, administration and the economy, influences the process in a positive way.

The developments are directed at stopping social degradation and include a wide array of action fields from environmental improvement within education and schooling towards citizen participation and activation (DIfU, 1998).

Thus, a state run institutional sphere with little local coordination and cooperation as shown in Figure 1, with the main local players being the District offices for social affairs and urban development, as well as a few associations, and the most important economic actor being the large local housing company, had to be turned into a dense institutional network which would involve civil society and all local social groups, as well as the local economy agents, in local policy making. In the next section the developments involved in this approach in the neighbourhood are analysed with a focus on the role in the process of the late resettlers.

Figure 1. Institutional relations in the District of Marzahn



Source: authors

2.3. The quasi-marginalised group of the German resettlers in Marzahn NordWest

The migrant group which is at the centre of attention in the case study consists of German resettlers from the former Soviet Union [*Aussiedler*, since 1993 called *Spätaussiedler* or late resettlers; here simply called resettlers, but referring to the whole group]. They are a migrant group with a large population of ethnic Germans who used to live in the former Soviet Union (and other Eastern European countries), and whose ancestors had migrated to the Russian Tsarist Empire from Germany from the late 18th century onwards following a Tsarist Russian settlement policy.

Many of these ethnic Germans and their family members have re-settled in Germany during the large migration wave that took place between 1987 and 1998[13].

As persons who in the former Soviet Union under Stalinist regime, had collectively suffered displacement as an answer to German aggression in World War II, the resettlers have been encouraged to migrate to Germany. As guaranteed by the German constitution, they receive German citizenship on arrival in the country. Since 1993, *Aussiedler* have been officially called *Spätaussiedler* and their immigration to Germany has been discouraged.

Financial support and integration measures for resettlers have been cut back and re-geared towards enhancing the situation of the ethnic Germans in their settlement areas in the former Soviet Union, specifically in order to prevent migration to Germany. Both the rules and practices for recognition and integration have been curtailed, such as by the restriction of financial and social aid in measures for occupational integration, old age provision, and educational provision (SCHMALZ-JACOBSEN, 1997).

Like many other migrant groups, they build patterns of residential segregation due to housing market restrictions and chain migration - meaning that original migrants are joined later by relatives or other members of the migrant group. The Spätaussiedler are generally less well integrated into German society because of high unemployment, limited opportunities for newcomers on the labour market, and less developed German language skills. Furthermore, qualifications of the reasonably well educated resettler group are devalued on arrival in Germany.

[13] Approximately 2 million German resettlers, now mainly from the former Soviet Union, migrated to Germany during that period. During the whole resettlement period, starting in 1950, altogether 4.3 million resettlers migrated to Germany. Before 1987 they had come much less from the former Soviet Union, and mostly from Eastern and South Eastern Europe.

The socialist housing estate district of Marzahn-Hellersdorf houses one of the largest resettler populations in Germany, altogether an estimated 24 thousand people. About a quarter to a third lives in Marzahn NordWest, a less favoured neighbourhood within the district. Residential segregation can add further hurdles to the integration process. In the beginning, it may produce a protected environment, in which social acceptance and mutual support is provided by members of the common ethnic group. But if this starting aid is not used to progress from this ethnic niche, segregation can become a trap and hinder integration. Furthermore, residential segregation in distressed neighbourhoods can facilitate stereotyping and stigmatising of the new migrant group and thus make the integration process within the host society even more difficult.

2.4. Social exclusion and social innovation dynamics in Marzahn NordWest. The QuartiersAgentur, Civil society and the District administration

2.4.1. Institutional dynamics

With the establishment of the German-wide programme, Social City, and the Berlin specific Neighbourhood management scheme in 1999, integrated development began in the neighbourhood of Marzahn NordWest. A private planning office, UrbanPlan, was appointed as the neighbourhood management team, and opened an on site office, the QuartiersAgentur Marzahn NordWest (QA).

Its task was to link the local private sector, civil society and public organizations to each other, to coordinate development resources already present in the neighbourhood, to help allocate new resources and to activate citizen participation. The thematic foci of neighbourhood management are embedded in strategic action plans designed by the local neighbourhood management teams.

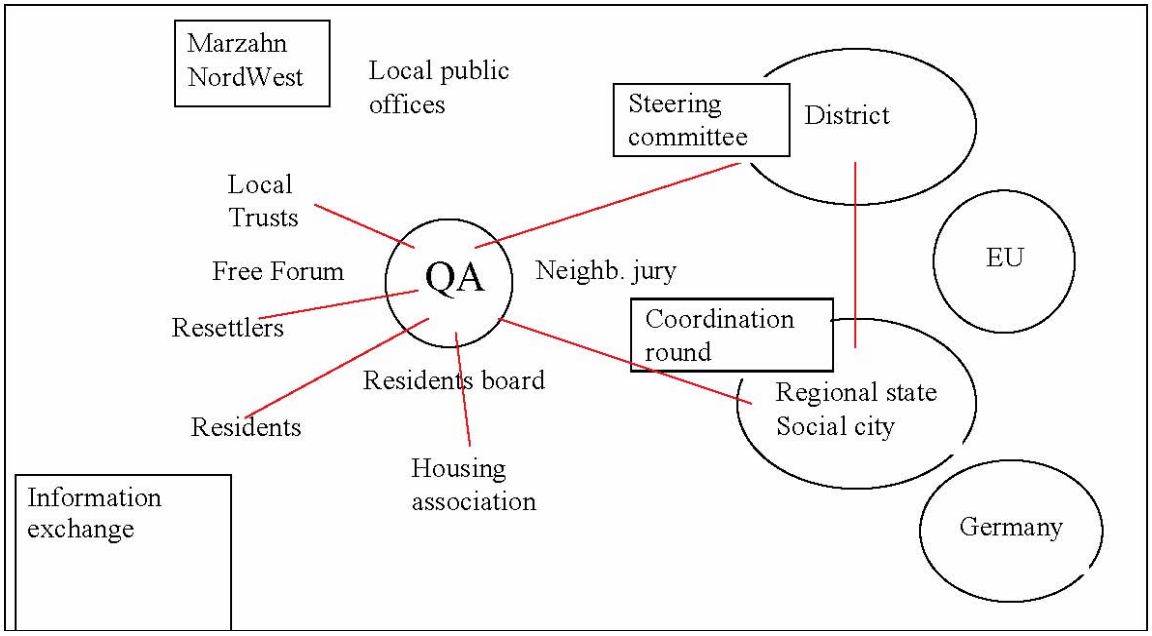
In Marzahn Nord, this plan is based on neighbourhood studies including social-structural data analysis, interviews and neighbourhood conferences. It outlines several fields of action, mainly concerning the redevelopment of the large housing estate neighbourhood into a liveable, more mixed-use area with facilities for shopping, leisure and (to a lesser extent) work, as well as the establishment of facilities and activities for the large group of youth grown out of childhood in this young neighbourhood. In addition, the integration of the new migrant group, the ethnic German resettlers from the former Soviet Union is included as a field of action.

A number of participation bodies have been set up since 1999, as a result of neighbourhood conferences organised with this purpose in mind (see figure 2). The Free

Forum of the resettlers, the residents' board and the neighbourhood jury are the more permanent participation institutions: with monthly or bi-monthly meetings where visions and issues are articulated, resources and people mobilised and action plans designed.

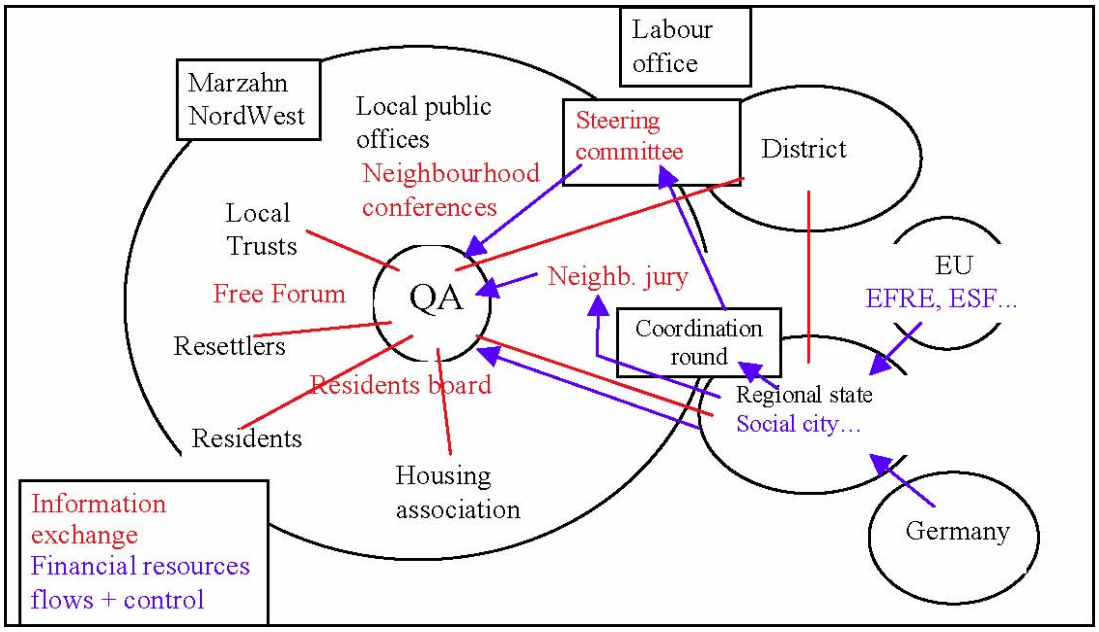
The neighbourhood jury was the only one among these institutions with considerable financial resources to distribute: the neighbourhood funds [*Quartiersfond*] with a yearly /500,000 between 2000 and 2002. Unlike the others it did not itself create projects. This experiment of bottom up distribution of project financing was set up in all 17 Berlin programme neighbourhoods by the Berlin Senate and is considered a success in Germany due to the responsible method of fund distribution (see Figures 2 and 3).

Figure 2. Institutional dynamics I: the establishment of intermediary organisations



Source: authors

Figure 3. Financial resource flow and control in Marzahn NordWest and "Social city"



Source: authors

The control organ of the district is the steering committee with QA representatives, district representatives, local experts and Senate representatives that meets once a month. All projects with funding from Social City (not neighbourhood funds) have to be approved at these meetings.

The control and coordination organ of the Senate is the **Coordination Board** (Jour Fixe) with representatives again from the three parties and appropriate experts. Again, all projects applying for funding from the Social City programme must receive approval, with the exception of the neighbourhood fund projects (SenStadt, 2003).

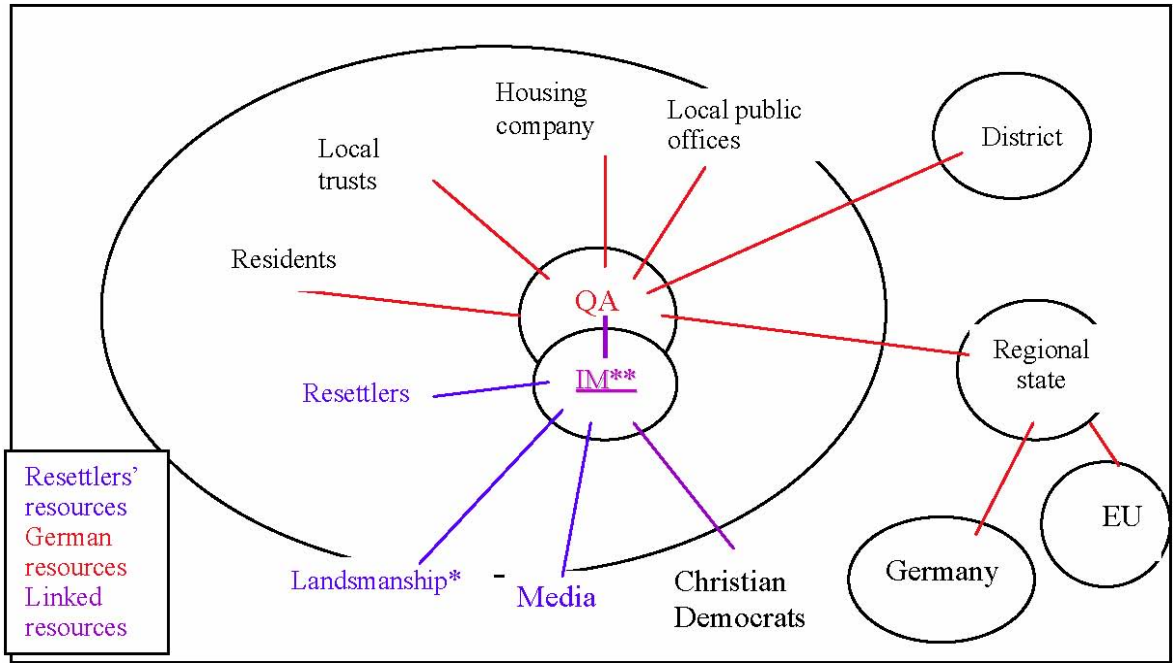
The district authority holds a relatively weak position vis-à-vis QA, whose background organization can draw on experience and networks within integrated area development. It built up this cultural and social capital by the mediating position it held in the District for a decade in the course of a participatory and integrated approach to the physical redevelopment of the large housing estate of Marzahn (a large part of the over 60,000 housing units), an enormous project both in scope and in funding.

2.4.2. Community dynamics: linkage to the institutional process with the help of a change agent

In 1998 the Berlin Senate appointed the organization running the QuartiersAgentur Marzahn NordWest as the responsible neighbourhood management in the area. QA was established in 1999 in an on-site office. Once the socially innovative action to install a local neighbourhood management as a mediating agency was taken and the strategic action plan developed, one of the strategic decisions made on the local level by QA was to create the post of an intercultural mediator in order to address the action field — integration of the resettlers" (see figure 4: IM).

Furthermore, a member of the wider, super-local resettlers' community was appointed. Both came to play crucial roles in the process of integrating the resettlers in the neighbourhood (compare figures 4 and 5).

The Intercultural Mediator embodies some valuable social capital which has allowed him to link the resettlers' community and their organizations to the German institutions and local organizations through the creation of new intermediate bodies and linkages to the established channels of the QA. Together with QA, he proves to be a change agent in the development of the action in this field and helps to promote social integration in several dimensions. **Figure 4.** Lobby organisation of the resettlers from the former Soviet Union



** IM Intercultural Mediator

Source: authors

The IM is an active member of the resettlers‘ community, being a resettler himself who arrived in Germany in 1996. He is active in the lobby organization of the ethnic Germans from the former Soviet Union, the Landsmanship [*Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland*], is also a journalist and writes in newspapers published in Russian and with a resettler readership. What is more, being a member of the Christian Democratic Party he also has good links to predominantly German institutions in German society. As a member of the QuartiersAgentur, he is also has links to this organization and its networks. These networks not only include the District of Marzahn-Hellersdorf[14], the housing companies, local trusts[15], local public offices of the district and the local labour office, but also local residents who are active in the neighbourhood management process through Neighbourhood Conferences, Residents Board and Neighbourhood Jury. The relational network extends to the commissioning Senate Administration for Urban Development and other involved administrative units and through this organization to the national state level and the EU.

The radically innovative acts involved in creating this strategic post, the appointment of an active community member of the resettlers and his achievement in creating a true network bridge between them and the German institutions, challenge and to some extent alter the local power relations between dominant and minority groups. Alongside the projects dealing with labour market integration, and social integration with the —Germans“ in the neighbourhood, a range of social and cultural infrastructure organizations were created: the Free Forum, Vision e.V., Gallery KLIN, an art gallery for resettled and German artists, the Berlin German Russian Chekhov-Theatre, the neighbourhood centre AOA - Resettlers orient resettlers, the Memorial for displaced Germans in the Soviet Union and the periodical journal —Neighbours“. Through these organisations, the resettlers are linked to the larger resettler community in Berlin. Their political representation is enhanced through the open Free Forum where individuals from the community articulate their needs, develop their own resources and acquire public resources to meet them. Vision e.V. is a registered organisation for the political representation of resettlers on a super-local level. Its head is member of the Berlin wide advisory board for integration and migration. Here, political aspirations are carried forward to regional state level. The resettlers‘ participation in local welfare services as well as their access to the labour market has increased by the availability and use of the neighbourhood centre for resettlers, AOA, which establishes and maintains access to

[14] On the 1.January 2001, Berlin undertook a reform of its districts, most of which were fused with others to create larger entities. The District of Marzahn fused with that of Hellersdorf to become the new District of Marzahn-Hellersdorf.

[15] Local trusts are organisations that carry out welfare services on behalf of the District, and also local civil society organisations such as Local Agenda 21 groups and a tenants‘ organisation.

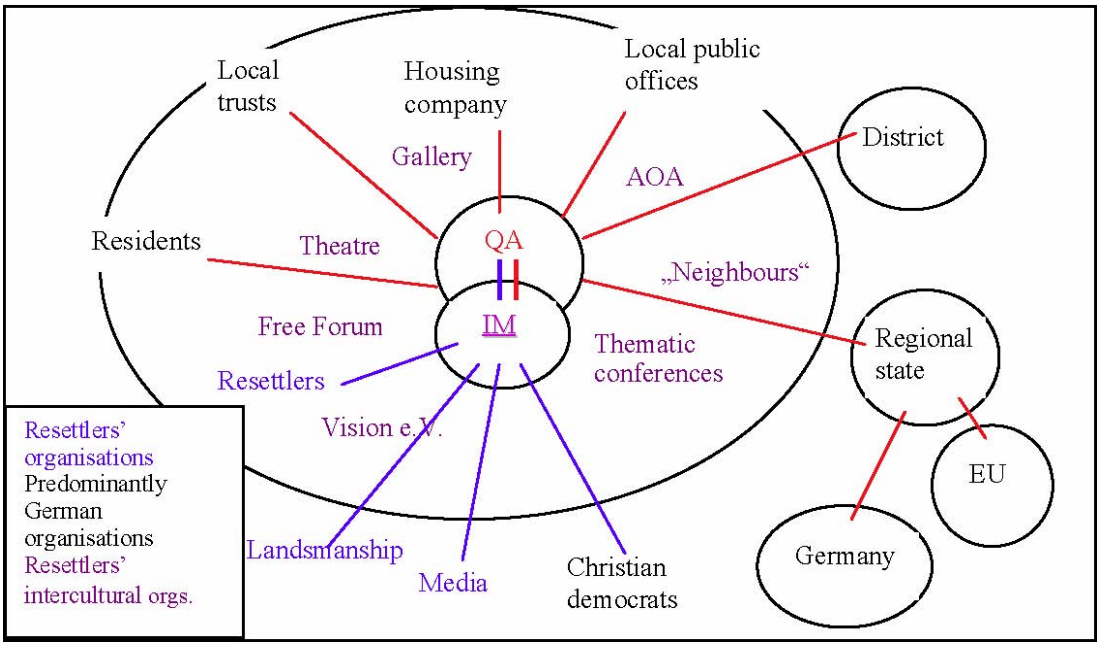
public organisations providing these services. The resettlers‘ cultural representation is promoted through the cultural organizations and the journal. Recently, through AOA, social interaction with Germans outside the neighbourhood has expanded.

2.4.3. Civil society development, change agents and institutional settings

After his appointment, the intercultural mediator (IM) started to organise the resettlers‘ representation in the neighbourhood management process. An established instrument for participation in neighbourhood management is the open forum, and following this model, the —Free Forum for Resettlers“ [*Freies Forum der Aussiedler*], was organised on a bi-monthly basis. This became a place for the articulation of interests, organization of action and foundation of organizations for the resettlers. Not least, especially in its early phase (in 1999 and 2000) it served also as a meeting place for Germans and resettlers.

Out of this forum emerged a number of organizations and places (see Figure 5) that have served the cultural, political, material, labour market and social integration aims of the resettlers. They act as intermediary organizations between the resettlers‘ community and German society and its institutions such as the District and higher level public offices. They assist in identity building and cultural representation of the group as well as improving access to the German welfare system. Vision e.V., a registered association, serves as a cultural and political platform for the community. It is linked to the Landsmanship of the Germans from Russia through its leader, who is also the deputy head of the Berlin Landsmanship branch. The association established a bi-monthly local journal in German and Russian, —Neighbours“ [*Nachbarn*], which again acts as both a cultural platform for the resettlers and a source of information about their history and cultural background to the local German community in order to counter stereotyping and stigmatisation. Artistic community members founded an art gallery and a theatre. Whereas the gallery is run directly by resettlers, the theatre [*Deutsch-Russisches Tschechow-Theater*] has a head organisation [*Kulturring e.V.*], a German run Berlin based welfare trust supporting cultural diversity and funded mainly by the Berlin labour offices and Districts‘ welfare offices.

Figure 5. Resettlers community mobilization for civil society



Source: authors

When, due to conflicts with the host organization, two stalwarts of the theatre together with their own teams, left the organization for more central locations, the success of the theatre declined sharply. Now the organization is even more dependent on the funding of personnel by the labour office or by the Districts' social welfare office with the even less stable programme of —Help for employment" [Hilfe zur Arbeit]. The theatre now offers a range of activities from language courses to health classes, lectures and, of course, theatre projects. Each activity symbolises networks of funding and cooperation with different local organizations and individuals. So far the premises have been rented using funds from QA, which cannot be continued on a long-term basis. Thus, the theatre seeks to become financially independent by means of increasing commercialization.

Another interesting organization in terms of local social innovation is AOA, a neighbourhood centre run by resettlers for resettlers (***A****ussiedler* ***o****rientieren* ***A****ussiedler* - Resettlers orient resettlers). Here, services that aid communication between the district welfare offices, especially youth and social affairs (including housing benefit), the local labour office, the health organizations and others, are offered on demand, and the clients receive legal advice on their rights and help with possible solutions in cases of dispute with the public authorities. The services are offered by resettlers passing-on their own experience of integration to benefit other community members. Today three women are the key performers in AOA. All of them received six months training, financed by the

local Labour Office through labour market insertion measures (*ABM*). While working in AOA, they established links to local job centres, both within and outside the neighbourhood, to the social welfare and the youth department of the district administration, to the local district office, and to local trusts with their own organisations in the neighbourhood. Language classes are also offered in AOA. Furthermore, a number of public meetings were held with community members and representatives of the respective organizations to discuss topics as they arose e.g. urban renewal and management of the refurbishment of apartments, and discrimination in accessing the labour market. The meetings are well attended and the services well used (about 400 people use AOA every month). When needed, AOA, as one of two available neighbourhood centres in Marzahn NordWest, also provides space for other neighbourhood groups and events. Recently, AOA has achieved some measure of social integration with local Germans through mounting and encouraging debate on, an exhibition about the former life and history of the resettlers outside the neighbourhood. All in all, this neighbourhood centre and the range of activities and services offered, help the integration of resettlers into the local welfare system, enable labour market access and provide language training. The position of the resettlers in the local institutional sphere is enhanced. Social innovation takes place through empowerment and the provision of new service content, and occasionally in the process of communication and decision-making when matters are debated publicly among resettlers and officials in the centre.

Public challenges to civil society integration processes

AOA is not only a most successful resettlers‘ organization of; it is also a controversial one. The social and employment affairs department in the district administration does not consider it a successful piece of local ”infrastructure‘. The department itself has been disempowered following Berlin‘s cut back on social infrastructure expenditure while at the same time it has to pay for rising numbers of social benefit recipients in the district, a large group of them being German resettlers. As infrastructure and welfare are also needed for the local Germans, the administration is unwilling to promote a double infrastructure. They want to mainstream infrastructure for efficiency reasons seeking in this way to abandon a specific resettlers‘ infrastructure, as proposed by the AOA in line with the migrant integration policy of the Berlin state (Beauftragter, 2003). This down-sizing is combined with a number of additional arguments to challenge the resettlers‘ institutional actions: the capabilities of the resettlers are stressed, especially in terms of social networks and self-help, as well as potential adaptation to a marginalised position in society. Demands for the help of the administration are rejected as this would characterise the resettlers as a group in need only, instead of stressing their potential:

> *I warn [you] to look at them only under the aspect of neediness, because as in any other social group, there is also a large share of not visible persons, who do not need help and who do not use help. Our problem consists rather of those who need and therefore use the help. (Head of Economic and Social Affairs Department)*

In this argument need and social exclusion are played down. The reason is that those in need pose problems to the office Which office? At the same time there is no solution available to provide resources to the needy and they are thrown back on their self-help capacities:

> *If you ask me, the only chance they have is self-employment. But not everybody is born for that. (District Officer for Integration and Migration)*

The officer suggests further, that the socially excluded in the resettler group should settle for a life of marginality. The QuartiersAgentur is criticised because it supposedly exaggerates the gravity of the situation in Marzahn NordWest. In order to legitimise the neighbourhood management‘s actions, the numbers of resettlers are manipulated and the reports written to show things as worse than they are. The District‘s report on welfare benefit recipients, one of the few sources with specific data on the situation of the resettlers, shows that they are twice as dependent on welfare benefits as the average in the district. Thus, this statement can be interpreted as mere rhetoric showing distrust and disapproval towards the QuartiersAgentur for reasons that might be grounded in the ”logic‘ of competition over resources. This distrust is in line with the claim of the District that neighbourhood management is needed more urgently in other localities of the district with similarly large problems. The existence of a double infrastructure, so the head of the social affairs department of the district claims, leads to segregation of the resettlers, and not to inclusion. Political representation of the group on their own behalf was unnecessary, the migrant officer claims, because having German nationality means they can use German institutions by integrating within them. To sum up, mainstreaming the social exclusion phenomenon decreases the resources available to the resettlers group. The lack of coherence in integration strategy between QA and the District is publicized to challenge the social innovation. The argument of withdrawal into a parallel society is used, and language deficits are considered one element in this process. As a consequence, the District denies support, but at the same time social innovation is stronger, both in content (service provision and systemic integration) and in material resources attracted from sources outside the district. The establishment of the network bridge of Intercultural Mediator, in combination with the communities‘ and QA‘s

resources has led to the development of processes that allow the articulation of needs and the consequent building of organizations to satisfy them. The density of institutions in the neighbourhood has been a useful resource in this process. By working together, individual organisations could mobilise the complex resource mix available to build further resources. At the same time, there is a dividing line between the processes in the neighbourhood of Marzahn NordWest towards the integration of the resettlers, and the actions of the district towards social integration in the district of Marzahn-Hellersdorf. There is no shared understanding of integration and possible trajectories towards integration between QA and the resettlers on the one side and the local civil society and the district authority on the other.

2.5. Conclusion

In this case study, the lead themes and resources of socially oriented neighbourhood development changed considerably through a) the introduction of the neighbourhood management programme into the context of the public policy —Social City" in the neighbourhood, b) the appointment of an agency as an intermediary in the area with considerable experience and power in the district and c) the approach of the neighbourhood management agency QuartiersAgentur Marzahn NordWest to the empowerment of the disempowered migrant group of German Resettlers [*Aussiedler, Spätaussiedler*] from the former Soviet Union. Valuable social innovation processes have been achieved locally. What made a difference within the political programme of redistribution of resources to the locality and to civil society was the empowerment of the resettler community and the mobilisation of its potential within the context of institutional density and the influential position attained by the new local intermediary office, the QuartiersAgentur Marzahn. Intense exchange of ideas in the community helped achieve improved accessibility to the local infrastructure and services (content dimension) for the resettler community and their local organizations. It also helped achieve the mobilisation of community resources, especially bridging social capital (empowerment dimension).

Locally, a resourced civil society develops and the resettler community stabilises. Strategic resources from this community could be combined with a strong network bridge acting as a change agent in cooperation with other elite members of the community, to form an organization with political leverage AND material resources (QA). In this way, a process of integration could be triggered which would be responsive to locally available possibilities for integration.

Still, overall the role of the neighbourhood in social innovation processes is limited. Not all processes of social exclusion can be countered; for example: work places are not usually created locally, the foundations of the education structures are laid outside the neighbourhood, and political opportunities are decided upon on higher spatial scales in face of the lack of any local social movement. In this case study what proved important to social innovation in society as a whole, is the controlled redirection of resources from the regional, national and European to the local level, and more directly, to local social groups, and the organisation of this re-distribution process in a way that includes marginal groups.

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Fieldwork

9 thematically centred Interviews with key actors in the urban development of Marzahn NordWest and the resettlers community development process.

Group discussion on the occasion of the SINGOCOM Local Workshop on Social Innovation in Berlin, Humboldt University Berlin, Jun 2004.

3. Butetown History and Arts Centre, Cardiff, UK.

Sophie Donaldson, Liz Court, Huw Thomas, Kevin Morgan and Stevie Upton - Cardiff University

3.1. Abstract

Butetown History and Arts Centre (BHAC) is about preservation, recognition and valorisation of the history and historical role of a poor multi-ethnic community within Cardiff. It challenges the silences and stereotyping of its representation and reception by the external world. Instead BHAC gives ”voice‘ to those from within, through exhibitions, publications and the wider use of archive material in the media and in education. Whilst focused on one local community, the wider aim - which involves sending material/expertise out to external audiences and drawing visitors in - is a vital part of its work. BHAC therefore seeks to intercept and engage with different dimensions of representation and the creation and reproduction of identity. Its work has had an impact on education in the region and some sections of the media, and is gaining recognition in the museum/cultural sector in the city, but more direct impact on the local political hierarchy is not evident.

3.2. Introduction and Chronology

This case study examines the development of a project in cultural politics, a project that has addressed concerns within what FRASER (1995) refers to as the 'politics of recognition', whilst seeking also to contribute to the politics of redistribution. The case study asks: why such a project could emerge when it did; why and how the focus on representation and identity emerged as significant and resonant with the desire to meet local needs in the locality; to what extent the project can be understood as socially innovative; and how far this innovativeness has changed over time. Figure 1 below gives a brief chronology to anchor the subsequent discussion.

Figure 1. Brief chronology of the case study

Date	**Event**
1987:	**Project starts as a community history course**
1989:	First exhibition
1992:	Move to current dedicated premises
2000:	Major grant from Home Office
2003:	Home Office grant renewed

Source: authors

3. Factual information on the case study

3.3.1. Neighbourhood profile

Demography

Butetown is located close to Cardiff Bay, the city's former docklands. At the 2001 census, of a city population of 305,353, 4,487 people lived in the Butetown ward. Of 864 wards in the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation, Butetown ranks 8th for child poverty, 14th in terms of income, and 31st overall (WAG, 2000). Moreover, in a predominantly white city, Butetown is the longest established ethnically mixed community, with many local families having arrived in Cardiff as the City‘s docks grew in the later nineteenth century (DAUNTON, 1977). Today it continues to be affected by international immigration, with new elements including asylum seekers. Whilst still 67% White, the ethnic composition includes Black Africans, Asians, Black Caribbeans, and Chinese, resulting in many different social worlds, albeit with overlaps, intersections and internal cleavages (HANSEN, 2002). The attendant social complexity of Butetown should not however be confused with disorganisation, for there is a history of community mobilisation and action that continues today.

History and relationship to the city's social framework

During the nineteenth century Cardiff emerged as a major provincial British city, in large measure due to the export of iron and coal from the city's docks. By the end of the century, the city's very size became a major factor in attracting further investment and activities. Despite the docks' importance to the city's existence, as early as the nineteenth century the docks business community was less involved in city politics than were representatives from the business and retail sectors (DAUNTON, 1977). With the long-term decline of the port, beginning in the 1920s, political disengagement of the docks area, and particularly of Butetown, from the rest of the city increased. This manifested itself physically in the development of the commercial and civic core a mile to the north and, as residential and commercial expansion continued in the north, east and west of the city, in the decline of public and private investment in the docks (THOMAS and IMRIE, 1999). Butetown also became increasingly socially disengaged throughout the twentieth century (EVANS et al., 1984). Few social networks crossed the boundary of Butetown and, as declining conditions prompted paternalistic philanthropy, so local residents were denied opportunities to express their needs in their own voice.

The racial heterogeneity of Butetown has resulted in low levels of racism in comparison with Cardiff more generally, and this has helped foster strong ties between many

residents and the area (Open University, 1996). However, from the nineteenth century onwards this heterogeneity was also used, from the outside, to stereotype Butetown as dangerous and exotic (JORDAN, 1988). By the post-1945 period, Butetown was suffering from overcrowding, poverty, and serious stigmatisation (LITTLE, 1947). The tension between residents of Butetown and state agencies, arising from the latter's regulatory and disciplining approach, is evidenced by local responses to the post-war slum clearances, which were regarded as a revanchist division of a supposedly deviant and dangerous community (Open University, 1996). Building on strong local ties, Butetown arouses a strong sense of identity in its residents that is defined in large measure by a rejection of externally-imposed values; for example, until recently a locally-born County Councillor stood as an Independent (ie with no political party affiliation, simply an overt identification as a ”local person‘).

Physical and socio-economic transformation

As a result of the radical rethinking of Cardiff's spatial structure, focused on the redevelopment of the dockland area, better tying it to the rest of the city, physical and socio-economic transformation has been ongoing in Butetown since the mid 1980s (THOMAS, 1992; 1999). A key instrument to effect this transformation was the Cardiff Bay Urban Development Corporation, (UDC) established in 1987 with the intention of injecting a sharper, 'leaner' approach into the development process, in contrast to the perceived bureaucracy associated with local government approaches (Imrie and Thomas, 1999). The UDC was committed to creating conditions suitable for private investment in office, leisure, and high-end residential developments; a commitment and approach which was inherited by the City Council when the UDC was wound up in 2000. This approach has had three notable effects on the residents of Butetown. Many small engineering firms traditionally located in Cardiff Bay have relocated or closed, as land is compulsorily purchased to make way for 'grander' projects (IMRIE, THOMAS and MARSHALL, 1995). Secondly, low paid service sector jobs in leisure and catering have become available, changing the pattern of paid employment. Finally, gentrification has created anomalous enclaves out of the Butetown housing estates. These changes have brought questions of identity and ownership to the fore, and there are consequently high expectations that BHAC will be able to address the cultural and material needs of the local community.

3.3.2. Butetown History and Arts Centre

The project: basic components

Butetown History and Arts Centre (BHAC) is a project initiated and managed in the voluntary sector - i.e. outside of the state and private business. It originated as an educational class concerned with local history, which collected taped oral histories. Now it is an organisation with a physical based, organises exhibitions of photographs, publishes locally written books, has a website, and digitised catalogue of photographs, and works with many schools throughout the city and beyond, in its wider hinterland. Depending on which funding it has managed to attract in recent years, it has had between 4 and 9 employees at any time.

Origins and development: a key individual

The key actor in BHAC's establishment has been (and continues to be) Glenn Jordan, the Director, a black US anthropologist who initiated the oral history project in 1987, and continues to drive and shape BHAC. Jordan has insisted from the outset that all BHAC activities be conducted to the highest professional standards, but with the involvement and ownership of local people, and that oral history (and other BHAC activities) should not be simply an exercise in remembrance and nostalgia. Whilst this may signal a proper respect for the area and its residents, it also suggests a consciousness of the area's fascination as a site for social scientific research and the need to create and use resources suitable for proper scholarship. However, this is a stance that can create tensions, for in effect, the approach and accompanying exhibitions etc verge on the continuation of the status of Butetown as spectacle for consumption by others. Although they remain important to BHAC's mission therefore, there has been varying success in maintaining connections with local residents.

3.3.3. Actions and results: success and tension

The project has gradually become more complex, encompassing the range of activities described, and significantly more secure. This process has been based on the receipt of modest funding - totalling approximately £7,000 annually -from the UDC and, subsequently, the local council, supplemented by grants from sources including the National Lottery Charities Board and European initiatives. More recently, significant funding, of over £300,000 has been forthcoming from the Home Office and the Arts Council for Wales. Seeking to become more financially secure has however prompted the pursuit of registered museum status; this requires subscription to various rules and regulations which may compromise its original vision.

By the standards of other community-managed voluntary sector projects, BHAC is undoubtedly successful. Survival, within recognisably the same goal and principles as it started with, is in itself an achievement, though, as suggested above, project-grant dependency equates to a perilous financial future and requires a significant time commitment to fund-raising by its members. Beyond this, the Centre has become part of Cardiff's cultural Establishment. For example, the Director is well known in media circles and the Centre is represented on a working party planning a city museum. Members are active in the Cardiff Civic Society, and up to nine part time staff (5.5 full-time equivalents) are employed at a given time.

3.3.4. Internal dynamics: responding to perceptions within and outside the area

BHAC valorises the history and testimony of a stigmatised population, responding to a need for self-esteem regarded by some (e.g. LISTER, 1997) as central to genuine citizenship. Whilst BHAC aims to work against the hegemonic narrative in Cardiff, there is a real danger that, in order to overturn this, the area and people still have to be presented in terms (cultural/aesthetic) which are acceptable to powerful socio-political interests - for example in making them objects of cultural interest and scholarship in a way which parallels the way they were pathologised by earlier generations of social researchers. This concern is manifest within the project as for example, resentment at the buying in of 'outside experts' to replace local volunteers. Indeed, ironically, a current lack of appropriate specialist skills locally, and of an interest in developing them, means that further community development links, via contacts credible with the local population, remains to be pursued. Similarly, funding difficulties, which are experienced even at the level of core costs, as suggested above, may also force subscription to Establishment mores in terms of modes of operation. Both these issues in fact come together in resentment at links to the University of Glamorgan - also vital to the operation of the organisation. It has seconded Glenn Jordan to the organisation and in return the Centre provides important study material for its courses, as well as access to potential students. Amidst these tensions, constructing an alternative local identity is not easy either. Altogether, attending to these tensions will require, as survival and development has up until now, continued social innovation.

3.4. Main dynamics of social exclusion / inclusion and innovation

3.4.1. Demanding recognition of Butetown: success and tensions

Evaluating the extent to which Butetown History and Arts Centre has met, and has the potential to meet, human needs in the area is complex. There can be no doubt that the project has gained recognition from the mainstream cultural-historical establishment for people largely written out of the history of Cardiff. It has achieved this by establishing its credentials as a professionally organised project which has unique access to certain kinds of material (it is very unlikely that many residents would give copies of family photographs and the like, or long interviews, to a non-community based organisation). It is inconceivable, now, that any history of the city sanctioned by major public bodies could ignore the lived reality of poor stigmatised Butetown residents in the twentieth century. This, in itself, is in marked contrast to the experience Glenn Jordan reported, in interview, of dealing with Cardiff Bay Development Corporation in the late 1980s, when it saw no place at all for a project like BHAC in its vision of the new Cardiff Bay. To the extent that such recognition provides increased self-esteem and existential affirmation (and interview and research evidence suggests it certainly does - see also THOMAS et al., 1996) then it addresses an important human need that has, historically, been ignored by political and market mechanisms in the city. In so doing, though, it runs the risk of materially presenting the area‘s history in a way which distances it from residents - the issue that BHAC constantly negotiates, explicitly rarely, but implicitly on a daily basis, is to what extent does professionalism in presentation and execution take images and memories away from old established residents as it inserts them into cultural milieux to which they are strangers.

The BHAC project struggles with resolving an inescapable tension. Its cultural activities have assisted the consolidation and valorisation of a social identity for local people which has helped them resist the politico-moral and (far less successfully) the material onslaughts of a market-driven regeneration programme which was initially entirely insensitive to their needs and values. On the other hand, the kind of ”constructive‘ interaction with political and commercial agencies needed to gain resources to sustain the project and its work within and with the communities of the area, requires a presentation of the area‘s history and social identity in a way which can alienate some local residents. The project is thus negotiating the terms of a dialectical relationship between helping define and meet social needs and mobilising and extracting resources. The tension does have a positive aspect: it keeps the radical potential of the project - its refashioning of contemporary and future social relations through mobilising an historical awareness of identity and injustice - at the forefront of the minds of those who manage

it, even as they sometimes despair (and argue) over perceptions of a drift from meeting local needs towards packaging the area for the gaze and consumption of an external audience.

3.4.2. Historically grounded identities and social mobilisation

The effectiveness of the project in altering hegemonic narratives about Butetown is sometimes questioned in these discussions. History shapes our view of the present, and it has been argued that the kind of acknowledgement of the past that regeneration agencies in Cardiff have been willing to undertake in recent years has been linked to a claim that past injustices belong to a different kind of society which has now been superseded (THOMAS, 2000). The recognition of the very existence and vibrancy of Butetown‘s past does not connect, in these accounts, to concerns about the current identities and claims to space of Butetown‘s residents. The past is presented as the result of mistakes not to be repeated, rather than as the result of socio-economic dynamics which might still be operating. Thus, important questions about how the (still poor and still stigmatised) residents of Butetown fit into the rapidly changing docklands, both culturally/existentially and materially, are bracketed off by this approach to the area‘s history. If BHAC has begun to change the web of racialised social relations, and the hegemonic narrative, which have defined Butetown and its residents as Other, then there is still some way to go.

This presents BHAC with a significant challenge, for the approach to history outlined above can only be addressed by a project like BHAC if that project develops two characteristics. First, it must develop the appropriate intellectual framework: it must emphasise the fluid, negotiated and provisional nature of social identity past and, crucially, present; secondly, it needs an appropriate material base with which to work in this case, working connections to the variety of social worlds in Butetown, including new residents (refugees and asylum seekers and young people in particular). With these in place, the project can help people explore what new identities and what new sense of place are on offer and are possible in the new spaces of consumption in Cardiff Bay. On this front there remains a great deal to be done. The Director and Chair have themselves concluded that the project has, if anything, reinforced rather than unsettled the simple binaries on which many residents‘ sense of identity was based (JORDAN and WEEDON, 2000).

This is consistent with the perception gained from attending exhibitions at BHAC, where the pictures themselves, and resident reactions to them, evoke a sense of solidity and fixedness about what was, and little attention given to what may be. This nostalgia is

consistent with, and generally acceptable to, the political project of market-led physical and social transformation of the area. Nostalgia does not sharpen critical faculties, and hence help emancipate. Moreover, it distances the residents from those outside the area - nostalgia provides no firm basis for political mobilisation which questions grand social and economic projects such as Dockland regeneration. This may be achieved by an historical understanding of the dynamics of racism, exploitation in the workplace and political exclusion (for they are also experienced outside Butetown).

3.4.3. Networking locally and regionally

Local networks have always been important in drawing people into the project, to encourage them to record their histories for the archive. Volunteers staffing the Centre draw on local identity/connections in terms of motivation and knowledge. Yet it also appears that until recently BHAC's main links are with the older local residual population, although within the city there is evermore interest from [often white] middle class people. This appears to have two causes. First, having multiple ethnic groups in an ever-changing population appears to be affecting the extent to which BHAC can engage with the community, as it is so segmented. Secondly, often the consumers of BHAC's output, and also founders of its work, are especially interested in the historical material which older residents provide. Recently, BHAC has raised its profile among younger people in the area with projects involving local youth organisations. But the organisation constantly experiences the tensions associated with helping construct positive social identities which have emancipatory/political potential and are meaningful locally (in this case for young people), while drawing material support from cultural-political structures outside the area whose own projects would be threatened by too radical a shift in social relations.

BHAC's success in beginning to penetrate some of the politico-administrative structures associated with cultural production and consumption contrasts with its disengagement from other community and political networks, within and outside the south Cardiff area. Whilst there are numerous voluntary sector initiatives operating in the area, it would seem BHAC is somewhat distanced from networks of these, perhaps because it and its work is seen as not directly meeting needs of the local community, compared with the more material-needs focuses of many local groups. Some interviewees claimed that the situation reflects the Director's desire to promote BHAC academically and intellectually, rather than linking it to wider community needs, comments which reflect the tensions in the project and its context referred to earlier.

We surmise that the sensitivity associated with any project which highlights the voices of people who have been grievously wronged for generations by stigmatisation and racism

structures BHAC's relations with the local and regional state. Engagement with formal structures is limited - there is a lack of overtures in either direction. This contrasts with other voluntary initiatives in the area, which are tying into the new agendas of, and opportunities presented by, the newly devolved Welsh Assembly Government. This detached relationship to The WAG may also reflect the problematical and ambivalent relationship Butetown has long had (has long had forced upon it) by the rest of Cardiff and Wales. This multi-ethnic neighbourhood has always related uneasily to debates about national identity, which have tended to revolve around the significance, or lack of it, of the Welsh language, and distinctive community life associated either with agriculture or heavy and extractive industry. None of this engages with the experience of Butetown's residents; and where and how they fit into a Wales now governed, in part, by an assembly legally committed to equal opportunities is no more clear. Butetown's residents, now as before, are by dint of the nature of their area more international in orientation and awareness than are those who govern them. More mundanely, the grant from the Home Office shows that BHAC has the kind of credentials (in terms of links to an ethnically mixed community) that appeal to state agencies wishing to address urban policy issues, but the Welsh governance context is perceived by BHAC as more fractured and opaque. It appears that the Director of BHAC has concentrated on sources of funding/support whose agendas and vocabulary he understands, and which can be related directly to the arts/culture mission of the project. It is in these circumstances that the de facto centralisation of BHAC - born of the drive, hard work and principled commitment of the Director and chair - can be counter-productive. Their limitations become limits on the organisation.

3.5. Conclusion

The Butetown History and Arts Centre's history illustrates the potential, and tensions, within a project of using social identity and a local social-philosophical tradition of self-help as a basis for recasting oppressive social relations in a city. Historical contingency has been an important factor, too, in the development of the project. Central to the founding and survival of the Butetown History and Arts Project as a voluntary/community sector project has been the vision, commitment and hard work of a small group of local and non-local people put together by a US academic. Their work and tenacity has won a response from, and in part grown out of, the direct experience and shared histories of significant elements in a neighbourhood that has been vilified and traduced for decades, and been materially and culturally oppressed. The social networks and cohesion of an area stereotyped as disorderly and threatening have provided the material basis (in the form of interviews, photographs and material culture) for BHAC to develop its programme of education, publishing and exhibitions. This programme, which recognises

and values the lives and knowledge of a stigmatised population, is, in itself, a rejoinder to negative stereotypes, and the necessary first step in the re-constitution of social relations in an unequal city.

Yet there are dilemmas and tensions which BHAC must address and negotiate constantly. These illustrate the dialectical relationship between the way social identity develops and is presented/performed and the politico-economic structures within which any project must survive. There is the need, for many reasons, to present its work to professional standards while not alienating the content of that work (nor the day to day work of the centre) from the very people who have provided it. Secondly, there is a need to celebrate the history and ways of life of a stigmatised neighbourhood while retaining a sense of identity as negotiable and in formation- today, as then. This should involve, among other things, constantly working to broaden the Centre's network of supporters; performance on this has been patchy. It also provides a basis for engaging with discussions and concerns about the changing nature of the area. This, too, has barely been embarked upon. Finally, BHAC faces the constant threat of being co-opted into the essentially conservative project of local managers of regeneration of resenting Butetown's past as a series of unfortunate mistakes, with an implicit line drawn under it and no connection to any social injustice of today.

In identifying needs associated with socio-cultural recognition and respect, and involving excluded groups in addressing them BHAC has been socially innovative. The degree to which it continues to be so will depend upon its medium term success in addressing the tensions identified above.

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Participant observation by Huw Thomas, who is an official ”supporter‘ of BHAC, was a Board member in the 1990s, and was recently re-elected to the Board.

4. Arts Factory, Rhondda Cynon Taff, South Wales

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4.1.Abstract

Arts Factory (AF) refers to both an organisation - an independent development trust owned by its members - and its two physical bases, which in turn provide accommodation for the community facilities and activities it runs, and a base for its various enterprises. It aims to provide for unmet needs in an area of economic decline - challenging resulting negative stereotypes and dismissive attitudes of hopelessness. AF provides opportunities for personal development, access to facilities, new experiences and social contact, through voluntary work, involvement in decision-making and participation in its activity programme. In doing so, it promotes self-respect and self-reliance at the individual and community-level, challenging the inadequacies of public sector provision and planning and dependency on external funders. A relatively recent

development, (originating in 1990) it refers to local traditions of mutualism, but also seeks to build something different, particularly working with ideas of sustainable development. AF therefore works within an independent frame of reference but tries to work with other agencies as necessary, drawing on local and wider networks of similar community-based organisations.

4.2. Introduction

This case-study is concerned with the socially innovative role of a multi-dimensional community-owned enterprise providing for otherwise unmet social needs, in the sense that it offers activities to participants, and services to communities, which would not be supplied by the market. It offers insights into how this role has been carved out, and its relations with the local and wider context. In addition, it discusses the nature of ongoing dynamics, both internal and external - and how these act to affect the development and impacts of AF. In doing so, it seeks to answer the following questions: (1) How, in an area of intense policy intervention, certain needs can still go unmet? (2) How, in an area renown for its Socialist political activism, has effective disenfranchisement of much of the population occurred? (3) How do the processes of resource definition and combination affect inclusion and exclusion dynamics? (4) Why is a continuing innovation dynamic necessary? Figure 1 below gives a brief chronology to anchor the subsequent discussion.

Figure 1. Outline chronology of the case study

Date	**Event**
1990	**Vales Community** Business formed.
1995	Ferndale base, Highfields Industrial Estate. AF name added.
1996	Garden centre opened at Highfields. First award. First free classes offered.
1997	First social audit. first organisation in Wales to do one. Launched campaign to secure the Trerhondda chapel for the organisation, saving it from the demolition that the Council wanted. British Urban Regeneration Association Award.
1998	**Trerhondda chapel** opened. dedicated building for classes and facilities for members.

2000-01 Wind farm (.Power Factory.) idea launched. joint venture with a private company to provide an independent income stream. Also the idea for Parc 21 - a sustainable business park, based on taking on the ownership of a local authority industrial estate. Ideally Highfields. The Welsh Assembly Government launch their Sustainable Development strategy at Trerhondda Chapel.

2002 Rewind, Pause, Fast-forward session. everyone involved in review of the organisation, leading to a new 10 year development strategy.

2003 Application for planning permission for the wind farm. rejected; appeal procedure invoked. The BBC featured Trerhondda as a good practice exemplar of viable redevelopment of an historic building in their series.Restoration. - viewed by 3 million people.

2004 Awaiting determination of the appeal by the Welsh Assembly Government.

Source: authors

4.3. Arts Factory in context: telling the story

Arts Factory originated in 1990, as Vales Community Business, and it was designed to provide work experience and training opportunities for people with learning disabilities through horticultural activities, led by two people who had previously worked for MENCAP, a charity specifically concerned with learning disabilities. The group wished to challenge their labelling and stigmatisation, which had condemned them to spend their lives essentially being ”looked after‘ in day centres, on terms defined by Social Services - local authority management and professional conventions. Instead, they wished to ”get out and do something useful‘ - which was to be to provide gardening services, often to elderly social housing tenants.

This seems to reflect (or in some cases foreshadow) a number of opportunities and wider developments. Firstly, there were moves to deinstitutionalise certain populations - the wider mental health movement of ”care in the community‘ (MEANS, 2003). Secondly, central government was promoting contracting-out of certain local authority functions (COCHRANE, 1993). Thirdly, there was coming to be recognition of a greater diversity of needs among local populations, (following the ideas of post-modernism and New Social Movements) as compared to more universal approaches to social welfare, further recognising that social exclusion is something different (only partially overlapping) to

economic development or regeneration needs (SANDERCOCK, 2003). Importantly however, these vague sentiments and broader movements were acted upon and operationalised, drawn together in a meaningful and material way in a particular context. Here the vision of the two leaders was crucial, a vision that had been grounded in their work for MENCAP, with its independent ethos and commitment to improve understanding of learning disabilities, and to work with those with learning disabilities to engender positive change in their lives. This then translated to the particular ethos of the group.

The work of Vales Community Business at this early stage additionally already made connections with other socially excluded groups - particularly the elderly or those otherwise unable to maintain their own gardens. Whilst this represented a business opportunity, it is easy to imagine how contact with such groups, and more generally working in a locality in which problems are also manifest both physically and in representations of the area/local people, came to result in a broader vision. This is based on an expanded consciousness of the problems faced, recognition of the commonalities as well as differences. Unpacking feelings of helplessness and hopelessness described locally, in an area suffering from the far-reaching and interlocking social and economic consequences of ”de-industrialisation‘, various needs were revealed, but equally, it was recognised that needs could be constructed as opportunities or resources. Out of this has arisen the numerous community classes and activities, some linked into individual social enterprises, tied into a broader agenda of enacting sustainable development and local empowerment.

A key element of this strategy has been establishing two physical bases for its activity - both involving the re-use of under-used, and in the case of the Trerhondda chapel derelict buildings, creating new life where decline all too easily was becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy. Moreover, the physical location of AF reinforces its philosophy of being a community-based enterprise because it is both highly visible to and extremely accessible to the local community in which it is based. This is in turn reinforced by the involvement of its members, which have rapidly reached 1300 in number, given the minimal £1 a year membership fee, in brainstorming new ideas, in decision-making and in volunteering. This reflects the belief that people are empowered through participating in their own transformation, harnessing local knowledge and ensuring local ”ownership‘.

The whole approach of AF signals the fact that it represents a radical break with the standardised and conventional community development schemes of the past and service provision by the local authority in general, which have been marred by the disempowering effect of the local Labour Party. This was returned to office in Rhondda Cynon Taff in June 2004, after losing the 2000 election, the first time it had ever lost an

election in the borough, having been in office for the best part of a century. It had created a Conservative Labourist culture, which viewed [and may still view] active citizens with a mixture of suspicion and alarm, and was generally perceived to be aloof, paternalistic and closed to new ideas, blind to real local needs (AMIN et al, 2002; MUNGHAM & MORGAN, 2000).

The Trerhondda chapel battle between AF and the local council in RCT was a perfect illustration of the conflict between a conservative local political regime and a dynamic social enterprise. The local council wanted to demolish the old building (one of the many nonconformist chapels which were once prevalent throughout the whole of Wales) on the grounds that it was deemed to be unsafe. In contrast AF wanted to renovate the building on account of its prime location in the community and to promote the cause of sustainable development (through re-use, community engagement). Eventually the AF campaign won the day and the former chapel has been reclaimed for the community.

A continuing struggle however has been for resources to maintain the range of activities that Arts Factory supports. Funding from membership fees is nominal, in line with its accessibility ethos, so Arts Factory relies on various sources each of which have their problems. For example, contracts from the local authority (e.g. for social care provision) and other purchasers (Job Centre Plus the state employment agency) tend to be aimed at specific populations (e.g. those with learning disabilities). Work done by its various individual social enterprises (e.g. graphic design, community consultation, landscape design and improvement) is expected to be at low cost because they are ”not for profit‘, whilst actually profit is essential but ploughed back into community facilities, and costs may be higher given the emphasis on social integration. Some businesses (e.g. a pottery) have consequently had to be shut down, whilst the inclusive elements of others has had to be pared back. The other main source of funding - project-funding, is also problematic, given funding criteria, and lack of funding for core, day-to-day costs, or to enable cross-subsidisation of other activities/business. Structural fund criteria excluded the funding of children‘s art classes for instance, given that the project did not directly pertain to those of employable age, although it is arguable that there is a long term link, whilst Lottery funding although providing for these classes, is not renewable unless a project is substantially different. Ultimately, Arts Factory also suffers from competition from the multitude of other initiatives in the region - symptomatic of wide neglect of needs by the mainstream - although it does try to work with them wherever possible, seeing value in collaboration.

Deriving from this situation, is the innovative and radical proposal to develop a community-owned Wind Farm (”Power Factory‘) - to be at once a solution to the

perennial struggle for resources and a key route to advancing the sustainable development agenda locally. This proposal aims to integrate the global and the local by contributing to the green energy needs of the country, a local initiative which helps to reduce global warming.

But the Wind Farm application was initially rejected by the local authority, largely on account of opposition from members and a small group of local residents rather than officers -indeed the officers were quite cooperative. A parallel proposal, to assume ownership an control of the industrial estate on which some of its activity is based, retrofitting it as an exemplar of sustainable building practices and resource management, (Parc 21) was also refused by the local authority, as its owners, seeing the site suddenly as an asset. This idea has at least been salvaged, with negotiations over an alternative site, closer to the proposed wind farm site, which would enable a further development -of a visitor centre to educate people about ”green energy‘ and sustainable development more broadly.

AF is currently appealing the planning decision over the wind farm, at the higher level of the National Assembly for Wales. AF hopes that its appeal to the principles of sustainable development will help its case, given that the National Assembly is legally obliged to promote sustainable development, through the Government of Wales Act (2000). It would be extremely ironic if this dimension was not considered carefully, given that the National Assembly launched its Sustainable Development Strategy from AF's renovated Trerhondda chapel building in 2000. AF has also been featured in various media with a UK audience, as an exemplar of good practice, which suggests set-backs forced upon it will have an equally high profile - perhaps it can use this as a lever to its advantage.

4.4. Main dynamics of social exclusion / inclusion and innovation

4.4.1. Spirals of decline and exclusion and the appeal of the community ideal

The Rhondda Fach valley, which is where AF originated, is typical of those areas of the South Wales coalfield where the economic base has been precarious since the 1920s, with precipitous losses of manual (male) employment since 1945, only partly off-set by new (female) manual jobs in light manufacturing sectors like the consumer electronics sector and more generally in the service sector (ADAMSON, 1999; Dicks, 2000). New investment in infrastructure has been undertaken with the aim of attracting employers who use road-based freight. Public transport remains poor. Consequently there is a network of relatively isolated linear settlements, with high levels of deprivation and, for

those with resources, increasingly economically and socio-culturally oriented towards Cardiff.

It is clear that these are areas where social and economic networks are likely to be under considerable strain. There are serious problems of alcohol and substance abuse with consequent health problems, under-achievement in school, racism (against a very small minority ethnic population); in addition, there is the continuous rather messy process of re-negotiating gender relations against a background of increasing female participation in the work-force. Yet the ideal of the community providing support, identity and discipline for individuals, appears to retain widespread appeal and to mark the distinctiveness of the valleys for many of its residents. This ideal has enormous political potency throughout Wales and for many people, a central social policy issue for places like the Rhondda Fach is how to retain/rebuild (depending on whether they are optimists or pessimists) community within them (REES, 1997).

4.4.2. Closed governance and narrow prescriptions

The tradition of governance in the Rhondda Fach, as in South Wales generally, in some (crude) ways prefigures the changes in local governance discussed so much in recent literature. South Wales has long been ”quangoland‘, or the ”Costa Bureaucratica‘, its governance having elected local authorities at its core, but buttressing these with a plethora of agencies and ad hoc committees drawing in private and (to a lesser extent) voluntary sector organisations. Central to the coherence of this network has been a shared prescription of the area‘s problems and the necessary solutions, that only a narrow stratum of active individuals be involved, and a hierarchical mode of operation that is ruthless in stifling dissent or questioning. This form of governance largely reflects the hegemony of cohesive, organised (male) labour in these settlements during the early decades of the twentieth century, yet it has persisted as a governance style, partly causing and partly resulting from the widespread alienation of the population from governance in all its forms (from elected councils through to residents‘ forums) (COWELL & THOMAS, 2002). It is a style which requires, and encourages, passivity on the part of the population at large, so that appropriate agencies (usually the local council) can deliver services to address problems they define and in ways they see fit. (MUNGHAM and MORGAN, 2000).

4.4.3. Meeting unmet needs - creating unmade links

Together these factors work to create a situation of multiple needs that go unmet, partly material and partly related to the configuration of social and governance relations and the ideals subscribed to. In providing very low cost, inclusive access to facilities and activities, AF has started to tackle many of these head on, opening the door to numerous people who are thus enabled to express such latent desires. AF offers opportunities for self-development - challenging labelling and self-concepts, increasing social contact and more simply, providing the platform to try out new and different things. Local involvement has apparently been immediately attractive, as soon as people are made aware of the opportunities it presents, whether by word of mouth, publicity events or by referral through various agencies. It seems to have ”gelled‘ around the campaign to save the Trerhondda chapel, and subsequently sustained by ongoing openness to ideas and regular review, ensuring continued viability and local interest.

Many of the needs that AF seeks to address are not well understood by local government agencies (eg that respect be accorded to disabled people and that local residents of deprived communities have a desire, as well as a right, to participate in their own regeneration) (AMIN et al, 2002). It has introduced new ideas into local political debates, ideas which go beyond the narrow concern of the traditional agenda to re-create community by achieving full employment and seeks to encourage a re-think of community as active citizen engagement together with just social and environmental relations. Significantly, it has avoided dependency relations with the local council, or any one other agency in the regional web of governance. This both provides space for these new ideas to develop and creates further value in proving the potential for self-determination and reliance through collaborative effort.

In these ways AF demonstrates an alternative - something that is making a difference where other agencies have not, both due to their lack of action and the way in which they conceive the ”problems‘ and ”solutions‘ (AMIN et al, 2002). It also however creates an implicit challenge to the established ”system‘ and this has often resulted in defensive reactions, particularly when AF has had to make actual contact and negotiate. AF is for example, accused by local councillors of not respecting the local democratic process, which is deemed to have given them a popular mandate to speak on behalf of their local communities (despite the fact that this ”popular mandate‘ is based on fewer and fewer votes because of ever lower voter turn-out in local council elections). This local political criticism conveniently misses the point of what AF is actually trying to achieve. Such narrow-minded thinking may obstruct the implementation of AF‘s ideals, but this and other difficulties (e.g. funding) will not inevitably lead to deadlock - AF‘s leaders have

exhibited considerable determination and resource in achieving the organisation‘s goals, even if the means have required flexible thinking (e.g. considering an alternative industrial estate for Parc 21). However, ultimate independence from the ”system‘ as currently conceived is dependent on it gaining planning permission and gifted buildings from the local authority. Constructive co-operation with the authority, beyond contractual relations, moves forward only slowly.

Beyond this engagement with the ”system‘ and attempts to gain consensus for AF ways of thinking, the other challenge is to ensure that AF‘s members (and wider circles) take on board its vision as well as what it offers at the individual level. AF produces newsletters, organises activities and has organisational structures which are intended to achieve this. Yet, many observers suggest (with a degree of schadenfreude) that AF works in ways that are, not dissimilar from the centralised approach taken by the agencies of governance that it deals with. This may derive from the need to provide sufficient leadership drive to negotiate difficult territories, as well as habitual deference to those that are perceived to be better educated with ”system-savvy‘. Over-coming these hurdles would seem to be a pre-requisite to really changing the direction and nature of local institutions, formal and informal.

4.5. Conclusion

In summary, AF began as a way of re-casting social relations involving a narrow group (those with learning disabilities) but in the context of a local political culture which has become increasingly paternalistic over the last hundred years. AF is now, de facto, challenging that broader culture. Through the influence of key individuals the project has drawn upon the experiences and inspiration of the mobilisation of social movements, such as the disability movement, from the 1970s onwards. However, in the towns of the South Wales valleys, which remain essentially one-class settlements, a concern for inequalities related to disability or age has not been at the expense of a continuing awareness of the significance of solidarity based on the lived experience of class in a specific place. AF has avoided over-reliance on the political elite and structures of its immediate locality, by engaging with networks of governance at regional (Welsh) level - which link it into UK and European priorities - and by cultivating a strong local base of support, through providing valued facilities/services and by offering opportunities for involvement.

In the south Wales context AF is an attempt to re-connect with a tradition of grass-roots activism which is revered as a memory (in trade unions, chapels, and welfare institutes) but has withered as a living reality for most residents. In doing so, it attends to human

needs that are social rather than necessarily material, although they may be provided for through the provision of things such as community education facilities, and the plans for a wind farm to provide for local electricity needs. These human needs are the need to participate in social activities, decision-making and action for change - to feel able to create positive change in one's own life and in the general quality of life of the community, and to feel 'of value' in various dimensions. It therefore challenges hierarchical social relations, including passivity and feelings of powerlessness amongst 'ordinary people', both directly though particular 'battles' and indirectly through proving new capabilities.

AF is regarded with suspicion by mainstream politicians in the locality. It is difficult to know whether this is because they fear that, in fact it is a new power base for the two principal actors in AF, or whether they fear the implications of a renewed interest and confidence in civic affairs among the population at large. Within AF the challenge is to encourage genuine power-sharing and democracy; there remains a sense that the dynamism and vision of the founders still leaves others in their wake. One of the features of AF has been its readiness to undertake new ventures, while retaining a commitment to principles of volunteer involvement and control. It is currently attempting to link traditional concerns about distributive justice and social exclusion with a concern to promote sustainable development in a very practical way. If this project is successful it may well stabilise AF's identity - this countering a concern in some circles that the enthusiasm and readiness for new ventures has sometimes blunted its focus.

The AF case study is particularly interesting in relation to social innovation for the way it (1) illustrates a sustained attempt to bring some of the principles of empowerment and equality associated with new social movements to activism in an area with a history of narrow class-based activism; (2) provides a practical example of linking the politics of environmentalism with the countering of social exclusion and meeting basic needs (for energy, for example); (3) allows us to investigate the risks associated with energetic social entrepreneurialism in a project where there is a genuine desire not to concentrate power within the organisation; (4) illustrates the ways in which shifts in governance have opened up opportunities for such entrepreneurialism.

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5. The main dynamics of social exclusion/inclusion and social innovation in the neighbourhood of Epeule (Roubaix). The case of the association Alentour.

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5.1. Abstract

The French case study examines the way in which the association *Alentour* (meaning *Surroundings*) is involved in the fight against exclusion in the neighbourhood of *Epeule* in Roubaix, the second largest municipality of the Lille metropolis. The specificity of this case study lies in the particular focus of the empirical work (in-depth interviews with privileged witnesses, enquiry by questionnaire with the inhabitants) on various aspects of the local community, including the construction of its identity, as a support for their shared values and a resource for local democracy and economic development.

Since 1993 *Alentour* has sought to contribute to meeting the objective needs of the inhabitants by reinforcing the social links at the level of the neighbourhood, seen as the only pertinent scale to communicate in the fight against social exclusion. Its method was to develop services of social support and mediation; providing work-places for the unemployed; involving them in local urban management; facilitating exchanges and dialogue with the local population, as well as between the local associative and institutional partners.

5.2. Introduction: L‘Epeule, the place and its challenges

This case- study was carried out in one of the neighbourhoods of Roubaix, the second largest municipality of Lille metropolis, situated in the Nord-Pas-de-Calais, France‘s most western border region with Belgium. From the second half of the 19th to the first half of the 20th century, Lille metropolis was a major industrial centre contributing to the rise of the national economy, particularly through its powerful textile and mechanical industries. Since the end of the 1960s, the entire Nord-Pas-de-Calais region has been seriously affected by the decline of the traditional industries. As a manufacturing city, Roubaix experienced an important foreign immigration, a group which first worked mainly in textiles, but then became fragmented by structural unemployment problems.

The first part of the paper describes the growing heterogeneity and instability of local social needs that represent a challenge for the bureaucratic social welfare models. Under

these circumstances, the way the third sector becomes involved in anti-poverty strategies as insertion-mediating agencies and partners in public policies is gaining more and more importance (MINGIONE and OBERTI, 2003). Consequently, in the second part, we explain what various initiatives, and especially *Alentour*, have contributed to improving neighbourhood inclusion. The paper ends with an analysis of the innovative content of the actions of this civic association operating in the neighbourhood of Epeule.

Four main methods have been used in this research: document analysis, direct observation, interviews with public and associative representatives, and a survey of the inhabitants. The key actors were interviewed first (semi-structured interviews): representatives of the City Hall of Roubaix, of the (district) City Hall of *Roubaix Ouest*, of the local associations, and other privileged witnesses (see *List of interviews*). About ten in-depth interviews were carried out in all. The interviews covered the following topics: objectives and evolution of the organization, relationships with others actors, exclusion dynamics in the area, inclusion dynamics, socially innovative content of the initiatives and measures).

The second stage of the empirical research consisted of a questionnaire carried out with the inhabitants (126 questions). The goal was to identify the needs of the inhabitants and to evaluate their degree of belonging to formal or informal social networks. The sample (150 inhabitants for the total population of 3200 households, INSEE 1999) was established by taking into account the following quotas (sub-sector of neighbourhood, type of housing, sex, age, cultural origin) for which 121 questionnaires were processed.

5.3. Exclusion and inclusion dynamics in the neighbourhood

After identifying the exclusionary trends and local needs by examining different sources of data, we explain the initiatives used to improve inclusion and how they have responded to local needs (focusing on the initiatives of *Alentour*).

5.3.1. Mechanisms of neighbourhood decline?

According to the co-president of the committee of the neighbourhood, poverty is especially visible in two specific areas (« zones de fixation »): the HLM (social housing) located on *Wasquehal* street and the insalubrious old housing in Alouette street, with a large concentration of immigrants —*sans papiers*" and of squatters. Moreover, *Epeule* remains one of the most popular neighbourhoods of Roubaix, all social functions being still represented there (commerce, work, leisure, sport). According to one interviewee, those with greater difficulties are the young and the inhabitants issued from immigration, the majority of whom are unqualified employees from local textile factories which are

gradually closing. The population covers an important social mix of inhabitants with very modest incomes, beneficiaries of social support but also some wealthy people, and represents a wide cultural diversity (French, Algerian, Moroccan, African, Asian, Portuguese, etc.). The quality of the housing stock is high, but unhealthy places, houses or —courées‟ remain to be renovated.

According to J-L. Simon, in charge of citizenship and local democracy problems at the City Hall of Roubaix, the gravest problem in the district is the exclusion of an important part of the inhabitants from the economic system in both its dimensions: production and consumption. He stresses the opposition between the traditional culture of workers (today confronted with unemployment) and the actual culture of young people who were never integrated into the work place (they have more and more aspirations to be consumers rather than to be workers).

Table 1. The main —problems‟ in the neighbourhood of Epeule

Problems in the neighbourhood / Cultural origins (117 respondents / 285 responses)	France (144)	Maghreb (48)	Europe (Medit.) (41)	Europe (other) (32)	Black Africa (9)	Asia (3)	Total
Closing of factories, unemployment	25%	33%	27%	23%	22%	33%	26%
Changes in commercial network: standardisation	14%	8%	17%	15%	11%	-	13%
Insecurity: driving, aggressions, burglaries	13%	8%	20%	8%	11%	-	12%
Lack of animation (sports, associative life)	11%	16%	7%	8%	33%	33%	12%
Dirtiness, noise	10%	11%	13%	8%	-	33%	10%
Lack of activities for children and youth	10%	12%	-	15%	-	-	9%
Lack of green spaces	6%	6%	-	8%	11%	-	6%
Physical abandoning of the neighbourhood	4%	2%	3%	8%	11%	-	4%
Lack of leisure infrastructure	5%	-	10%	8%	-	-	4%
Marginalisation of the neighbourhood	4%	4%	3%	-	-	-	3%
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: author‟s field work (notice: between the parenthesis, the number of responses)

The main problems quoted in the first place by the inhabitants (*Table 1*) are the closing of factories and unemployment, followed by changes in the commercial network (standardisation as result of the progressive disappearance of traditional stores and their replacement with Arabian shops), the lack of security infrastructures, the dirtiness (caused by people, dogs, and the harmful effects of the Sunday market), insufficient socio-cultural activity in the neighbourhood and lack of activities or protected areas for children and young people, the limited availability of green areas (closed, monopolized by young people and dogs or dangerous for children), an insufficient number of cafés, discos, cinemas, the run down physical nature of the neighbourhood (degradation of residences, walled houses [Maisons murées]) and the feeling of being marginalised.

5.3.2. Inclusion initiatives: the story of « Alentour » (ex - AME Services)

The birth of the association *Alentour* is connected to the activity of the association *AME* (*Association des maisons de l'enfance*), created in 1948 by the wife of the textile industry captain, Albert Prouvost. In the 1960s, *AME* was involved in the management of the residential collective facilities of the Roubaix-Tourcoing housing estates.

The progressive degradation of the social situation in the neighbourhood of *Epeule* drove the association *AME* to initiate in the 1990s a project around the *Local Plan for Insertion and Employment (Plan Local d'Insertion et d'Emploi* - PLIE), itself a policy tool initiated by the European Union, which has been implemented in localities across France. The PLIEs are instituted by municipalities, but they are also supported by other levels of government (Region, Department). This specific initiative was designed for those with significant socio-economic difficulties (long-term unemployed people or disadvantaged groups), including the training organizations, the "entreprises d'insertion' and the various associations It should be noted that in 1989, Lille metropolis was the first large area in France to create a PLIE and to organise the various actors and measures fighting exclusion and unemployment at the city level (URSPIC, 1999).

For six months in 1993, *AME* employed Vincent Boutry in Roubaix to develop and promote this project of social-economic intervention based on the *Local Plan for Insertion and Employment. In* 1994, he founded the association *AME Services* with the stated goal of providing economic activities for people in difficulty (the long term unemployed, the low qualified and people suffering from ethnic discrimination).

Table 2. Chronology of —Alentour‟ case-study

1948	The wife of textile patron Albert Prouvost creates the *Association des Maisons de l'Enfance* (AME).
1990	AME initiates a project of socio-economic intervention around the public procedure *Plan Local d'Insertion par l'Economique.*
1993	Vincent Boutry founds the association *AME Services* within AME.
1996	AME Services becomes the —maître d'ouvrage' of the European programme URBAN in the neighbourhood of Epeule (1996-1999).
1998	AME Services re-centres its activities at the scale of the neighbourhood of Epeule.
1999	*AME Services* takes the name *Alentour* and becomes legally and financially autonomous.
2002	Splitting up and reorganization of *Alentour*.

Source: authors' field work

From 1993 to 2002, the association *Alentour* offered the following services to the inhabitants of Roubaix:

The *social restaurant Univers* (initiated in 1993 in partnership with the —*Restaurants de Coeur*‟) which offers a lunch each day to those most at risk (about 70 persons: homeless, undocumented, alcoholics etc.), and several services: laundry, showering and bathing facilities, hairdressing and barber shops (since 1999). *Univers* also organises trips to others French regions or to the sea and other places/activities of interest (e.g.. afternoon dancing, competitions).

The service *maintenance-living environment*, developed in 1993 as part of the works entrusted to —Roubaix-Habitat‟ (social housing operator) and the City hall of Roubaix), consists of the maintenance of the common parts of social housing and communal buildings.

Other services proposed by the association were the *management of the municipal park of Brondeloire* (1998) and *domestic assistance* (1993). In 1995 *AME Services* was obliged by the —*Direction du Travail*‟ (—Department of Work‟) to reject the idea of *domestic assistance*, as it was considered to be in competition with the department's own services. Consequently, this service was discontinued and replaced by the *"reading-animation'* service.

The service *reading-animation*, initiated in 1995 (focusing on books), reaches 1369 children in 20 different places (schools, social centres, public parks etc.).

In 1996 René Vandierendonck, Mayor of Roubaix, proposed several solutions for the financial problems of the Association. Thus, he opened new perspectives for the —maintenance-environment of life" service and suggested taking advantage of the financial opportunity offered by the URBAN European programme. In 1998, *AME Services*, with the consent of the central City Hall, re-centred all its activities on the neighbourhood of Epeule (after carrying out projects at the scale of whole town of Roubaix), because the development of social bonds and dialogue need proximity (Boutry, V., 2000, "Entre projet et réalité, où en est *Alentour*?'. (Consultation document of the association *Alentour*). In 1999, at the demand of the employees claiming independence from the AME "mother' structure, the association *AME Services* adopted the name *Alentour* and became autonomous from a legal and financial point of view (e.g. until 1999 the financial activities of AME Services were carried out within the framework of AME).

In 1999, the personnel of *Alentour* consisted of 10 permanent employees, and 40 "contrats d'insertion'. The State funded 60% of the association's budget through the specific procedure *Local Plan of Insertion*; the remaining 40% coming from services to clients or specific complementary subsidies for precise actions (e.g. programme URBAN).

During 1996-1999, the association Alentour was the —maître d'ouvrage" of URBAN projects in the neighbourhood of Epeule. The objectives of this European programme were:

- The revival of commercial life and economic redevelopment (renovation of abandoned commercial spaces, the training of future tradesmen, transformation of the ancient enterprise *Roussel* into —hôtel d'entreprises").

- The improvement of the environment and of the social activities of the neighbourhood: creation of the *Brondeloire* park on the site of industrial waste lands, management of the park and its activities by one neighbourhood association, the revival of the traditional neighbourhood festivals.

- The development of local services: —reading-animation", the running of a day-centre for the homeless (—*sans domicile fixe*"), development of a service.

— maintenance-environment of life".

The URBAN initiatives tried to both establish and maintain the services and the local jobs created by *AME Services*, involved in all the projects mentioned above; however the results have been moderate, as Marie-Françoise Lavievielle asserts (De Angeli, 2000). The main difficulty for the association lies in lack of recognition of the social usefulness of its activities:

> *The activity of Alentour takes place in a still badly defined field, i.e employment with social utility, which makes dialogue with the institutions and financial partners difficult. The URBAN programme tried to facilitate recognition of the field, an objective which, apparently, has been only partially reached. (Marie-Françoise Lavieville, chargée de mission auprès du Préfet de Région)*

In 2002, the founder of Alentour decided to leave the project. The Administration Council of *Alentour,* with the consent of the City Hall of Roubaix and of the *Plan Local d'Insertion,* decided to reorganise the association to avoid the collapse of all activities and the dismissal of staff. The services *reading-animation* and management of the park Brondeloire were taken over by the central City Hall; the *social restaurant* and the *maintenance-environment of life* service became autonomous associations (*Univers* and *Astute* respectively). *Alentour* kept only one activity (the maintenance of communal buildings).

During an interview on September 11, 2003, Vincent Boutry explained the reasons (external, internal and personal) for his decision to leave *Alentour.* He saw his first external defeat, in the transformation of what he intended to be ”activities of social utility‘ into a banal ”entreprise d‘insertion‘:

> *My purpose was to build social links on the territory by developing social utility activities with the unemployed of the neighbourhood. (…) that is the first failure, after which, I could not continue any more. The idea was not to create just ”reinsertion, to change the personnel every six months or to try to « push » them into a company structure. (Vincent Boutry, September 11, 2003)*

The second external failure was the lack of real involvement from the local actors in the projects developed by *Alentour* in the neighbourhood of *Epeule*:

> *(…) We approach social links as starting from the territory, we have developed on a territory … but (the actors of the territory) don't care: to create activities and to generate jobs are the only important issues to them. (Vincent Boutry, September 11, 2003)*

Among the internal reasons for leaving, Vincent Boutry quotes the contradiction between two different discourses i.e. the training/integration of personnel and the social utility of the activities on the one hand, and the loss of trust, the increase in the number of employees, the financial difficulties on the other. He adds to this: the pressure from

inhabitants who saw the director of *Alentour* as —a guy who should give a job to all", and also some personal motivations:

> *(…) I'm a developer, not a businessman, and I didn't know how to structure, to organize the things in the given context (Vincent Boutry, September 11, 2003)*

5.4. Social innovation dynamics in the Epeule neighbourhood

The empirical research shows that the key actors never talk spontaneously in terms of social innovation and sometimes even criticize the concept. For them, new experiments are not necessarily innovating, but are indispensable in order to answer the needs of the inhabitants. Some of them prefer to talk about —interesting initiatives", starting with an idea from a charismatic leader who is capable of mobilizing actors and stemming from an interesting experiment, a good funding opportunity or from expressed or unexpressed needs of the inhabitants. Still, their definitions of innovation cover more or less the three dimensions that guided our empirical research: 1) answer to the needs of the inhabitants, 2) associating and involving the inhabitants in the projects and improving the dialogue between local actors, 3) improving the socio-politic capability of the inhabitants, so reinforcing their autonomy. Moreover, the actors highlight other dimensions that are important to take into account: innovation also needs to assure the durability of the activities, to listen to the inhabitants (—*être à l'écoute du quartier*"), to recreate social links through activities or debate, and to reproduce the experiment on other territories.

The inhabitants interviewed define innovation as something new, original, shocking, surprising, as well as something that allows the creation of social bonds. Most of the inhabitants quoted first the associative initiatives championed by the yuppies (« bobos »): *Fênetres qui parlent (Windows that speak)*, *La Plus Petite Galerie du Monde* (supported by a journalist of a metropolitan TV chain), initiatives of the association *Entre Deux Parcs*, or those of private parties, e.g. the restaurant *Le bonheur est dans l'assiette*. Let us target the final focus of this paper at the socially innovating content of the inclusion initiatives of *Alentour* in the *Epeule* neighbourhood (*Table 3*) in the context of the public policies started in Roubaix in the 1990s (*Table 4)*.

Table 3. Socially innovative features of the activities of Alentour

Initiative	Why?	How?	Innovative context	Empowerment struggle	How long the new was "new'?
The association *Alentour*, created in 1993 around the specific procedure —Plan Local d'Insertion et d'Emploi"	In reaction to the progressive impoverishment of the inhabitants of *Epeule*, strongly affected by unemployment	By proposing to the unemployed people of *Epeule* new local jobs with social utility	Reinforcing the social links at the scale of the neighbourhood by developing services of social utility and mediation getting jobs to the unemployed inhabitants, employing them in the locality. Urban management and facilitating the exchanges and the dialogue within the local population and between the local associative and institutional partners.	Struggle against social and economic exclusion of the local population.	In 2002 *Alentour* is divided into five independent activities for various reasons: the evolution towards a simple "enterprise of insertion', limits in terms of legislation, financial and managerial resources, loss of breath as to the initial idea to improve social links, etc.

Source: authors' field work

Table 4. Socially innovative features of the operations —Ville Renouvelée"

Initiative	Why?	How?	Innovative content	Empowerment struggle	How long the "new' was "new'?
The policies of urban regeneration started in the 1990s (Ville Renouvelée) benefiting from all important public and European funds.	In reaction to the loss of attractiveness of the city for investors and inhabitants.	Operations of revitalization of the territory consisting in commercial re-qualification of the city centre and of the North-Western neighbourhoods of Roubaix.	Reanimation of the commercial activity and the emergence of Roubaix as cultural pole by revalorising the commercial and industrial traditions.	Struggle against economic decline and physical degradation of the city.	Ongoing project: the first results of these investments are perceptible: Roubaix starts to regain its attractiveness and dynamism.

Source: authors' field work

Public policy and associative initiatives were a reaction to the textile crisis that began in the 1970s. While the urban renewal policies (often quoted by the inhabitants as innovative initiatives because they have an important impact on their neighbourhood in terms of culture, vitality, communication, and image) are focused more on commercial and spatial revitalization operations, the associative initiatives try to answer the social needs of the vulnerable populations of the neighbourhood in order to regain neighbourhood attractiveness for investors and for middle-class people. In fact, the public operations are more visible than the civil society initiatives and benefit from more significant funding, while the associative activities are always confronted with the scarcity of resources. Above all, the long tradition of industrial paternalism in Roubaix explains the widely shared consensus (highlighted by the survey) that it is the public sector (municipality or State) that must take economic and social development and integration measures.

In 1989, Lille Metropolis was the first agglomeration to create the specific procedure *Plan Local d'Insertion* (PLIE). The association, *Alentour*, created around this programme, tried to strengthen the social links in the neighbourhood, by creating new work places for the unemployed and proposing new services of social utility to the inhabitants, while the public policies tried to reanimate the commercial and cultural life of the city by valorising the commercial and industrial traditions of Roubaix. While the associative initiative, Alentour, has fought against the social and economic exclusion of the local population,

the urban renewal policies focused on problems related to economic decline, physical degradation and the image of Roubaix in the rest of the metropolis.

The urban renewal policies are ongoing and the first positive results have become visible, but the activities of *Alentour* split and regrouped in 2002. For the majority of institutional witnesses *Alentour* was an interesting initiative, which has been listening to the neighbourhood and which profited immediately from specific procedures and from available financial resources to achieve its goals; but it reached its limits in terms of legislation and financial and managerial resources, despite the efforts to reproduce the activities and to stabilise the created work places (it was also one of the objectives of the URBAN program in Epeule).

5.5. How socially innovative is Alentour?

Alentour has been instrumental in achieving three dimensions of social innovation as identified by the ALMOLIN designed by SINGOCOM.

Satisfaction of human needs. The empirical research highlights the multiplicity and heterogeneity of needs in the neighbourhood. *Alentour* has responded to the objective needs of the inhabitants: improving the standard of living (maintenance of communal and associative buildings, maintenance of the entries to the social housing (HLM) estates, management of the Brondeloire park), gastronomic needs (social restaurant), education (animation-reading service). It has also tried to recreate —social links" in the neighbourhood through the daily interactions between agents of maintenance and inhabitants of HLMs, between clients of *Univers*, and between animators-reading, parents,and teachers (dimension mediation).

Creation of jobs. Each service tries to build new local jobs: agents of maintenance and environment, reading animators, managers-mediators. The association has also tried to assure the training of people having difficulties (inexperienced young people, the long-term unemployed, persons with a low level of qualification, poorly skilled women) and to consolidate the jobs created.

Governance. The association *Alentour* tried to work with all local partners. It participated in the various thematic commissions inherited from the framework of the procedure, *Développement Social des Quartiers*: youth, animations and festivals, *Atelier Projet de Quartier*, commerce etc. But, according to Vincent Boutry, these commissions, started and organised by the partners of the neighbourhood, work only on specific actions and very rarely become lasting issues of debate on the elaboration of common policy, based on common diagnosis and shared objectives. *Alentour* also worked alongside the

neighbourhood committee, responding to its demand to organize debates with the inhabitants, but this collaboration is now reduced to a small circle of neighbourhood militants, who do not possess the force and capacity to mobilize the inhabitants.

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6. The end of social innovation in urban development strategies? The case of Antwerp.

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6.1. Abstract

In 1990 a partnership including the City of Antwerp, its Social Welfare Agency, the Flemish Employment Agency and other actors of the civil society set up an organisation called **BuurtOntwikkelingsMaatschappij** or **BOM** (Dutch for ”Bomb‘ and acronym for Neighbourhood Development Corporation). This agency which was mainly driven by civil society organisations and partnerships, developed an innovative integrated area strategy against social exclusion first in the North-East Antwerp neighbourhood, later at the South Edge where it acted as local project developer and facilitator of relationships between different actors, projects and funding institutions; BOM also prepared one of the first neighbourhood development plans in Flanders and is now designing and implementing a socio-economic renewal strategy for the Northern Canal zone. In this way, BOM has succeeded in putting neighbourhoods characterised by multiple deprivation processes on the political agenda; institutions at various spatial levels (EU, Region and City) have recognised the quality of BOM‘s socially innovative approach. But over the last few years, powerful socio-political and economic-political forces in Antwerp have produced significant U-turns in urban policy making; these now endanger the continuity of social change in its neighbourhoods. Today, after fourteen years of successful application, the concept of ”social‘ neighbourhood development seems to have become politically incorrect, for not fitting the logic of city marketing and market-economy based urban development designs.

6.2. Introduction

This paper relates social innovation to patterns of reaction against social exclusion. It defines —civil society“ as —this relational sphere of (re-) construction of social links and of recognition of the Other that satisfies or gives expression to these human needs that are met [neither] by State nor by the market economy“ (CHRISTIAENS, 2003). Particular attention is given to the innovative neighbourhood approach of BOM and its relationship to the broader political and civil society at different spatial scales (City, hinterland, Region, EU). The case study examines how BOM arrived at its views of neighbourhood

[16] We thank Bie Bosmans, former coordinator of BOM Antwerp, for her useful comments on a previous version of this manuscript.

development in the particular socio-economic, territorial and institutional context of Antwerp during the last twenty years. How has interaction between City hall and civil society organizations (like BOM) evolved over the years? To what extent can BOM initiatives and organization be considered socially innovative? Has this innovativeness changed over time?

6.3. Urban renewal and community development in the merged metropolis (since 1983)

In June 1982, with its first Decree for City Renewal, the Flemish government provided cities with financial support for improvement of the housing stock and reconstruction of the public domain in deprived neighbourhoods. Moreover it imposed on inhabitants in these —urban renewal areas"[17], involvement in participatory decision-making through the establishment of —steering committees". By decree in 1983, the first Flemish Minister of Culture ended subsidies critical to grassroots-oriented neighbourhood initiatives which were implemented mainly by volunteers from radical groups of intellectuals from the student and the May 1968 movements. The Minister replaced the existing system with professionally organised and project-oriented structures for Community Development Work (the Institutes for Community Development). These organizations were officially recognised as —project work focused on direct solutions for the collective problems of neighbourhoods, districts and regions with the participation of the inhabitants […], but with special attention to the most vulnerable groups". They wanted to —give voice to the inhabitants, mobilise their capacities in order to resolve their problems in partnership with other instances" (RISO Antwerp 1986). In this approach, neighbourhood development is considered as just one important task among others (e.g. quality of life issues, housing, jobs, diversity, education), and the City is no longer considered as an adversary but an ally.

The vision developed in the Global Antwerp Structure plan and adopted by the coalition of the "merger city'[18], for the first time highlighted neighbourhoods outside the historical inner city and within the 19th century industrial belt and recognised them as —urban renewal areas" (Antwerp City et al. 1990). Fifteen areas were selected and a programme established of over 100 projects for improving the public domain and 40 (small-scale) social housing projects (WITTOCX, 1994). In each renewal area the newly established Antwerp Regional Institute for Community Development (RISO [19]-1984) supported the

[17] The so-called —stedelijke herwaarderingsgebieden".
[18] Originally Antwerp City Hall wanted to consider only the inner city as —renewal area" and preferably without participation.
[19] Regionaal Instituut voor Samenlevingsopbouw.

participation projects. RISO immediately stated a number of problems; the absence of migrants from steering committees, insufficient means for participation (through the steering committee), the absence of clear agreements about procedures, budget and timing, the lack of objective criteria for delimiting correctly the renewal area, the purely techn(ocrat)ical and procedural approach adopted by civil servants and finally the lack of motivation, collaboration and coordination of some public partners with hidden agendas. This situation led progressively to distrust of politicians by the inhabitants. After the merger of the municipalities of the Antwerp urban area into one City in 1982, the political disempowerment of the more remote communes and neighbourhoods became even more acute. RISO also criticised the fragmented and purely physical project approach which excluded a socio-economic vision of neighbourhood development policy, the limited effect on socio-economic revival in the area, the danger of real estate speculation and of expulsion of lower-income groups from the neighbourhoods through gentrification (VERHETSEL and CEULEMANS, 1994); they also underlined the difficulties experienced by projects both in starting up and achieving visible results (VAN MAELE, 1994; BAELUS, 1996). In short: the valorisation of deprived neighbourhoods and the participation of their inhabitants did not seem to be a political priority for City Hall (RISO Antwerp 1984; 1986).

6.3.1. The birth of BOM in 1990

To overcome the lack of objective criteria in the definition of urban renewal areas, the University of Antwerp committed itself in 1986-87, to a project aimed at mapping social deprivation in the city. This —Atlas of Deprivation" (MARYNISSEN et al., 1987) provided an analysis of the distribution of urban poverty and a cartographic tool for the next Antwerp Global Structure Plan which aimed at a global city development strategy based on a clear vision. The Atlas came at the right moment: in October 1988, after the first inroads by a right wing party20 into traditional socialist strongholds, tackling inner city decay was high on the political agenda. An action plan developed, funded by the King Baudouin Foundation and based on the conclusions of ”Atlas‘. The EU‘s Third Poverty programme (1989-1994) offered a unique opportunity to organise neighbourhood workers to test a more integrated approach to neighbourhood development. It was supported by the BOM public-private partnership, officially founded in April 1990 (VAN HOVE, 2001; Koning Boudewijnstichting 1995). Born into a context of distrust between politicians and civil society and of disbelief that RISO‘s bottom-up participation approach would produce tangible results, BOM promoted boost (—impulse") projects selected on

[20] Vlaams Blok - the so-called —“black Sunday“.

the basis of development potential, expected multiplier effects for the neighbourhood, and opportunities for partnership and funding. Instead of the purely physical public domain City hall projects of the 1980s, BOM favoured and launched specific economic projects as engines of development (e.g. the NOA business centre, a neighbourhood enterprise incubator in the North East); these projects were always consistent with other strategies of training, participation, housing. The integrated approach was essential for BOM in this period (Moulaert 2000).

6.3.2. BOM's influence on neighbourhood development since 1990

The recent socio-economic history of the Antwerp neighbourhood development approach consists of three different periods, each influenced in varying ways by the parallel evolution of funds (EU, federal or regional), successive political majorities in City Hall and changing relationships with civil society organizations. The first period, up until the elections of 1994, was experimental. The second (1995-1999) showed a mature cooperation between the City and its civil society organizations. In the third period (from 2000) the level of distrust between the City and these organizations increased. This became especially visible with the City's retaking the initiative in neighbourhood development - after leaving it in the hands of civil society for nearly ten years.

At the beginning of the 1990s (till 1994) only a few Antwerp civil society organizations (such as BOM, RISO) were really active in the development of deprived neighbourhoods; City Hall limited its socio-economic policy to meagre financial support for them and for representative institutions of the private economic sector, e.g. the Chamber of Commerce. The programme for the regeneration of North-East Antwerp, the most deprived Antwerp neighbourhood[21], was developed under the overall responsibility of BOM, thanks to funding by the Third Anti-Poverty Programme (DGV-1989-94) and the setting-up of an Urban Pilot Project (UPP-1994-96). In 1994, BOM progressed its action-oriented approach into a neighbourhood development plan, the first in Flanders[22], by integrating the different sectoral strategies and involving different actors (NIEUWINCKEL, 1996; BOM and SOMA 1995). Although on the one hand BOM enjoyed great freedom and autonomy in taking a range of innovative initiatives in this neighbourhood[23] and on the other hand the City limited its role to service provider of European funds, BOM did succeed in attracting greater attention for neighbourhood development from City Hall

[21] The neighbourhoods Stuivenberg, Dam and the north east of Oud Borgerhout.
[22] These plans provide a global framework for the projects and combine territorial with community perspectives. The objective is to plan, organise and coordinate the different initiatives and interventions within an area and for a certain period of time..
[23] See below.

itself, as well as from the economic partners. Recognised as a —model alliance" and cited as —one of the most inspiring multidimensional and socially innovative neighbourhood development projects", the BOM approach does seem to have influenced two financial sources of the second period (1995-99) -the URBAN I philosophy of the EU and the programme of the Flemish regional —Social Impulse Fund" (SIF) (Flemish Community and Antwerp City, 1996).

The 1994 municipal elections resulted in a new and blatant electoral and political victory for the Vlaams Blok. With 28% of the votes the far-right supplanted all the traditional democratic parties, became the major political force in Antwerp and the strongest party in the new City council (18 seats out of 55). A new (and difficult) coalition was formed with four democratic parties24, forced to collaborate if they were to stop the rise of the Blok. This majority became aware of the availability of large funds for neighbourhood development and recognised the success of the BOM-approach25. At the beginning of this legislature ('95-"97), the City, BOM and other organisations collaborated in the elaboration of neighbourhood development-plans or new programmes appealing to SIF 1 or URBAN I-funds, and which had a clear vision of an integrated neighbourhood development process and a multidimensional strategy focused on target groups within a few deprived neighbourhoods. But increasingly, the City sought to both integrate and manage the variety of projects, human resources and financial funds[26]. To this end, in 1995 the Alderman of Social Affairs reactivated a small, unimportant, urban, non-profit organisation called SOMA or Stedelijke Ontwikkelingsmaatschappij (City Development Corporation)[27] and made it responsible for the planning and development (financing and realisation) of the various projects in the Antwerp North area (SOMA 1994, WITTOCX and al. 1994; VAN MAELE, 1994).

At the end of 1997, BOM completed the majority of its projects in the North East, received financial resources (especially SIF 1) to spread its approach and moved to the South Edge, a neighbourhood with different development challenges located outside the first city belt. It is not clear whether this move was a conscious choice by BOM or the

[24] The local council is re-elected each six years. The number of councillors is dependent on the number of inhabitants. As greatest city of Flanders, Antwerp has the maximum allowed this is 55.
[25] See: below in the following section.
[26] It is the expression of a second strategic initiative of the new City team called —City in Movement" (1995) (De Rinck F. and Vallet N. 2003).
[27] Inspired by the experiences of —City on the River" (Stad aan de Stroom), SOMA was born in 1992 as an independent, mixed and dynamic tool for the development of the 19th century belt of Antwerp. It's Council and Board of Directors is composed of members of the council, the mayor, public servants and aldermen and some external consultants. The steering group is also composed of social workers active in the neighbourhoods. The planning team is a multidisciplinary one of 5 persons and coordination is assumed by the head of the City Planning Division (Wittocx 1994).

result of political pressures; some felt that BOM had acquired too much influence on the political agenda. Within this period, three other neighbourhood development-plans[28] were worked out by SOMA and the City services, but without the involvement of BOM[29].

In 2001 the far-right wing confirmed its position as first party in the City council and the former majority was renewed - still isolating the extreme right party (”Vlaams Blok‘) from the city government[30]. For the first time, the City government decided to assign the competences (and the financial resources) of urban development to the Alderman of spatial planning and public works; previously the Alderman of Social Affairs was responsible for urban development projects. He succeeded in attracting most city development funds to his own services (Business Unit Civil Affairs) and non-profit organisations (SOMA and CISO), which left the four new aldermen (City Patrimony and Human Resources, City Development, Community Building and Social Affairs) trying to claim more control of these growing funds, representing annually about 50, resp. 60 million euro from 2001, resp. 2003 and forming a special —team of city development“ in order to make the political and strategic choices in a coherent way.

This team of four aldermen continued its attempts to integrate civil society organizations within its strategy and developed a growing ambition not only to be the —managing director“ but also the unique —executor“ of urban development projects; it argued that there were enough competencies inside the City‘s own administration to achieve in the future what BOM had undertaken at the beginning of the 90s. By doing so, the local government refused to reconcile administrative control through agreements (including clear delivery criteria) with constructive collaboration with the civil society, which is better suited for these tasks because of its local knowledge and integrated action experience in specific neighbourhoods and for specific targets groups. Nevertheless City hall recognised the importance of more flexible organizations (SOMA and later VESPA) working alongside the —regular“ City administrations to manage the increasing number of strategic projects, and it carried through a clear shift from —integrated“

[28] From 1995 to 2000 a neighbourhood development plan was realised for the deprived neighbourhoods: Antwerp-North (95), Oud-Borgerhout (97), Oud-Berchem/Groenenhoek (98) and Deurne-Noord (2000).

[29] The last one for the South Edge was developed by the city services without the participation of all the actors in the picture.

[30] During the elections of 2000 (for the period 2001-2006) the far right wing has the most seats (20). The democratic parties constituted a —cordon sanitaire“ and refused to create a majority including this party. The number of Aldermen depends on the number of councillors. Besides the mayor (socialist) there are 10 aldermen in Antwerp (3 Socialist, 2 Christians, 2 Green, 3 Liberals). The Vlaams Blok is, however, protected from the political power in Antwerp. The proportional representation system implemented in Belgian municipal elections makes it necessary to establish coalitions in order to find a political majority in the council. The commitment of all the democratic (traditional and new) parties to implement a strategy of the ”cordon sanitaire‘ and to unite in a ”democratic front‘ made it impossible for the Vlaams Blok to find a partner for governing the new city council.

neighbourhood development focused on socio-economic disparities, to —integral"[31] and sectoral city development of all the neighbourhoods within the City districts, with a particular focus on real estate operations.

The tendency towards more visible and physical interventions and the pursuit of more security and wellbeing for the city as a whole was influenced by the new political context. The increasing power of the far-right and the changing criteria of the funding programmes -from a socio-economically oriented URBAN I to a physically oriented URBAN II and from an impulse policy against exclusion by SIF-fund to an urban policy meant to stop the city exodus by a new regional City fund - led to turn-about in urban development policy (DE DECKER and LOWMAN'S, 2003; LOWMAN'S, 2002 and 2003; BOUNDARY, 2003). Defending the view that the SIF-funds should not be used to finance the working of NGOs, the new City fund was reduced by 25%. The new objectives for more security (e.g. against juvenile crime) and hard physical investments were at the forefront of the new federal urban policy (Grootstedenbeleid-2003) (Antwerp City 2002). This led to the progressive disappearance of the social dimension from the core of urban projects development policy. While the classic (repressive and preventive) safety approach[32] became top priority on the political agenda, a vicious ideological discourse emerged in political and economic circles which considered that —since [for] fifteen years the City had made enormous investments in many social projects, the —social boys" have had enough opportunities, while in the meantime economic development was neglected and Antwerp lost its position on the world map". In short —it is time to build, to score with prestigious projects and to communicate about these new achievements[33] and the rest will follow"[34]. Therefore large-scale "hard' projects meant to transform abandoned manufacturing and infrastructure sites (such as Petroleum South, New South or Railway North -SOMA 2002-) into new urban spaces interwoven with the surrounding neighbourhoods became the real new drivers of city development and were supported by most of these new funds.

In March 2003, because of financial scandals involving the improper use of credit cards, and under the instigation of the far right opposition, first the City secretary, the local tax officer and the police chief and later the whole City government, resigned. Most of the non-profit organisations (especially SOMA) were criticised for their lack of democratic

[31] If « integral » refers to the technocratic process of planning resulting from the sum of the different sectors and in a top-down (imposed) participation, —integrated" refers to the participatory planning philosophy where the social, the economic, the physical planning are integrated and more than the sum of its parts and resulting in a governance structure in which all the parties are represented.
[32] By the creation of nuisance, called —overlast" managers, —white tornado's" for the public sanitation etc.
[33] —Toespreken" instead of —inspreken", meaning: more speeches than participation about this projects.
[34] Such as expressed f.e. in interviews on TV by the president of the Chamber of Commerce of Antwerp.

control[35] and fell into disrepute; the impression persists that they were scapegoats[36]. The audit following the revelation of malpractice led to the design of a new administrative structure that became operational in June 2004. The City administration is now based on two pillars (ANTenne 2003): regular activities led by the City secretary's office (day-to-day operations); and strategic activities led by the Strategic coordinator for integrated city development projects. Acquisition of funds and management of projects will no longer be the responsibility of VESPA, the real estate service of the City established in 2003, but will come within the competence of one —strategic cell" inside the City administration, under the sole responsibility of a Strategic coordinator[37]. Appointed for the period of the legislature, this person has the hierarchical authority to claim, from the various departments in the city administration the human and financial resources needed to accomplish the targets on the —Mayor's short list"[38].

Pushed by the Flemish government and aware of the lack of coordination amongst the 114 urban projects of various scales within the city (Antwerp City 2003, b), the new political team is seeking a —harmonized" (or —streamlined") vision of city development through a new Antwerp Structure Plan, which uses a purely spatial approach[39], and which has no formal link with the integrated approach of the neighbourhood development plans launched by BOM or elaborated by SOMA. City Hall had developed a strong aversion to these neighbourhood plans, considered as too theoretical and too expensive, and decided to halt their implementation and to close its neighbourhood development division.

6.3.3. Evolution of five decades of neighbourhood and city development in Antwerp

This overview of the last decade shows that Antwerp neighbourhood - or city - development policy shifted from caring for peripheral neighbourhoods and returned to its core business. This evolution occurred differently but in parallel with City hall's changing attitude towards civil society organizations. The determining factors in the long-term transformation of urban development strategies and policies were the multiplication of

[35] An autonomous municipal enterprise is a public enterprise in which the majority of the Board of Directors is constituted by councillors, guaranteeing democratic control but which is functioning autonomously for commercial and economical activities (freed from the municipal and regular procedures). A non profit organisation is a private organisation which can be governed by people independent from the City Council, while an urban non profit organisation is defined as a non profit organisation in which more than a half of its budget comes from city subsidies and more than a half of its Board of Directors is constituted by politicians or public servants of the City.

[36] This disrepute of civil society organisations is also visible in European and in Flemish funds.

[37] It is considered by Filip De Rinck as the third strategic initiative in the Antwerp city.

[38] The priorities of the political government agreement.

[39] As consequence of the division of territorial linked and the community linked matters to the regions, resp. the communities.

and the increase in supra-local funds, the changing criteria and distribution keys for their allocation, the prevailing ideological discourse about economic positioning of the City and urban safety, the changing composition of the political majority and party political considerations, the personal agendas of some politicians and finally the presence or absence of a powerful lord Mayor.

6.4. Main dynamics of social exclusion / inclusion and innovation

The historical overview allows us to put into perspective the different BOM projects and to analyse the changes in its organization model and its relations with other parallel innovative organisations of Antwerp civil society (such as RISO, VITAMINE W, etc.) and with the private market sector (Chamber of Commerce, port authorities etc.).

BOM sprang up in reaction to the economic, socio-cultural and physical decay of the most deprived Antwerp neighbourhoods; those with high unemployment (especially of young and poorly educated people) and with housing and community (co-existence) problems involving minority groups (migrants, elderly, young isolated people, illegal immigrants, asylum seekers, homeless). It acted against the reluctance of the private-capital sector (property owners, enterprises, etc.) to invest in these neighbourhoods; but also against a sectoral, fragmented urban policy focused almost exclusively on physical interventions in the public domain and on a mostly repressive or demagogic approach to security. Instead of the overly categorical approach of community development organisations in the 1980s, BOM favoured an integrated area approach. In addition, the lack of dialogue and the growing distrust between City government, its administration and the different users (and their associations, internally and amongst themselves), especially since the merger of Antwerp municipalities into one City, led BOM towards a renewed neighbourhood development approach based on partnership.

For BOM this integrated action against poverty through the 3 P‘s (project development, partnership and participation), which it inherited from RISO in the 1980s, has a clear territorial dimension and the neighbourhood plays an important role both as a social network and an action space for vulnerable groups, fragilised by a lack of self-help and trust (MEERT and al., 2001; SOENEN, 2003; BAELUS, 1996). BOM has promoted the concept of integrated area development (I.A.D. as systematically analysed in MOULAERT, 2000) by grouping and integrating resources - actors, funds, sectors of intervention and projects - in order to improve the living conditions of the most deprived (mainly the long-term unemployed, people living on welfare and young people with learning difficulties), to reintegrate them into society and the economy through customised training and

individual counselling, and to reinforce the economic base of the district (NIEUWINCKEL, 1996).

The determination to maintain its autonomy with respect to the political world, its role as social incubator and as pragmatic neighbourhood project developer distinguishes BOM from the classical social work organization and from the sectoral approaches such as those applied by VITAMINE W. At a wider scale VITAMINE W favours the employment dimension of socio-economic integration, and minimises the role of the neighbourhood[40]. As opposed to RISO's approach of the 1980s, BOM's participation model is more project than process oriented (VAN POTTELSBERGHE, 1997) and focuses on short term visible results in order to regain trust (Koning Boudewijnstichting, 1995, p. 21).

From 1990 till 1997 BOM worked on the —four W" dimensions of basic needs in the North-East neighbourhood: —Wonen, Werken, Weten, Welzijn" (Housing, Work, Knowledge and Wellbeing) and achieved multidimensional projects in line with the Integrated Area Development strategy and within three action spaces: economy, housing and the socio-cultural life of the neighbourhood (DEMAZIÊRE, 1996; MOULAERT, 2000).

The emphasis on actions to improve the socio-economic base of the area represented a clear break with the inner city policies of the 1980s, which focused almost exclusively on environmental and housing improvements. It was the first time in Flanders that the business community (group Leysen via Anbema, VKW, Centea, Mercator, local Chamber of Commerce) had been directly involved in an urban redevelopment initiative of this kind. The flagship project, the NOA Business Centre, was the first to be set up in an inner city context rather than in an economic growth area or business district (Eurocities, 1994). This project allowed BOM to stimulate small businesses and to encourage labour market integration measures in the North East Antwerp area. Side effects of the projects include a labour market orientation scheme (—WerkWijzer") which is now widely applied in Flanders.

An important element in its success and one showing a high demonstration value was the partnership which BOM formed with the Flemish Service for Employment Mediation (VDAB), which recognised —Werkwijzer" as a pilot action for locally based job counselling and gave it vital support. By engaging in activities with a local partner, the VDAB discovered that its services could be made more accessible to the local population and to marginalised groups that it had previously failed to reach.

[40] F.e. building block renovation.

From 1998 and according to the URBAN I criteria, BOM has worked in the South Edge of Antwerp, in three interlinked domains: employment, mobility/environment and socio-cultural organization.

In the North East neighbourhood, considered as an economic desert, BOM succeeded in launching typical economic pilot projects (such as NOA) and offered solutions to its core problems. However, in the South Edge it partly failed to start up economic neighbourhood/social economy activities, to generate important multiplier effects for neighbourhood employment or to involve private partners (Chamber of Commerce, Telepolis) in its initiatives, such as Cosmolocal, Outfort or CEON. Cosmolocal was shortlived and did not survive its business plan and a short conscious-raising action. Outfort was transmuted into a Cooperative Association working on the revalorized site of Fort 8 in Hoboken, a municipality of Antwerp, and mainly involved in organizing outdoor training, professional and educational training, seminars and also fesitivities. CEON is a fairly recent project focused on sustainable entrepreneurship and whose future is still uncertain. In addition the so-called —Neighbourhood Management Enterprise of the South Edge" (BBBZuidrand) hosts five work experience (or —learn-as-you work") projects for selective domestic waste collection (in high rise social housing), ecological construction, remover logistics, restoration and refurbishment works. In order to put the neighbourhood onto the public agenda, BOM produced a neighbourhood report (BOM 1997, 2000, 2001, 2002) and videos about the specificities of the neighbourhood ("Zuidrand op Band' or the "South Edge on Tape') and organised a large-scale cultural event called —City Dreams". It also implemented public relations oriented projects in the public domain: e.g. —4x4" consists of socio-cultural interventions on the crossroad of the four parts of the neighbourhood, and of publicizing positive messages and drawings from the South Edge area on the trams travelling to the centre from the South.

Seeking to relate to the social specificities of the South Edge, BOM created a youth meeting place (called "Backspace') with cybersp@ce, and a dog-walking service for the handicapped and people living alone (Stadsbeest or "Urban Animal'). Whereas the Woonwijzer (Housing Consulting) constituted a real answer to the housing problems of the North East Antwerp neighbourhood, BOM was not really innovative in the social housing domain in the South Edge which is mostly monopolised by social housing cooperatives and whose partnership with BOM was limited to technical and logistical support. Figure 4 shows that the integrated character of the South Edge area development disappeared progressively with the transfer of most of their initiatives to the City or to other private organizations. In the following section we will analyse this specific tension.

6.5. BOM‘s social entrepreneurship and innovative power

From 1990 to 1994 BOM grew in the North East neighbourhood into an organization of 45 employees and a budget of about 1.5 million / a year, of which 0.2 million euro came from the EU and the rest from the seven partners and various public authorities.

In the period from 2000 to 2003 BOM worked in the South-Edge with about 1.250 million-euro per year, all coming from SIF2-fund. Quite successful in —subsidy technology", it managed to triple this amount, thanks to the European URBAN 2 fund[41] and the funds from City government.

Its own culture of independence made BOM attractive to young motivated professionals —who want to work for the City, but not on the City (administration)". In 2002, eighty persons were employed (40 subsidised in Work Experience Projects and 40 with contracts for an indeterminate duration). Nevertheless, in 2003 the resources coming from the former SIF2-fund, now controlled by the City Fund, were halved. As a consequence, BOM had to release some of its staff and its financial dependency revealed itself as a weakness.

From the start BOM attempted to cooperate in a significant and useful way with some sections of the City administration, the Welfare Agency, the GOM, the Chamber of Commerce, the Flemish Service for Employment Mediation (VDAB), and succeeded in activating most of its founding partners within a dynamic governance structure. In the South Edge, despite new partnerships with the local Welfare Agency and some social housing cooperatives (which are numerous in this area and considered as real — baronies" or party political - Christian or Socialist- potentates) etc., BOM was less rooted in the neighbourhood and transmuted into a social enterprise of young and dynamic professionals.

Overall, the BOM(B)-IAD approach can be characterized as socially innovative by its determination to recreate a dialogue between actors inside the neighbourhoods through the launching of governance dynamics (catalyst function), to provoke zest to re-invest the neighbourhood (re-animation and impulse function), to reveal new needs (pioneer function) and to create new ways of co-operation (empowering function) through projects which developed progressively into independent entities (engine/motor function). To make these projects autonomous, BOM created new agencies (e.g. Social restaurant, ATEL, NOA) where it kept the role of administrator and provided logistical support. Some

[41] The City would have lost this URBAN2 fund if BOM hadn‘t introduced this programme because the City was busy with SIF 2.

functions it has handed over to City Hall (e.g. Woonwijzer) or shares with friendly associations (e.g. Werkwijzer or Work Experience Projects with VITAMINE W in the building sector).

As a pioneer organization it was easier for BOM to succeed in laying out and propagating the IAD model in North East Antwerp than it was to replicate it later according to the specific needs of the South Edge or to consolidate and make the projects self sufficient. Moreover the influence of BOM in the neighbourhood development partnership decreased for a number of reasons (see Figure 5) and culminated in real incapacity in City hall to use BOM according to its specific skills (IAD) and in an unwillingness to define the limits of power and responsibilities for each partner (VERZELEN, 2002).

Fundamentally, there is total opposition between the philosophical backgrounds of City hall and civil society‘s BOM: City hall believes in the importance of the middle class (especially because of its financial share in the tax system), is obsessed by the principle of —each inhabitant is equal before the law“ and strives for visible short term results, while BOM commits itself to positive discrimination and sustainable development strategies for deprived neighbourhoods and deprived people.

Progressively in both areas (but more especially on the South Edge) BOM had to reckon with institutional dynamics and had to confront some important internal tensions among its original objectives. On the one hand, BOM promoted an —integrated“ area or bottom-up oriented development of economic and socio-cultural (so called ”hard‘ and ”soft‘) functions in specific neighbourhoods and for specific target groups (a positive discrimination approach) needing new impulses for action; on the other hand, BOM adopted a non-paternalistic development approach (—give them not a fish, but learn [teach] them to fish“) which pushed BOM to make its innovative projects self-sufficient (without losing their specific qualities) and to compromise the IAD model. For example, by its choice of centralising all economic projects in the NOA business centre and by profiling it as a separate non-profit enterprise, BOM weakened its economic standing and thus the constant interaction among the (economic, social, physical, etc.) domains which exemplified the specific quality of BOM‘s integrated approach. Moreover by handing out some initiatives to friendly non- profit organisations or to the City, the real danger was a slide away from the original (social) objectives and a loss of the neighbourhood dimension. For example, the Woonwijzer was a counselling centre in housing regulations, subsidies… for target groups who wanted to invest in housing restoration in specific deprived neighbourhoods; but nowadays being in the hands of the City, this service is present in each district and available to each inhabitant, but has lost its specific social target.

Launched originally as —triggers‟ (or boosts), the projects had to be consolidated citywide while the resources for newly generated ideas (at a new location) had to be guaranteed. The increasing scale of the organization, with the energy needed for this proliferation, its logistical and financial support as well as the quality control of these initiatives appeared paramount and threatened its innovative capacity. Therefore, BOM decided recently to return to its core impulse activities by means of a division of labour: the launching of pump-priming projects on the one hand, and project management and development on the other. VITAMINE W, as a project development organisation, experienced similar problems so together they now intend to delegate these management tasks to a new holding structure called Groep B&W (B&W or Buurt & Werk, Dutch for —Neighbourhood and Work‟). However, as the recent past has shown, there is a real threat that this cooperation with Vitamine W will finish off the neighbourhood dimension of BOM, and also its status as an independent organization

6.6. Conclusions - The end of local innovation?

Our analysis has revealed how Antwerp urban development policy has experienced a number of waves which are highly dependent on the socio-economic and institutional dynamics of the City. As a reaction against the functionalist will of city sanitation in the 1960s, City Hall became preoccupied, in the 1970s, by the revalorisation of its historical centre. Moreover after the merger of Antwerp municipalities in 1983 and under pressure from the action oriented neighbourhood groups and community development professionals, urban policy focused on some particular renewal (gentrification) areas of the 19th century belt. From 1990 onwards, attention shifted to the most deprived areas, those particularly affected by the results of restructuring of the urban economy and its harbour. Socially inspired by these groups and professionals, and financially supported by European and regional funds, the local government pursued a social inclusion policy[42] in concentrated areas[43]. It progressively adopted the —integrated‟ neighbourhood development and positive discrimination approach to deprived neighbourhoods and groups, as generated by the newly born civil society agent BOM. During this period most community development, neighbourhood and work provision organizations (RISO, BOM, VITAMINE W) enjoyed increasing recognition. As of 1983, the centralised City administration had developed a strong planning tradition which seemed incompatible with the new neighbourhood approach. Confronted with negative socio-economic scores, increasing public debt and growing dissatisfaction among the population cleverly manipulated by the extreme right wing, City hall favoured, especially from 2000 on, an

[42] So called —achterstandsbeleid“
[43] The so called —aandachtswijken“ or “concentratiebuurten“

—integral‟ urban policy focused mainly on real estate projects and generalized neighbourhood consultation. The priority list for each neighbourhood was established by each new District authority, as outlined in the new devolution to the nine city districts Increasingly, civil society organizations had to cope with the City‛s —divide et impera‟ policy or with a campaign intended to discredit them. The advent of the new regional and federal City Funds managed by VESPA and, later on, of a Strategic Cell in the city administration, increased the influence of the —physicalists‟ of the ”70s and early ”90s and of the —safety obsessed‟ pushed at them by right wing. The social dimension at the core of City hall‛s project development approach has disappeared in favour of a market oriented growth policy44 for the whole city. A social wellbeing model had to give way to an economic welfare model (Antwerp City 2000).

After 14 years of BOM activity, first rooted in North-East Antwerp, than un-rooted (or less rooted) in the South Edge, the city authorities seem unaware of the innovative capacity and the specific role of its civil society organizations in coping with these challenges; neither the public sector nor the private sector are willing to invest totally in the neighbourhoods where needs are most acute. Convinced that —what the City undertakes, the City undertakes better‟, it favours a territorial division of labour rather than a real partnership with its civil society organizations and inevitably it could not avoid a fragmented —sectoral‟ (so called —integral‟) approach instead of an integrated area and project development one. Its organic resistance to institutionalisation has pushed BOM to consider moving again to a new working area, the Canal area (BOM 2002)[45]. The future will tell whether BOM‛s activities will be (de-) rooted in this new working space, whether it will rise to the challenge of a partnership with Antwerp‛s largest employer and its economic engine, the Harbour (and the Canal) enterprise, whether the recent reorganization of the City administration (Strategic cell) and of BOM (as a project development office) will result in a closer, well defined partnership and whether the City will be able to integrate both the territorial and the community objectives of neighbourhood development planning (Nieuwinckel, 1999) into its next Global Strategic Structure plan.

[44] In Dutch : —marktgericht groeibeleid“
[45] See figure 1

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7. How do you build a shared interest? Olinda - a case of social innovation between strategy and organizational learning

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7.1. Abstract

Olinda is both a voluntary association and a social cooperative that was created with the aim to transform a large, closed psychiatric hospital in the northern suburbs of Milan into a more open and therapeutic environment for patients as well as for ordinary citizens of the whole metropolitan area. This paper divides Olinda‘s history into three stages: in the first one we find a group of vocational trainers able to expand practices of vocational training without focusing on patients‘ weakness but on their capabilities with and effort to —co-produce“ mental health. In 1995 they created Olinda Association to mobilize more human resources for the vocational training of the inpatients. In the second stage, in 1996 Olinda organised a big summer festival (with music, sports, theatre, etc.), to include many groups of the third sector and to involve different local authorities. During this first festival, thousands of ordinary citizens entered for the first time within the hospital, the space of the hospital became a stimulus for collective action and part of the wall around the hospital grounds was symbolically removed: the festival legitimized Olinda‘s therapeutic innovations and enabled ongoing debate over the continued existence of the psychiatric hospital which had long been earmarked for closure under a national law. In the third stage, Olinda started up an —Impresa sociale“ (social

enterprise), in an effort to combine services for the city with services for mental health care: multiple activities in the buildings of the former hospital - a restaurant, a carpenters‘ workshop, a bar, and a hostel - were established and are still functioning and developing, as well as the yearly summer festivals. Olinda used conflicts within and outside the organization to advance public discourse and raise visibility regarding their decisions and actions. This case shows:

(1) the role of outsiders with new ideas, skills, and social capital and, especially, how bringing different types of people together can generate new insights, developments, possibilities; (2) how much sociability and cultural productions/events are really a turning point in building a shared interest in innovative action; (3) the relevance of the effort to give legitimacy and dignity to those who were previously outcasts; and (4) the importance of always involving the public administration and creating innovative institutional arrangements. This case also shows that not all innovative behaviours are strategic. Olinda not only learned from its strategies because of its resilience but also through the creation of a reflexive organization that created organizational learning tools, and by not avoiding contradictions.

Table 1. Chronology

1978	The law 180/78 concerning the reform of Italian national psychiatric services is approved
1992	The future leader of Olinda involves the Local Health Unit to launch a experimental project of vocational training (VT)
1994	The project of VT starts with the of the Lombardy Region and of a large VT organization (EnAIP)
1995	Olinda is created as a voluntary association
1996	The first summer festival (A Midsummer Night‘s Dream) is organised
1998	The social cooperative La fabbrica di Olinda (Olinda‘s Factory) is created. The Open Horizon - Employability project starts
2000	The Psychiatric Hospital is closed
2001	Two EQUAL projects start
2004	Two new EQUAL are approved

Source: authors

7.2. Main Dynamics of Social Innovation

What is interesting in this case study is how a narrow innovative practice in the mental health field has grown up and evolved into a broad social innovation46. Looking at the processes of social innovation, we will see three main stages: the first one is the period devoted only to VT; the second is marked by the organization of the first summer festival; the last is the longer one that starts at the end of the first festival and it still going on, linked with the elaboration of the main features of social innovation. Each one of the three stages is a different action arena[47], with different patterns of interactions and different outcomes that could be evaluated in terms of social innovation. In this section I will look at each of the three action arenas trying to stress the dynamics of social inclusion/exclusion and governance in relation to different innovation regimes.

7.2.1. Innovation within the Psychiatric Hospital (PH)

To grasp the main dynamics of innovation in this action arena, it should be remembered that a PH is a place that renders its inmates powerless and increases their chronic dependence upon the institution (GOFFMAN, 1961). It is also a place that gathers those refused or abandoned by other institutions of social assistance: people who are impossible to deal with, chronic patients, people with accumulated problems (MAURI, 1983). The mental hospital is an institutional device that tends to provide self-justification and make itself indispensable. Against these backgrounds, Olinda's path was not an easy one, due both to institutional difficulties connected to the de-institutionalisation of the mental hospital and to relationships with the surrounding neighbourhood.

The first innovations in the Milan PH coincided with the arrival of a psychiatrist from Rome, experienced in the VT for people with mental problems, as well as involvement in

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[47] The concept of action arena is currently used in different approach in social sciences to analyze and explain actions and mechanisms within both formal and informal institutional arrangements; for a very good introduction, see Cefaï (2002). I use this concept in the way it is developed within the Institutional Analysis and Development framework. Apart from focusing only on one arena and taking the variables specifying the situation and the motivational and cognitive structure of an actor as given, this approach stresses two additional steps level of analysis. One step digs deeper and inquires into the factors that affect the structure of an action arena. From this vantage point, the action arena is viewed as a set of variables dependent upon other factors. These factors affecting the structure of an action arena include three clusters of variables: —(1) the rules used by participants to order their relationships, (2) the attributes of states of the world that are acted upon in these arenas, and (3) the structure of the more general community within which any particular arena is placed" (Ostrom E., Ostrom V. 2004: 116). The second step helps moving outward from action arenas to consider methods for explaining complex structures that link sequential and simultaneous action arenas to one another.

the network of the Italian renewal of psychiatric practices, the so called —de-institutionalisation‟ movement. The arrival of a leader from outside the narrow Milan mental illness policy sector is a main feature of this first stage. He brought his own skills, experiences, and social capital. He was in a legitimate position to *propose* innovative activities. In my judgement, his arrival enabled at the same time

(a) the constitution of a new team interested in the exploration of new therapeutic practices, notably linked to the VT; and (b) the definition of the situation of the PH as problematic, opening a phase of observation and study on how a change can be carried out within the institution.

It seems to me that these two dynamics conjointly produce a process of —enrolment‟ (CALLON, 1986). In our context, enrolment means that the actors will define each other‛s roles. The leader from outside and his first team, as innovating actors, faced redefinition of the other actors they tried to include in a policy network, or the intervention of actors they wanted to exclude. This led to the formation of an alliance with some of the institution‛s doctors and social workers, with some market entrepreneurs, a few university professors and people from the show-business. It was not a big network, but it had boundaries/ramifications? Completely different from the traditional Milan advocacy coalition network for mental illness policies and services.

So what are the main features of innovation in this arena? Notably, Olinda began transforming people belonging to the circuits of social assistance from passive beneficiaries into actors. Olinda‛s work within the walls of the former PH consisted in transforming services that —respond to a request‟ into services as processes of capability building, taking care to —give legitimacy and dignity to requests that are unexpressed, submerged, not ”deserving‛ of attention, [considered] too unsuitable to be taken up by the functional and selective network of usual services‟ (BRICOCOLI, 2003). In addition, the services adopted a posture of —doing with‟ rather than —doing for‟ to make the valorisation of some of the personal competences of the former in-patients possible. In this sense we can say that, rather than recognising needs, Olinda recognises rights and precisely a particular type of right: the right to exercise (to cultivate) capabilities. For those deprived of the status of actors, stripped of subjectivity and presence on the economic, political and even social scene, the capability of action (SEN, 1992) cannot be assumed but is treated by Olinda as a resource to be supported.

7.2.2. Involving Interests in a Generalization Process

In my judgment, the main problem that arose in the first action arena is that people, while they were acting, had to justify the reasons, means and goals of their practices. Or better, Olinda practices were so innovative, to provoke problems of legitimization. Enhancing the degree of legitimisation of a practice requires a justification as the legitimacy criteria of such an innovation had not already been established. So Olinda had to cope with a problem of coordination with the other actors in the PH, trying to align evaluation criteria. Olinda tried to do this connecting its practices with the experiences lived in Gorizia, Trieste and other PH by the —Basaglia movement" (BASAGLIA, 1987). But this connection was weak and disputable - as in every innovation/exploration, which has not a high degree of legitimacy. So what happened? In this second action arena we will see how Olinda broke away from the narrowness of therapeutic codes (and disputes), by fostering a —generalization process" (BOLTANSKI, THÉVENOT, 1999), a process able to build a higher level of generality, giving public-ness to its activities. This was the outcome of the first Festival that can be seen as an accomplishment of collective action in the building —co-production" (OSTROM E., 1996).

In the first stage there were few actors involved. Organizing the festival was a test to mobilize and in some sense also represent a larger population of actors. The interest in this action arena is that because of the apartness of the PH and of the narrowness of the former policy network, there was not a shared interest that could involve citizens to discuss and criticise the PH. Quite so, there were no social actions and transactions that generated externalities (like troubles and noise for the neighbourhood) and indirect consequences affecting as a public the population outside the PH. Without any *perceived* externality with the potential to create an interest in a mobilization for acquiring control over the action, no interest issue that may come to be regarded as a legitimate right emerges (COLEMAN, 1987). It is a situation without social capital, a system of — everybody for himself", without conditions for a collective action (*ibidem*: 153).

In this action arena, without any spontaneous common interest, no moral shocks (JASPERS, 1997) and no shared indignation, Olinda has started a process of — interessement" (CALLON, 1986), a process of involving and combining interests to find a way to establish a durable relationship with new partners, building a common interest with them. The non-committing idea of realizing a festival, without particular instrumental reasons, initially attracted the participants: a festival, nothing more than a festival. The informal and horizontal character of the operational meetings was very important to include all the participants, and also to unroll innovative and not foreseen ideas.

The process of involving interests came about through practices of participation in which different actors learn to trust and work with one another and enable themselves to act collectively for common ends (FUNG, 2004, p.15). Three main rules were established, with the aim to ensure that everyone could suggest some activities to be realized during the festival, in the understanding that (s)he had to find some one else to work in partnership with. These were the main rules: (1) —never alone", and (2) —never with the usual partners" (so all the initiatives were built through new partnerships), (3) —be interactive" (thinking about the festival co production not only among the organizers but also with future participants). This kind of rules was not chosen only in coherence with Olinda's aims and values, but also for strategic reasons: they were collective incentives to the mobilization of the participants. More precisely, I will argue that this is the only kind of incentive that Olinda could offer to enact a mobilization.

Because of the high level of differences in the political cultures of the participants, Olinda could not use as incentive mechanisms, norms and shared values, typical incentives of clans and communities (OUCHI, 1980). At the same time it could not activate an incentive system based on cost benefit calculation and on the maximization of actors' interest because of its lack of resources. In this phase Olinda was not even able to secure expressive benefits (prestige, sense of belonging, recognition, etc.) coming from its internal organisation. Therefore the main mechanism to support participation was the construction of partnerships, implementing a model based on the process of membership building *first* through trust and reciprocity and *then* purposive benefits (CLARK, WILSON, 1961, p. 129-130). It seems to me that we could talk of "trust through tests of cooperation', creating a system of interdependence between a variety of groups, organizations, and individuals, without sharing a strong collective identity.

To better understand the importance of this last point, I want spend a few words on the participants at the festival. Collective actors involved were rather heterogeneous: there were big corporations and small NGOs, professionals and political groups, and also a lot of individuals without affiliations, with a good balance between old and young participants, and between women and men. I miss data on the socioeconomic status of single actors, so I can only say that they belonged to different political cultures (Catholics, Extreme left-wing, Social-democrats, Greens). This implies that they employ different grammars of engagement, and very different evaluation criteria which most of the times prevent coordinating in collective action (THÉVENOT, 2002).

Individual participation, above all of professionals in the cultural fields, was very important because they played a role of brokers (DIANI, 2003), linking previously unconnected social sites, opening up the network outside the narrow policy sector. It

seems to me that also this individual participation was possible thanks to what I call — tests of coordination", that did not provide only trust resources but also paths for participating.

Within the larger network there was also the legitimate membership of some groups of compulsory psychiatric in-patients usually considered a threat to social order. So the festival offered room for voice and deliberation as to what Nancy FRAZER (1997, p. 81) has termed "counter-publics', defined as —parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counter discourses which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests and needs". During the Festival, these counter discourses were produced specially by the former in-patients, through a combination of actions and discussions.

In my opinion, this process of involving interests produced social capital. From the very beginning, in this action arena there was production and circulation of what we could label as "bridging and not only bonding' social capital (PUTNAM, 2000, p. 22-4) creating open and inclusive networks. But it was also a way to develop solidarity, political consciousness and organizational infrastructures, i.e. not only social capital but also collective consciousness (MAYER, 2003, p. 119).

Therefore, it seems to me that during the process of building the festival a collective actor emerged. Thanks to the first Metropolitan Festival, Olinda enlarged the scale and the field of belonging of its allies. Emerging from the narrow mental-illness sector, Olinda constructed an unusual set of partnerships. In the policy process, before the first Festival, the de-institutionalization of the PH was a non-agenda item (ADAMS, 2004, p. 49-50). In fact usually the PHs had the practice of secrecy and invisibility concealing their activities.

During the festival the PH was represented not as the symbolic core of social exclusion but as a place of resources, a potential cultural pole in the suburbs, a workshop full of projects designed with (and not for) the guests of the PH, projects meant for the whole town.

The festival was an effective way to convey information about the PH to officials, supporting the urgency of its dismantling, and shaming its perverse effects. Olinda enacted an open involvement context, a process in which the public as a whole and not only people implicated in the former policy network of mental health services, was the potential target of mobilization effort. So this process opened up the possibility of public debate on the quality of the psychiatric services in Milan and limited the opportunities for the scarce, opportunistic, routine action of the health authorities and their governing

boards. By imagining an alternative use for the premises of the mental hospital, by opening them as the venue of a festival and bringing in thousands of citizens, the possibility arose of conceiving the space and the care itself from a different point of view of —dismantling" the mental hospital to create something else. The fact that the space of the PH was accessible to the public was very important because this permitted it to be recognized as a stake, as a disputable public good, an object in need of regulation and governance. E.g., there were some conflicts with some other NGOs: a radical anti-psychiatric movement contested Olinda's strategy as too moderate and practising internal censorship in order not to threaten public support; two clubs affiliated to a big nationwide association (ACLI and ARCI), traditionally working within the PH, fought against the renewal wanted by Olinda, notably suggesting to local authorities the dangerousness of the festival for the patients. But the Olinda festival was not an egoistic mobilization for the defence of some particularistic interests (that is to say of professionals of the mental health sector).

The Festival do not obtain the immediate closing of the PH. The closing of the PH was obtained in 2000, 22 years after the Basaglia Law. At the National level in the mid-nineties there was an ongoing process aimed at the rapid phasing out of the system of PHs. It seems to me that the festival introduced a strong discontinuity in the policy sector. With thousands of people within the PH, things could not be taken for granted, and the normative foundation of the PH was challenged. This opened a stage of —epistemic choice" (OSTROM, V. 1993, see also DE LEONARDIS, 2001, p. 127-9; OSTROM, E., OSTROM, V., 2004, p. 133), where actors discuss criteria, vocabularies of analyzing and judging, and discovered new possibilities. The festival opened up the condition for raising some controversies on closing the PH and, most of all, on the different projects about the PH area. This happened thanks to the attention of local mass media, to the diffusion of a little book presenting the Festival, but also to more informal means, especially to the presence within the PH of people, that could walk, ask and talk with the in-patients and the workers. The presence of thousands of people during the festival within the boundary of the PH obliged the entire policy network to produce justifications that were valid —in all generality" (BOLTANSKI, THÉVENOT, 1999) to support their policy aims and programmes for closing the PH. Moreover, starting from the Health authorities, every policy actor was submitted to an imperative declaration of why and how to cope with people still living in the PH. Before this mobilization the PH was ignored, just perceived as a trouble in the city life. But the legitimisation of the claim to close the PH permitted a large public to judge the trouble as a complex problem and to —concatenate" (link together) in a public grammar (a) issues of mental health with (b) issues of quality of life and public responsibilities of the administration. So Olinda played

a mediation role, in the generalization process (BOLTANSKI, 1999) of the PH case. Producing a new advocacy coalition with very heterogeneous actors, to push up the *impasse* and the closeness of the former policy network, working at the cultural level to promote a different belief system about the PH and more generally about mental health policy.

Definitely, the networking and the process of involving interests were not able to change a solid basis of existing power relations or to gain strong control over policy processes, but permitted the emergence of a public discourse, the recognition of a sense of possibility in dealing with mental health problems, and legitimating new practices and claims because the mobilization permitted the definition of the PH as a visible issue, a — public problem" (DEWEY, 1927) of *general interest* for the whole Milan metropolitan area.

7.2.3. Beyond Strategies: Contradictions and Organizational Learning

In the previous sections we saw that Olinda generated a process of involving interests to make the problem of the PH public. Olinda challenged classical therapeutic routines, trying to embed its ideas in services legitimized and recognized for its institutional mandate: to take care of mental health. This means that Olinda used the visibility as an instrument and as a strategy. In my mind this does not imply that Olinda was always a strategic collective actor, capable to plan in the long run how to reach its goals, calculating costs and benefits. In this third action arena, we will see how Olinda started playing games of which it did not know the rules, exploring dispersed opportunities in an adaptive way, playing just to learn to know the rules. Most of all, Olinda was challenged by lots of political and moral contradictions and dilemmas for its practices, without having any equivalence criteria to rank them (BOLTANSKI, 2002).

Olinda is limited in its capacity to be a strategic actor. It has difficulties in moving from a short-term to a medium or long-term horizon; it lacks the necessary conditions for doing so, in particular security regarding its location in the future. This uncertainty makes it very difficult to invest in the spaces and buildings it uses and to acquire a more strategic long-term outlook. But, without having premises to make a long term planning and therefore to be a strategic actor, Olinda is still keeping up its activities within its institutional mandate and in pursuit of its goals (shutting the PH culture, take care of the in-patients and enhancing their skills), trying to translate fundamental dilemmas within pragmatic tensions into compromises.

In my judgement it was Olinda's capability to keep on working on both poles of the contradictions that enabled the most important processes that transformed a specialist

professional innovation into some broad social innovations. So, I will argue that in the third action arena what characterises Olinda is its resilience and learning capability.

After the first festival, Olinda kept on working to develop ways to integrate various interests and networks within collective strategies and a weak but long-term mobilization. But the problem of building issues of general interest stemming from its anchorage in a specific policy sector still remained: so Olinda kept combining interests and generalization processes. How? Not only by organising each year a summer festival following the path designed by the first one. Surely, it continued doing so, but, in order to achieve its goals, Olinda's main strategy was to combine economic and social objectives. It uses the premises of the former PH both as a site of production and as a public space for cultural events and opportunities for socialising. On the one hand, the criteria for economic success are pursued by focusing on business management for economic consolidation and expansion; on the other hand, the criteria for the success of the social work are pursued by targeting the social quality of the care. Economic activities and market tests constitute a support to autonomy of mentally ill people.

These were very good strategies. But we are well aware that a good strategy is a necessary but still not a sufficient ingredient to enhance social innovation (DE LEONARDIS, 1990; BOLTANSKI, 2002). More than the strategies, in this section I try to stress especially some organisational factors: —reflexivity" and resilience, as learning and adapting inclinations. Surely this does not mean that these are the only conditions for social innovation. We have seen a lot of processes that helped to translate an innovation in therapeutic practices into a wider social innovation, notably the process of legitimisation. And we have seen also the importance of the institutional context, with its polycentricism and overlapping jurisdictions. But now, at the end of the day I will argue that Olinda is an example of innovation sought through conflict and challenge, which has succeeded in transforming episodes of conflict (notably with the local authorities, with the neighbourhood and with other non-profit organizations) into opportunities for public debate and collective learning and - at the same time - for organizational learning and resilience.

Let's start with some basic example. Olinda's initiatives had achieved a right to use the public space of the former PH. This has led to a social demand driven by youth and families with children to find in the former PH spaces and places for expression and self-organizing. There was also a political dimension to this process. In some way, the *space* of the former PH became a source for collective action (GIERYN, 2000, p. 478-9) promoting commitment for mobilization. Occasionally Olinda organised initiatives with a

political flavour (against war, solidarity with immigrants, against certain measures by the national government).

We have seen that in the previous action arena it was the expressive dimension, strictly connected to the membership and to the involvement with practical activities that provided reasons for participation. In this new action arena, it seems to me that normative incentives play a more important role. It was the involvement in big issues (most of them defined in terms of Common Good) that permitted partnerships with lots of different NGOs in Milan and mobilization of people more or less around every value based collective issue of contentious politics: the environment, world peace, third world development, anti-poverty, anti-racism, anti-GM/pro-organic food, pro animal rights, pro asylum seekers. Olinda has also supported different interest-based collective demonstrations, such as protest against the decline in quality of health services, held up initiatives to maintain the character of the neighbourhood and to improve the quality of life, and many other urban struggles. Recently, it has also operated as a basis for the improvements and the extent of certain lifestyles (e.g. fair trade business, and LET schemes). However, alongside these occasional initiatives, it generally attempts to foster acknowledgement of the political and public nature of the work done by the social services and the questions they deal with. As well, the culture of this organization is based on the opposition to traditional mental health services and, at the same time, on the effort to continue collaborating with them (voice, no exit).

All of these features have led Olinda to be almost constantly involved in organisational dilemmas. Obviously the multi-level action approach taken by Olinda has always been marked by constant tensions between institutional co-operation and co-operation with left-wing grassroots movements; however this tension has been used as an opportunity for learning and for broadening the options. Over the past few years relationships with the local council have become rarefied, since the latter does not seem to value Olinda‘s work, criticising it for being excessively leftist. Above all, in the last two years a certain indifference of the Milan Municipality has developed. It has changed the orientation of its social policies (while maintaining the same political majority), in general choosing to cancel all projects involving public/private partnership and, in this specific case, limiting the occasions for exchange and co-operation with Olinda.

Over the last 10 years in Milan the right wing local government have more and more discouraged citizens to take more responsibility in policy making, accountability and implementation. Most of all, in Milan there are not some political elites interested to develop some kind of governance mode. The absence of the Municipality in the

partnerships is reducing the opportunity for Olinda‘s initiatives to contribute to public discourse.

Therefore, all these different kinds of activities and conflicts have created many dilemmas for Olinda. In analytical terms I could say that in order to halt social exclusion, Olinda has attempted to *create connections between opposites* (DE LEONARDIS, 2001), endeavouring to establish practical connections between: (a) the pole of the individual experience and subjectivity of those suffering exclusion (the specific nature of individual cases) and the pole of the shared quality of urban life;

(b) the pole of need for help and assistance, and provisions for welfare, with the pole of the need for investments, both financial and in terms of creative energy, in the economic field of production; (c) the pole of the specific nature of the neighbourhoods adjoining the psychiatric hospital with the pole of the resources distributed in the metropolitan area; (d) the pole of consensus to institutional projects (as a condition for commitments in partnerships) with the pole of disagreement and conflict (disengagement as a condition for criticizing, denunciation and other political activities); (e) the pole represented by the grammar of care and that represented by the grammar of mobilization.

In my judgement, what is really interesting is the way in which Olinda in these years was able to translate these dilemmas into tensions and then to find compromises with some temporary arrangements. Notably, Olinda came to terms with the definition of some new conventions (devices/rules), to build up stable and predictable routines of commitment (in its voluntary activities but also in its socio-cultural events). These —devices‟ are ties that link production and care, big mobilization and daily activities. They are organizational choices, which show the learning capability of Olinda. These tensions between different pragmatic constraints are at the same time precious resources for the resilience of the organization. The pursuit of temporary compromises that allow overcoming the tensions between several activities is at the heart of its functioning of organizational learning followed by strategic action.

Hence now I‘ll introduce briefly the main organizational principles (as a chosen feature) that sustain Olinda‘s —reflexivity‟ and learning capability. First of all, Olinda has chosen to keep itself small and not to open branches in other cities. This small scale matches the choice to set up and nourish the process of constructing the enterprise and its initiatives by starting from the individual operator or former-user exigencies and capability. Secondly, the organisation is characterised by extreme independence of management and decision-making in each service sector in which it is active and, at the same time, by a strong sense of belonging and sharing collective identity: the tension between

belonging to Olinda as a whole and as specific sector seems to be a reason for conflict that generates learning instead of breakdown. Thirdly, the presence of an —association" alongside the cooperative lays the basis for cultural and creative elaboration and thus represents: (a) for the organisation internally, a way of circulating ideas, sharing problems and successes and re-elaborating a shared identity and mission; (b) for the environment, a means of raising visibility and communicating with the contexts where action is taken, and a tool for cultural exchange and attracting resources; (c) the dual definition as association and as cooperative makes it possible to keep the links between entrepreneurial objectives and social aims open and alive.

Another feature that characterises Olinda is the evident style of planning: Olinda is organised —by projects". The social response to conditions of hardship are structured as projects to be put into practice, rather than as standardised structures and systems of services to be provided. The style of planning (1) favours gradual processes, open to ongoing correction and modification; (2) but it also attracts resources from outside the organisation and activates arenas for involving and making the most of each contribution to the projects (both in financial terms and in terms of voluntary work).

Therefore, what is clear in the Olinda case is the considerable circulation of cognitive resources and knowledge within the organisation, and particularly the strong emphasis on learning to organise and on reflexivity, but also the ability to involve and combine human resources coming from spheres traditionally far removed from that of assistance (fashion, design, art, entertainment).

Therefore Olinda is a learning organization, always giving particular attention to what is feasible, with a high degree of reflexivity: it learns from its strategies and from its contradictions and is resilient due primarily not only to the presence of a leader but to internal institutional arrangements, notably the distinction between the association and the cooperative, and the connections with University and networks of similar organizations. During the years, it was able to recognize what could help itself to manage the pragmatic tensions and it still keeps on learning how to better combine the rhythms of each workers with the market constraints.

7.3. A socially innovative Olinda

The case of Olinda clearly shows different meanings of social innovation in terms of changes in social relations: Olinda‘s initiative legitimizes new practices and claims, because it pushes forward the recognition of people with mental and social problems as active citizens. This happens thanks to the daily work with the deprived citizens, but also the investments in attempts to change the public discourse, to define new issues and

advance inclusive solutions in the locality, in the media, and on the political agenda of local administrations.

Moreover, Olinda has also been able to promote inter-organizational change, to multiply resources, inventing and implementing new modes of articulated cooperation between public health agencies and non-profit sector. Over the years Olinda has succeeded in activating, extending, and coordinating the range of people, and in surrounding the recognition and use of the premises of the mental hospital as a public area.

In conclusion we argue that through Olinda an innovation in a very narrow policy sector was translated into a broad social innovation. We have seen that Olinda enacted opportunities of social innovation thanks to its strategic choice of combining economic and social objectives. In order to link the economic field and the field of assistance, Olinda has created both economic and social investment strategies, setting in motion processes of collective learning and thus increasing its social capital: (1) it has set up various forms of economic initiative, investing in the wealth of knowledge and practical experience coming from professional people outside the circuit of assistance and also making the most of contributions by a number of university teachers, as well as of men and women from the artistic world, but also from the design and fashion worlds; (2) at the same time it has enacted, coordinated and put into circulation the hidden and non-conventional resources of the former PH, more precisely those contributed by the former inmates themselves who learned new skills and started using in outside places of work; (3) it has created more intense sociability giving rise to joint projects and economic exchange, achieving spaces and networks of relationships firstly at a metropolitan level and then at a neighbourhood level.

So, it has contributed to open the former PH as a public urban park and created new connections between actors used to be sectorally separated, thanks to the capability of coordinating actors and institutions without escaping conflicts, compromises and contradictions.

All these are social innovations because the outcomes of these practices do not affect only the actors directly involved, and because the positive indirect externalities in terms of social cohesion and changes in social relations.

At the same time these are *only* social innovations, I mean weak and reversible processes, common to social innovations. In the last year Olinda has been trying to stabilize and institutionalize these innovations, establishing some conventions: (a) a full acknowledgment of its activities, with the formalization of the loan for use; (b) partnership to obtain public social workers and resources; (c) new standards of

psychiatric care. The last one, which is the actual challenge for Olinda, seems be the harder: it is the challenge of the institutionalization of a social innovation.

7.4. References

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8. Centro Sociale Leoncavallo - Milan - Italy. A building-block for an enlarged citizenship in Milan

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8.1. Abstract

In this paper we analyse a bottom-up response to the lack of social and cultural services in a deprived neighbourhood of Milan (Italy) as an experience of social innovation.

—Leoncavallo", a self-managed and leftist social centre born in 1975, represents a peculiar approach to the management of public utility services: its management style is participatory and informal, based on the principle of *autogestione* or *self-management.* Through an interesting process of —flexible" institutionalisation, this method has survived the post '68 era, and today has become an important political actor on the national and also international scene.

The analysis focuses on organisational dynamics and shows how social innovation processes are strongly related to the social enterprise logic and to the spatial dimension (at different scales): both the management of the processes of arriving at a common understanding and the —enactment" or development of physical spaces (frames) by the activists and by the users of Leoncavallo, provide the opportunity to combine the economic, political and social dimensions of a —glocal"(deeply local) development focused on human needs and potentialities. Leoncavallo seems, for these reasons, to base its action on the 3 elements of the ALMOLIN model of innovation.

8.2. Chronology: a brief history of Centro Sociale Leoncavallo

The Leoncavallo social centre was founded in Milan in 1975, the initiative of a group of young people of the so-called —extra-parliamentary left" who illegally occupied a former pharmaceutical factory in the North-East of Milan, just inside the real core of Casoretto blue-collar district. In 1994 after two evictions and massive demonstrations, Leoncavallo reorganized itself within a large printing factory.

During the second half of the 1990s Leoncavallo radically re-thought its activities in the new space in the direction of a social enterprise, although without abandoning a strong leftist political connotation. In 2004 the —Fondazione Leoncavallo" was established, as a prime social actor from within the social centre, to promote free culture and sociality in the metropolis. At the moment this new actor, through its board of intellectuals, is working towards an agreement with the owners of the building, in order to avoid yet another eviction.

Table 1. Chronology: main events concerning the history of Leoncavallo

Year	Events
1975	Creation of Leoncavallo social centre
1977	Beginning of the ideological radicalisation
1978-1985	Period of regression (heroin use and dealing, street violence, selfexclusion from the neighbourhood,...)
1985-1989	New period of opening up towards society: relationship with students‛ movement, organisation of public events (concerts, performances,..) capable of attracting new supporters and resources
1989	First violent evacuation of the centre by the police and re-occupation of the building by the activists
1990	Influenced by a new university students‛ movement. Changes in the leadership of the centre and in its organisational dynamics
1994	Second eviction from the centre: great visibility on mass media both at the local and national level (discussion in Parliament). New illegal occupation of a former printing factory and informal agreement with the owners of the building
1995	Defining of a complex project of re-organisation of the centre, in the direction of a social enterprise
1997	Police persecution and violence against the centre
2001-2002	No agreement with the owners of the building: sentence of the Court of Milan, ordering the forced evacuation of the centre (then suspended). Elections of the leader of Leoncavallo in the city council
2003	Constitution of the committee for the —Fondazione Leoncavallo‟
2004	Birth of —Fondazione Leoncavallo‟

Source: authors

8.3. Factual information

8.3.1. Collective satisfaction and definition of human needs: culture, sociality and welfare services as citizenship rights

Satisfying human needs: culture, sociality and welfare

Since 2003 Leoncavallo has been operating as a provider of public services. It has contributed to defining and responding to two different but intertwined categories of needs:

a) Sociality and cultural needs: The first type of services, offered by the centre since the beginning of the 90s, is a response to the growing demand for the opportunity and the spaces for the enjoyment and production of an autonomous, non- commercialised culture. That demand has grown over the last 10-15 years both at the urban level and across society, and is often accompanied by the need for opportunities of social exchange and the development of non-exploitative relationships among people. These kinds of relationships are under stress both in the work and leisure environments because of capitalistic social organisation and its correlated concepts of alienation and commodification.

b) Welfare needs: The second type of services is concerned with the sphere that, according to de Leonardis, we can define as —civil welfare" (DE LEONARDIS, 1998). These services are strongly inter-related with the citizenship dimension, i.e. the concrete response to the basic welfare rights. The demand for these services comes from migrants, the homeless, from psychologically impaired people and, more generally, from people below the poverty threshold[48]. Since 1995 Leoncavallo has been offering, to these people (estimated at more than 100 across Milan in 2002), free meals, short-term hospitality and protection from persecution by the police and by xenophobic groups. Before answering directly to those needs, the centre activists offer the possibility of human relationships through the informal style and spatial organization of the centre. It is especially the internal multiply organised space (self-service places, bookshop, etc. with its open spaces and warm atmosphere, that creates opportunities for gathering together and for the development of face-to-face community relationships. Migrants, who live as non-citizens and —non-persons"

[48] These people have not been contacted both for linguistic problems (the are quite all non Italians and often speaking only Arabic) and for their reduced interest in being interviewed. An esteem of the number of these people is very difficult to be done, because of variations month by month in their consistence.

daily (DAL LAGO, 1999), are in particular need of being recognized first as persons, and, second, as citizens.

Defining human needs: enabling the users

Self-management organisation approaches tend to give priority to informal practices and to the symbolic and spatial context defined by them, rather than to the roles of the subjects who activate them or to formalised procedures. Therefore, the dimension of informality and horizontality in interpersonal relationships makes the distinction between suppliers and users of a self-managed service far less rigid and structured in comparison with what happens in state and market services. Socio-cultural and welfare services seem to be low-structured fields for mutual interaction and recognition: fields devoted to the —enactment" of the users in a collective process of definition/response concerning human needs. In this approach, services are open to participation by the users who therefore can co-operate in some way, in the management and initiation of those same services.

For these reasons it seems appropriate to use the term —enablers" instead of —suppliers" for individuals and groups managing these services: they are actors who facilitate the users' empowerment through the management of services and spaces. The enablers are, in our case, informal groups and associations that participate in the social centre and autonomously manage the spaces in which they operate and where services are provided. From this point of view, the spatial dimension is fundamental: Leoncavallo's physical configuration, in fact, seems to be a multiple framework in which human needs are discussed and faced. Those spaces enter, therefore, a process of —enactment" (WEICK, 1995) of a milieu that consists of the spaces themselves, the users, the symbolic meanings, the practices and the connections with the outside world. From this point of view, the joint construction of the demand and the response to social needs can be thought of as a process of sense-giving of the construction/interpretation of a shared reality, from an activated space.

8.3.2. Resources for a —glocal" socio-political action

Human resources

In 2003 about 80 people worked regularly in the Leoncavallo organization; half of them received a sort of minimum salary, defined as a —solidarity token"[49], that allowed them

[49] In 2001 the amount of the —solidarity token" was between 400 and 500 ⁄ per month.

to invest the majority of their time in the centre. We could call these people —volunteers-workers" as they choose to live on a minimum salary - and so have a low standard of living - for political reasons, i.e. according to Leoncavallo's goals and philosophy. Another group consists of —pure volunteers", whose means of living come from external jobs and who work for free in their spare time for Leoncavallo. However, they are often employed in a field of activities - cultural, social etc. - that is somehow connected to the centre: this allows them to bring into the social centre, competences gained outside it and sometimes vice versa; in this way they contribute to the enlargement of the network of relationships of the whole centre, and therefore represent an important organisational resource.

The social composition of these two groups is varied, particularly in respect of their skills and expertise. This peculiar mix of competences is the result of a path of empowerment followed by Leoncavallo's activists during their working experiences inside the centre. In this sense, socio-political participation becomes a way to increase both individual capabilities (SEN, 1992) and networks of relationships (GRANOVETTER, 1983).

Organisational resources

From the organisational point of view, Leoncavallo has always founded its operation on the self-management (*autogestione*) principle and practice (MEMBRETTI, 1997). This is based on horizontal relationships (lack of hierarchy), on informality (lack of fixed roles) and on assembly democracy (search for unanimous consent). Leoncavallo's organisation consists of a network structure, in respect of both the internal and the external management. This configuration guarantees, on the one hand, a high organisational flexibility and, on the other, a strong decisional and operative decentralisation. In this way, the social centre manages to effectively reach the plurality of subjects, individual and collective, that move inside or outside it.

The informal processes of *autogestione* and the lack of structured/formalised roles and decisional procedures partially promote personal leadership and non-inclusive decision-making processes. On the one hand, personal leaderships have often been an important resource for the centre in many dramatic situations: especially specifically during the first forced evacuation of Leoncavallo, and then more generally on the occasion of several political crises in the last 15 years where they have represented a point of reference for

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In the last months of 2001a debate developed between Leoncavallo's activists: the original idea of the —solidarity token" as a refund based only on the principle of reciprocity, is changing in the direction of re-thinking it as an income: in this sense the symbolic value of the —token" is moving to the sphere of workers' rights, even if inside a —communitarian" framework.

the activists and for the relationships with the —outside world". On the other side it is self-evident that these elements are problematic with respect to the full democracy of the organisational dynamics of the centre. These leadership creation processes seem to explain why a significant group of activists left the centre in the recent past, after some dramatic events, probably just as a consequence of a lack of inclusive processes and of fully-fledged participation.

Financial resources

In order to preserve its autonomy, Leoncavallo has opted not to benefit from state help nor help from local bodies or private actors' donations; this objective has led the centre, at least until today, in the direction of self-financing. The economic resources necessary to the functioning of the organisation and to the supply of services come almost entirely from its cultural and recreational activities.

The economic survival of the centre would not be possible without the illegal occupation of the area. It can be said, therefore, that the physical space and, particularly, the building are the main —financial" resources of Leoncavallo at present.

Political resources

Since its formation, Leoncavallo has always been connected to social and political movements - urban, national and international - linked to the so-called —extra—parliamentary Left". More recently, the wave of anti-globalisation movements has influenced the social centre, so that now it is a point of reference for various campaigns and actions even at a global level: an example of this was the active part taken by Leoncavallo, both in the organisation of the demonstration against the G8 Summit of Genoa 2001 and, later, in the legal assistance offered to people injured by the police on that occasion.

But there is also the very important support from a part of public opinion, awakened - especially since the 1990s - to the problem of self-managed social spaces and to the fight against the free-trade privatisation of metropolitan space and socio-cultural services. This support, born after the 1989 eviction of the centre, has been growing over the last years within a more diversified public opinion, thanks to the importance and to the quality of the services offered by Leoncavallo In recent years, then, political and institutional backing has increased; this enlarged, mainly non partisan support is due also to the great visibility given by the media during police actions against Leoncavallo.

Cultural and artistic resources

Leoncavallo has always ascribed a central role to the cultural and expression field; for this reason, from the beginning, synergies have existed with various artistic trends connected to wider national and international cultural movements. In the last decade, the social centre has consolidated its position in the field and has become a landmark in Milan - and in many cases in national and international milieus - for many counter-cultural trends (music, theatre, comics, publishing etc.), periodically managing to organise important events, in addition to a daily, fairly busy, cultural schedule. This is possible thanks to a network of personal and direct ties -by now wide and established - which connect some of the social centre‛s activists to the main milieus of counter-cultural and also underground production, but also to some more institutionalised actors of the art and culture industries. The centre‛s ties with leading intellectual figures of the liberal milieu represent a further resource in this field.

8.3.3. Towards a —flexible institutionalisation“. Organisational and institutional dynamics, with respect to civil society and political authorities

Leoncavallo‛s organisational approach - represented by self-management based on informality and horizontality - opens a channel for contributions from —external‟ subjects‛. This can be considered an inclusive approach, particularly noticeable in the services provided, and its management can be adjusted to regular users. From the point of view of relations with civil society, it should be noticed how various groups and associations, but also individual subjects, have got in touch with Leoncavallo through the self-management and the opening of the centre‛s spaces to activities designed by —external‟ subjects. In this sense, we are dealing with a management approach that helped, and is still helping the creation of a —public space of proximity‟ (LAVILLE, 1994, 1995): moving from the —enactment‟ of this physical space through various activities, social proximity becomes the occasion for a dialectic between different groups and individuals, in the direction of a social construction of space and meanings (MEMBRETTI, 2004).

In the last years, the social centre faced a process of institutionalisation; a process of creation of lists of actions and approaches to discussed topics, the results of the experiences of nearly thirty years of activity. It emerges therefore as a particular model for the organisation of resources, whose major characteristic is the continuous tension between the need for structure and for flexibility. It is an approach that, on the one hand, moves in the direction of a stronger internal division of labour, a clearer

differentiation of competencies and more intensive bonds with outside institutions (social, cultural, political); and, on the other hand, it is an approach that aims at maintaining informality, the osmosis with and between the movements and the individuals‘ versatility in the organisation. In a word, it is possible to speak of —flexible institutionalisation“ meaning, not a state, but a process always in progress, a difficult balance between forces potentially entering into conflict.

That process of consolidation is based on two elements: the reflexive skills (of recursive nature, or —double-loop“) developed by the social centre and the netlike, basically open, self-management structure.

Since its birth, Leoncavallo has lived in a critical relationship with the local political institutions. Leoncavallo‘s main political interlocutor has always been Milan city Council. In the 1970s and in the early 1980s the moderate left coalition running the city - thanks to the movements‘ importance in those years - has tolerated the social centre‘s illegal occupation of the site. But, in the late 1980s - in the middle of a neo-liberal wave - a socialist mayor decided to evacuate the building (1989). This episode fuelled the hostility already felt by the social centres‘ activists towards institutionalised politics and especially the parties, which they considered corrupt and anti-democratic. The early 1990s were therefore characterised by an open fight against the institutionalised political system - both at the local and national levels. This confrontation was sharpened by the victory of the Right in the Milan administrative/local elections - and then also in the national ones - and it reached its peak in 1994, when Leoncavallo became a national case, discussed even in Parliament. However, with the eviction from the historical location in the city centre and the search for another place, there grew a progressive widening of the political front, formed by people who wanted to find a peaceful solution to the explosive situation that had already produced disorders and serious moments of tension. For these reasons, the social centre finds itself having political interlocutors, not only at the local but also at the national level.

8.4.Citizenship services as a field of innovation and of social, political and economic —re-unification“

Leoncavallo was born as an innovative and bottom-up response to socio-cultural and welfare needs: from the outset of its history, the response to these kinds of needs managed inside the centre has been accompanied by a process of collective definition about their nature, their contents and, especially, about the way to approach them. In so doing, Leoncavallo has avoided dealing with procedures that risk creating dependence of users on the services satisfying their needs. On the contrary, it has developed a dialectic

between individual needs and the collective range of rights; therefore, the real meaning of Leoncavallo‘s action has always been political, i.e. as regards the sphere of citizenship and universal rights. Citizenship, in this empirical approach, becomes the —product‟ of different services and enacted liveable spaces: it is the main output, but also the main input for innovation and social change.

The shift from an individual to a collective political dimension has been possible first of all because of the peculiar characteristics that a service relationship, finalised to respond to human needs, assumes inside the social centre. Leoncavallo‘s services are in fact meant as an interface between community and society: they tend to overcome the distinction between suppliers and users and to break down the settings typical of the standard model of both public and private service provision. The social exchange process activated here is reciprocity (POLANYI, 1944) but also the gift of a universalistic matrix of underlying non-profit principles. (MAUSS, 1950). On the one hand, services are therefore the milieu for the construction of communities (firstly of activists, but also of —users‟); on the other hand they are also vehicles of inclusion - or at least of —offering to the public a relational —surplus‟, a —hot side‟ potentially enjoyable by everyone and linked to the proximity and informality dimensions of the service relationship. In this way, community relations are open to the outside world, with reciprocity and underlying non-profit principles activated to achieve basically non-particularistic goals.

Self-management of socio-cultural and welfare services not only responds to individual and collective needs, but also represents an important field of innovation in social relationships, particularly with respect to the inclusion of groups characterised by strong risk of social exclusion. Social innovation is again strictly connected to the internal organisation of Leoncavallo. The practice of *autogestione* has been involved in a form of innovation connected to networking and the division of organisational roles.

Self-management of services - and more generally of the whole social centre - provides and represents a space for ”learning co-operation“ and for the exercise of actual forms of citizenship. In this sense, it is not only a management practice for the organisation, but also assumes the characteristics of the —good of identity‟ (LA VALLE, 2000), as a process of collective meaning, through which a shared feeling of belonging is created.

An empowerment dimension develops not only through the participation of the user in the management of services, but also through the involvement of several activists of the centre in a cooperative working experience. In Leoncavallo‘s services work is a multipurpose means to answer various needs. It is a field of widened participation and, from this perspective, an open field for the definition of the nature of the services

provided. It is also the core element of a strategy of inclusion for some categories of unempowered subjects (especially migrants). These people see the work opportunity also as a means of recognition (we could say a —service of recognition"), a way of validating themselves first as men and women, then as citizens. Moreover, work is at the same time a means for individual and collective empowerment, and a nexus for the learning of knowledge and practices which are then partially used in the social centre but chiefly become a personal and collective store to be spent outside.

For these reasons social innovation in our case-study refers to each of the 3 dimensions of ALMOLIN. These 3 elements are —mobilized" in the concrete practices of the actors analysed by their relationship to the service concept: inside this peculiar relationship the dimensions interact across and within the economic, social, cultural and political spheres. In fact, the economic sphere, which in Leoncavallo's approach is typical of the social enterprise, becomes one of the most interesting fields in which to evaluate the innovation in our case-study.

From this point of view, the services at issue are innovative as a means of re-embedding the economic practices into society and politics. (POLANYI, 1944). Where possible, the monetarisation of human relationships is avoided or at least brought back to a symbolic frame with a relational and therefore political nature (this is the case in the payment for internal work, based on the —solidarity token"). In this sense, the economy is specifically considered in the original meaning of the term (Ibid., 1944), i.e. a body of practices connected to the support of individuals and groups (exploitation of the economic aspect). However, with the centre's approach to organisational processes being typical of the social enterprise, an entrepreneurial dimension of the economy comes into play, related to the increase and re-investment of resources. Economic practice, without escaping from a symbolic framework (such as a Leftist ideology) that wants it to be functional as to the social and political aspects, becomes a field of experimentation for actions and relations aimed at increasing the potential for intervention in the collective subject's society. Therefore, innovation is not just concerned with re-embedding, but also with the attempt to re-conceptualise the economy, with its organizations and practices, as a field for both convergence and conflict between systems of different ideas; all this is very far from the old model of public social service, excluding of the economic aspect in considering it an external variable - the costs - and from the neo-liberalist commodification of services.

Satisfaction of human needs, changes in social relations and empowerment represent therefore - in the practices analysed so far - three moments of a wider innovative horizon, whose nature is basically political. If we want to deduce the fundamental trait of

social innovation in Leoncavallo‘s case from what has been said so far, it can be identified as the comprehensive process of —procedural re-combination", that the centre puts into effect in the social, economic, political and symbolic/cultural dimensions of its actions. Beyond every strictly functional scheme, the social centre‘s processes and services live and are fuelled by hybridisation and reflexivity. They are innovative processes because they fuel a collective discourse on public good; that discourse moves beyond the walls of the social centre and is strongly rooted in the —community" practices which it encapsulates, and which are created by the proximity of living in a common physical space, a symbolic framework which is also and especially a resource for the empowerment, the inclusion and the promotion of social justice.

In this sense, we are dealing with the ongoing consolidation of practices and cultures aimed at creating particular public institutions: some metropolitan but also national/international spaces for debating and acting about issues of common concern. The —flexible" institutionalisation of services represents therefore a public action, fostering a dialectic between the informality of the movements and the —structuring" of the institutions from a physical space —in continuous redefinition".

Universal citizenship is, again, the main output of all these processes and their vision.

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9. Associazione Quartieri Spagnoli (AQS) -Naples

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9.1. Abstract

This paper focuses on social innovation in the Quartieri Spagnoli neighbourhood, in the old part of Naples, an area with a high level of physical and social degradation, where at the end of the 1970s a voluntary-based initiative, predominantly inspired by dissenting Catholic movements, started supporting the resident population in their needs for social services, housing and solidarity.

The *Associazione Quartieri Spagnoli* (*AQS*) was officially established in 1986. It is committed to building a new identity for the area by creating new institutions for social help, involving the resident population and reconstructing the social fabric, including trust-based relationships.

In the late 1980s and in the 1990s, *AQS* attracted the attention of public institutions and started new neighbourhood development projects funded by central and local government, as well as the EU. As a result, *AQS* has become a landmark for the residents of the neighbourhood and has played an increasingly important and successful role in influencing the formulation of municipal social policy.

9.2. Introduction

The *Associazione Quartieri Spagnoli* (*AQS*) was formally established in 1986 in the wake of a Catholic voluntary project with strong territorial embeddedness at the end of the 1970s. Its main aim was to support the population residing in one of the most run-down area in the old part of Naples, in a situation characterized by insufficient municipal social services and local and national governments inertia. Over a period of more than twenty years, the *AQS* has rebuilt the local social structure and identity by establishing new institutions and social relations. From its onset until 1990, activity was mostly centred on rebuilding the social fabric and establishing trust-based relationships. This allowed the *Association* to become firmly embedded in the local context, to act in the area by working from the inside and to establish itself as a constant presence and a place to turn to when experiencing insecurity and hardship.

After this first period of fertilization, a second stage began and continued throughout the 1990s. During this period, the Association played an important role in influencing the

formulation of municipal social policy. It participated in urban rehabilitation programmes, closely collaborated with municipal, national and European institutions, received European funding and established links with the university and other extended networks. This was a period of true institutionalization in which *AQS* intervention in the area became stronger, more stable, and continuous.

As far as results are concerned, the *AQS* has played an important role in improving the standard of living and in bringing about changes in attitude, mentality and culture for some of the local population. The residents who have taken part in the *Association*'s projects have not only attended training courses, found jobs, and satisfied other needs that had previously not been met, but have also become protagonists of the initiatives and no longer consider themselves as passive and disheartened onlookers. Encouraged by these results, the municipal government has adopted some of the intervention models conceived by members of the *Association* and has applied them in other areas of the city.

Table 1. *AQS*' Chronology

1978	A group of volunteers begins social work in the area.
1980	Earthquake. Urban policies come to a standstill.
1985	The Naples City Council resumes its social policies.
1986	The Association is formally established.
1991	*AQS* receives financial support from central government (Act 216/91) and the City Council (premises for a youth centre).
1992	*AQS* becomes part of the European networks of the *—Règies de Quartier"* and *Quartieri in crisi*. First European funding (Poverty Projects and first edition of Integra, Horizon, Now projects). A *neighbourhood committee* is set up in the Quartieri Spagnoli to discuss local policies.
1993	Mr. Bassolino is elected Mayor. Establishment of the Department of Dignity and Respect (Councillor Ms. Incostante) in charge of social policies.
1994	The *Associazione* becomes a member of the CNCA (Coordinamento Nazionale delle Comunità di Accoglienza).
1995	*AQS* collaborates with the City Council in planning and implementing the URBAN project in the *Quartieri Spagnoli*.
1997	*AQS* takes part in outlining the —Piano Comunale per l'Infanzia" (Municipal Plan for Children, Act 285/97).
1999	Convention with the Naples City Council for social tutoring of families in the Minimum Income Category (Legislative Decree 237/98). Change in power at municipal government; Bassolino, Mayor, and Incostante, Councillor, leave.
2001	The City Council approves the first three-year Social Plan for the District.
2002	New *AQS*' initiatives for immigrants (—Children Parking") co-financed by the Fondazione Banco Napoli foundation. A group of social workers who had been collaborating with the *AQS* set up the —Passaggi" cooperative.
2003	The —Mothers' Crèche Association" is set up.

Source: authors

9.3. The scenario in which the AQS operates

9.3.1. Quartieri Spagnoli: a history of hardship and poverty

The Quartieri Spagnoli area is part of the city of Naples situated behind the town hall and the centrally located commercial street *via Toledo*. It has always been a run-down and difficult area but is also known for its vitality and for a wide range of activities, such as workshops, craftshops, stores and other businesses, often in backyards and garages. The

architectural heritage of the area, which includes buildings of special historical and artistic importance, has rapidly deteriorated over the years. The earthquake of November 1980 caused many buildings in the area to be declared unsafe, increasing the hardship and further affecting the social fabric. Some of the population migrated towards other areas, whereas new members took up residence in the area. Nowadays, behind the neighbourhood's often false image as a symbol of urban degradation, a number of social styles and models and a mix of different social groups can be identified. Some middle classes families have also recentely appeared in the area (LAINO, 2001a).

The residents of the area - mostly Neapolitans of old or coming from the province, with only a limited and recent presence of immigrants from developing countries - lead a style of living characterized by intense informal - often illegal - economic relations and transactions. Although this social model constitutes an important territorial resource, by its strong identity, vitality, mutual help and sense of belonging, it has also given rise to a peculiar system of rules of living and coexistence. Prostitution has been one of the most widespread activities in the area, although now it has almost disappeared, and usury is commonly resorted to as a way of tackling financial difficulty. Neighbourhood livelihood strategies have fuelled social exclusion dynamics, particularly for children, young people and women. Young pregnancies are commonplace; many young children live in a state of abandonment, since one or both parents are often in prison or in hiding, and the rate of school drop-outs is high. Training is inadequate and many survival paths lead young people towards precarious jobs and illegal employment. Women, in particular, are excluded from any training or work programmes and are often grandmothers before they reach the age of forty.

9.3.2. Main evolutions in the political, institutional and governance context

At the end of the 1970s, members of a wide range of state and private organizations and institutions were involved in providing assistance and tutoring to deprived families in the Quartieri Spagnoli. They included municipal social service workers, parsons, the more dynamic workers of the five schools attended by the local student population, and members of a few non-profit organizations. In the Quartieri Spagnoli, in fact, the problems affecting the area had attracted the attention of voluntary movements and organizations which found an ideal situation to implement social initiatives and welfare work. However, this flourishing of innovative social activities came to a standstill when the earthquake struck in November 1980.

Only in 1985 the Naples City Council resumed its social policies, as a result of funding from national legislation, and began encouraging the development of social services in all districts of the city. The range of policy tools was also enlarged and initiatives began to combine financial support with socialization and community activities (workshops, cinema) and with collaboration from private social organizations. Collaboration between different private and public groups became particularly intense in the Quartieri Spagnoli because of the willingness to develop networking shown by the people involved in social work. An innovative form of partnership between the different groups operating in the area - a sort of neighbourhood welfare network, in which social actors (social services, advisory centres, schools, parishes and local organizations in the Third sector) could discuss local policies — was experimented.

In the 1990s, there was a radical change in municipal social policies due to the election in 1993 of Antonio Bassolino as Mayor of Naples and the establishment at City Hall of the Department of Dignity and Respect, that remained responsible for social policies until 2000. The EU funded *Urban* programme began in the Quartieri Spagnoli in this climate (1995) and the collaboration between the *AQS* and the Naples City Council meant that a significant part of the programme funding was devoted to social intervention (LAINO, 1999).

In 1999 a new change in power occurred at City Hall, that led to a change in the style of government and planning. Bassolino became Governor of the Campania regional government and left the mayor‘s office. Ms. Incostante, the Councillor for Dignity and Respect also left the Council for the Region. From that moment, a gradual reduction in the municipal government‘s level of receptivity to local actors inputs was observed and the innovative content of interaction and participation achieved in the previous years by the civil society in governance was stifled by the re-emergence of the bureaucratic culture and the administrative routine of old. The new organizational set-up that relegates local actors to a purely advisory role, shows the new City Council‘s intention to —leave all authority and power to make decisions to its traditional and natural political and administrative —place“ (department or service), in order to avoid discussion and conflict with local actors“ (LEPORE, 2002a).

9.4. Associazione Quartieri Spagnoli: from a group of volunteers to a neighbourhood development agency

9.4.1. Cultural and ideological origins of Associazione Quartieri Spagnoli

AQS is based on a project that was spontaneously launched towards the end of the 1970s by a group of friends consisting of students, clerical workers, teachers, who were linked to the religious communities who based their work on Charles de Foucauld‘s experiences. They decided to live and work in the area in close contact with needy or vulnerable groups of inhabitants, who risked social exclusion or were already in a deprived position. Their initial aim was the creation of social, educational, and training services and the revival of economic activity - artisan production in particular.

The approach was predominantly inspired by the philanthropic solidarity of critical and dissenting Catholic movements established between the 1950s and 1960s. On a social philosophical level, similarities can be found with the —Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa“ (Mouvement for Educational Co-operation) inspired by the Popular Pedagogy of Célestin and Elise Freinet, whereas on an organizational level, it is more akin to the work of militant neighbourhood groups belonging to Left-wing parties that were establishing themselves in the suburbs or run-down areas in the same period.

9.4.2. AQS‘ 1st stage. Fertilization and experimentation (1978-1990)

During its first years of activity, the *group* was exclusively involved in becoming a part of the residents‘ lives, listening to their problems and consolidating its knowledge of social exclusion dynamics in the area. It focused its attention on the difficulties faced by children and young people who had abandoned compulsory education or interrupted their studies early and spent most of their time in the streets. It then became involved in the problem of undeclared work that is widespread throughout the small sweatshops in the area, and low employability of young people due to poor training and lack of qualifications.

Initially, activities were mainly self-financed. The promoters worked free of charge and also had to cover overheads. They sometimes benefited from small external contributions from several different sources including, above all, private supporters. However, the most important resource consisted of the close web of relations with the external world, an extensive informal network that involved the University and other research institutes, as well as similar experiences that other individuals belonging to the same religious movement had begun in other parts of Naples, Italy and worldwide. On the other hand, the main obstacle the group faced was the cultural, professional and political inertia of

the government institutions who might be willing to listen but achieved little or nothing on a practical level.

The *Association* was formally established in 1986, when the informal group of friends decided to provide a formal legal structure to the voluntary service. The Association's activities began to receive financial support from the State and from the Naples City Council. It then succeeded in securing the use of municipal premises that became the base for *AQS*'s first social economy project. A multi-purpose youth centre called —Via Nova" became a social centre where educational and socialization projects and pre-learning activities were organized for resident children and young people (playschools, scholastic support, creativity labs, photography, music, pottery, sports activities). At the same time, a project on the —emersion" of undeclared employment was launched with the co-operation of young workers and local artisans. The —Parco del Lavoro" (Labor Park) was also conceived, a complex project involving the training and insertion of young people in local businesses and, for the first time in Naples, courses for —Street Teachers" were proposed.

9.4.3. AQS' 2nd stage. Transformation into neighbourhood development agency (1991-1999)

In 1991 the *AQS* entered a period of major development and experienced progressive institutionalization, assuming the more permanent role of an agency promoting neighbourhood development and playing an active part in outlining social policies for the Municipality.

Until then, the *AQS* had based its activity on a strong territorial embeddedness and a firm commitment to listening and speaking to the population in the area. It now began to develop a special ability to link people, experiences and resources at different spatial scales. The Association became a member of the Coordinamento Nazionale delle Comunità di Accoglienza (National Coordination of Shelter Communities). It also established contacts with European organizations such as the Union Nationale des Foyers et Services pour Jeunes Travailleurs, specialized prevention groups, and the European network of the Règies de Quartier. Through these channels and the people it came into contact with, it became aware of the new opportunities that national and European policies offered for innovative projects.

One of *AQS* founder members, who had embarked on a university career, worked from 1995 to 1999 as a consultant for the Municipality's social policies and consequently the strategies and style of *AQS* have had a significant impact also on other neighbourhood and urban planning and actions. In line with the philosophy and methods of intervention

developed by *AQS*, the *Urban* project in Naples was particularly attentive to the social dimension of public space rather than only to the physical rehabilitation aspect (LAINO, 2001a). Moreover, *AQS* did much more than other programmes to promote small-scale economic activity and conceived training - co-financed by the European Social Fund - as a socio-educational service, with stable features, receptive to the area, and based on the involvement of the local population.

The projects funded as part of the *Urban* scheme, together with several other initiatives related to protection, prevention and social inclusion, for which *AQS* received national and European funding (within the *Integra*, *Povertà*, *Horizon*, *Now* programmes) established innovative social figures and tools, such as —street teachers", —mothers' crèches", social meeting points, job centres, foster care tutors, training programmes for job socialization, services for the employability of young people. Some of these projects were then adopted as models in other areas and cities.

At this stage, the Association's budget had improved significantly. It organized many well-structured activities and developed strong roots in the community, where it earned a trusted reputation as a reliable source of assistance to people in need. By the end of the 1990s, *AQS* had become the main agent promoting neighbourhood development in the area and had several ongoing projects where it could put its considerable experience to use. However, these projects needed to be closely followed and defended from tough competition.

9.4.4. AQS' 3rd stage: Assessment and revision (2000-2003).

1999 marked a turning-point and the beginning of a downhill trend for *AQS*, caused by relevant changes in municipal social policy. In addition to the political climate, the third sector itself had considerably changed. The —market" for social action had evolved and the economic interest at stake had increased. There was now strong competition for funding from other actors in the non-profit sector, who were not as competent and forward-looking, but were good at fund-raising and appeared on the scene to take advantage of the situation. The —Cantieri sociali" notion - i.e. —Social building yards" of ongoing social work - no longer featured and were replaced by plain —social services" market niches, where the competitive Third sector companies' mission was increasingly geared towards self consolidation rather than community building. As a result, the Association now had to reconsider its role as a development agency and search for new ways to pursue its mission.

Despite the apparent continuity in its social policy, the new local government does not seem to consider an increase in social capital really important. In the new administrative

scenario, the *Urban* project would be filed away as a past experience along with the style of intervention and philosophy that went with it. In addition to changes in social relations and policies, *AQS* explicitly deplores the reappearance in the political arena of non-transparent behaviour, alliances based on opportunism, power games, and policies of favouritism.

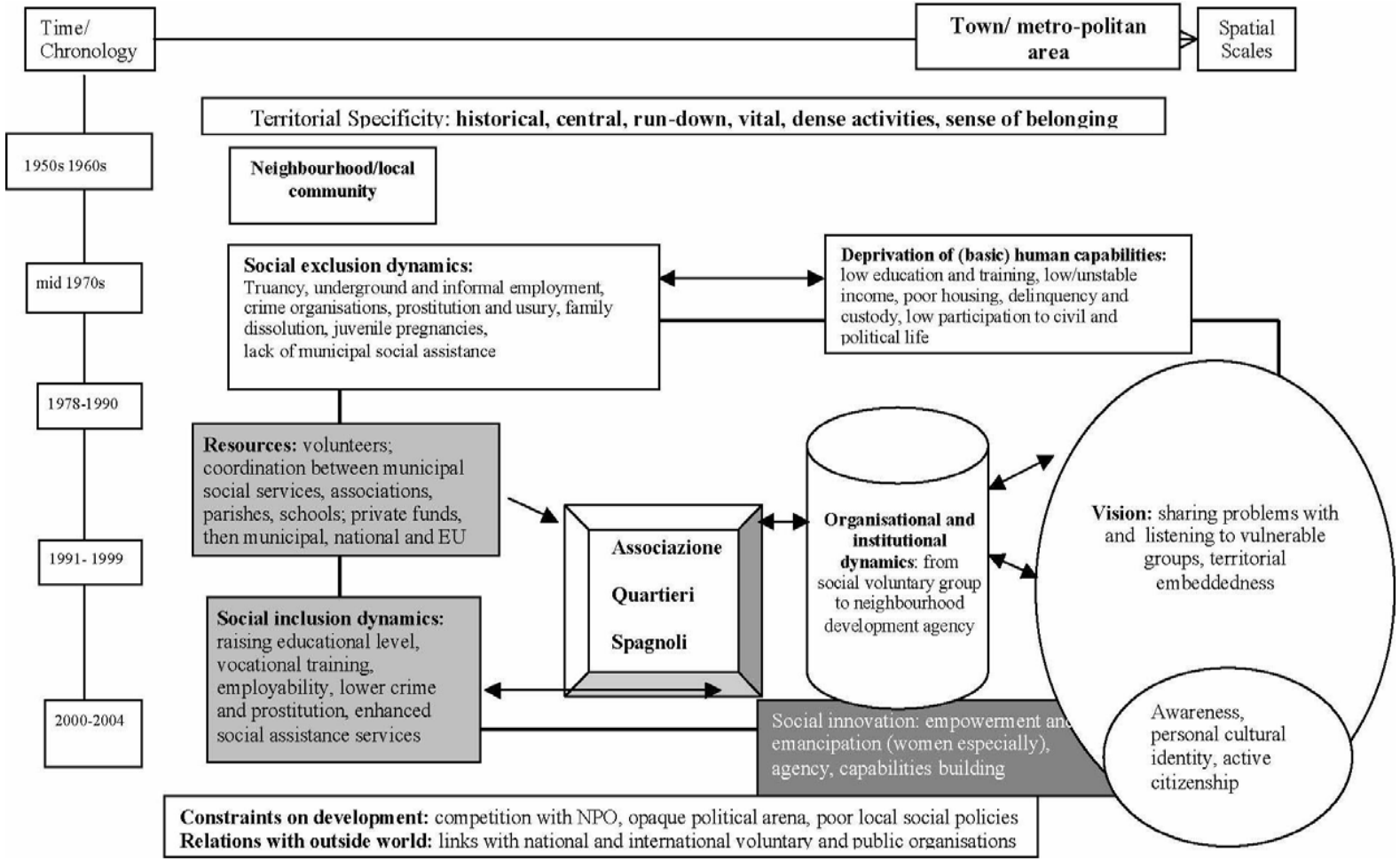
As a result, the Association has been facing a strategic, financial and structural crisis for some years, involving a —control drift‟ where attention is focused on finding financial backing for ongoing activities rather than devising new intervention models. The lack of project continuity and renewal of financial sources has led to a sense of precariousness and uncertainty. Nevertheless, *AQS* is continuing the activities consolidated over a long period of time and remains one of the major suppliers of social services in the area.

9.5. Dynamics of social innovations: increasing human capabilities in the Quartieri Spagnoli

The type of social exclusion operating in the Quartieri Spagnoli is not directly linked to the crisis and the subsequent gradual reorganization of the welfare state after the 1970s. It involves social groups that have historically been marginalised, even if they live in the city centre. Their marginality, expressed by their exclusion from formal economic circuits and by their involvement in informal and/or illegal and criminal circuits, essentially derives from a lack of capabilities - both basic (access to economic resources and education) and relational (agency, empowerment), which are reciprocally reinforced to complete the circuit of exclusion (*AQS*, 1999). The crisis and reorganization of the welfare state have highlighted the inadequacy of traditional monetary-based assistance in the fight against social exclusion.

When a group of volunteers started to work in the area at the end of the 1970s, they were determined to fight against social exclusion through social work based on new forms of civic commitment, that were different from the traditional involvement of political parties and groups (Figure 1). In the beginning, the promoters did not focus on —doing something for‟ the residents, but on —being with‟ them and creating a —place‟ where they could be together, drink coffee, and exchange stories and survival strategies. They described themselves as —a group of dissenting Catholics, enrooted in an area of hardship and poverty that represents a privileged place for developing a horizon of sense‟. They chose this form of civic commitment because they were unable to identify with traditional political practice, i.e. with parliamentary and extra parliamentary parties, codes and protocols.

Figure 1. Main dynamics of social exclusion, inclusion and innovation in the Quartieri Spagnoli area



The story of the *Associazione Quartieri Spagnoli* is one of a small group of people that went from being a spontaneous group of volunteers to becoming a neighbourhood development agency. The process took over twenty years, a period rich with relationships, experiences, successes and failures; years of hard work full of ideas and projects that were conceived because of the ability to seize the best opportunities in terms of structures, funding and relations, for achieving the desired objectives. The story had begun without defining a long-term project, on the wave of a vision and special philosophy - that of experimenting with policy in the simplest way possible, as a daily civil commitment by living and working in one of the most difficult areas in Naples to assist the most deprived population groups. The style and methods of intervention were dictated by this cultural and ideological inspiration from the very beginning: low threshold work made possible by the territorial embeddedness; skill and constant commitment of the people dedicated to the mission.

The headquarters of the voluntary group (a small —basso", a single-room ground-level dwelling, leading directly onto the street) soon became a well-known meeting place for families in the area. Activities were channelled towards offering residents, and especially young people, the opportunity to gain the rights of citizenship which had not been granted by the state. To achieve this objective, social bonds had to be developed and the community rebuilt, by reformulating the ways of living, the social roles and the value frameworks, by restoring and redefining the sense of legality and the spirit of solidarity and by activating forms of active citizenship and associative local democracy. *AQS* aim was —to develop the citizens' ability to pass from a passive state to one of mobilization when confronted with specific activities" (STANCO, A., STANCO, L. and LAINO, 1994).

The work that *AQS* has undertaken in the area over the last twenty years has, above all, made people aware of their right to ask for and receive support for many of the problems that affect their daily lives. The social policies and projects advanced by the Association have prompted changes in attitude and mentality in the resident population. The latter has learnt to appreciate the benefits of social assistance and has acquired the ability to play a leading role and to assert itself, feeling responsible for its own emancipation (D'AMBROSIO, PALA and TRIGGIANI, 2003).

This objective has been reached by listening and sharing and then offering targeted support for the collective construction of basic capabilities. Rather than —community building", it involved —capability building" since a sense of belonging to the community and some forms of solidarity were already well established. It was innovative because social occasions were provided, rather than primary goods and services, by which

residents could find a way out of informal, illegal and criminal circuits. In other words, the foundations were laid for self-sustainable social inclusion

A second innovative aspect is *AQS* role as a development agency, which represents the citizens‘ interests and acts as a political mediator. From the very beginning the various partners were committed to the construction and consolidation of an extended informal network consisting of voluntary associations, private individuals, local authorities, central government Ministries and the European Community. In fact, one of the most important resources that *AQS* has mobilized consists of the close web of relations with the external world, at different spatial scales.

In the end, *AQS* has developed a crucial role in the governance of the area and of the city, aided by a gradual transformation of the small group of volunteers into a promotional body with an active role in policy proposals and social innovation (LAINO, 2001b). They have become a landmark in the area and the city in general for the implementation of social policies and, with their help, thousands of families have been offered opportunities that they would previously have never considered. The association has been able to gather and interpret unexpressed needs of the resident population and channel them into community development projects. Through its leadership, it has been able to represent these interests at different political levels (local, national and European) and attract the attention on the neighbourhood of several government bodies.

The progressive institutionalization of AQS in the 1990s as an agency promoting neighbourhood development and influencing the making of social policies in the City Council was certainly affected by. the new political climate at the City Council brought about by the election of Bassolino as Mayor (1992-1999). In these years the local government was, indeed, quite favourable to and supportive of bottom-up development projects (LEPORE, 2002b). During the 1990s, extensive collaboration and interaction between social mobilization and city government initiatives prevailed in the city‘s political arena; civil society expressed stronger pressure from below and *AQS* played an active role - along with other associations and groups operating in the municipal territory - in stimulating innovative municipal social policies. Thanks to its strong planning skills, *AQS* conceived and experimented at a neighbourhood scale innovative projects aiming not only at an improvement in the standard of living of residents, but also - and above all - at an extension of relational networks. Encouraged by the success of these initiatives, municipal government adopted some of the new intervention models conceived by the members of the Association and used them in other areas of the city.

It is also important to stress how the association‘s participation in European networks generated intense exchanges between organizers, teachers and social workers, while the neighbourhood and its social activities were publicized on a national and international level. This encouraged cultural exchanges with other realities and, in many cases, contributed to overcome the resistance by local people, especially the young, to look beyond the area‘s boundaries and to live new experiences.

Finally, a major achievement of *AQS* is the —spillover‟ and —dissemination‟ effects of its initiatives: hundreds of young social workers have begun to bring life into the —market‟ of social services provision that in Naples represents an important occupational niche. In its role as agency, in fact, the Association also served as a catalyst for human and intellectual resources. Many highly skilled development agents are devoted to its mission, with a high level of motivation, strong leadership, relational skills, creativity, planning skills and listening, mediating, experimenting and negotiating skills (LEPORE, 2002c).

Since 2000, *AQS* has complained of the local government‘s loss of ‘strategic view‘ in social policy. Despite the apparent continuity with the previous decade, the most recent social policies are characterized by a top-down approach, with much attention given to image rather than relationships with the citizens and local networks. There is no longer the same willingness to listen to the suggestions of local actors and to try out partnerships and co-planning. When the City Council drew up the three-year Social Plan that was approved in 2001, it changed the relations and institutional balances in the bureaucratic structure (among politicians, executives, civil servants) and de-legitimized the unofficial team of experts, consultants and representatives of the associations that had co-operated with the previous administration. As a result, the Association now had to reconsider its role as a development agency and search for new ways and resources to pursue its mission.

In the *AQS*' opinion, the current social services policy is the result of a traditional approach to planning in which the activity of listening to the local population is grossly underestimated and in which the indiscriminate institutionalization of social services - ignoring differences between the areas - risks damaging social innovation processes rather than promoting them. The role of civil society has currently been confined to only an advisory role, if it is involved at all.

9.6. Conclusion

AQS‘s long existence offers the rare possibility of verifying dynamics and innovative processes at every stage of the entire life cycle of the association, from when it spontaneously appeared in the neighbourhood, through the period of consolidation and institutionalization, to the present day stage of stagnation, in which its role as a local development agency is questioned and further challenged by a crisis of identity and motivation, a break with politics and public institutions, competition in the Third sector. Whatever possibilities exist for re-launching the role of the Association, it currently finds itself in a paradoxical situation: on one hand, it is suffering from a lack of strength and ability to receive funding and has had to come to terms with changes in government and policy strategies; on the other hand, its intervention models and the institutional activities it has consolidated over time continue to represent a landmark in the social policy scenario and are even successfully replicated in other neighbourhoods.

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Giovanni Laino, founder, currently working as consultant. Annamaria Stanco, founder and partner in the Association. Enzo Pala, in charge of training projects and tutoring. Several operators, stakeholders and municipal social officers.

At the Naples City Council:

Giovanni Attademo, manager of Servizio Minori, Infanzia e Adolescenza

10. "Piazziamoci"- a network of neighbourhood groups and associations for a young people's —piazza" in Scampia (Naples)

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10.1. Abstract

The study refers to a case study of social innovation against deprivation and social exclusion in Naples that has been studied within the SINGOCOM research project and is located in Scampia, an extremely distressed neighbourhood in the northern outskirts of Naples. A network of civic associations, *Piazziamoci*, is trying to set up a "*piazza*" (square), as a place where the local community can meet and organise collective initiatives in order to (re)construct social relations, especially among young people, in a socio-economic context strongly conditioned by criminality, on the one hand, and by a neglectful city planning approach, on the other hand. The civic network has succeeded in enhancing local social capital and fighting social exclusion; furthermore, it has developed a planning project for the square through direct participation of citizens and young people, mobilizing several local resources. The use of ICT has had a significant role in the community networking. The socially innovative content of the *Piazziamoci* project and its impact on neighbourhood dynamics are eventually assessed, taking into consideration the intolerable living conditions in the neighbourhood and the difficult relations between the network and the municipal government.

10.2. Introduction

"*Piazziamoci"*[50] is the name given to an initiative promoted in 2001 by a network of neighbourhood groups and associations in Scampia, a residential area on the northern outskirts of Naples, to develop local participation in the design of a square named "*Piazza dei giovani*" (—Square of Young People"). The *Piazziamoci* initiative was mainly a reaction to top-down urban redevelopment planning that did not meet citizens' demands and was based predominantly on a physical design approach, with very little concern for social issues. The aim was to affirm an "active citizenship" model and to begin a participatory urban planning process open to schools, associations and residents active in the neighbourhood, with a decidedly bottom-up approach.

[50] The name of the network plays on a pun that cannot be translated: piazziamoci in Italian means "let's get settled" or "let's place ourselves", whereas piazza means "square".

In the study of *Piazziamoci*, we present two closely related factors, urban development and the complex socio-economic background. We attempt to understand the circumstances that led to the establishment and development of local grassroots organizations beginning with civic commitment, through traditional forms of political representation to the discussion with local public institutions and the creation of the *Piazziamoci* network and its work. Our main objective is to assess the socially innovative content of the Piazziamoci project (that has yet to be finished) and its impact on social exclusion and urban planning. The socially innovative content of the *Piazziamoci* project and its impact on neighbourhood dynamics are eventually assessed, taking into consideration the intolerable living conditions in the neighbourhood and the difficult relations between the network and the municipal government.

Finally, we try to assess the effect on local governance of the "voice" that *Piazziamoci* has given to the neighbourhood residents' needs for social relations and security.

The study has been conducted mainly through meetings and interviews with local actors related to the initiatives: leaders and members of civil society organisations and neighbourhood associations, stakeholders, volunteers, civil servants, representatives of local government, university researchers, parsons and religious groups.

Table 1. Chronology

1999	Agreement between the Naples City Council and the DUN (Department of Planning at the University of Naples) for technical and scientific consulting on safety issues in the urban redevelopment of Scampia.
2001	Meetings and exchange of information between DUN and Scampia's residents and associations. The *Piazziamoci* Committee is established with technical assistance offered by the DUN (Department of Planning at the University of Naples) for research work. The *on-line* periodical and neighbourhood website *www.fuoricentroscampia.it* are set up. Activities involving the participation of young people (simulated surveys, competition of ideas, collecting suggestions and information).
2002	End-of-school-year event with projects exhibits, plays and shows on the theme of the Piazza. The proposal for the *—Piazza dei giovani*" (—Piazza of Young People") is brought to the attention of the municipal office in charge of the Scampia Redevelopment Plan (*Assessorato alle periferie* - Enhancement of Urban Fringes Office). The Committee sets up the *Agenda delle associazioni di Scampia*, a calendar of the events scheduled by the different associations of the neighbourhood and new communication projects are started.
2003	The City Council includes a *—Piazza Giovani*" (—Youth Square") on the site indicated by the *Piazziamoci* Committee in the Redevelopment plan; but rather than continuing the participatory planning process, it begins to finance and design the *piazza* using traditional methods and without involving the Committee.
2004	The *Piazziamoci* Committee and the municipal office in charge of the Scampia Redevelopment Plan debate about the Piazza's project and what the Committee's participatory role in designing and building the piazza might include. The *Piazziamoci* Committee associations continue to organise social events for the re-possession of space (festivals held in the piazzas) and the intensification of communications (networking, interaction, public meetings).

Source: authors

10.3. Neighbourhood profile

10.3.1. Birth and urban development of the Scampia neighbourhood

Until the beginning of the 1960s, Scampia was a rural area on the northern edge of Naples. It was chosen as the site for a new social housing estate, to meet the growing housing demand in Naples. During the 1970s, the district began to be populated by people from Naples and its hinterland, but in 1980 much of the housing stock (the "*Vele* estate") was illegally occupied by families made homeless by the earthquake that had struck the region and by homeless people from other areas of Naples.

The poor layout of blocks and roads, the large number of buildings left uncompleted and subsequently vandalized, and the lack of services and maintenance of public spaces were

all features that contributed to make the place anonymous, difficult to live in, and with no sense of community (LAINO, DE LEO, 2002). Over the years, symptoms of decline and social disintegration appeared in the area, including crime, drug dealings, mass unemployment and widespread truancy (DE LUCIA, 1998).

The Urban Redevelopment Plan for the Scampia area was launched in 1995, aiming at re-housing the *Vele* estate residents and promoting social and economic revival and re-functionalisation of the area through a series of actions. However, the Project was still characterised by a basically physical approach, in which architectural and urban design remained central, instead of social planning (LAINO, 1995). At present, the Urban Redevelopment Plan in Scampia is still under way. Some works have been completed, some are in progress (in the building stage), some have been approved but have not yet been contracted out - such as the building of the "*Piazza della Socialità*" ("Socialisation Square") with several functions (cinema, theatre, housing, banks, business activities), work on roads, parking spaces and green areas, and the construction of a Civil Defence Centre. Other projects are still awaiting approval (Naples City Council, 2003b)

10.3.2. Current social framework

The events and urban planning projects summarised above, together with the difficulties experienced by the local government in managing such a large and ambitious project, have most certainly contributed to make a rather complex and problematic social profile of the area, which is currently undergoing further transformation.

Table 2. Main demographic characteristics

	1991		2001	
	NAPLES	SCAMPIA	NAPLES	SCAMPIA
Surface area (hectares)	11,727	430	11,727	430
Resident population	1,067,365	43,980	1,004,500	41,340
Number of families	312,376	9,741	337,786	10,612
Population density (inhabitants/km 2)	9,102	10,397	8,566	9,773
Average family size	3,42	4,51	2,97	3,9
Old age index (ratio of people •65 years to people (<15 years)	62.7	24.3	91.1	53.2
Dependency index (ratio of people <15 years and •65 years to people 15-64 years)	45.3	41.8	48.6	45.9
Ratio of males to females	92.8	100.7	91.7	102.1
Percentage of young people (15-29 years)	27.9	33.8	21.8	25.4
Percentage of children (<15 years)	19.2	23.7	17.1	20.5
Percentage of old people (•65 years)	12.0	5.8	15.6	10.9
Percentage of large families	23.7	46.0	14.9	32.0

Source: data from the Naples City Council processed by ITER.

The main demographic characteristics of the area, compared to municipality of Naples as a whole are shown in Table 2. Scampia has a population density significantly higher than the whole city of Naples, which is already the highest in Europe. The percentage of young people (15-29 years) and children (<15 years) is higher in Scampia compared with the city as a whole, whereas the percentage of old people and the old age index are, instead, much lower. Finally, the size of an average family and the number of large families (with 5 members or more) are much higher in Scampia than the average figure for Naples.

The area shows clear signs of social decline and exclusion: serious problems of school attendance, truancy and abandonment of compulsory education, illiteracy (higher than average figures in Naples), high unemployment particularly among young people (approximately 67%), lack of work culture, and a predominance of public sector

employment (CENSIS, 1998). Exclusion and marginality are the basis for illegal activities, social unrest and violence, making Scampia a booming market for the activities of the Neapolitan criminal entrepreneurial organisation - the *Camorra* - with widespread drug dealing, smuggling and illegal betting.

An analysis of the social structure of Scampia highlights the presence of different groups, closely related with the type of buildings (MORLICCHIO, 2001). The utopian city-garden that was initially conceived is now an urban and social archipelago (LAINO, DE LEO, 2002), where different classes live in mutual isolation and are in turn isolated from the rest of the city.

10.3.3. Dynamics of civil society

Because of the serious problems facing the neighbourhood and despite its social and economic decline, a number of committees, associations and organisations have always been active in Scampia, where the traditions of both the Catholic and the lay voluntary sectors are well embedded. These actors contribute to the social and civil development of the neighbourhood in a variety of ways and have formed a solid network of collaboration - sometimes at a personal level, but more often through associations and grassroots organisations - to promote cultural and civil initiatives in the area, aiming at the regeneration of the neighbourhood, the construction of social capital and community building. Schools also play an important role and are a positive force in the area.

In 1994, *Forum*, an informal organisation, with participation from several associations, local health authorities and social services, was set up. In 1997 the *Forum* actors took over some unused school classrooms, which became the seat of the *Cittadella delle Associazioni* ("Stronghold of Associations"). Until 1998, the *Forum* coordinated the initiatives of all the local actors involved in the social development of the neighbourhood. The following year, however, the organisation collapsed because of irreconcilable internal differences and *Forum* was dismantled. From then on, the associations and groups operating in the area have by and large not managed to find any common interests and ways to work together. Only a few (including those in the *Piazziamoci* committee) have succeeded in cooperation.

10.4. Piazziamoci: a participatory planning initiative to set up a "Piazza of Young People" in Scampia

10.4.1. Factors determining the start of the initiative and main actors

Among the neighbourhood actors involved in social re-qualification and community building projects, a group of residents of a higher social and economic status, living in private condominiums or in the *Vele* estate, have built up over time privileged relationships of collaboration and cohesion based on shared values and objectives. In November 2001, these actors worked towards establishing the *Piazziamoci* network and were later joined by other voluntary associations, the local CGIL trade union branch, a number of schools in the area, sport associations, representatives of condominiums and some local media[51].

A group of researchers from the Department of Urban Planning at the Federico II University in Naples (DUN) has undoubtedly played a central role. It was involved in the *Piazziamoci* experience from the very beginning and offered full technical support (University of Naples - DUN, 2002). In its opinion, re-colonizing the area by reorganising public spaces - squares - where young people could meet in safety would encourage the residents to re-appropriate areas used by organised crime and exploited for illegal activities. This strategy would satisfy the residents' need for places and areas —to live in" promote human relations and create opportunities for socialising and leisure time, allowing the neighbourhood to acquire a positive identity, to lessen the —social deficit" and re-establish a sense of —community" and —belonging" (ANDRIELLO, 2001).

In November 2001 and based on the university researchers' suggestions, some local actors, already working on social regeneration in the area, decided to set up a coordinating committee of local associations - *Piazziamoci* - whose main aim was to create a —Piazza of Young People", both in a material/physical and in a social sense (Coordinamento Piazziamoci, 2002). The *Piazziamoci* coordinating committee also benefited from the participation and support of two local news initiatives: the *Fuga di notizie*, a monthly neighbourhood magazine first published roughly 15 years ago by the Jesuit community in the area, and the on-line periodical *www.fuoricentroscampia.it* created in 2001. Both are important sources of information for the area, a relevant tool for reporting situations of social fragmentation and a means of publicising cultural, civil

[51] Although it is fundamentally leftœwing, there are no political parties in the Committee. The more politicized Comitato di Lotta dei Residenti nelle Vele , which for years has been supporting the rights of the families of Scampia, did not join the committee.

and institutional initiatives. With regard to *Piazziamoci* these two periodicals have constantly reported on the conflict between institutions and citizens about the Scampia projects and have contributed to weaving new social relations by supporting the participation of the resident population and the development of democracy.

10.4.2. The action taken

In June 2002, local participation in planning the "Piazza" was formally brought to the attention of the City Council. For almost a year, until the end of 2003, the *Piazziamoci* committee waited for the inclusion of the "Piazza" proposal in the Council's budget before being able to proceed with the actual planning. In the meantime, the municipal government did not openly oppose the associative network but neither did it establish a proper negotiating position.

The activities of the committee were deployed in two different directions: establishing a participatory planning process and making the "Piazza" animated and lively. Existing structures and potential areas for building the "Piazza of Young People" were examined first; a square with several schools, sports facilities and other infrastructure, where young people spent time (*Piazza Telematica*) was identified; a campaign involving local schools was organised to heighten the residents' awareness and understanding of the needs and ideas of young people; the schools reacted by actively collaborating and appealing to the young people's imagination. Results were publicised through a series of events, local media and the on-line periodical.

By using this approach the associative network aimed at developing a sense of civic awareness - always previously repressed in the area - and establishing some sort of local identity and collective historical memory. It encouraged the inhabitants to express their own needs and created a movement of opinion and democratic pressure so that these needs could be expressed and possibly met. In order to achieve these objectives, it used innovative tools to intensify social relations in the area. The *Agenda delle associazioni di Scampia* and the *network of communication* are two examples. The first was a "calendar" and programme drawn up by the *Piazziamoci* committee in September of each year, which included all the activities and events that the associations of the neighbourhood planned to organize throughout the year, including street festivals, cultural exhibitions and events, environmental rallies and demonstrations, door-to-door fund collections for projects of solidarity, etc. It also aimed at spreading a sense of integration, tolerance, peace and respect for differences among the young people in the area, as well as a responsible use of the environment in general and of the public areas in Scampia in particular. The second, a network of communication between the local community and

the rest of the world consisted of: a) the local magazine *Fuga di notizie*, b) the on-line periodical *www.fuoricentroscampia.it*, c) the ITIS (Public Technical High School) "Galileo Ferraris" *website* (www.ferraris.org), d) periodical newsletters.

10.4.3. The results that were achieved

At the end of 2003 a Municipal project for a square was eventually included in the public works to be completed in Scampia as part of the Redevelopment Plan. It was to be built exactly on the same site as the one indicated by the *Piazziamoci* coordinating committee, with a similar name: *Piazza Giovani - Un laboratorio aperto per l'energia rinnovabile* (Youth Square - An open workshop for renewable energy).

However, although similar in name, the square conceived by the City Council has very different features and adheres to a very different philosophy to that of the "Piazza" proposed by the network of associations. The municipal project involves —providing the area with street furniture and public lighting using technologies served by renewable energy, a theme that favours links with the nearby schools, the *Piazza Telematica* and the voluntary sector" (Naples City Council, 2003a). It does not correspond at all to the idea proposed by the network of associations for active participation by young people in the design and construction of a piazza that is both a liveable and safe place for socialising. Apart from the similar name there is no reference in the Council's project to any specific category of users or to the residents' intention to re-appropriate the area by actively supervising its remodelling.

For these reasons, the *Piazziamoci* committee neither agrees with, nor supports the Council's project. It considers it to be remote from the demands and the needs expressed by the residents in the area, whilst not taking into account any of the indications offered by *Piazziamoci* after two years' work and civil mobilization. To As an explicit demonstration of the committee's detachment from the Council's project, the movement organisers have considered opting out of the Piazza initiative although they intend to continue social promotion and regeneration in the area. At present, the *Piazziamoci* committee and the municipal office in charge of the Scampia Redevelopment Plan are still discussing the Piazza project and what the Committee's participatory role in planning and building the piazza might be.

10.5. Socially innovative content of the Piazziamoci project and impact on neighbourhood dynamics

The deep social disintegration in Scampia is the result of a complex set of demographic, urban planning and social processes that have affected the city of Naples as a whole between the 1960s and the 1990s. The first trend to consider is the very rapid growth of the city's population during the first two decades of this period. This growth was handled somewhat inefficiently and inadequately by the municipal government, thereby generating an urban sprawl that was disorderly from a territorial point of view, speculative from an economic point of view and unsustainable from an environmental point of view. Such urban sprawl led in turn to the creation of new "dormitory" neighbourhoods on the outskirts of the city and to the expulsion of a number of social groups from the residential areas in the inner city. This expulsion contributed to the break up of existing social links and weakened or even erased the local identity of some communities. Last but not least, the absence of inclusive local economic development measures not only left entire groups of the population in rather precarious economic conditions but also contributed to the strength and development of illegal and/or criminal activities.

Scampia is a textbook example of a process of urban expansion in which planning is reduced to the blueprinting of a residential neighbourhood without considering services for the population - both public and private - or the need to create places for the reconstruction of social links and a sense of belonging, at least from an architectural point of view. Inadequate urban planning is additionally burdened by the difficulty (and sometimes lack of commitment) found at all levels of government (local and central) in tackling the problem of mass youth unemployment in fringe areas. If we then consider not only the economic and cultural diversity of the social groups in the neighbourhood but also the presence of a large segment of *Lumpenproletariat* belonging to, or connected with, organized crime, we can understand how the reconstruction of the social fabric in Scampia has met an obstacle that is far more serious than the lack of appropriate planning, namely the problem of *insecurity*.

Insecurity is an issue, or rather a climate, that is also witnessed by the absence of the rule of law. As featured on all media, even abroad, a brutal "civil war" has recently broken out in Scampia - with members of one *Camorra* clan fighting those of another for the control of the drug market - which has produced several victims in only a few weeks. The increasingly bloody *Camorra* wars for territorial control confirm that the State, whether national or local, has very little control over Scampia and its surroundings, and that the drug trade remains the core business in those socially disrupted suburbs.

There are, therefore, different factors limiting the scope for participation and reducing the capabilities[52] of residents, which lead to the neighbourhood becoming "unliveable". These factors are exogenous - planning practices and processes - and endogenous - social deviance. They come from above - lack of State presence - and from below - social disintegration and economic marginality.

Nonetheless, the associative fabric in this area has always been fertile, even if it has changed considerably over the years. A number of local actors have been involved in cultural and social promotion and regeneration of the neighbourhood, as well as in increasing awareness on a number of issues such as the environment, social solidarity, peace and the development of a civic consciousness, especially among young people. Others (*Comitato di Lotta per le Vele*) have defended specific rights of specific groups and others still, particularly Chatholic groups, are involved in organising and offering the resident population services and support for needy families and children.

These civil society organizations have shown that they are competent in their field of action (advocacy of excluded groups, organisation of social and cultural activities and entertainment, mobilisation of residents in social events, services provision), but they have not always been successful in communicating with each other and coordinating their projects and ventures (PUGLIESE et al., 1999, p.120). The 1990s were the richest years for cooperation among such civil forces as they mobilised in defining the neighbourhood redevelopment programme and fuelled discussion with the City government on urban policy in the area.

However, with the exception of the —Comitato delle Vele" which took on a leading role even if unrepresentative of the interests of the whole neighbourhood, these organizations have put too little effort into weaving relationships with each other and with the public, and have demonstrated poor negotiating skills (USPEL, 2003). At the beginning of this decade, the local civil society appears rather disjointed, with only a few surviving alliances uniting a small number of local actors with common objectives. This lack of cohesion is one of the main barriers to the success of the projects undertaken to provide a role for the associations in the redevelopment of Scampia.

[52] We refer to the capability approach of Amartya Sen. «Functionings represent parts of the state of a person œ in particular the various things that he or she manages to do or to be in leading a life. The capability of a person reflects the alternative combinations of functionings the person can achieve, and from which he or she can choose one collection. The approach is based on a view of living as a combination of various "doings and *beings", with quality of life to be assessed in terms of the capability to achieve valuable functionings» (Sen, 1993, p. 31).*

On the other hand, it must also be stressed that the spontaneous bottom-up development of innovative organisational models - such as the *Forum* (the informal organisation set up in 1994 with participation from several associations, local health authorities and public social services) and the *Cittadella of Associations* (1997) - were consistently frustrated by the limited ability or willingness of the local government to listen and to involve citizens. Although the civil society of Scampia may not have succeeded in creating a strong local partnership, the local government institutions - including a District Council that seems not to represent the neighbourhood at all - have not even assessed the proposals made by local citizens and have certainly not supported the participation of local actors in the decision-making and planning processes, for a different development (LAINO, 1999).

Quite on the opposite tack, since the beginning of the year 2000, the District Council has begun to examine the role of the associations and the voluntary sector in the neighbourhood, expressing its intention of assuming a new role as legitimizer, coordinator and controller of individuals and groups in the third sector. It has set out standards and organisational models to be used in grassroots participation in urban planning. This regulatory process culminated in the establishment of the *Council of Associations*, in September 2001. Although motivated by a just cause (supporting citizen participation in the redevelopment of Scampia), the process was marked by a top-down approach: in contrast to the ventures promoted in the previous decade from within the neighbourhood civil society - which aimed at providing an arena for expressing grassroots participation - the Council of Associations, was created according to rules dictated by the local government and was involved only in issues unilaterally established. On a practical level, the Council of Associations, reflecting top-down institutionalization, does not seem to have played any relevant role in local policy administration. Considering the way it was set up, it is hardly surprising that several important local agents do not even know it exists or do not consider it an effective form of grassroots representation.

In this context, the fact that the *Piazziamoci* network has emerged is undoubtedly an important expression of social innovation. On the one hand this network has been able to create opportunities and spaces for socialising, and on the other, has shown the importance of participation by the local community; it has succeeded in re-inventing areas for social use by mobilising hidden human resources and re-planning the collective use of some sites in the neighbourhood, saving them from territorial and social decay. One strength in the network‘s strategy has been to focus on the needs and participation of young people in the area and to identify them as the group most vulnerable to deviance, but also as an active resource (University of Naples - DUN, 2001).

But in the end, the re-planning of the Piazza as a symbol of youth participation, even if it represented an important strategic element for the *Piazziamoci* network of associations, clashed with municipal bureaucracy and the opportunism of the local political class, both resistant to pressure from below to adopt forms of democratic participation in territorial management. Although the municipal government appears initially to have listened to the "voices" from the neighbourhood, its approach has more recently has been predominantly bureaucratic and traditional, with a reappearance of top-down planning practices and only an apparent willingness to listen to proposals from the local community. From this point of view, one major weak point of the Scampia network of associations' is its limited political agency capabilities, i.e. the ability or power to solicit and to urge government, politicians and parties. This drawback depends mainly on the lack of political leadership in the network.

10.6. Concluding remarks

If we consider the building of the Piazza of Young People as the main instrument for social inclusion initiated by the *Piazziamoci* network, we cannot at present affirm that the project has reached its main objective. The role of Scampia's civil society in local governance is therefore still an open book with still unpredictable results. Actually, if the "*Piazza Giovani*" is completed according to the City Council's project specification, it will *not* be considered a success by the *Piazziamoci* movement. This does not detract from the fact that the *Piazziamoci* project has offered an excellent *empowerment* opportunity for the local population, especially the young, who have expanded their socio-political skills in the process. As a matter of fact, the most innovative and interesting result achieved by *Piazziamoci* has been the successful organisation of a diary of cultural events, a civil network of social commitment and a series of collective communication tools in a hostile and disintegrated social and institutional arena. These three elements - shared cultural diary, network, and communications - have enriched the field of social relations, helped to check social exclusion and provided the basis for constructing a sense of local identity and belonging, especially among young people.

This is a relatively recent and rather fragile process that still requires a great deal of work by the associations and is limited by the lack of awareness by the municipal government of the innovative contribution of local civil society. The widespread and embedded presence of the Camorra in Scampia represents a further constraint on the activities of the network, but not the most important. In fact, the scope of the Camorra is economic, whereas the associations' work is in the cultural sphere: even if cultural activities may breed a civic sense and fight social exclusion in the neighbourhood, they do not clash with illegal business and are not (yet) perceived as dangerous by Camorra. It is rather

the absence and distance of the State (at local, regional and national level) which remain both the most relevant constraint on the future of the Scampia network's initiative and a fertile soil for the Camorra's activities. Only strong co-operation between a pro-active local government and the network of associations would create, also through participatory planning, the premises for the renaissance of Scampia.[53]

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University Federico II, Naples:

Daniela Lepore, Professor at Department of Planning at the University of Naples (DUN)

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Enzo Di Guida (Cooperativa Obiettivo Uomo)

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11. New Deal for communities in Newcastle

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11.1. Abstract

This case study details the development of a flagship area-focused regeneration scheme in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The scheme called New Deal for Communities (NDC) was part of a wider policy agenda developed by the national state linked to neighbourhood renewal. NDC was seen as an innovative catalyst for turning around the multiple problems experienced in some of the poorest neighbourhoods, whilst giving a clear leadership role to the local community. This case study argues that NDC has a number of innovative features, and to an extent, has managing to actively engage with the community in an unprecedented way. However, it also argues that the NDC scheme has, in part, become institutionalised as it is forced to meet the auditing and evaluative criteria of central government. As such, Newcastle NDC highlights the three main elements of social innovation, albeit to different extents. It originated due to dissatisfaction with human needs and developed to challenge top-down governance arrangements in the local state by increasingly involving the community sector. This subsequently led to an increase in the socio-political capability and access to resources needed to enhance rights to satisfaction of human needs and participation in place-based decision-making.

11.2. Case Study context

11.2.1. Local context. The New Deal for Communities regeneration initiative

The North East region in the UK has undergone massive industrial change in recent years. The extensive decline in the region's traditional manufacturing industries (coal, steel, shipbuilding and engineering) has produced numerous policy interventions over the last 30 years aimed at dealing with the damaging economic and social consequences of industrial decline and the overdependence on a narrow industrial base.

In particular, in the UK, since 1997, comprehensive and multi-dimensional approaches to tackling social exclusion and the problems of disadvantaged neighbourhoods have been developed which recognise that deprivation derives from a number of inter-related factors which require a joined-up response from different agencies working in partnership. This is the essence of NDC of which the North East Region of the UK hosts four - Newcastle, Middlesbrough, Hartlepool and Sunderland.

Newcastle's West End neighbourhood, in which Newcastle NDC is located, is one of the most disadvantaged in Britain, suffering from large-scale population loss, high crime rates, poor education and health, high unemployment, fractured community relations and inadequate services. As such a part of it was chosen as an NDC scheme with the aim of achieving integrated regeneration of the area through the partnership between the community, the local authority and other stakeholders.

Historically, regeneration policy responses to the problems in this particular locality date back to the 1960s with the slum clearance and redevelopment schemes and the Community Development Partnership (CDP)[54] in the 1970s which sought similar goals to NDC today. After the CDP experience, regeneration efforts in Newcastle's West End have extended forward in time to cover a full range of initiatives at neighbourhood level. This is shown in the table below which highlights the tremendous expenditure in this particular area prior to the £54M given to Newcastle NDC to target particular regeneration dimensions: physical regeneration of housing, redevelopment of public spaces, vocational training, social services (particularly health and education) and enterprise creation.

[54] As part of WP2 in the SINGOCOM project we analysed a CDP project in the North East of England. See the databank in the SINGOCOM website.

Table 1. Programmes and Expenditure in the West End 1979-2000

Programme	Period	Expenditure	
		£	Euro
Urban Programme	1979-95	40,510,809	64,817,294
Estate Action	1986-96	17,632,585	28,212,136
Development Corporation	1987-2000	20,990,011	33,584,018
Private and HA Investment	1987-2000	204,097,342	326,555,747
City Challenge Grant	1992-98	44,279,547	70,847,275
Private Sector Investment	1992-98	105,334,864	168,535,782
North Benwell SRB	1995-97	1,237,171	1,979,474
Private Sector Investment	1995-97	3,586,127	5,737,803
Scotswood SRB	1995-97	5,608,168	8,973,069
Private Sector Investment	1995-97	4,091,588	6,546,541
Reviving Heart of West End	1996-2000	16,662,628	26,660,205
Private Sector Investment	1996-2000	28,692,948	45,908,717
SRB 4 – Grant	1998-2000	4,661,576	7,458,522
Private Sector Investment	1998-2000	4,758,776	7,614,042
SRB 5 – Grant	1999-2000	1,258,000	2,012,800
Private Sector Investment	1999-2000	1,204,770	1,927,632
New Deal for Communities	1999-2000	242,788	388,461
Total at Current Rate	1979-2000	504,849,698	807,759,517

Source (Coaffee, 2004).

In summary, the creation and subsequent development of Newcastle NDC has been strongly related to both national and local state policy development. These relationships will be explored in the remainder of the paper. Table 2 (below) summarises key national and local policy interventions which have impacted upon the area where NDC now exists.

Table 2. Chronology of Recent Policy frameworks

1972	The Community Development Partnership in Newcastle West End attempted to develop and integrated and community focused approach to area-based regeneration
1979-1998	Nearly £500M (800million Euros) were spent on regeneration initiatives in Newcastle's West End
1998	National Government launch *Bringing Britain Together* which sets out the framework for 39 NDC schemes in the UK
1999	Initial proposal made by Newcastle City council to have a NDC scheme - an interim steering group established to develop a bid
2000 (March)	A bid made to National government for £54 million (80 million Euros). The bid is successful
2000 (June)	NDC is affected by city council regeneration schemes to demolish a number of house in the NDC area. This NDC schemes significantly impacted upon the relationship between NDC and the local state.
2010	NDC will end.

11.2.2. Territorial, population and development planning

Newcastle NDC is situated in a predominantly residential belt to the west of Newcastle City centre. The disadvantages of this area are starkly contrasted with the nearby prosperity of the central shopping and office areas, which are undergoing significant economic renaissance. The total population of the NDC area is around 12000 of which about 25% can be defined as Black and Minority Ethnic.

The NDC area (as part of Newcastle's West End) suffers from stigmatisation and in recent years has been viewed negatively by employers, service providers and residents of other areas. A number of statistical indices back this up. For example: The percentage of "workless adults' is nearly (23.7%) compared to 9.15 overall in England and the number households on low income 37.8% (13.3 England).

In terms of administrative status, when Newcastle NDC was set up in 1999, it was run by an "interim partnership board' consisting of representatives of the community (from a variety of backgrounds who volunteered at a public meeting), professionals from a number of key services providers (such as health, policing, education), local politicians, and key officials from the local City Council. Although this board was chaired by a locally elected politician, funding and organisational responsibility came from a Department of the local City Council. As will be highlighted later in this case study, this caused some

tension between the local community and the local state as both groups felt they should be in control of the NDC process.

The task of this interim board was to draw up a 10 year plan for the area focusing on a number of key themes - housing and the physical environment, education, health, worklessness, crime reduction - as well as methodologies for enhancing the capacity of the local community to contribute their views and skills to the regeneration of the area. This plan was accepted by national Government and in time, the interim partnership became a fully established partnership board (through locally held elections) and finally a company limited by Guarantee which gave it some independence from the local state.

The NDC partnership is now about half way through the 10 years programme, but some are already beginning to draw up plans for what might follow on from NDC. One of the serious criticisms of previous area-focused regeneration in the UK and in particular in Newcastle‘s West End was the ”short-termism‘ of intervention as well as questions posed about the applicability of area-scale regeneration when compared to larger and more strategic city-wide schemes. Those working at NDC are therefore determined that significant elements of long term sustainability should be built into the lifecycle of the programme to allow work to continue well past the official end of the scheme - perhaps through the setting up of a charitable trust.

As NDC has progressed it has developed a rich network of linkages to all of the main planning and policy tools which interfere in the area it covers, as well as being innovative at joint-agency working through generating partnership relationships with the relevant service providers and agency staff in the police, health authority, educational establishments, employment service, etc). As such, innovative joint projects between agencies/providers and NDC has established new targeted services according to local priorities. For example a project called the Arson Task Force was established between the NDC crime and community safety group and the fire services to tackle high incidents of arson in the area. Furthermore, a project which seeks to reduce the high relative incidence of coronary heart disease amongst Asian men (Heart Beat) has been set up through joint working between the local primary care trust and the NDC health group.

11.2.3. Organisational and institutional dynamics - civil society

Today, national urban policy is being played out in Newcastle within a particular historical and geographical setting. This local context frames the actions of governing authorities and community groups as attempts are made to deliver both area-based *and* city-wide regeneration simultaneously, and, to alter well established relationships between local state and citizens in regeneration practices. Central to this planned transformation has been NDC.

The relationship between NDC and the local state have been problematic and engendered significant conflict between locally focused bottom-up visions of development (as progressed by NDC) and a more top-down perspective (as envisioned by the local City Council). For local residents the new regeneration attempts in the West End echo the autocratic planning of the 1960s when Newcastle became nationally renowned for innovation in housing policy and city centre renewal, and for the charisma of its leaders,

T. Dan Smith and Wilfred Burns, who championed the cause of city and regional development. This led to accusations of what was termed ”evangelistic bureaucracy‘, which created an autocratic and non-pragmatic ”planning atmosphere‘. Subsequently there was significant conflict in the West End between the ”citizens and the officials‘ as the latter attempted to impose their theories, visions, and even ”fantasies‘ on the area in ”an all-out effort to abolish the past and to manufacture the future‘ through comprehensive planning (GOWER DAVIES, 1972, p.2-3).

Following this episode, a deeply embedded antagonism has emerged between the local state and the West End communities. Although, expressed in different ways at different moments, memories of this experience re-surface and help shape the contemporary interactions between the local state and the local community. In particular, the traditionally strong ”top down‘ role played by the local state in the West End, which was seen as paternalistic had failed to achieve a true sense of partnership with local people, with a lack of trust evident. Furthermore, there was a tremendous friction generated between a number of the residents and anyone connected with the local state - Newcastle City council and other officials, or so-called —suits“. This again was in large part a result of historical antagonism.

Whilst these newer initiatives have a much more bottom-up essence they have collided with a new top-down dynamic, the city-wide regeneration scheme, *Going for Growth* launched in 1999. This relationship between neighbourhood focus and strategic regeneration reflects a broad pattern of uncertainty as to the appropriate scale of

regenerative intervention, be it area-based or city-wide within national policy circles. Perhaps the key concern for the local state was to achieve a balance between overarching strategy and local community involvement. The hope was, and still is, that NDC and *Going for Growth* could become mutually compatible. The NDC partnership is seen as an opportunity to forge new sets of relations between the City and its citizens to develop innovative ways of regenerating local neighbourhoods. However, a profound difficulty now exists as to how to forge a working relationship between local communities and the city council against a history that is firmly established as a bundle of ”negatives‘. The fear of gentrification and displacement (often referred to as social cleansing in local press coverage) which have been brought about by the local states city-wide regeneration ideas, not just of particular groups of people, but of a way of life, has re-ignited memories of previous disruptions.

The tension between the policies of the local state and NDC reflect wider issues of regeneration partnership working between stakeholders with different agendas, motivations and power. For example a recent newspaper article highlighting the relationship between NDC and the *Going for Growth* argued that ”the row goes to the heart of the debate over whether the Government‘s rhetoric of ”community empowerment‘ means real power for local people or just talking shops…what is about to happen in Newcastle is likely to have far wider significance, one that impacts on inner city regeneration everywhere‘ (WAINWRIGHT, 2000, p. 2).

In a general sense the relationships between institutions and stakeholders within any regeneration ”partnership‘ are locally contingent and reflect broader patterns of power in a particular place with some institutions possessing a ”whip-hand‘ meaning that, more often than not, ”power remains largely in the hands of those who make the rules about who can participate and on what terms, and the gatekeepers who allocate resources‘ (MACLEOD and GOODWIN, 1999, p. 514). Specifically in relation to area focused regeneration there is a tendency for them to be driven more from the ”top-down‘ by ”officer coalitions‘ and public-private interests than from the ”bottom up‘, meaning in reality that community representation is relatively powerless yet used by those in a position of power to symbolise a fully inclusive and representative process (see for example VALLER and BETTELEY, 2001). MAWSON and HALL (2001, p. 69) further noted that in such situations there are few examples of ”genuine partnership‘ and that ”in most cases partnerships remain consultative bodies and relatively pliant vehicles enabling local authorities to pursue their fund raising and local regeneration objectives‘. However, in some instances top-down local state practices can create community groupings and organisations, often linked to threats to the area, for example demolition of housing, the removal of community facilities, etc.

The managers of NDC in the West End faced similar difficulty when the partnership was established in negotiating formal arrangements and strategic linkages with the local state. For example during the early NDC development process there were fears by community representatives that the local state was —taking control" in a process that was developed upon the rhetoric of "equal partnership' and even community leadership. However, realistically, given the nature of the NDC process, the local state provided the only realistic early leadership as the community lacked the necessary skills, resources and technical abilities to undertake the task. This highlights an additional tension common in many regeneration partnerships between enhancing community involvement and delivering outcomes in the most efficient way (given that the steep learning curve for those members of the community unused to the workings of regeneration partnership is likely to slow down its speed of partnership working). As one regeneration worker noted:

> *—I had hoped NDC was going to be a fresh start but it is not. It is the same bureaucratic, tokenistic imposed set of criteria driven from the top-down. It's the same as the other regeneration programmes with a bigger pot of money and a longer running time. I find this highly disappointing".*

As such NDC has found it difficult to influence the bureaucratic culture and procedures of working within the local state. In some cases this has isolated NDC from other regeneration providers creating what can be described as a separate "island of regeneration'. Although organisational links are improving between NDC and other actors and some joint-working and innovative project development is occurring there is still a long way to go before a true partnership approach to local development is achieved.

11.4. Main dynamics of social inclusion / exclusion and innovation

Newcastle NDC highlights the three main elements of social innovation identified in ALMOLIN, albeit to different extents. In terms of the *satisfaction of human needs* this formed the rationale behind setting up the scheme in the area given its multiple socio-economic problems and stigmatisation. With regard to *changes in social relations/governance*, NDC was an innovative scheme set up with the mandate of community-led regeneration, amidst a plethora of more top-down schemes run by the local state, or, partner agencies. NDC has certainly helped destabilise existing and embedded governance relations in West Newcastle between the local City Council, citizens and service providers. It has provided and arena where "community voice' is valued and the regeneration of the local area is both community-led and community owned. It has also helped to reduce the historical mistrust between the local state and

citizens which had plagued previous regeneration attempts. In terms of NDC *increasing in the socio-political capability and access to resources* (empowerment dimension), evidence suggests that the scheme has the potential to alter the power relationship between communities and the local state. In part this has been achieved through what is termed in the UK context mainstreaming, i.e. the alteration of mainstream service provision in relation to local area characteristics and need by embedding innovations and creativity in delivery mechanisms. Mainstreaming it this sense can involve:

a) Changing policy - to better meet the needs of the area and its community, for example a change in working hours of the public service provider.

b) Shifting resources - to respond to specific area needs.

c) Improving access - to enable all groups and individuals within the area to access facilities and services.

d) Re-shaping services - by tailoring the type of services and the way in which they are provided to respond to specific area needs

e) Changing culture - by identifying innovation and creativity in service delivery and building this into mainstream provision.

Overall, within NDC, activities that foster innovation occur in a number of ways.

Through the concept of community leadership. The concept of NDC is innovative in itself as it gives a clear leadership role to the community to deliver regeneration according to local needs and priorities. NDC is seen as the national government flagship area-focused regeneration project and in particular by the way power and responsibility has been devolved to the local level and to the margins of the local state sphere of influence. Although in the past the community had been encouraged to be involved in regeneration partnerships, NDC provides the local community with the opportunity to shape all aspects of how NDC functioned instead of just being tokenistic participants.

Through attempts at integrated regeneration. NDC was envisioned as an experimental and integrated scheme which would offer joined up solutions to the interconnected problems experienced in a small area to reduce multiply deprivations. The NDC initiative was also seen as a central element within emerging city-wide strategic partnership. In practice NDC has been partially successful in stimulating joint working between different area-focused regeneration initiatives, between the community and the local state, and between the local community and public services providers. NDC has also highlighted some of the difficulties of obtaining meaningful integration between service sectors and

between different governance coalitions - most notably linked to the embedded culture within organisational processes and large increase the evidence-based evaluation of schemes and service delivery which has led to a pressure to deliver outputs (and a subsequent reduction in time to contemplate innovative, integrative and alterative ways of delivery).

Through attempts to link bottom up and top down initiatives. One of the reasons NDC was set up was to provide a link between communities and more strategic decisions that were being taken in specific localities. This link has however been fraught with tension given the historical mistrust of the local state by communities and recent proposals for housing demolition in the NDC area under the city-wide regeneration scheme *Going for Growth*. However, differences in process and approach between NDC and the local state are beginning to converge over time as the local state improves its community consultation mandate and NDC is ”forced‘ to undergo ”institutionalisation‘ as a result of a constant requirement to account for any money spent.

Within this framework the co-ordination between different spatial scales of regeneration activity still remains a hypothesis rather than a reality. In Newcastle there is a strong suspicion that smaller area focused initiatives such as NDC or area governance structures are not large or important enough to merit strategic consideration with agendas. City-wide concerns and wider strategic thinking are being prioritised. This raises two critical points of concern.

First, the compatibility of the *outcomes* of two distinct pathways to regeneration linked to city-wide and area-based concerns. The former often implies substantial displacement, often through demolition and redevelopment of some existing communities, whilst in contrast the latter as exemplified through NDC, is based on a strategy of bottom-up engagement of existing communities in the area and sustainable regeneration of their neighbourhoods in line with national level policy adopts the rhetoric of community empowerment:

> *”Polices an funding will work to achieve more if they are joined up locally and tailored to local circumstances, and if communities have an effective part in this‘ (Social Exclusion Unit 2001, p.43)*

Despite the rhetoric of community centred approaches emanating from all tiers of Government - there continues to be a high degree of focus upon economic and property-led initiatives to regenerating communities, which will enhance the marketability of a place.

Second, there is concern over the compatibility of the *processes* through which these two pathways to regeneration (top-down and bottom-up) have been approached (see Taylor 2000). This is particularly the case when dealing with appropriate levels of community involvement. The rhetoric of NDC is about putting communities at the heart of regeneration their neighbourhoods which in one sense empowers residents by their centrality in the scheme. However, Newcastle NDC, like many similar schemes in England, has been dogged by community infighting, an inability to make decisions, and hence spend money, and large-scale resentment about national and local government interference in the scheme.

Through project development and appraisal. The NDC partnership has afforded statutory agencies and individual community groups, the opportunity to be more innovative and more flexible in their approaches to dealing with problems in the area. In particular, this has been achieved by developing a new governance structure free from some of the traditions/burdens/constrictions of the organisations in which they normally work. For example, the partnership group concerned with health have tried to promote innovative schemes linked to ”complementary therapies‘ that are not normally available in the health service. In addition to agencies being increasingly flexible in delivery, the development of the NDC has also led to the mobilisation (and in some cases re-mobilisation) of community groups as they seek involvement and potential funding opportunities for their ideas to improve their neighbourhood. In one sense this amounts to informal groups being drawn in the mainstream of service provision.

Through community capacity building and partnership exercises. The activities of the NDC partnership are not only about funding specific projects but about creating a space for bringing different groups of people, agencies and organisations together in a constructive dialogue about the future of the area. Agencies involved in NDC have appreciated the opportunities to work more closely with other agencies, and hope to sustain these relationships in the future. NDC also appears to have acted as a catalyst for agencies coming together to develop a more co-ordinated approach to working in the area, in order to avoid the duplication of effort. NDC has had trouble with wider patterns of community engagement outside of a core of community representatives. This is perhaps the biggest challenge facing NDC. Recently a dedicated ”community regeneration team‘ has been established to help build community involvement and capacity.

Through attempts to ”mainstream‘ activities. In some cases innovative practices developed by NDC have been ”rolled out‘ to other areas of Newcastle and have altered the working practices of more formal organisations. At present, agencies involved in NDC

seem dedicated to the process and are experimenting with new ways of working, but are doing so through NDC resources. The problem with diffusion of innovative practices is that they are being funded almost entirely through NDC resources, and agencies have not dedicated significant amounts of their own monies to more experimental work. It will only be possible to test the commitment of agencies to new ways of working when they lose NDC funding in 2010, and will have to make use of their own resources. That said, some projects are jointly funded and managed between NDC and service providers which has led to additional money being ”levered‘ into the area. In short, NDC is often used as a conduit to develop and mainstream innovative project ideas, although paradoxically it is NDC (a bottom up scheme) which has to develop innovative ideas for mainstream public service delivery (the responsibility of the local state).

11.5. Conclusions

The NDC partnership is maturing as a learning organisation over time and developing good organisational identity. However, there has, and continues to be conflict over the balance between community capacity building and the effective delivery of projects, with some arguing that the community leadership role afforded to NDC is being weakened by the way in which the partnership is forced to operate and meet national government targets - in essence being slowly institutionalised through integration into a prescriptive audit culture which in large part dictates how the partnership spends its money and how it sets its priorities. As such this raises the question of how success is measured for NDC. Again this depends on the perspective taken.

Some would argue that success would be about community involvement and capacity building whist other would argue success would be about the ability to deliver effective and efficient projects. Other would argue further that the success of NDC can be determined by the linkages it makes with strategic programmes either ”rolled out‘ by the local state or by service providers. In short, this boils down to - do local communities want better services or do they want real and active participation in decisions that affect their place? Or both?

NDC finds itself situated on the margin between being an ”alternative‘ approach to social and economic innovation and being part of the main public funding streams for stream service delivery. Despite being a ”imported‘ initiative which was artificially created by the local state in line with national government guidance, NDC has become a pocket, a confined space, where innovative governance arrangement and project proposals can be explored. NDC also sits within a very confused and complex institutional landscape which is in a constant state of flux with uncertainty surrounding the re-scaling and

transformation of regeneration agendas. Currently, and in the future, this poses a series of issues for the balancing of overarching strategy and local community involvement in urban regeneration in Newcastle.

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12. The Ouseburn Valley. A struggle to innovate in the context of a weak local state.

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12.1. Abstract

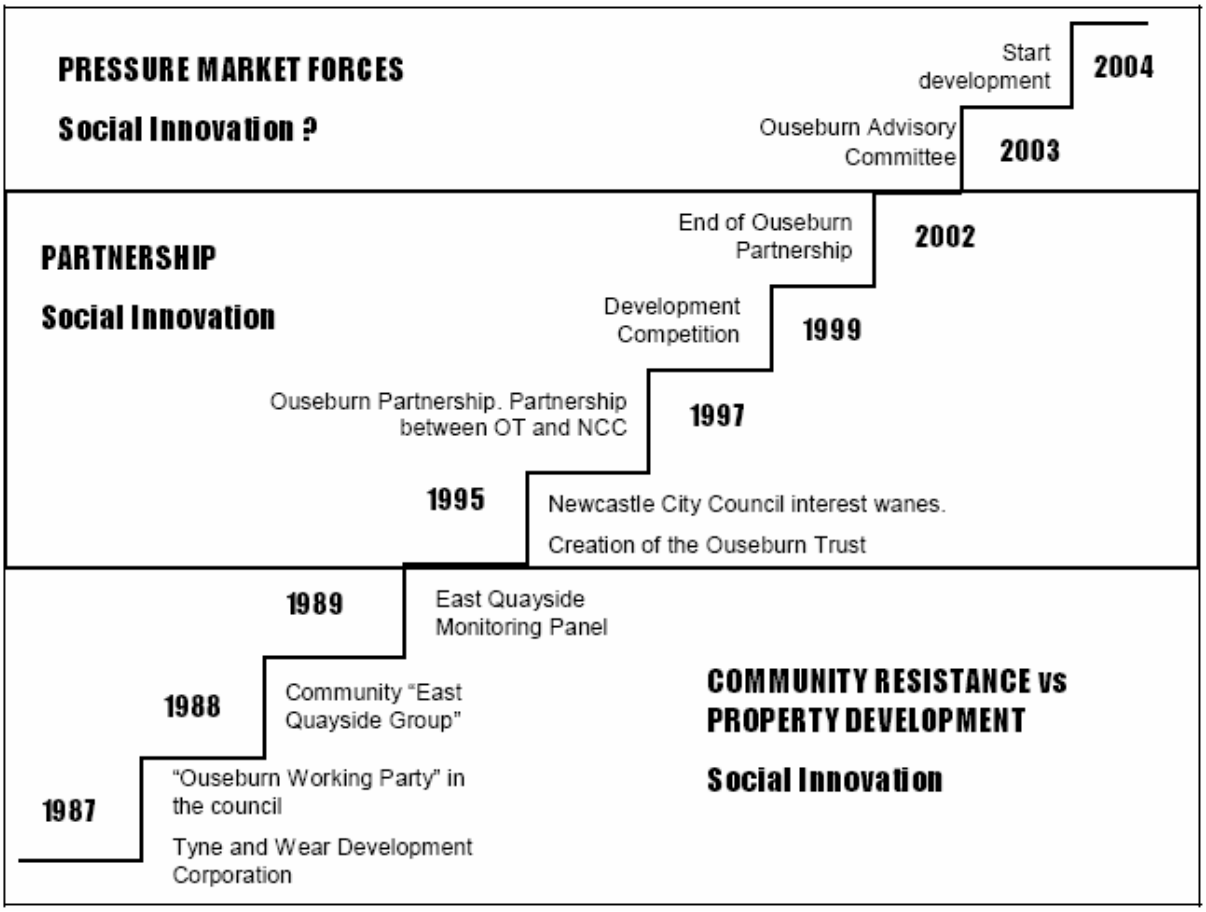
The Ouseburn Valley case shows the extent to which a community group (Ouseburn Trust) can become involved in, drive forward and shape the development of an area in more equitable and sustainable ways, while also changing having an influence on more formal local governance practices. The aims of the Ouseburn Trust have been to pursue a development of the Valley centred on principles of mixed use development, the provision of some affordable housing, respect for the heritage and past of the area, conservation of environmental assets and to make the most of current and future links with arts and culture. The main innovative dynamics have been the participation of a community group in the decision-making processes of the local government about the future of a neighbourhood. However, the case also shows conflicts between rhetorical commitments to third sector involvement in local governance and existing governance structures.

12.2. The Ouseburn Valley: from derelict “dump” to “urban village”

The initiative started at the end of the 1980s (see Figure 1) in reaction to the commercially and physically minded urban regeneration process on the Newcastle Quayside (riverside) promoted by a central government agency and the potential extension of this type of development towards the Ouseburn Valley, a nearby area. The Ouseburn had been home to the industrial revolution of the region in the late eighteenth century and up until the 1960s but it progressively lost population and economic activity and became an almost derelict area. A group of people organised by the local church and community leaders started to mobilise around issues of participation of the local community in the development of the Quayside and respect for the industrial heritage of the area. In 1997, now constituted into a formal charitable trust called the Ouseburn Trust, this group succeeded in obtaining funding from a Central Government regeneration program and formed a Partnership together with other community, business and local groups and the Newcastle city council to regenerate the Ouseburn Valley. The aim of this regeneration project was to upgrade the existing infrastructures such as roads and

pathways, clean and revalorise the heritage and turn the Valley into an environmentally friendly and socially mixed place to live. The project wanted to pose an alternative to solely physically oriented regeneration projects and this attitude was captured under the concept of "urban village". However, since the end of this funding, both the voluntary organization and the social side of the project have become more secondary to the core of the project. The City Council has strongly integrated the Ouseburn Valley into its strategic plan to turn Newcastle into a more competitive city but it struggles to fit this objective with the need to encourage community participation and deliver a more "sustainable" urban development.

Figure 1. Chronology of the story of the Ouseburn



Source: by the authors

These dynamics can be understood around 3 —moments" in the chronology of the Valley (see Figure 1) and three main organizations in the governance of the Ouseburn Valley that at some points have coexisted in time (See Table 1). The Ouseburn Trust has been the initiator of the regeneration project and is composed by volunteers, 14 active Board Members and about 80 more passive members. They led the debate and resistance

against insensitive property development until the beginning of the 1990s. As we have already explained, in 1997, the Ouseburn Trust formed a partnership with other community groups, but more significantly with the Newcastle City Council. For 5 years, between 1997 and 2002, the Ouseburn Partnership worked as a real devolved power centred on the area of the Ouseburn and with a voluntary association in the Executive Board. With the end of Partnership funding in 2002, the future of the development of the Ouseburn has shifted back more centrally into the City Council's hands and the Ouseburn Trust together with other community groups are seen as important actors to advise the council. But the commercial developers views, although not formally represented in this committee, are very strongly listened by the planning officers.

Table 1. Different governance structures in the Ouseburn.

Name	Ouseburn Trust (1995-)	Ouseburn Partnership (1997-2002)	Ouseburn Advisory Committee (2003-)
Organizational form	Registered charity, non-for-profit development company	A partnership to manage regeneration funding from central government	City council committee.
Membership	Local activists, nearby residents, Church of England vicars.	Ouseburn Trust (as the lead organisation) + 18 partners (Newcastle city Council, TWDC, English Partnership, Home Housing enterprise, etc.)	Half councillors (5) half community members (5) (mainly from the Ouseburn Trust)
Function	Safeguard the interests of and develop or assist the development of the Ouseburn Valley	Deliver a regeneration programme and manage the central government regeneration money	Advice the Council on the implementation of the Lower Ouseburn Valley regeneration strategy.

Source: by the authors.

As we will see in the next pages, in this last phase of the regeneration of the Ouseburn it has become very difficult to resolve the conflict between community action, local government and private developers. In the Ouseburn, this relationship has changed over the time depending on internal dynamics of the community group, national urban regeneration policy, local politics, neoliberal entrepreneurial city discourses adopted by the city council, property market trends and informal linkages between people.

This paper deals with the question of how a community group can find space to innovate in an institutionally rigid environment, where local governance practices are to a large

extent structured by pressures from national and international scales to be more *economically* innovative.

12.3. Main dynamics of social exclusion, inclusion and innovation

12.3.1. Engaging in —double speak“: listening to the community while “sexing up” the Ouseburn

The scaling-up of the Ouseburn Valley and the threat of development

In the last 10 years, the Ouseburn Trust first, and the Ouseburn Partnership later, have worked to make the Valley a "visible" area, attracting policy interest and funding to improve the Valley's physical infrastructure while preserving its unique features. The main consequence of these activities has been the "scaling-up' of the valley from a largely unknown periphery of the centre to an attractive location for property developers, and for the Council, who owns most of the land.

For the Council, the Ouseburn is a key strategic site in the plans for the definitive re-imagination of Newcastle as a "modern European city-region [that] acts as a key driver for the North East economy" (Newcastle City Council, n/d). It has been quoted as one of the "competitive environments" in the Newcastle City Council's strategy "Competitive Newcastle" launched in 1999 which defends that "the city's success depends on its degree of specialisation, entrepreneurship and innovation in globally focused, knowledge-based and cultural activities such as technology, finance, education and tourism" (op. cit).

The paradox is that the council wants to achieve this objective of "Competitive Newcastle" in partnership with communities, encouraging participation and promoting cohesive and sustainable communities. The Ouseburn symbolizes this paradox as the Council regards it as a strategic economic space while, at least in principle, agreeing on the Ouseburn Trust's vision of sustainable development, social mix and inclusiveness. In this paradox, the concept of "urban village", attached to the Ouseburn Valley and which was first suggested by the Ouseburn Trust in the mid 1990s, seems to act as a superficial conciliation.

The "urban village" idea has in the last decade been incorporated into the main discourse of urban planning in the UK (FRANKLIN and TAIT, 2002) and is typically based on a mix of land uses at high densities on brownfield sites. It also meets a new emphasis in local economic development of creating assets that appeal to entrepreneurs in key industries in the "knowledge economy'. The council itself owns four big sites and sees the Ouseburn

as an opportunity to retain wealthy residents who may leave the City and its tax base and as a way of capturing capital revenue by selling the land to developers.

The property developers also find the label of "urban village" to describe the Ouseburn Valley interesting, because the area offers a unique combination of being close to the city centre and the Quayside, but maintaining a somewhat characteristic environment with green areas, a spectacular built heritage and a river. The first scheme to be built is being sold as "just minutes away from the vibrant life of Newcastle's Quayside" yet a historically rich area with "fascinating old buildings" and "unique mix of historic riverside" (METIER, 2004). This offers possibilities for regeneration alongside a model common in areas rich in heritage, like Manchester, which tends to attract middle to high-income residents. In fact, in the Ouseburn one bedroom flats are now being sold at £135,000 (/ 203,000) while two or three bed roomed city houses amount to £370,000 (/ 556,000).

A debate thus ensued as to what sort of development should be accommodated in the Valley. Although the Ouseburn Trust and some councillors have always been pushing for a socially mixed housing, affordable and offering possibilities for cheap working space, there is a danger of gentrification in the area.

Attempts to ameliorate exclusionary tendencies in such development through cross-subsidisation of housing development from valuable riverside sites to others have proved difficult due to local government accounting legislation but have been overcome albeit through "ghettoising' the 10% of the total stock given over to social housing on to one site.

Partnership and community disciplining

In the past two decades, British urban policy has been slowly moving towards a more participatory agenda involving more diverse stakeholders and opening government structures to alternative processes (ATKINSON and MOON 1994; HILL, 2000). This is part of the New Labour's "Third Way" agenda to encourage citizens to take part in decision-making processes and take up responsibilities (Hoban and Beresford, 2001). This move has crystallized in the establishment of partnerships between government agencies and community groups.

In Newcastle, the Ouseburn Advisory Committee (OAC) is an example of one of these partnerships where the City Council has set up an advisory committee with the Ouseburn Trust to discuss the development in the Valley. The OAC meetings largely revolve around planning applications where the committee itself breaks up normally into two groups with differing views, frames of knowledge and rules of performance. On the one hand, some

members of the Ouseburn Trust, community representatives and the councillors adopt a defensive attitude, maintaining a generally critical view of all the planning applications. This group looks especially for how development will impact on traffic flows and the pollution that it might bring, at the density of population, the heights of buildings, respect for the heritage, design, the price of residential units and the mix of uses. On the other hand, the group formed by the planning and economic development officers adopt a more "professional" attitude, making the members of the committee aware of the existing regulations and policies that frame how the applications must be considered. The OAC meetings can, in some sense, be viewed as a process of translation between the more utopian and socially innovative language of the community, to the more official and formal language of the local government professions. It can be seen as a process of disciplining in Foucauldian terms where the community is disciplined within the rules and formal mechanisms of the state (TOOKE, 2003; RACO and IMRIE, 2000).

An example can illustrate the problems of translation between professional and non-professional forms of knowledge. In relation to the first documents produced by the Ouseburn Trust about its future as an environmentally friendly, cultural and socially mixed neighbourhood, a property developer said that these documents did not have any relevance in terms of —town and country planning‟ and were somewhat useless for them.

Reacting to this problem and in a move to a more disciplined production of knowledge, in the last five years the Ouseburn Trust has undertaken a painstaking process of refining their vision for the valley that fits with the formal language of planning. Recently, the Trust has made an effort to write a "development template" which can act as a "useful tool for assessing proposed developments, providing a framework of questions for all aspects of such development and the impact it may have on a local area" (OAC, 2004). This template is an interesting innovation as it tries to assess the impact of proposed development in the Ouseburn in terms of its contribution to the local area, environmental impact and the benefit for the community. This effectively ”de-professionalises‟ the knowledge that resides in the planning officers by allowing any concerned citizen to check whether developments conform to a checklist and to potentially ask why if they don‟t. When presented in the OAC, this report was welcomed by planning officers "as a useful tool for officers in their dealings with developers" but they "urged caution that the Advisory Committee should not prejudge or predetermine City Council policy (which was effectively a matter for Development Control Committee)" (OAC, 2004).

However, despite these efforts, property developers do not consider the Ouseburn Trust or the community of workers and users of the valley as an interlocutor and they

negotiate directly with planning officers who inform them of the formal and informal policies in respect to what is to be built in the Ouseburn. Planning officers, in turn, do not encourage active partnership with the community. OAC meetings, as other public hearings to discuss development, remain as relatively irrelevant events where the community is left no other role than to behave in a defensive way and complain. Developers and planning officers fulfil their commitment to "consult" the community and reinforce their idea that participation is a long, expensive and inefficient process.

Thus, one of the main dynamics that constrains the development of socially innovative ideas in local areas is the existence of a weak local state, financially stressed, that must maximise a return on its land assets. This is coupled with the existence of nationally applied standards and practices, like the promotion of brownfield regeneration which is mainly market oriented. Finally, the "entrepreneurial city" discourse which encourages Newcastle, like other cities, to compete in a globalised market for jobs and investments is the main policy frame under which the City Council approaches regeneration and community participation. These multi-scalar dynamics make the community and third sector groups relatively powerless.

12.3.2. Making space for social innovation through networks

Despite the difficulties of innovating in governance relations, the Ouseburn community has been successful in making some space for social innovation and influencing the future of the Ouseburn Valley. Some kind of social innovation in governance terms has been achieved by the active linking of key individuals across arenas, cultures and frames, often bypassing formal structures. As we explain in the next section, this active linking has built new ways of communication more focused around the social and environmental aspects of the regeneration of the Ouseburn. The created networks across different governance cultures and settings have sustained, through their commitment, a constant flow of transformative power but, as we have seen, as the realities of physical development have approached, the low level of this power compared with that ascribed through the formal settings of the planning system has become clear.

Leadership and structural holes

The capacity of some individuals to link across established groups that share enclosed information and communication codes has been identified as a key resource to foster innovation. Established communities like city council planning officers or voluntary groups share different norms of behaviour and circulate in different flows of information. The gap between these groups is what BURT (2002) calls "structural holes". Although people across these groups might know each other, they are focused on their activities

and might not engage in exchange. In the case of the Ouseburn, the ability to link across structural holes has often been born from the incapacity of the formal structures to address shared preoccupations creating, in turn, an exchange of non-redundant information. It also creates challenges, as relatively fixed ways of doing things are put into question and new alternative governance mechanisms arise to which people have to adapt.

This capacity to link across structural holes is best represented in the Ouseburn by the activities of one of the officers from the Newcastle city council. This officer started to work in the Ouseburn when he belonged to the planning department in the 1980s and has performed somewhat different formal roles in different departments as the wider agendas of the Council changed. He described his work, very much in Burt‘s terminology, as liaising with groups and businesses in the area and basically "fill(ing) the gaps that other people have left“ (Interviewee n.12). According to a member of the Ouseburn Trust he "is the guy that for several years would manage to wing small amounts of money from budgets that had not been spent which allowed to fund [other projects]" (interviewee n.4). In the early 1990s, changes in the local politics and city council agendas moved the Ouseburn further down in the priorities. This officer however kept on working in the Ouseburn in his "spare time" or "behind the scenes".

Throughout the years he has maintained a network of contacts with the Ouseburn Trust, business community and arts and culture community, which he has skilfully and with a degree of altruism and commitment linked together and plugged into the City Council´s formal and informal flows of money and influence. He has successfully generated trust among key actors in the community by being able to trespass formal rules and regulations in the interest of the Ouseburn. He has stood, according to BURT (2004), near the hole that separates the city council from the community groups. Being on the edge of and closer to the holes has meant, in turn, that he is sometimes not trusted in the City Council and he is regarded as having “gone native”.

Similarly, another key figure in the development of the Valley has demonstrated an extraordinary capacity to link different arenas and work across cultures. A vicar of the Anglican Church of England, he has increasingly gained trust and respect among policy makers and community groups in Newcastle. Currently, he is the Chair of the Ouseburn Trust and holds various other responsible roles in partnership organisation with the city council concerning city-wide regeneration issues. His role was essential in the early moments of the Ouseburn informal group when there was a confrontation with central government Urban Development Corporation. In a moment of hostility, this vicar was able to confront the corporation with a confident and strong response, exposing their

unfulfilled promises about a community training strategy in the local media. This initial conflict in a context of distrust and suspicion gave way to a much more collaborative situation. In a later stage, when the Newcastle City Council turned away from the Ouseburn in the mid 1990s, the linking and liaising skills of the Chair of the Trust proved essential for the reestablishment of the relationships. The Trust was able to regain the confidence and the interest of the council due to the involvement of its Chair in other regeneration partnerships across the city.

The role of this particular member has been significant in giving the Trust a respected image in the Council. He is consulted very often on issues of third sector and community involvement in local development. He has also addressed a House of Commons Select Committee on such issues. The fact that this key actor is a highly respected member of the Church of England needs to be considered as a significant dynamic of social innovation. The Church and faith communities have played an important part in urban regeneration in the last two decades (SMITH, 2002; AWLES et al, 1998). In Newcastle, local vicars, both in the East End and in the West End have emerged as powerful community leaders on which the City Council can have little influence. They have been able to act as channels or bridge figures between the formal politics and protocols and the situations of poverty and deprivation of working class communities in Newcastle. Their position as ”honest brokers‘ who can translate between the formal languages and practices of professionals and often mistrusted officials and politicians and the community cannot be understated.

Leadership and individual charismatic or skilful people have had in the Ouseburn a significant importance in making space for innovation. These individuals should be seen, however, as structured actors that arise in a particular context where other individuals and processes contribute to their innovative energy.

"It´s a bit incestuous down there...". The problem of strong ties.

If the activities of just two people can be crucial for building an innovative governance capacity, it can also make this capacity very dependent on a small number of people and their personal skills.

The Ouseburn Trust and the wider community of users and workers who are committed to the Valley is a relatively small and knitted group. Although the Ouseburn Valley has in the past years become an important node for all kinds of activities, like community festivals, live music, public art or horse riding and more people have been drawn to it, the core of people who are involved in developing the activities and projects remains very small. This, in turn, slims down the chances of engaging more people in linking

across arenas and connecting with further networks and struggles. It is what in Granovetter's (1983) terminology could be called a problem of too strong ties, where people in closed groups share redundant information and do not reach out for fresh ideas and challenges.

The Ouseburn Trust has had particular difficulties in engaging more people and expanding their constituency. Since its foundation in 1995 it has grown to have between 80 and 100 members but out of these only 14 are active Board members and almost all activity is initiated by 4 or 5 people. Amongst the difficulties to connect to a wider population lies the lack of human resources. Until now, the Trust has employed one person half time to deal with administration and limited community development.

Other tasks such as promotion, marketing, attendance to meetings, management and finance are carried out by a limited number of volunteers. Currently, the Trust is in the process of appointing a full time manager who will, undoubtedly, improve the communication with the "outside world". Another problem seems to be connected with the character of some people involved in the Trust itself. The core people have been engaged with the Trust for over 10 years now, developing their own particular culture, mode of communication and philosophy that are as difficult to penetrate as the ones they initially sought to challenge.

Since the early days the Trust has developed a very strong vision for the valley based on the preservation of the heritage, the landscape and its basic physical features. The basic arguments of this vision have not changed over the last 10 years even though the area is now subject to many different pressures; the City Council's attitude has shifted and the real-estate market conditions have also evolved. This "immobility' or rigid approach to the changing context in which they act has become a stronger issue recently as the prospects of new developments and therefore new residents in the Valley are more plausible.

The Ouseburn Trust members have sometimes been accused of being introverted and not opening up to new people. There have been suggestions that the Trust is anxious about the possibility of new residents with very different visions and expectations taking over the Trust. The Trust has also found it difficult to connect with the existing business community or the arts and culture community, which recently has established itself as an alternative voice.

The relatively introverted nature of the Trust and its difficulties in linking to other groups to form a broad and diverse network has posed difficulties for the development of an innovative governance capacity. The transformative power gained by linking across

arenas basically lies with 3 or 4 people who then concentrate considerable power and responsibilities as revealed by an interviewee in discussing the main weakness of the Trust:

> *—there is a potential conflict because it is a little bit incestuous down there, it is a small area and a relatively small number involved which is probably one of the weaknesses.[…] people sit on lots of different bodies and they have their own subgroups, and it is always the same people and I am not quite sure…that's the flaw, everyone knows everyone else, always the same faces" (interviewee n.7)*

12.4. Conclusion.

In a first instance, the Ouseburn community group adopted a resistance strategy and questioned the added value of physical regeneration processes for local communities.

Progressively the Ouseburn Trust developed a more focused future vision for the Valley and entered in partnership with the local government to lead a regeneration project. During this period, the Ouseburn Trust designed, led and implemented a socially innovative local development strategy which included a respect for the existing heritage and the rich environmental features of the area. But the implementation of this ambitious plan has confronted difficulties as property developers and the City Council have become more interested in the area. This renewed interest is related to local and national government's interest in brownfield and inner city regeneration to counteract urban sprawl. The community's project for the valley as environmentally friendly, socially mixed and inclusive urban village has not connected with broader hegemonic discourses held by the city council or with other community groups in Newcastle.

The innovative content of the Ouseburn Trust initiative can be appreciated if we ask how would have the Ouseburn would have looked like now if this volunteer organisation would had never existed. Two hypotheses arise: It could still be a "redundant space" where relatively marginalised alternative communities would meet without contributing much to the overall population. But more significantly, it could have been a continuation of the "Quayside" area with luxury apartments, corporatised nightlife (CHATTERTON and HOLLANDS, 2003) and destruction of the environment and sense of place. Instead, the contribution of the Ouseburn Trust has meant that both the City Council and property developers are more aware of the need to promote a relatively social mix in the area as well as valorise the environmental and the heritage.

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List of Interviewees:

Interviewee 1	Ouseburn Trust activist	07-03-03
Interviewee 2	City council officer	11-03-03
Interviewee 3	City council officer	19-01-04
Interviewee 4	Ouseburn Trust activist	21-08-03
Interviewee 5	Ouseburn Trust activist	13-06-03
Interviewee 6	Local politician	16-09-03
Interviewee 7	Local politician	28-10-03
Interviewee 8	Resident and local activist	05-06-03
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Interviewee 13	Heritage consultant	June 2004

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13. Local Agenda 21 in Vienna: chances and pitfalls of socially innovative forms of urban governance

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13.1. Abstract

At the end of 1998, a pilot project of Local Agenda 21 (LA 21) started in the 9th district of Vienna. Although adhering to the overall principles of the UN action programme for sustainable development, the Viennese realisation of the programme substantially differs from approaches in other European cities and regions. Over the years, LA 21 in Vienna has been advancing to a platform for mediating different interests of urban stakeholders, thereby supporting new forms of political participation and governance. In 2002, a strategy for extending the LA 21 to the whole of Vienna was devised. By now, six districts in Vienna have adopted a LA 21 process and every year another district is intended for joining the LA 21 platform. This article seeks to trace the potential of this strategy of institutionalization of LA 21 processes to overcome the rigid system of representative local democracy in Vienna and to give way to a more participatory way of governance. The LA 21 in Vienna shows the potential of a free space for social experimentation as well as the challenges to be faced while advancing from experimentation with diverse forms of social innovation at a small scale level towards the institutionalisation of new forms of participatory governance at the city-wide level.

13.2. LA 21 as a chance for participatory democracy

Vienna is a municipality as well as a province of the Austrian federal state. The municipality of Vienna has a strong, centralised administration with 60,000 employees, controlled by and heavily entangled with the social democratic party. Based on the Austrian way of neo-corporatism social democrats have cohabited with a limited form of decentralisation which opened political space for the oppositional conservative party (and later on the Greens). The municipality is divided in 23 districts, each one headed by a District Chairman and a District Council which are elected in a separate process during municipal elections. They represent a certain countervailing power to the municipal government as they decide on local infrastructure and dispose of their own budget. This form of governance gives strong, nearly autocratic prerogatives to the District Chairman and, therefore, in some districts to an opposition party[55]. District Chairmen and

[55] There are sixteen social democratic District Chairman, six conservative ones and one Green (Sickinger 2003).

Chairwomen are nodal points in the local power network (SICKINGER, 2003), and the local structure of power has at its cornerstone the capacity of political parties to mediate between civil society and the state. The District Chairman is supported by the District Council, composed of elected representatives of the parties. Local initiatives, social movements as well as more conventional and conservative segments of civil society, such as the church or school councils, try to achieve support of the local state via District Councillors or the District Chairman. To sum up, due to the specific Austrian form of neo-corporatism (—social partnership"), the relationship between government and civil society was a mixture of benevolence and co-optation leading to a civil society that was heavily under statist influence. This results in a lack of a political culture of participation (NOVY et al., 2001).

Since the 1990ies this dominant form of urban government has been transformed. However, the crisis of the old form of government has not yet resulted in a new, hegemonic form of governance. We will argue in the following that these transformations towards a more flexible form of urban governance boost entrepreneurialism and authoritarianism as well as a more participatory form of policy making. It is within this setting that one has to understand the micro-politics around the LA21 in Vienna. It is a good example of what ALBRECHTS (2002, p. 331) described as a struggle in the terrain of governance:

> *—There is a pervasive struggle in the terrain of governance between pluralistic democratic tendencies, which seek to acknowledge a wide range of stakeholders in policy-making and techno-corporate tendencies. The latter seek to keep control over the management of a territory using tools of technical analyses and management, following standardized rulebooks or recipes of conventional collaboration […]".*

In Austria, at least two lines of discourse in relation to sustainability, governance and LA 21 policies can be perceived: On the one hand, the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, Environment and Water Management seeks to incorporate LA 21 strategies in policies of —good governance" with the White Paper on European Governance published by the EU Commission in 2001 serving as a blueprint of how to effectively organize informal bargaining systems on the local level. On the other hand, the implementation of the LA 21 pilot project in the 9th district in Vienna in 1998 pushed forward a discourse of LA 21 as a powerful instrument for democratising municipal policy making. Although LA 21´s potential to support innovative local practices is uncontested in both viewpoints, the far-reaching aim of creating a participatory form of governance rests primarily with the latter

line of discourse. In any case, the history of LA 21 in Vienna can be interpreted as a constant conflicting process of how to transform urban governance.

By accepting the assignment detailed in the ”Charter of Aalborg‘ in November 1996, the City of Vienna committed itself to establish a LA 21 process; but it was not until the end of 1998, when the District Chairman of the 9th district in Vienna (Alsergrund) took up the idea of implementing a LA 21 project. Differently from other European cities, LA 21 in Vienna was established as a project on the district level. From the outset, the development of new forms of citizen participation was emphasized. Belonging to the reformists within social democracy, the District Chairman had an interest in strengthening democratic structures at the local level. A group of social reformers in the party as well as the municipal department of urban development and academic networks mainly located at the Vienna University of Technology started to perceive LA21 as the adequate instrument to deal with deficits in the old form of governance. This group was especially interested in overcoming centralist top-down models of technocratic planning and transforming the existing representative form of local democracy based on political parties which are -largely independent from political ideology -hostile towards institutional changes and citizen participation.

Local authorities perceived citizen movements more as enemies and a threat, than as allies in empowering the locality. In one way or the other, reformists within social democracy regarded LA 21 strategies as a suitable instrument to tackle the so-called democratic crisis, being at the same time a crisis of representation, legitimatization and participation. Without any clear cut reference to international best practice, content and process design, the LA 21 pilot project became an open space for social experimentation. It referred to local governance problems, integrated local knowledge and relied on local networks. The objectives of the LA 21 were not decided from above, nor were measures implemented in a top-down manner. A vision for the project as well as for the district as a whole was elaborated step-by-step and collectively, evolving out of reflexive self-organisation (ALBRECHTS, 2002).

Over the years, a discourse of participation and inclusion had become predominant. As the District Chairman backed up the process and organised financial support from district and central funds, staff members and supporters of the LA 21 had plenty of room for experimentation and hardly any direct pressure to deliver clear-cut results. Similar conditions for social innovation strategies had only existed in the 1980s during the social policies of Alfred Dallinger, then Minister of Social Affairs (NOVY and HAMMER, 2002a).

As it will be shown in the following section, the pilot project of LA 21 clearly introduced a more participatory political culture and form of governing in the 9th district of Vienna. For a chronological overview see Table 1.

Table 1. Chronology

1996	Assignment of the ”Charter of Aalborg; Commitment of the City of Vienna to establish a LA 21 process;
1998 - 2002	Pilot project of LA 21 in the 9th district of Vienna (Alsergrund); aim of reforming existing representative form of local democracy - LA 21 as a suitable instrument to tackle the so-called democratic deficit; LA 21 pilot project as an open space for social experimentation: citizens proactively developed ideas and accompanied the implementation of the small-scale projects; stimulating a participatory way of governing at the district level.
2002 - 2003	Power struggles entered centre stage of LA 21 in Alsergrund; initiative under the umbrella of the LA 21 platform fought against a real estate development; struggle for empowerment of the citizens and the implementation of a comprehensive mediation process; Main successes of the initiative: - democratisation of spatial planning procedures was no longer a taboo - encouragement of an ongoing debate concerning the range and scope of LA 21 activities - participation becomes the centre stage of LA 21 processes in Vienna
From 2002 onwards	Institutionalisation of strategies of LA 21 in Vienna; new organisational structure at the local level; so far, six districts have adopted a LA 21 process and every year another district is meant to join the LA 21 platform. A participatory form of democratic governance seems to be at stake - different interests of diverse urban stakeholders: - promoting a democratic and pluralist form of governance, substituting and/or complementing traditional representative forms of governance or - bureaucratization and standardization of LA 21 processes; LA 21 solely as an instrument to effectively secure the traditional power structure.

Source: authors

13.3. LA 21 in Alsergrund as an open space for experimenting with citizen participation (1998-2002)

The LA21 pilot project in Alserground was a kind of avant-garde of participatory planning in Vienna (DIEBÄCKER, 2004). This project turned out to be very beneficial for social innovation, open-mindedness and public participation. It was a highlight of social innovation moulding decision-making and co-participation into the urban space. Thus, the pilot project started under unique circumstances, which were historically and locally specific, and the result of an interplay between various actors within the city.

LA 21 in Alsergrund was run by the district‘s adult education school and the District Chairman. Two thirds of the costs were covered by the municipal administration and one third was paid for by the district council. From the outset, the project emphasized an interdisciplinary approach and applied a participatory design open for institutional innovations fostering a participation process that should enable people who live and work in the district to shape their local living conditions. LA 21 projects are not only innovative with regard to their content, but also offer innovative elements for the development of a participatory democracy. Citizens proactively developed ideas and accompanied the realisation of their small-scale projects together with relevant actors at the district and local level. Thereby, a participatory mode of governance emerged at the district level and left a lasting mark on the district of Alsergrund.

From the beginning, the LA 21 in Alsergrund was a non-party initiative, thus different from the dominant form of representative democracy. Nevertheless, strong links with district politics were institutionalized via the establishment of the so-called Agenda team that is as much the nodal point in this new power field, as it is the steering committee ultimately responsible for managing the Agenda process. Additionally, it has the authority to intervene and control the implementation if necessary. In this way, the old and the new field of power have become interwoven. Nevertheless, right from the beginning, the Agenda team has been relatively autonomous. Today, the team consists of 14 members: the project executive organisation and project leader, the chairman of the association ”LA 21 in Vienna‘, the district chairman and one member of three leading parties belonging to the District Council, one representative of the municipal administration and six representatives from working groups, which are elected annually. This Agenda team always tries to make consensual decisions. Thereby, it is able to influence the institutions of representative democracy in certain circumstances, as the District Chairman and the District Council often abdicate the *de jure* power they have.

From an instrumental point of view, the integration of representatives of the working groups has *—improved the flow of communication between active participants and the steering committee“* (ASTLEITHNER and HAMEDINGER, 2003, p. 66). This strategic control group is therefore gradually complementing and replacing traditional policy making at the district level. As an indication of the changing relations of power one can cite a case in 2003 in which a decision of the Agenda team that was taken unanimously has resulted in a substantial modification of resolutions made by the District Council. Thus, the District Council as the *de jure*-decision making body was - in this case - reduced to an institution sanctioning a consensus-based agreement of the Agenda team. Within the Agenda team, party politics is a taboo. Instead, a high-quality discourse integrating diverse segments of the local population has been established and has

stimulated a substantial shift of the political culture at the district level. Party members participate in LA 21 projects, but the preponderant form of politics is participatory and bottom-up. Its main objective is not the organisation of interests and lobbying, but the shaping of the political culture from below. However, until 2002, these innovations in governance at the district level did not result in perceivable modifications of policy making at the local level. It needed a major conflict to show the potential of these grassroots activities. For an overview of the diverse features of social innovation dynamics please see table 2.

Table 2. Features of the social innovation dynamics

WHY? IN REACTION TO?	- Crisis of the Austrian form of neo-corporatism; struggle in the field of urban governance; struggles have not yet resulted in a new, hegemonic form of governance. - LA 21 as a suitable instrument for left-wing social democrats to tackle the democratic crisis; interest in overcoming centralist top-down models of technocratic planning; interest in an overall democratisation of municipal policy making; far-reaching aim of creating a participatory form of governance.
HOW? INSPIRED BY?	- Implementation of a pilot project of LA 21 in the 9th district of Vienna with the aim to strengthen democratic structures at the local level; - Vision for the pilot project was elaborated step-by-step and collectively, evolving out of reflexive self-organisation; - LA 21 had plenty of room for experimentation and hardly any direct pressure to deliver clear-cut results – inspired by Alfred Dallinger (Austrian Minister of Social Affairs in the 1980ies) and his way of governing.
SOCIALLY INNOVATIVE CONTENT	- Interdisciplinary approach and a participatory design open for institutional innovations; idea to organize a participation process that should enable people who live and work in the district to shape their local living conditions; - Strength of the pilot project of LA 21 lies in the stimulation of a participatory way of governance at the district level - Traditional party politics lose in importance and a new field of power emerges; new institutions, e.g. the Agenda team, are created; substantial shift of the political culture at the district level.
EMPOWERMENT STRUGGLE	- In 2002, power struggles entered centre stage of LA 21; initiative under the umbrella of the LA 21 platform fought against the realisation of a real estate development; struggle for empowerment and the implementation of a comprehensive mediation process; - Empowerment struggle is still ongoing and stimulated a political debate concerning range and scope of LA 21 activities - As LA 21 has been institutionalized from 2002 onwards, the empowerment struggle transformed into a struggle to preserve experimentation and autonomy against bureaucratization and standardisation.
HOW LONG WAS 'NEW' NEW?	- The phase of the pilot project (1998-2002) was marked by an open space for social experimentation at the district level; various challenges have to be faced while advancing from experimentation with diverse forms of social innovation at the small-scale level towards the institutionalization of a new form of democratic governance at the city wide level; - The institutionalization of LA 21 processes may turn out as a threat against socially innovative dynamics; in one way or the other, a participatory way of governance always seems to be at stake.

Source: authors

13.4. From consensus to conflict (2002)

It was not until spring 2002 that power struggles entered the centre stage of LA21 in Alsergrund. The municipality and the District Council were close to authorize a real estate development in a high-density area of Alsergrund when twelve inhabitants decided to become involved and took an initiative under the umbrella of the LA 21 pilot project. They reacted against the potential development and aimed at preserving a vast green area of 17,500 m2 near "Sensengasse", which had so far been used as a sports field to the detriment of real estate interests. Symptomatically for Austrian corporatism, the real estate development firm was the federal estate association (Bundesimmobiliengesellschaft - BIG), a firm owned by the federal government, in charge of developing formerly public property. As local and district politics welcomed the project, the newly established working group —Sensengasse" was regarded as a protest group, a traditional citizens movement combatting a real estate project. The municipal department of urban development, for example, wondered if a protest group had any legitimacy to be established within the LA 21 framework. The Agenda team, however, decided to integrate this so-called protest group as part of LA21 and its vision of citizen participation. For the first time, the LA 21 demanded to display a pluralist form of governance: critics were integrated and the experiment of establishing a new mode of political culture was tested: Was LA 21 one more discourse on participation or was it a serious project seeking to enlarge the right to concrete participation, even when challenging powerful interest groups?

The working group —Sensengasse" started to evaluate the development project and soon perceived that information and transparency were lacking. All preliminary decisions concerning the utilization of the property were reached between political and economic power holders without any public involvement. In the beginning, the activists focused on the access to this vast green area as a local space for recreation, thereby stressing the content dimension of social innovation. The course of the project, however, brought about a shift towards a process-oriented dimension of social innovation: The group soon demanded the decision-making process to be broadened in order to integrate all articulated interests. Politicians, investors and bureaucracy were requested to start a dialogue with inhabitants and other local stakeholders. The struggle for empowerment and the implementation of a mediation process took about half a year. LA 21 began to represent neighbourhood interests and to organize grassroots politics. It supported several press releases as well as an independent legal opinion. Furthermore, the local initiative was facilitated by the fact that the Green and the conservative party at the district level dissociated themselves from the real estate development project. All these activities caused an official reappraisal of the procedure applied.

In September 2002, due to the increasing opposition from within and outside the political system, the City Council decided to implement a comprehensive mediation process to pacify resistance. However, mediation was launched to impose the predefined objective which was the implementation of the development in itself. The consultations were limited to a short period of four months and were expected to result in a collective agreement on the form and content of the real estate project. Besides, no new stakeholders were integrated. The agreement reached in January 2003 allowed for a reduction of the project by about 500 m2, which amounts only to three percent of the total area. Additionally, the working group —Sensengasse" obtained some minor improvements concerning scope and design of the car park and passage ways. All in all, as the concessions were only marginal, the group felt defeated. Astonishingly, however, the final evaluation of the process was ambivalent in the view of the working group:

> *"Citizen participation has become an issue in Vienna. This is due to public discussions and the moderation process established with regard to spatial planning in the area of the "Sensengasse". Nevertheless, the success regarding the content is moderate. Nonetheless, the last ten months clarified the importance of new modes of governance in the field of spatial planning. The moderation process can be regarded as one step forward in this direction. […] Politics has to establish basic legal conditions allowing an institutionalisation of citizen participation in the field of spatial planning."*[56]

The main impact of this small-scale initiative materialised at the city-wide level. Local experts in the field of urban planning and social work as well as the wider public observed the mediation process with interest. From then on, a democratisation of spatial planning procedures was no longer a taboo. A team working on a reform of spatial planning procedures was established with the approval of the local bureaucracy, and included not only planners and officials, but also the group —Sensengasse". In September 2003, a paper was finalised summarising possible strategies to establish a participatory form of spatial planning. Even the municipal department in charge of urban development and planning publicly admitted that in the future, urban planning and master plans have to be implemented with compulsory and comprehensive participation of the involved citizens, who are considered as the stakeholders of the local urban space.

[56] Information 4/03 zur Baulandwidmung Sensengasse der Agendagruppe Erholungsraum Sensengasse (28.01.2003), Vienna: mimeo.

In retrospect, the effects of the group —Sensengasse‟ are manifold and must not be underestimated. The course of the project —Sensengasse‟ stimulated a still on-going discussion concerning the range and scope of LA 21 activities. Of course, officials of the municipal departments financing the LA 21 are more sceptical when analysing the impact of the working group —Sensengasse‟. In the view of one social democrat official close to the City Councillor of Urban Development, the group —Sensengasse‟ was comparable to a ”traditional‘ protest group and LA 21 is not about protesting:

> *—It all starts with imaginary journeys. […] LA 21 is about people saying: I prefer a red pavement to a pavement with flowers painted on it. LA 21 is not about people saying: I don‘t like this paving. That‘s the difference.“*

Another official is a bit more conciliatory when he says:

> *—Well yes, there is a possibility that the LA 21 is moderating a balance of interests. But as far as I understood, LA 21 is more about developing one‘s own ideas of improvement of local living conditions. This is of crucial importance for me. The discussion of existing projects has not to be excluded, but as I see it this should not be a primary purpose.“*

In a folder which was edited in 2004, the heading of one of the four main principles on LA 21 processes in Vienna read: *”New relationships between politicians, administration and citizens‘*. In the following it says (BINDER-ZEHETNER, 2004a, p. 6):

> *“The Local Agenda 21 makes it possible to realise new forms of cooperation, negotiation and communication between these different actors.”*

In one way or the other, this public statement can well be regarded as a result of the manifold discussions and learning processes with regard to the real estate project ‟Sensengasse”.

13.5. Participatory Democracy at Stake (since 2003)

In May 2002, a new organisational structure for a Vienna wide —Local Agenda 21 process‟ was implemented and five districts (including the 9th district) were selected to establish an LA 21 process from 2003 onwards. Every year another district is meant to join the LA 21 platform. The new organization of LA 21 largely follows the mainstream model of New Public Management thereby centralising the control of the process, while decentralising and outsourcing the execution of the public programmes.

The new association was confronted with scepticism (see NOVY and HAMMER 2002b) as the direct political influence of the municipal department of district planning and the social democratic party was obvious. A change of emphasis towards more conventional environmental issues and unobtrusive small-scale initiatives was an immanent threat. Nevertheless, the appointed chairwoman of the association "Local Agenda 21 in Vienna' expresses a very positive view on the direction given to LA 21 in Alsergrund:

> *"The evaluation [of the pilot-project] showed that everyone referred to the terms participation, co-determination and modifications of governance structures. Only two people said that LA 21 is also about sustainable development. As I see it, this result has a meaning regarding content."*

This demonstrates that an overall understanding of the LA 21 as focusing on its participatory element has slowly been gaining ground in Vienna. The LA 21 process in the 9th district experiments with pluralist democracy and empowerment and it is possible that the extension of the LA 21 to five new municipal districts is a step forward to an institutionalization of these innovative forms of participation at the district level. Some see LA 21 as a step towards the institutionalisation of collective learning and emancipation. The chairman of the association "LA 21" regards the project "Sensengasse" as "*successful*" and the District Chairman of Alsergrund, who has meanwhile retired, analyses the impact as follows*:*

> *"LA 21 is about the development of a new model of democracy. […] "We have known this already' or "That's not possible' or "We know better how it works' - Phrases expressing this mentality are impossible in the context of LA 21".*

The project leader of LA 21 in the 15th district (which was about to start in summer 2003) points out:

> *"There exists an old well-rehearsed power triangle: investors, politics and administration. Now a new player enters the scene and that automatically results in a disturbance of the old system and it's safe to say that there will be resistance."*

The range and scope of LA 21 in Vienna is still in the making. The project "Sensengasse" clarified the potential and limitations of LA 21 strategies to stimulate a democratic and pluralist form of governance, complementing traditional representative forms of politics. It helped to clarify that there exist different interests belonging to diverse urban

stakeholders. A conflict emerged and unequal power relations became visible. Massive public interventions by citizens, politicians and progressive planners were needed to empower citizens eager to shape their neighbourhood. Even if the success of citizen involvement was limited in this case, the activists became aware of the far-reaching consequences concerning the emergence of new forms of participative democracy.

LA 21 has become part of the activities of the Viennese planning department. Its enlargement of the LA 21 displays an appreciation. It has become a respected project, although funding remains low and power holders aim at limiting its activities to areas where conflicts are not expected to raise. With the exception of the project "Sensengasse", it did not affect the overall functioning of politics and planning in Vienna. Major changes are happening in Vienna which continue being handled by well-known private negotiations between investors and politicians. To sum up, LA 21 has a huge potential for changing the political culture in Vienna. But it seems as if, exactly because of this, its space of manoeuvre is limited to topics which are of secondary importance for urban development.

Its success is due to committed professionals and citizens as well as to the commitment of politicians to accept this free space for experimentation. The willingness of power holders in the dominant system of representative democracy is decisive for securing these empowering activities and its potential for transforming citizenship in Vienna. Flexibility and creativity are prerequisites for social innovation by avoiding bureaucratization and domestication of grassroots activism.

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Hans BENKE, former chairman of the 9th district of Vienna, July 8th 2003.

Andrea BINDER-ZEHETNER, chairman of the association 'LA 21 in Vienna', August 8th 2003 Marc DIEBÄCKER, LA 21 project leader in the 9th district, August 7th 2003. Otto FREY, official working in the Municipal Department of Urban Development, August 26th 2003.

Bernd HALA, LA 21 project leader in the 15th district (from summer 2003 onwards), August 8th 2003.

Gabriele ZIMMERMANN, official working in the Municipal Department of Urban Development, August 13th 2003.

14. The contradictions of controlled modernisation: local area management in Vienna

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14.1 Abstract

This paper focuses on the most recent modernisation of gentle urban renewal policies in Vienna, which was marked by the implementation of two pilot projects of local area management or so called —Grätzelmanagement" in 2001. These two pilot projects are deeply embedded in social democratic policies of gentle urban renewal and serve as an example of what one can call —controlled modernisation" in social innovation. The institutional setting of these projects, their aims and scope of action are highly structured by the interaction of local and European governance dynamics. In this context, the European Union has to be regarded as the dominant force in moderating these new arrangements of governance at the local level. In our view, local area management in Vienna can be seen as a field of power that helps to put new issues at the top of the political agenda. All in all, the socially innovative potential of the two pilot projects must not be underestimated as they continue to experiment with new forms of inclusive local practices.

Chronology

1974 - 1978	Pilot phase of gentle urban renewal, in the district of Ottakring; controlled experience of integrated area development; highly inspired by the tradition of community work; aimed at direct involvement of citizens in planning procedures; experiment of low-impact urban restoration.
1978 - 1999	Institutionalization and extension of local urban renewal; establishment of area renewal offices operating in densely built quarters of Vienna plus one mobile area renewal office; focus on the coordination and promotion of rehabilitation programmes; cooperation with planners and construction enterprises; empowerment from below but only within the limits imposed from above.
1999 - today	Strategic reorientation of urban renewal policies in Vienna; area renewal offices as an essential part of the ongoing public management reform; first ideas of genuine projects of local area management.
2001	Establishment of a new type of urban renewal offices for council-owned residential houses; highlighting aspects of community work; supporting a so-called —conflict-free cohabitation" between Austrian, neo-Austrian and foreign inhabitants.
2002 - 2005	Implementation of two pilot projects of local area management; established project structure as an example of — controlled modernisation"; restricted forms of empowerment of citizens; potential with regard to a transformation of local policy making; experiments with new forms of inclusive local policies.

Source: authors

14.1. Characteristics of Gentle Urban Renewal

Social innovation in urban planning opens up new spaces, modernizes existing modes of agency and experiments with new institutions. In the Viennese case, it has a bottom-up as well as a top-down dimension. Policy making, therefore, is confronted with finding adequate institutional settings to deal with these dialectics. In line with Viennese history and a conservative political culture, local social democracy has opted for a strategy of controlled modernization which implies contradictions and creates tensions.

The most recent phase of urban renewal policies in Vienna got under way with the 25th birthday of area renewal offices in Vienna in 1999. Then, the City Planning Bureau commissioned an evaluation report of the work of local area renewal offices. As a result of this, a 10 points programme serving as a guideline for the then ongoing strategic reorientation was published. More than ever, this programme designated area renewal offices as an essential part of the ongoing new public management reform within the

overall city administration. The suggestions of the 10 points programme range from "taking over management tasks" to an "improvement in information flows and cooperation with politicians, municipal authorities and funds". As the authorities acknowledged the wide range of demands in the field of urban renewal and management, a higher status for non-technical expertise and community work was suggested. Moreover, a better access for area renewal personnel to training courses relating to communication methods and techniques was established. (FEIGELFELD, 2000).

As a result, following this reorientation process, in 2001, a new type of urban renewal offices was set up for council-owned residential housing. The overall objective has been to support a so-called "conflict-free cohabitation" between, neo-Austrian and foreign inhabitants in close cooperation with the municipal Integration Fund. Bit by bit, urban renewal offices transformed themselves into an on site contact point for local inhabitants, or - in the official terminology - the "on-site sensors of the city of Vienna", thereby stressing the great flexibility of this instrument. Nearly 400.000 inhabitants - a quarter of the entire Viennese population -live today in quarters covered by a local area renewal office, either of the traditional or the redesigned type. In these areas, the share of persons without Austrian citizenship amounts to about 29%. Thus, migrants represent an important target group of local area renewal offices.

First ideas of genuine projects of local area management emerged parallel to the redesign of local area renewal offices from 1999 onwards. The implementation of two pilot projects of local area management in 2002 marks the latest modernization of local urban renewal policies in Vienna. Currently, "gentle urban renewal" serves as an umbrella term for three somewhat different approaches of local area development and/or local area management, which have been established at different points in time. The pilot projects of local area management can by no means be qualified as independent and experimental projects of their own, but are deeply embedded in social democratic policies of gentle urban renewal. As a consequence, these pilot projects serve well as examples of "controlled modernization". In the next sections, different aspects and contradictory dynamics of this specific expression of local area management in Vienna will be highlighted and analysed.

14.3. Social innovation and liberal forms of governance: contradictory dynamics of local area management in Vienna

The pilot projects of local area management in Vienna represent the most recent modernisation of gentle urban renewal policies in Vienna. The aim of this section is to trace their institutional setting and development as well as to analyse their socially innovative potential and corresponding contradictory dynamics. For an overview of the diverse features of the social innovation dynamics see Table 1.

Table 1. Features of the social innovation dynamics in the case-study

WHY? IN REACTION TO?	Ongoing extension and modification of gentle urban renewal as a local necessity, possibility to link these projects to Objective-2 funding; as a strategy for modernising the administration.
HOW? INSPIRED BY?	Idea of linking strategies of New Public Management with the integrative approach of gentle urban renewal and horizontal forms of governance; innovative organizational structure — new stakeholders; creation of a neighbourhood advisory council to foster direct representation of local residents.
SOCIALLY INNOVATIVE CONTENT	Widening of the goals of gentle urban renewal; explicitly integrating migrant communities; promoting active citizenship; experiments with new modes of articulated cooperation with the public sector; potential of social innovation arises where contradictions become apparent.
EMPOWERMENT STRUGGLE	Inclination of district politics towards controlled modernisation — reinforced by the possibility to access EU-funding; constant struggle of citizens for the transparency of political interests as well as for more transparency concerning the allocation of resources; serious problem of simultaneously combining top-down and bottom-up strategies.
HOW LONG WAS ”NEW‘ NEW?	Still ongoing; potential of the projects to support the development and institutionalization of participatory forms of governance.

Source: authors

14.3.1. Local Area Management as a form of New Public Management

The implementation of the pilot project of local area management in Vienna is based on a combination of local and European dynamics. On the one hand, the ongoing extension and modification of gentle urban renewal have been following the local necessity to respond to socioeconomic challenges due to the crisis of Fordism. On the other hand, the European Regional Policies and EU-co-funding have powerfully shaped the concrete form of urban renewal over the last years.

In fact, it was the possibility to link these projects to Objective-2 funding for the 2nd and 20th district that was decisive for the implementation of local area management in

Vienna. Irrespective of their substantial and process oriented objectives, these projects gained considerable appeal for district politics because of the possibility of receiving co-financing through the European Union. As mentioned above, however, the regulations of EU funding do not open space for projects that are based on the idea of modernisation from below.

In 2000, Jens Dangschat, professor at the Vienna University of Technology, drafted a concept for local area management in Vienna. In cooperation with the City Planning Bureau (which is in charge of overseeing gentle urban renewal projects) he developed a concept to comprehensively modernise gentle urban renewal policies, relying heavily on European, and particularly German models. Policies of urban renewal were linked with labour market, qualification and social policies via an integrated policy approach, strengthening existing human resources as ”endogenous potential‘ by developing and supporting sustainable social cohesion of disadvantaged neighbourhoods. In comparison to gentle urban renewal strategies in Vienna, local mobilisation, self-organisation and participation were identified as priorities. Consequently, initiatives to involve the local residential and business communities aimed at enabling modernization from below.

The new concept of neighbourhood management, as proposed by Dangschat, was elaborated as a strategy for modernising the administration - it was about “managing new problems in new ways” (DANGSCHAT, 2001, p. 1). In this context, the implementation of New Public Management strategies reoriented the governance approach of the municipality of Vienna. Tools such as contract management and decentralized budget management were introduced to transform the centralised-hierarchical structure of public administration into a more horizontal system. Neighbourhood management as a new form of decentralized and flexibilized administration was based on an organisational design which clearly identified procedural steps for the implementation, completion and evaluation of the project.

14.3.2. Tensions between a top-down and a bottom-up approach

This combination of top-down oriented New Public Management strategies with a bottom-up approach in the overall conceptualization has led to contradictions in social innovation processes. Such contradictions have been reinforced through the linking of the pilot projects with the Objective-2 programme for Vienna. Both aspects structure the scope for social innovation, and thereby the pilot projects of local area management in Vienna, along social-liberal forms of social governance.

In 2001, the final proposals for pilot projects of local area management were completed, which focused on two areas in the 2nd (Leopoldstadt) and 20th (Brigittenau) districts.

Those two districts can be classified as urban problem areas and as such are eligible for EU funding under the Objective-2 programme from 2002 until the end of 2005. Both neighbourhoods are characterized by a high population density (sometimes over 750 inhabitants per hectare) and a high unemployment rate. The number of Austrian residents decreased by 11.000 between 1984 and 1998, whereas the number of foreigners increased by 14.000. The foreign population amounts to 38% (in certain quarters it is even above 45%). Social democracy has the majority in both districts with both district chairmen being social democrat.

Dangschat has been the discursive broker who translates the social liberal discourse of the European Commission into local planning strategies. He produced a discourse that served the interests of the local as well as the European power holders. In line with European discourse he justified the need for liberal modernisation and an opening up of corporatist networks; in line with local social democracy he argued for New Public Management as a strategy that permits controlled modernisation. The main local actor and power broker has been social democracy who has acquired abilities to reconcile systemic necessities with the exigencies of local political and economic power.

The pilot projects of neighbourhood management attempted to attract broad support and diverse projects partners. The guiding idea of the proposal was to link strategies of New Public Management with the integrative approach of gentle urban renewal and horizontal forms of governance (DANGSCHAT, 2001).

The institutional structure of the pilot projects was significantly influenced by the effort to gain EU financial support via Objective 2 funding. Thus, an organizational adjustment of the existing rather bureaucratic local renewal offices was not on the agenda. As our interviews revealed, this was mainly due to perceptions that the hitherto branches of the city bureaucracy in charge of urban renewal lacked the skills as well as the organisational flexibility to manage EU projects.

Following an evaluation of different other options, the Vienna Business Agency, a fund wholly owned by the municipality, could be persuaded to manage and implement the project. Beyond this new stakeholder, however, and unlike originally planned, it was not possible to integrate further ones. Only the Vienna Science Centre and the Municipial Department 25 pooled their already existing responsibilities in local area management and became project partners. Main public actors in professional training, social and integration policies in Vienna such as the Vienna Employee Promotion Fund (WAFF) or the Vienna Integration Fund (WIF) have not taken part in the project as a partner.

A neighbourhood advisory council was created to foster direct representation of local residents. It has been an important element of the organizational structure of the pilot project and has been functioning as a supervisory board. Next to the project partners, the district chairmen, the Municipal Department 27 (responsible for the handling of EU funding), the City Planning Bureau, the local area managers as well as elected representatives of the citizens have become full members of the council. The institutional and organizational structure of neighbourhood management in Vienna displays some continuities as well as changes compared to the established management of gentle urban renewal. The continuities refer to the traditional inclusion of the Municipal Department 25 and the City Planning Bureau, which operate in parallel to the organizational structure of gentle urban renewal. Such continuity is partly reinforced by the double function of neighbourhood managers who now are not only responsible for gentle urban renewal but also for the newly developed project of local area management. The integration of the Vienna Business Agency (WWFF) and the Municipal Department 27, on the one hand, can be seen as an innovation that became necessary for local bureaucracy in order to handle this project. On the other hand, the district chairmen became members of the neighbourhood management advisory council. The latter underlines that the informal power structures of gentle urban renewal policies are increasingly formalised into projects of neighbourhood management. The main innovation in the institutional structure of the latter consists in the integration of citizens, who can make up to 50% of the full members of a neighbourhood advisory council.

The institutional structure of neighbourhood management displays different elements, some supporting, others rather hindering processes of social innovation. Whereas the initial goal was to comprehensively renew gentle urban renewal, present structures show considerable continuities and incremental adaptations to the requirements of EU regional policy, on the one hand, to local power politics, on the other. As already discussed in section 3, this preference for controlled modernization seems to be an appropriate *leitmotiv* for social democracy in Vienna. Even in this new phase of urban renewal policies the traditional political and bureaucratic practices of social democracy are perpetuated at district as well as local level.

14.3.3. Experimentation, Empowerment and Social Struggle

Local area management aims at linking the process-oriented and the content dimensions of social innovation. In this respect, it constitutes a clear widening of the goals of gentle urban renewal. According to the initial proposals of the projects (DANGSCHAT, 2001), efforts of local area management should focus on promoting and shaping active cooperation between the city administration, the decentralised socio-political institutions,

the private economy and private households. The overall objective is to improve the living, economic and environmental conditions in the area in order to maintain the social viability of the neighbourhood.

Compared to established forms of local urban renewal, the pilot project for local area management explicitly integrates migrant communities. This is indirectly due to the European Union as the proportion of migrants is an indicator in selecting Objective-2 projects or for funding decisions for specific projects from the respective structural funds.

As substantial projects of neighbourhood management (such as the revitalisation of an old market place, support programmes for businesses of the migrant population in the area, language courses etc.) are still being implemented, we will focus our evaluation on the process-oriented aspects of social innovation. Previous developments of local area management point in particular to problems to reconcile top-down-oriented funding criteria with the development of project ideas from below, thereby substantially restricting the potential for process-oriented social innovation. The aim of enhancing endogenous development in degraded areas with participation of residents and local business people has to be adjusted, in one way or another, to pre-defined quantitative evaluation criteria. Many project ideas, which are developed by residents and local businesspeople, correspond to the aim of fostering neighbourhood and community communication. However, projects such as organising a flea market or diverse social and cultural events in the area generally do not conform to the criteria of EU-funding. As the city of Vienna does not contribute extra financial resources to carry out such ideas, the integrative approach of local area management is substantially restricted.

Still, compared to established forms of local urban renewal, local area management promotes active citizenship and experiments with new modes of articulated cooperation with the public sector. In both pilot areas, a neighbourhood magazine was founded, which seems to be of prime importance to foster a culture of integration and tolerance and respect of diversity.

It is a characteristic of neighbourhood management strategies in Vienna that the potential for social innovation arises exactly where contradictions of the project become apparent.

First, different from the established urban renewal offices, local area management involves the respective district chairpersons. To some extent, this has accounted for a stronger formalisation and transparency of potential interventions of these actors. The institutional structure of the neighbourhood advisory councils has provided a framework for district politics to become more transparent and a wider public has been involved in

decision-making. This offers serious opportunities to transform local politics in the long-term, an expected outcome whose meaning should not be underestimated. However, the institutional structure of the projects clearly uncovers the inclination of power holders to ‘controlled modernisation‘. Although the pilot projects are to be managed by so-called local area managers, these managers do not have a vote in the advisory council. Thus, their room of manoeuvre is rather limited as their main task is restricted to an administrative handling of the projects.

The inclination of district politics towards controlled modernisation is reinforced by the possibility to access EU-funding. The main institutional actors of the project, the Vienna Business Agency and the district chairpersons, may turn themselves to power politics leaving aside the established participatory governance structures of the project. Thus, there is a constant struggle of citizens for the transparency of political interests as well as for more visibility of the allocation of resources. Similar to the case of local urban renewal, the importance of professionals working in the projects of local area management must be stressed: they have been acting as intermediaries lobbying for democratic governance procedures and politicising the local communities.

So far the experiences of the pilot projects point to the serious problem of simultaneously combining top-down and bottom-up strategies. In this respect the project displays tendencies that bottom-up methods for mobilisation and self-organisation of citizens are used as instruments for implementing top-down goals. In order to solve the dilemma of organising social innovation, the social technique of participative budgeting was suggested at the mid-term evaluation as a means to usefully bridge the gap between bottom-up and top-down approaches. An open budgetary process may help to reconcile the aspirations of the local population with the norms imposed by the European Commission. Yet it will be impossible to solve the conflicts between a population interested in cultural initiatives and basic needs with EU-funding norms that focus on economic development and job provision - unless the municipal administration is inclined to invest in this type of citizen initiatives.

14.4. Local Management as a Precursor to a Public State?

The pilot projects of local area management started in 2002 and have funding guarantees until the end of 2005. As the analysis has shown, the ambitious aims of the project have not resulted in the implementation of a socially innovative project structure. The established institutional structure is a clear example of controlled modernisation and restricted forms of empowerment of citizens. Moreover, the possibility to access EU-funding restricted the political will to open up new spheres for procedural innovation. The

unwillingness to broaden participation by discussing the rules of the game together with the local population was shared by the EU and the local administration. But even if immediate effects of social innovation may be limited, the potential of local area management with regard to a transformation of local policy making must not be underestimated. Above all, these projects set in train broad discussions of how to organise social change and mobilization. In one field or another, these discourses and practices may result in a transformation of bureaucratic forms of liberal governance. Until now, local area management has not been domesticated. It continues to experiment with new forms of inclusive local policies.

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15. Self-determined urban interventions as tools for social innovation. The case of City Mine(d) in Brussels

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15.1. Abstract

City Mine(d) is a non-profit association founded in 1997 in Brussels that has evolved into a multi-local organization with spin-offs in London, Barcelona, and Belfast. The objective of the organization is to realize self-determined projects in urban public and semi-public spaces. Self-determined urban projects are projects that are self-governed and self-directed by those who initiated the project. The initiatives are chosen on the basis of the positive effects they generate and of their mobilisation of the diverse potentialities of the city. By realizing self-determined projects, City Mine(d) aims to juxtapose two normative objectives, each pitched at a different spatial scale. At the micro-level, it promotes positive freedom and at the metropolitan level, it seeks to achieve inclusive governance. The paper argues that these two development goals lead City Mine(d) to adopt the dual role of a facilitator on the one hand and of power broker on the other. However, the combination of these two roles is often highly problematic and paradoxical. This paradox generates opposite demands with respect to [a] how the projects position themselves in social space and [b] where they locate themselves in physical place. Through the case of City Mine(d), this paper advances a political-economic understanding of this paradoxical relationship in the context of Brussels, highlighting the role of historical and social-economic factors.

15.2. City Mine(d), The Creation of Multi-Local Networks

City Mine(d) is a non-profit association founded in 1997 in Brussels that has evolved into a multi-local organization with spin-offs in London, Barcelona, and Belfast. The organization's objective is to realize self-determined projects in urban public and semi-public spaces. Self-determined urban projects are projects that are self-governed and self-directed by those who initiated the project. The initiative are chosen on the basis of the positive advantage they take of the diverse potentialities of the city (Bunker Souple, 1997; Bunker Souple, 2000). City Mine(d) takes on projects from actors (such as neighbourhood groups, youth groups, autonomous artist collectives, urban activist groups, etc...) who, at the proposed project location, often lack the social contacts in state, market and civil society within the city that are required to realise their projects. Examples of such projects include, among others, the organisation of a barbecue on a vacant terrain, of a hip-hop event in a public park, the creation of an artistic installation on a street corner or organising an open-air film screening in a neighbourhood. City Mine(d) assists the group of initiators in rallying a diverse, supportive coalition of city actors around the proposed intervention. Such mobilized supportive coalitions with diverse perspectives and expertise aim to strengthen the initiators in their conceptualization of the project, to overcome different obstacles (such as authorization requirements, the need for financial resources…) that confront the project, and to facilitate its implementation.

At the same time, the mobilization of an inclusive supportive network for such self-determined projects forms a counter-coalition against the structural governance configurations that customarily deprive actors of undertaking their project. As a consequence, the formation and the existence of the coalition introduces - at least during the realization phase of the project- a new (and more inclusive) social power arrangement.

City Mine(d) employs five people (three in Brussels, one in London and one in Barcelona) and has a core-group of fifty volunteers.[57] The organization has two parts: a support cell

[57] City Mine(d) is an initiative of a group of Flemish and French speaking urban activists. The founding members were: Marie-Eve Cosemans, Tom Deforce, Thomas Demyttenaere, Marieke Huysentruyt, Arnaud Jacobs, Nathalie Mertens, Johan Moyersoen, Fried Roggen, Antje Van Wichelen and Tristan Wibault. Mark Trullemans, at that time chairman of the Brusselse Raad voor het Leefmilieu (BRAL) - the leading Flemish urban development NGO in Brussels -supported the initiative. In 1997, the members of the board of the newly established non-profit association were Jim Segers (president), Fried Roggen, Tom Deforce, and Gerben Van den Abbeele. The first three members will later become employees of the organization. City Mine(d) receives its main funding from The Urban Fund (het stedenfonds) of the Flemish Community Commission. For the projects, the organisation draws on project funding from a diverse set of government and private bodies. Examples of such funding sources are The Koning Boudewijn Stichting, The European Union, JP Morgan Bank, Ondex,

and a production cell. The support cell seeks to provide logistical support, practical information, and legal-and financial advice for groups aiming to realize their self-determined urban initiative. The projects that make use of the support cell form the —recruiting pool" from which the productions are drawn. City Mine(d) selects the projects on the basis of their feasibility (financially, legal…) and of their locational and social potential to promote or facilitate inclusive governance. The selected projects are mostly social-cultural or social-artistic in nature. The production cell assists selected groups to mobilise supportive networks and to realize their projects.

During the eight years of its existence, City Mine(d) supported the realization of more than sixty self-determined initiatives in Brussels. The generated mobilized coalitions and the great number and mix of projects have contributed to a multi local network with links to state, market and civil society actors sympathetic to the dynamics of self-determined urban initiatives. The network is multi local precisely because each project is anchored in a different locality. For City Mine(d), the —thickness" of the multi-local network constitutes a cultural - and social force in itself that advocates, promotes, and experimentally practices inclusive governance at the metropolitan level. As a result, by realizing self-determined projects, City Mine(d) seeks to juxtapose two normative objectives at two different scales. At the micro-level it promotes positive freedom by facilitating the realization of autonomous projects and at the metropolitan level it encourages inclusive governance.

15.3. The Origins of the Organization

15.3.1. Brussels, a Fragmented City

The underlying reasons why City Mine(d) juxtaposes positive freedom at the local level and inclusive governance at the metropolitan level have to be understood in the political-institutional context from which the organization originated. City Mine(d) emerged as an outcome of the short-lived uprising of a new urban social movement in the early nineties in Brussels. This urban movement arose as a reaction against the structural impasse in the economic-, political- and institutional fabric of Brussels that made any spontaneous urban initiative almost impossible (DE LANNOY et al. 2000; KESTELOOT and MISTIAEN, 2002). The reasons for this structural impasse were threefold: a weak state, a fragmented civil society and a speculative real-estate sector.

Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona, The British Council, Brussels Capital Region, French Community Government, etc…

The federalization of Belgium resulted in a complex and fuzzy government configuration for Brussels. The federal arrangement of Belgium consists of three communities (French, Flemish and German) and three regions (Walloon, Flemish and Brussels Capital Region). As a compromise between the Flemish- and French politicians to maintain and share power in the Brussels region, Brussels was given a special geo-political status. The French- and Flemish community commissions (i.e. community governments) overlap in the Brussels Capital Region. Each community-and regional government has its own specific policy domains[58]. On top of this government arrangement, Brussels Capital-Region counts nineteen autonomous municipalities who have political authority over, among others, public order and social welfare. Since the boundaries between the different competencies of each government body are fuzzy, they become ground for daily negotiations. Therefore, each political decision in the city is vulnerable for contested and often parochial politics between the French- and Flemish governments or between the different layers of government (HOOGHE, 1991).

Parallel to this fragmented governmental and institutional configuration in Brussels, there is a similar fragmentation in civil society (SWYNGEDOUW and BAETEN, 2001; SWYNGEDOUW and MOYERSOEN, 2004). The fragmented government configuration results in a situation that the financial resources to fund civil society organizations are dispersed across a multitude of state bodies. This fragmentation fuels feudal politics where each government creates its own mini-state with its own civil society. As a result, a large part of the civil society - we shall refer to them henceforth as '*the institutionalized civil society organizations*' - ally loyally with one of the government bodies. One outcome of this policy is that Brussels experiences two 'language' spheres of civil society, a Flemish- and a French one, and there is virtually no communication between them.

In contrast, civil society associations that are engaged in the cosmopolitan multi-lingual fabric of Brussels and that sought to overcome these sectarian divisions -- we shall refer to these as '*the informal civil society sector*' - were outlawed, deprived of state funding and curbed in their actions. As a result, an alienation process between actors celebrating the cosmopolitan, hybrid urban culture of Brussels on the one hand and the sectarian

[58] The regional governments have competencies in the domains of economic development, infrastructure, employment, agriculture, water policy, housing, public works, energy, transport (except Belgian Railways), the environment, town and country planning, nature conservation, credit and foreign trade. The Communities have competences in cultural affairs, education and the use of language. In addition, the Communities have legislative power in matters about the individual about on the one hand health policy (curative and preventive medicine) and on the other hand support to individuals (such as protection of youth, aid to families and immigrant support services). A third community institution in Brussels, the Common Community Commission is in charge of selected bi-communitarian affairs such as hospitals and local welfare centres.

governance processes on the other became a key characteristic of the Brussels socio-political and cultural condition.

In addition, the weak complex of government and the fragmented civil society produced an environment conducive to speculative private real-estate development (TIMMERMANS, 1991; PAPADOPOULOS, 1996). A coalition between real-estate entrepreneurs and parts of the Brussels political establishment promoted large-scale infrastructure projects in Brussels and speculated on the land value of vast areas of the city centre with little concern for the demands of local citizens. The real estate projects and the speculative developments were so devastating in scale that it disrupted the social, cultural and architectural texture of the city. Examples of real-estate projects that in each case wiped out vast popular, working-class neighbourhoods are the 1990s extension of the Manhattan project at the railway station Brussels North, the European neighbourhood in the Leopoldswijk, and the TGV station at the railway station Brussels South (PAPADOPOULOS, 1996). In addition, the speculative strategies in the inner city left 6.3% of the building surface of the inner city of Brussels vacant in 1995 (DE CORTE et al., 1995). As a result, Brussels appeared to be a ”vacant‘ cities, unliveable, and with a declining socio-economic profile.

The alienation experienced by those urban actors that celebrated the cosmopolitan nature of the city on the one hand and the overall BruXello-negativism (i.e. the dominant view that Brussels was unliveable and ungovernable) on the other constituted the two main reasons that triggered, in 1995, the emergence of the urban movement mentioned above. This process also became the central motive for the emergence of and the tactics pursued by the non-profit association City Mine(d).

15.3.2. Self-determined Urban Projects

A bundling of Flemish and French speaking institutionalized civil society organizations in the social- and cultural sector constituted the core-group of this urban movement. The most important associations were *”Beursschouwburg‘* (a Contemporary Performing Art Centre, located in the inner-centre of Brussels, funded by the Flemish government), *”Brusselse Raad voor het Leefmilieu‘* (the Flemish federation of neighbourhood associations in Brussels), *”Inter-Environnement Bruxelles* (The French speaking counterpart of the Brusselse Raad voor het Leefmilieu) and *”Atelier de Recherche et d'Action Urbain‘* (a French speaking urban think-tank). The core group‘s central strategy was to support the activities of informal civil society associations in central locations that were emblematic for expressing the governance malaise in Brussels. The core group perceived the activities of the informal civil society associations (that is self-determined

urban initiatives) as the positive expression of or the germs for the making of an inclusive cosmopolitan city. For them, these germs had to be fostered and their experience diffused throughout the urban fabric. By locating these activities in the hot spots of governance inertia -for example, deteriorated places in the city -(we shall refer to these as cracks or fissures in the city), the core group hoped that such actions would have a catalyzing effect on the city. For the informal organizations, the support by the core group offered an opportunity to free themselves of the outlaw stigma that made it difficult for them to access parts of the state, the market and institutionalized civil society.

In 1993, fifty urban activists with active support of the core group squatted under the collective name of *'Foundation Crowbar/Open-Door'* (*"Stichting/Fondation Pied de Biche/Open Deur'*) a vacant block of houses in front of the Bourse in the centre of Brussels for a period of ten days. The activists reacted against the real estate speculation and the urban planning procedures that did not account for the particular needs of the inhabitants of Brussels. A sequence of self-determined urban interventions initiated by the occupiers regenerated the housing block temporally. The projects were mostly '*situationist'* -like art projects, the creation of a model flat, the installation of plants at the windows of the occupied house, or social-cultural projects such as the opening of a social restaurant, the organization of debates and of music concerts. During the action, five thousand people visited the occupied building. Hundred and twenty organizations in Brussels and Belgium signed the manifesto and the campaign received attention of local, national and international media. Although the action was focused on the micro level -

i.e. the specific housing block - the action had an emblematic effect at the larger, metropolitan scale. It became the symbol of a new style urban movement and of the endeavour to shift the Bruxello-negativism to a Bruxello-positivism. The success of the action encouraged the campaigners to undertake other emblematic urban direct actions.[59]

The tactical innovation of the urban direct actions was that it associated the condition of positive freedom to act and enjoy the city (i.e. the realization of self-determined urban interventions) with the state of the overall governance culture of the metropolis and vice versa. The radical 'deed' of realizing self-determined projects that regenerated temporarily and symbolically public and semi-public spaces became also a tool for City

[59] Examples are Foundation Habitat Central (1996), Foundation Legumen (1997), Foundation Black Tower (1997), and Foundation One-way traffic (1998).

Mine(d) to confront those segments in state, civil society and market that stood in the way of the development and further nurturing of the ”cosmopolitanisation‘ of the city.[60]

15.3.3. Tactical Innovation and Adaptation

The emergence of City Mine(d) is a product of cycles of tactical innovation by urban activists that challenged the governance fragmentation in the city on the one hand and the subsequent tactical adaptation of the dominant governance configurations to these innovative actions. Indeed, the success of the emblematic direct actions and the broad support for the urban movement prompted reaction (i.e. tactical adaptation) from the government. For example, the Flemish government created an opening towards the insurgent movement by increasing the subsidies for the Flemish institutionalized civil society associations that were part of the core group of the urban movement (Beursschouwburg and Brussels Raad voor het Leefmilieu). In contrast, the French government (with the exception of Ecolo, the French speaking Green party) disassociated itself from the movement. Both French and Flemish policies had a negative effect on the insurgent movements in civil society. They triggered the disintegration of the core group that coordinated the urban movement. The Flemish formal civil society organizations returned to their traditional segments to capitalize on the support they received from the Flemish government. The French formal civil society organizations quietly withdrew their support for the movement. As a result, the movement disintegrated and fell apart. This disintegration left a vacant space that permitted the creation of the organization City Mine(d). The initiators were urban activists engaged in the direct urban actions exemplified above. As a child of its time, City Mine(d) inherited the mission to support self-determined projects as its main ”*raison d‘être*‘.

Nevertheless, City Mine(d) should not be regarded as a mere continuation of the original urban social movement. Although City Mine(d)‘s objectives were the identical to the preceding movement, the formal institutionalization of City Mine(d) was in itself a product of sectarian policy. The urban activists jumped on the bandwagon created by the Flemish civil society organizations that had been part of the core group and sought funding from the Flemish Community Commission. The fact that the Flemish Community

[60] The sequence of emblematic direct actions led to the establishment of a member based multilingual urban movement, named ”Freetown Brussels‘ (=VrijstadBXLVilleLibres). The movement had as objective —to reclaim the city for the groups who actually live and enjoy the city“. Every six months the movement organized a general meeting. In the meeting —Individuals can propose a project, engage in a deliberative process with the present members to enrich the proposal and mobilize people to support their initiative“ (VrijstadBXLVillesLibres 1998). The input of the diverse perspectives of the members should empower the individual in its capacity to envisage and realize the self-determined project.

Commission predominantly funds the organization makes the collaboration with French speaking (institutionalized) actors in its projects an uphill struggle.

15.4. The Drivers of Social Innovation

15.4.1. The Dual Role of Facilitator and Broker

Since 1997, the organization has realized sixty projects in Brussels. Some examples of projects include *"PaleisVanSchoor'* (The conversion of a vacant terrain into a well-designed park); *"PleinOPENair'* (A sequence of open-air film screenings in emblematic locations that illustrate either the negative consequences of the governance fragmentation in Brussels or the positive richness of the cosmopolitan city); *"LimiteLimite'* (The construction of a tower and meeting place in a deteriorated neighbourhood); *"Barake'* (The construction of a artists' dwelling on stilts) and *"MAPRAC'* (a month-long participatory project, where the future use of the present site of the State Ministry of Finance was discussed). In each of the projects, City Mine(d) adopted *"the role of a facilitator'*. City Mine(d) rallied around the self-determined project a cross-boundary, supportive network of actors from state, market and civil society institutions. The sequence of projects resulted in the establishment of three urban networks. The first network consists of the myriad of informal civil society organizations in the city and individuals with ideas for self-determined projects. The second network involves actors of state, civil society, and market sympathetic to self-determined projects. The third network is one of peer organizations in Brussels and other cities and countries that exchange experiences and methods. We estimate that today these networks engage annually over 400 active participants and more than 8000 visitors participate annually in these projects.

However, in 2001, the tactical innovation of the organization to establish positive freedom for self-determined projects and to promote inclusive governance was threatened by a part of the governance establishment that was trying to cash in on the increasing presence of the European elite in Brussels. The strategies and activities of City Mine(d) and its predecessors developed independently from the rapidly increasing internationalisation of Brussels. While City-Mine(d) concentrated on the social fabric and the mobilisation of local/regional governmental institutions, a new international "glocal' socio-economic elite was increasingly prevalent in Brussels and had given rise to a significant presence of super-national social elites (ELMHORN, 1998). Yet, these elites operated in Brussels separately from the social world of the local urban movements and of City Mine(d). Although City Mine(d) aimed to mobilize diverse actors of state, market and civil society for its projects, the international elites remained outside its "field of

vision‘ as CityMine(d) focused on the *”intra-urban‘* governance institutions (i.e. the nineteen municipalities, the French- and Flemish Community Commission and segments of the Regional Government of Brussels). A disconnection between the local territorial governance bodies and the networked *”supra-urban‘* reality (the ”glocal‘ elite) manifested itself.

Nevertheless, the growing presence of a ”glocal‘ elite had a fundamental impact on the city itself. In addition to the disruptive changes associated with the crawling proliferation of Euro-infrastructure and services, their presence also put significant pressure on the real-estate market of Brussels, especially in the inner-centre. The fiscal deficit of the government further increased pressure on the real estate market. 57.5% of the tax base of the Brussels Capital Region is extracted from personal income taxation of the inhabitants in the region (SWYNGEDOUW and MOYERSOEN, 2004). To decrease the government deficit, the various governments adopted a policy to attract the ”glocal‘ middle- and upper classes to the inner-centre of Brussels. As a result, a coalition of entrepreneurs in the service sector, with support from the local government, reinvented the centre of Brussels as an attractive place to live for cosmopolitan middle- and upper-classes (BAETEN, 2001a,b). The self-determined urban initiatives actually became part of the urban myth that created the bohemian, experimental, vanguard Brussels downtown life-style that would be celebrated by the new ”glocal‘ elites and mobilised as a strategic instrument to ”gentrify‘ the city. This 'bohemian' cultural atmosphere was indeed pivotal for generating a looming gentrification of the inner city (see also ZUKIN, 1993; LEY, 2003). In the footsteps of fashion shops and a cosmopolitan urban culture, a new generation of young, trendy, urban-minded middle class groups settled in the inner-centre. The newly formed gentrifying coalition co-opted the self-determined projects, initiated by organizations such as City Mine(d), for their own purpose. City Mine(d)'s intention to facilitate the interaction between the diverse users to further positive freedom in the city was taken over by a meta-discourse of a newly emerging urban regime that promoted the recapitalization of the inner-centre by the middle-class, a process that Neil Smith defines as the 'revanchist city' (SMITH and WILLIAMS 1986; SMITH, 1996). The awareness that City Mine(d) was losing its innovative capability forced the organization to revise its strategy. The cooptation obliged the organization to look out for other niches in the city. From 2001 onwards, the organization increasingly positioned itself in the ”glocal‘ (global/local) niche between the local/territorial governance configurations operating at the *”intra-urban‘* level on the one hand and social actors operating at the *”supra-urban‘* level on the other.

The loss of control-capacity experiences as a result of the nascent alliance between elite segments of the international ”market‘ and parts of the state suggested that the role of

facilitator is vulnerable to manipulation and dependency. City-Mine(d) understood that the role of facilitator is a necessary but insufficient condition to realize personal autonomy and inclusive governance. The newly found 'glocal' niche enabled the organization to re-assert its *"role of a broker*' (which was until then taken for granted) that provides self-determined projects with the structural autonomy to self-direct and self-govern their project. It is from this perspective that we have to understand the tactical move of City Mine(d) to expand its activities to other cities such as Rotterdam, London, Belfast, and Barcelona and to open spin-off branches in Barcelona and London. As a result, their repositioning at a multi-urban level was not only inspired by a need to diffuse its tactics to other European cities, but was out of sheer necessity to anticipate the loss of (local) control capacity over its projects.

15.4.2. The paradoxes between the drivers of social innovation

For City Mine(d), the driver of social innovation resides in its dual role of facilitator and power broker. Yet, by adopting this dual role, City Mine(d) embarked on a paradoxical and often problematic development model. We shall consider the example of a project of City Mine(d), the *'Bubble'*, to help identify the paradoxes between these two drivers of social innovation (see also table 1).

The *'Bubble'* is a vast transparent plastic bag (6m x 12 m x 3 m) shaped as a pillow. The transparent bag is inflatable with a simple ventilator into a spectacle room for 100 persons. Groups that are excluded from a specific public space can employ the *'Bubble'* as a means to reclaim (a) space for their activities. The interior of the *"Bubble*' provides the excluded group with a stage to realize their self-determined project in a public space. Groups have transformed the interior of the *'Bubble'* into a tearoom, a retail shop, a playground, a conference place, a gallery, a performance hall, a terrain to play "jeux de boulles' and a party room. City Mine(d) assists the initiator in mobilizing diverse groups within the city to support the project. For example, with the conversion of the interior of the *'Bubble'* into a tearoom, City Mine(d) assisted with contacting local shops to borrow a tea set; helped them to invite people in the neighbourhood to bake cakes; provided assistance to invite the Chinese community to give a demonstration of a tea ceremony; enabled them to invite an accordionist; supported them to contact the director of an international firm to provide funding; and guided them to the key persons in government for authorisation and financial support. In consequence, City Mine(d) provides relational- or embedded autonomy by inserting the excluded group in a supporting network at the local and metropolitan level. Relational or embedded autonomy refers in this context to the importance of social relations to enrich one's personal self and to empower the capability for the individual to imagine their own self-determined city project

(MACKENZIE and STOLJAR, 2000; CHRISTMAN, 2004).[61] City Mine(d) aims to broaden the actor's capability by embedding self-determined projects in reflexive, reciprocal social networks in the city.

In addition, the *"Bubble'* is "located' in niches or structural holes that represents elements of the structural governance deadlocks referred to above. Structural holes are locations where different governance configurations are in open-ended competition or in a state of non-communication (Burt 1992). A classical setting for the *"Bubble'* in Brussels is the strategic location between gentrified and non-gentrified, deteriorated areas in the city. It is in these locations that are full of frictions that City Mine(d) can take the tertius role, that is to say, take the positioning of the unique interlocutor between the different fractions. The resulting power position enables City Mine(d) to assert structural autonomy and self-efficacy for the excluded group (Bandura and Wood 1989). City Mine(d) has inflated the *'Bubble'* more than fifty times in different public and semi-public spaces (in Brussels, Barcelona, Rotterdam, Belfast, and London) with various groups and each intervention mobilised its own supportive network. The result of such a multi-local strategy is a patchwork of supportive networks whereby each network is anchored within a specific project in a specific micro-space. At the metropolitan level, overlapping layers of supportive networks contribute to the formation of a socio-political force that advocates and promotes inclusive governance in the city.

Nevertheless, the dual role of City Mine(d) as broker and -facilitator confronts the organization with paradoxical demands on how the project positions itself in social space. Whereas the 'facilitator' seeks to position the projects in embedded, reciprocal (non-hierarchical) networks, the broker wishes to claim the unique bridging position among governance configuration in friction. Through this, CityMine(d) explicitly mobilises a certain power position within social space. Mediating this tension between fostering non-hierarchical reciprocal relations and occupying a strategic power position within a particular socio-institutional space produces a series of contradictory tensions that are often difficult to manage, mediate, or control.

[61] The idea of City Mine(d) to promote personal autonomy within the social relations as path for development is inspired by the capability approach of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum. The capability approach looks for a broader notion of well-being focussing on the freedom of individuals to pursue their own life (Nussbaum and Sen 1993; Sen 1999). The most important capabilities that City Mine(d) advocates are to be part of social networks; enjoying the freedom to be respected; being able to participate in and having some influence over political decision-making; being able to play in your neighbourhood; being able to realize art projects ; being able to experience different ways of living; having the freedom to be mobile; being able to engage in leisure activities…

Table 1. Social Innovative Aspects of the Project City Mine(d)

	PERSONAL AUTONOMY/POSITIVE FREEDOM	
I. HOW ? REACTION AGAINST	Alienation between everyday cosmopolitan reality of the city dweller and the politico-institutional deadlock	Fragmentation of end segmentation between State, Market and Civil Society institutions
II. SOCIALLY INNOVATIVE STRUGGLE	To promote positive frredom and to empower the capability for the individual to imagine and realise their own self-determined urban project	To provide the empowerment or the freedom to realize a self-determined urban intervention
III. EMPOWERMENT STRUGGLE a.Individual Level : Individual Freedom to act enjoy the city	Capability approach	Self-efficacy
b. Urban level : Inclusive governance	Reflective, reciprocal networks	Reshuffle the geometry of power between State, Market and Civil Society institutions
IV. HOW ? a.Concept of autonomy	CONSTRAINT Relational autonomy ⟷	Structural Autonomy
b.Role	CONSTRAINT Facilitator (Reciprocity) ⟷	Power-Broker (Tertius role)
c.Locational Demands	CONSTRAINT Public Space (Places of exchange) ⟷	Fissures or Cracks in the city (Places of friction and non-communication)
V. HOW LONG THE NEW WAS NEW	-Contradiction in concept of autonomy : relational-versus structural autonomy -Contradiction in roles : facilitator versus power-broker -Contradiction in locational demands : Public space versus urban fissures or cracks	

Source: authors

15.5. Conclusion

City Mine(d) emerged as an urban activist and later institutionalised response to the fragmentation and deadlock condition of the urban governance structure in Brussels. The objective of City Mine(d) is, in its own words, to promote *"de (be)leefbaarheid van de stad*'. On the one hand it fosters the - '*leefbaarheid van de stad*'- the liveability of the city and, on the other hand, it promotes-*"de beleving van de stad*'-the city as a

laboratory of experiences. The organization seeks to relate the promotion of positive freedom to experience the city with strategies that foster or promote more inclusive governance. The tactical innovation of City Mine(d) is to locate strategically self-determined projects at the micro-geographical scale - such as a square, a group of houses- in such a way that the impact or effect of these interventions —jumps scales" (COX, 1998) and affect the geometry of power at the overall city level (MASSEY, 1994). To achieve its objectives, City Mine(d) adopts the dual *role of facilitator* to promote diverse inclusive networks around the projects and the *role of broker* to assure the structural autonomy for the initiators to self-govern and self-direct the project. Yet, as we have discussed, this dual role produces paradoxical demands on the positioning of City Mine(d)'s projects within the social networks of the city and in physical space. Consequently, each project constitutes a fine balancing between these paradoxes. Yet, they also permit continuous innovation and change. The processes of which CityMine(d) is part is the central innovative component rather than the specific characteristics of each of the projects

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16. The role of the Tertius as initiator of urban collective action. The case of LimiteLimite in the Brabantwijk (Brussels) as a socially innovative urban redevelopment process

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16.1. Abstract

How can a small group of individuals mobilize a deprived neighbourhood to engage in a process for urban renewal? This is the key question of this paper and will be explored through considering the socially innovative project LimiteLimite, set in the Brabantwijk, a deprived neighbourhood close to the centre of Brussels. The start of the LimiteLimite project consisted of the construction of a nine meters high and artistically designed tower and meeting place in the Brabantwijk. The construction of the tower initiated a chain of spin-off projects and gave rise to an unparalleled inclusive and multi-scalar partnership. We argue that the core-group of key individuals who initiated LimiteLimite assumed the role of the tertius or ”the role of the actor in the middle‘ to assure stakeholders‘ commitment from the diverse users in the neighbourhood. Although the role of the tertius permitted the core-group to bring together different, and often excluded, user groups under the umbrella of LimiteLimite, the process also had disempowering aspects. The project and the associated process was riddled with conflicts between the competitive and exclusive tendering by the core-group to claim the role of tertius on the one hand, and, on the other, the aspiration to realize an socially inclusive development partnership in the neighbourhood. This dialectical relationship will be illustrated by considering the two main processes the project induced: effectuation and complex good provision.

16.2. The tower LimiteLimite

This paper seeks to unravel the social- and institutional dynamics of a process of urban revitalization, initiated by a small group of individuals who succeeded in mobilizing a neighbourhood on a trajectory of urban renewal. The material pivot of the project, called LimiteLimite, consisted of the construction of a nine-meter high and artistically designed

tower and meeting centre in the Brabant neighbourhood (Brabantwijk), a highly diverse and multi-cultural neighbourhood where prostitution mixes with immigrant and primarily Muslim communities, a large student population, and a diverse set of businesses. The building of the tower initiated a chain of spin-off initiatives, such as, among others, a neighbourhood festival, a flower and decoration project, visual projects staged by the local art school, a monthly breakfast for the women in the neighbourhood, etc… Starting in 1997 with a small core-group, LimiteLimite evolved incrementally, through realizing a series of small projects, to become an unparalleled partnership that brought together a variety of locally active actors (neighbourhood groups, sport associations, schools, etc…) and agents from the metropolitan level (firms, regional government, higher education institutions, national foundations)[62]. The core-group consisted of Steven Degraeve -a social worker of RisoBrussel, a non-profit association involved in community work; Jim Segers - working for City Mine(d), a production house for social artistic projects in the city; Chris Rossaert - independent architect; and Jacques Lechat - a teacher of APAJ Classe Chantier, an apprenticeship and vocational training school. In 2000, the loose bundling of forces in the core-group was given a more permanent character through setting up a new non-profit association to coordinate the activities. After five years, in the spring of 2004, the group dismantled the tower. The municipal government of Schaarbeek, where the Brabantwijk is situated, now plans to construct social housing on that site[63].

16.3. Drivers of social innovation

Initially, the initiators, or initial core group, had no reputation, no financial means and very limited power to start, let alone impose, an urban renewal process in the neighbourhood. Hence, it had to find an innovative way to mobilize actors in the neighbourhood, organise key players and access key power brokers. The unique and original strategy the core-group developed to gain sufficient social leverage was to adopt

[62] Throughout the paper, we shall use the terminology 'neighbourhood' or 'local' actors when referring to those actors whose actions are embedded in and bounded by the locality. We shall use the term 'metropolitan'- or 'global' actors when referring to actors who are active at the supra-local level. The term global actor is appropriate in this case as many (but not all) of the metropolitan actors in the neighbourhood of the Brabantwijk are active in the global service economy.

[63] The core-group planned an original continuation of the Tower Project to prevent it from disappearing. The disassembled parts of the tower were shipped to Belfast, Northern Ireland, where the materials were used for a new construction. The Ulster University School of Architecture and Chris Rosaert - the architect of the construction in Brussels -designed the new building. The Belfast Institute (a vocational training school) together with APAJ Classe Chantier, the training school who initially constructed the tower in the Brabantwijk, built the 'new' Belfast project. Plans are already under way to move the Brussels-Belfast project on to another city.

- both in social and physical place - the role of the ”tertius‘ (SIMMEL, 1955). The ”tertius‘ role is the intermediary role between groups in situations of friction resulting from open competition and/or from a state of non-communication between rival groups (BURT, 1992). From this perspective, the core-group exploited the ”vacant‘ institutional and socio-political space between the diverse and non-communicating local community in the Brabantwijk on the one hand and the metropolitan institutional, political, and economic actors on the other. From this semi-privileged position, the core group claimed the role of the tertius.

The tertius role enabled the core-group to deploy two strategies in order to maintain its position while overcoming or at least containing the problem of free-riding: *'Tertius and Gaudens'* and *'Divide et Impera'.* The first instrument, *'Tertius and Gaudens'* (i.e. the third who rejoices), occurs in a situation in which two competing parties do not have a strong relationship between each other and are mainly related indirectly to the third party (SIMMEL and WOLFF, 1950). The project, both physically and socially, was set in a ”stalemate‘ situation. Very few channels of communication were available or existed between the different social groups within the community as well as between local agents and metropolitan actors. In this respect, the core-group became a bridge that enabled communication between the local and metropolitan groups. As a result, the process that LimiteLimite initiated was characterized by a situation in which the core group was instrumental in arranging a sequence of working groups, mostly composed of neighbourhood- and metropolitan actors. In each instance, a member of the core-group would act as an intermediary or go-between between, both between actors and between the different working groups. The strategically advantageous role as ”bridge‘-figure permits the core group to overcome the problem of free-riding. If one of the groups opts for free-riding, it removes itself from the communication benefits that the core-group provides. The threat of being deprived or excluded from the communication link managed by the core group provided the latter with considerable leverage and power to hold all participants together in the collective action.

'Divide et Impera' (i.e. divide and rule) refers to a situation in which the third party actively engages in separating participating parties in order to attain or maintain power or even supremacy (SIMMEL and WOLFF, 1950). As the two key groups (the local and the metropolitan) at that time did not have open communication channels and as there was considerable uncertainty about whose preferences should dominate the relationship, the core-group found itself in the position to be able to broker the negotiation for control by playing demands against one another. This strategy enabled the core-group to maintain its position of the tertius during the process. The flipside of this strategy was, of course, that the core-group was not always committed to reach a consensus between all

the participating actors in the LimiteLimite project with respect to the objectives of the project. For this reason - as shall be discussed below -- the core-group tried (and managed) to achieve a complex and multilayered public good.

The possibility to engage in the strategy outlined above depends of course centrally on the socio-spatial conditions of the environment. Acting as a ”tertius‘ is facilitated by the specific socio-spatial conditions of local social and cultural fragmentation and non-communication, if not intense rivalry, between local social groups. Moreover, the disjuncture and non-communication between the fragmented local community and the metropolitan actors, a condition that is not limited to the Brabantwijk but is a fundamental characteristic of the governance practices in Brussels (see SWYNDGEDOUW and BAETE, 2001), produced a relatively empty social space that the core group of the LimiteLimite project could strategically capture. This centrifugal configuration is further re-enforced by the relative physical isolation of the neighbourhood. The railway station Brussels North, which is only a few blocks from the location of the LimiteLimite tower, functions as a frontier between the local and metropolitan actors. On the Western side of the railway station, the traditional economic and political elites developed their showpiece for the modernization of Brussels, the Manhattan project, with the World Trade Centre, and surrounded by regional and national headquarters of major companies as well as key administrative services. The Brabantwijk is situated on the Eastern side of the railway station. It is a densely populated, diverse, and multi-cultural neighbourhood. The main characteristics of this area are: (a) a large immigrant population, mostly from Turkish and Moroccan origin, accounting for 70% of the local population; (b) two thirds of the population are below 30 years of age; (c) average income is 40% below the average regional income; (d) unemployment rate is around 25%, (e) there is notorious absence of parks, sports and other social or cultural facilities, and (f) it is a core area for window and street prostitution and sex shops (BRES, 1997; DEGRAEVE, 1999; DE CORTE, 2001). Those two different worlds on either side of the North Station embody different tensions in the city: The first ”world‘ is the one where Brussels competes with other cities in an attempt to attract part of the global service economy. The second ”world‘ is the every day living space of a highly diverse, but poor and socially excluded, local community. This disjointed, fragmented, incoherent and eclectic space necessitated the emergence of social actors that would take a intermediary or ”tertius‘ position. At the same time, traditional models of community and participation based urban renewal and regeneration were difficult, if not impossible, to initiate and develop successfully. In other words, the fuzziness and distrust that characterises this and comparable areas made traditional urban policy coordination and the governance of revitalisation extraordinarily difficult. For example, the efforts, in the mid-nineties, of the King Boudewijn Foundation to develop a

coherent development plan for the neighbourhood was not successful. This private foundation attempted to re-imagine the neighbourhood as a student quarter. Their plans, however, would become mere paper phantoms and were never implemented. In addition, the traditional community development organizations were unable to gain a foothold in the neighbourhood. Community organizations such as ”Wijkpartenariaat‘, a government-funded initiative to facilitate social development projects in deprived areas were unable to grapple with the fuzzy dynamics that characterised the area as well as its relations to the wider metropolitan dynamics.

In sum, the project LimiteLimite required a fundamentally different strategic vision and coordination processes compared to those traditionally deployed in urban regeneration processes. The core-group would develop two alternative processes for urban renewal, adapted to the specificity of the social environment: effectuation and complex good provision.

16.3.1. Effectuation as driver of social innovation

The process of effectuation derives from non-predictable strategies and is primarily means-driven, and shaped by the path dependency of the project (SARASVATHY, et al. 2003). The socio-political uncertainty made LimiteLimite turn to ”un-predictable‘ development strategies such as effectuation. A grand plan with preset objectives, stages, means and partners for urban renewal was unfeasible. Instead, LimiteLimite had to opt for an incremental multi-step approach, involving a sequence of successive small collective actions. As the core-group did not possess the necessary financial means and social resources, it had to rely entirely on stakeholder commitments. It was the negotiation between the stakeholders - using the devices of *”Tertius Gaudens‘* and *”Divide et Impera‘* - and their ability to mobilize these resources that determined the objectives in LimiteLimite (SARASVATHY et al. 2003). Therefore, each step of LimiteLimite was the product of a mediation process between the different groups, each with their own interests and expertise. SARASVATHY (2001) illustrates the distinction between traditional urban development strategies and the strategy followed by LimiteLimite with the example of two ways of cooking a meal. The first approach, causation, refers to traditional prescriptive ways of urban renewal strategies. The second approach points to the process of effectuation:

> *“Imagine a chef assigned the task of cooking dinner. There are two ways the task can be organized. In the first, the host or client picks out the meal in advance. All the chef needs to do is list the ingredients needed, shop for them, and actually cook the meal. This is a process of*

causation. It begins with a given menu and focuses on selecting between effective ways to prepare the meal. In the second case, the host asks the chef to look through the cupboards in the kitchen for possible ingredients and utensils and then cook a meal. This is a process of effectuation. It begins with given ingredients and utensils and focuses on preparing one of many desirable meals with them."(Sarasvathy 2001)

In conclusion, we can describe the process of LimiteLimite as pursuing a means driven rather than a goal driven strategy. Possible objectives of each stage of the project provided a basis for discussion, interaction, and negotiation. The core group sought to hedge the future by mobilising and engaging stakeholders‘ commitment. It pre-negotiated for the required resources prior to the start of each project. The objective of the project was open for negotiation. For example, the idea of building the LimiteLimite tower was not a pre-planned objective of the core-group. It emerged as the outcome of a deliberation (negotiation) process between the participating stakeholders. In this way, the process of effectuation became an empowering and participatory process open for new possibilities, idea, and alternatives. As a result, effectuation enabled LimiteLimite to emerge as a spontaneous and creative (even artistic) process of and for different user groups (see annex 1).

16.3.2. LimiteLimite: An incremental modular system

The process of effectuation led to LimiteLimite becoming a sequence of successive small projects (see annex 1 for overview projects). There were two main reasons for this to happen. Firstly, once the project started, it was difficult for new actors to join the already launched collective action as the development strategy was grounded in the stakeholders‘ ex-ante commitment. Hence, new actors were invited to start spin-off projects. Secondly, each stage of the project was limited in its objectives as these were a product of the outcome of negotiations to mobilize resources. Hence, actors who were highly motivated to regenerate the neighbourhood were inclined to participate in subsequent stages. These two dynamics generated a chain reaction of spin-off projects that would be brought together under the umbrella LimiteLimite. The creation of a spin-off project was an effective way for new actors to participate and for active and committed stakeholders to push forward their agenda for the locality.

The institutional architecture of the collection of projects under the umbrella LimiteLimite takes the form of a ”modular system‘. Each spin-off project can be interpreted as a module within a larger system (SIMON, 1981; SARASVATHY et al., 2003). Each module

consists of a partnership of local and metropolitan actors. These partnerships are initiated by the tertius -i.e. the core-group- in order to realize a specific project for the neighbourhood. The modularity engendered by effectuation creates a particular form of dynamics for overall collective action (SIMON, 1981). As each partnership was initiated by the tertius role of the core-group, each partnership bridged divides in the neighbourhood. The necessity of the core-group to initiate cross-boundary partnership, combined with an expanding modular organisation, made LimiteLimite a highly inclusive process for generating neighbourhood change and implementing local projects. The core-group actively sought to engage disempowered and alienated groups in the neighbourhood. The most active participants in the local groups consisted of the neighbourhood committee Dupont Street, three elementary schools, VIVA-a women‘s organization, Wijkpartenariaat - a community work association, and Sports Hall 58 - a sport association. The local groups contributed by mobilising the neighbourhood and helping to improve the conviviality between on the one hand commuters, students and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood and, on the other hand, the metropolitan actors. Since LimiteLimite explored the fissure between the local and metropolitan actors, the project had the potentiality to jump scales and to attract not only actors of local civil society but also metropolitan actors. These metropolitan actors included VLEKHO Business School, IRIS-Hogeschool -A School for Social Work; The St Lucas Institute, a School for Architecture; EUROCLEAR, and Koning Boudewijn Stichting (Foundation King Boudewijn).

Negotiations between the different and diverse participants in each module would set the agenda for the overall process. In the modular process, the stakeholders within each module interacted much more intensely and easily among each other than with participants from other modules (projects). In the short run, the high interaction between stakeholders in one project was more or less independent of the other projects. In the long run, the sporadic interaction across the various projects affected the overall process (and, in turn, the projects) in a positive aggregate manner. As a result, LimiteLimite became a self-directed and self-organised process regulated by stakeholder negotiations within each spin-off project.

LimiteLimite was able to receive recognition from the various governmental levels and mobilized financial resources from a variety of actors. A mix of private (JP Morgan Bank, Ondex) and public sources (Sociaal Impulsfonds (Social Impulse Fund) of the Flemish Community Commission and the Koning Boudewijn Stichting) funded the actual construction of the tower. As a non-profit organization, LimiteLimite received financial support from primarily from the Stedenfonds (the Urban Development Fund of the Flemish Community Commission). The organization also maintains good relationships

with the municipal government. It became a structural partner in two neighborhood contracts, a funding program of the Brussels Capital Region (Brabant-groen and Aarschot-Vooruitgangstraat [2001-0005]). The prestige of the LimiteLimite tower project was further enhanced when the project received the *—Thuis in de stad"-prijs* (Home in the City Award) of the Flemish Community as the best practice example of local urban development. The project is perceived as one of the main reasons why the neighbourhood was able to participate in URBAN II, the European Structural fund program. Since the project was self-directed and the chosen locality was not a key location for public intervention from the part of the government, the project could maintain a relatively autonomous position vis-à-vis the state. This independence was certainly also furthered by the way in which LimiteLimite operated. The timing of the projects' development was determined by the stakeholders' commitment and not by the dynamics and agenda of government interests. It was only when the project needed authorization and sought financial support that ad hoc arrangements and relations with government bodies were initiated. Otherwise, the stakeholders themselves dictated the agenda and timing of LimiteLimite projects. LimiteLimite gained only general approval from the different government structures once the tower was built. The latter acted as a catalyst that facilitated further and more intense relationships with various governmental levels.

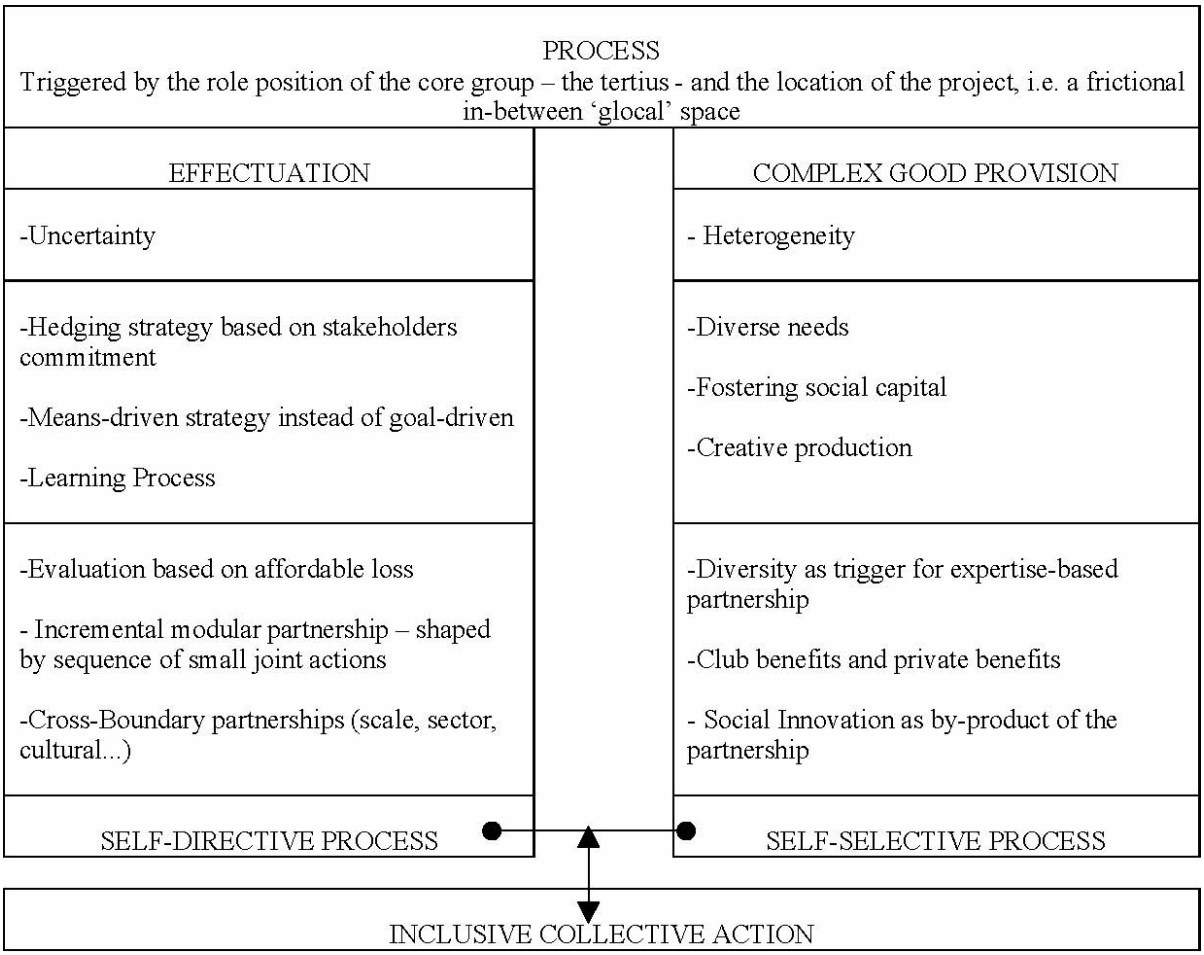
16.3.3. LimiteLimite: a complex good

The terms complex good refers to the multi-layered characteristics of the goal-setting process by each partnership, which incorporates a diversity of human needs' satisfaction objectives. Complex good provision is engendered through the divergent demands of the actors given the socially heterogeneous and fragmented social fabric of the area in which the project is set (BESSEN, 2001; ROSSI, 2003). As LimiteLimite had to respond to the heterogeneous -and not always complementary-human needs of its stakeholders, the core-group's facilitated the making of a heterogeneous or complex good. The sequence of project modules produced inter-communication between heterogeneous user-groups in the city. Diverse actors contributed divergent views, interests and perspectives in the partnership. The heterogeneous composition of the partnership allowed the participants to deliberate creatively and imaginatively (PERRY-SMITH and SHALLEY, 2003).64 The

[64] For a thorough discussion on the importance of diversity for innovative production see TERESA AMABILE (ed.), The social psychology of creativity (Springer series in social psychology; New York: Springer-Verlag, 1983); TERESA AMABILE (ed.), Creativity in context (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996); JACOB GOLDENBERG and DAVID MAZURSKY (eds.), Creativity in product innovation (Cambridge: Cambridge *University Press, 2002). J. E. PERRY-SMITH and C. E. SHALLEY, 'The social side of creativity: A static and dynamic social network perspective', Academy of Management Review, 28/1 (2003), 89-106.*

idea to build a ”tower‘ in the neighbourhood was a product of reflection among groups with diverse assets and views. As a result, the making of LimiteLimite was a social process of deliberation influenced by the diverse inputs of available expertise and backgrounds of the diverse groups in the city. As these deliberation processes occurred in the LimiteLimite process in each module simultaneously, the aggregate output of the project was complex and multi-layered. Moreover, the frictional social space of the project‘s location engendered a multitude of crosscutting issues. The small-scaled and seemingly ”single issue‘ project of building the tower in on vacant piece of land in an underprivileged urban neighbourhood raised many issues related to security, gender, mobility, environment, poverty, and local governance, the neglect of which could seriously undermine the project‘s success. Hence, to enable a sufficient response to these diverse development facets and needs, the core group had to draw on a variety of expertise (school teachers, local neighbourhood committees, women groups, local government, architects, social workers, representatives of various ethnic groups, etc.) (LOWNDES and SKELCHER, 1998).

Table 1. Processes of Effectuation and Complex Good Provision in the case of LimiteLimite



Source: authors

16.4. The Limits of LimiteLimite

The initial driver of the LimiteLimite dynamic was directly related to its strategic positioning social environment characterised by friction and by non-communication between the local and metropolitan scale. This impasse enabled the core-group to take on the role of the "tertius'. By mobilising this tertius role, the core-group was able to forge cross-boundary partnerships. The uncertainty, fuzziness and heterogeneity rendered traditional urban planning methods impossible or very difficult to achieve.

Urban redevelopment in this context demanded fundamentally other cognitive and coordination processes than those traditionally deployed in urban regeneration. The core-group explored to alternative processes during the LimiteLimite project with respect to their potentiality for engendering urban renewal: effectuation and complex good

provision. The core-group deployed both instruments to contain and manage the uncertainty that the frictional environment of the Brabantwijk engendered (see table 2).

Effectuation in the case of LimiteLimite was an incremental process organised as a sequence of small joint cooperative projects between local and metropolitan groups. The uncertain, fuzzy and disjointed socio-spatial conditions in the Brabantwijk forced the core-group to avoid long-term planning and to develop the project gradually and incrementally. Hence, the core-group, using its tertius power, negotiated in each stage a new partnership between local and metropolitan groups for the subsequent stage of the project. Obviously, the composition of each partnership was to a large extent determined by the path dependency of the project. In each stage, the core-group sought to pool the most opportune actors together, based and dependent on the state of affairs of the project at the given time.

Moreover, as each stage was a product of stakeholders‘ commitment (in terms of financial, human, and organizational resources), the project was primarily means-driven rather than goal driven. In other words, the goals of each stage of the project were a consequence of stakeholders‘ commitment rather than the other way around. Hence, the goals of LimiteLimite were continuously open for re-negotiation in each partnership. Therefore, the LimiteLimite project was a self-directive process led by the participating actors themselves. This self-directed nature of the modules of LimiteLimite was an empowering process for those involved in the project. It put them directly in charge of the local urban renewal process.

The second process, complex good provision, is engendered through the divergent demands of the actors; a differentiation that arises from the socially heterogeneous and fragmented location of the project (BESSEN, 2001; ROSSI, 2003). As LimiteLimite had to respond to the heterogeneous -and not always complementary-human needs of its stakeholders, the core-group fostered a heterogeneous or complex good. The term ”complex good‘ refers to the multi-layered property of goal setting in each partnership. Nevertheless, the production process of complex good provision generated, in its turn, a contradictory effect. The requirements to produce a complex good was paralleled by the genesis of a process of self-selection in terms of who remain or become involved in each of the nodule-partnerships. Despite the meta-goal of LimiteLimite to foster an inclusive partnership, the process of self-selection led to a self-exclusive and socially selective dynamic.

In sum, the processes of effectuation and complex good provision were carriers for social innovation. The process of effectuation promoted cooperative projects of joint action

between local and metropolitan actors. In its turn, these partnerships embodied new promising forms of social relations and governance between civil society, state and market. The composition of a complex good allowed the heterogeneous actors to meet a divergent set of human needs. Yet, those processes of social innovation were vulnerable as they were self-directive and self-selective. The combination of self-direction and self-selection resulted in rather undesirable and even exclusionary processes. This alienation process presented the LimiteLimite movement in 2000 with the following two options. The first option was to institutionalize the interstitial space of LimiteLimite as a new scale or level of governance for the neighbourhood. The second option was to co-move with the evolving fissures in the city and adopt a strategy of flexible location appropriation. Flexible location appropriation would imply that the LimiteLimite movement would reinvent itself each time in the temporal impasse produced by the structural uneven power geometries between state, civil society and market. LimiteLimite chose the first option.

In 2000, LimiteLimite formed a non-profit association to manage the partnership. The board of the non-profit association includes those actors who were most active at that time. LimiteLimite thus anchored itself firmly within the neighbourhood. Hence, it became the reference organization for urban action in the neighbourhood. The decision to set up a formal organization, however, undermined and eroded the social innovative processes of effectuation and complex good provision.

Table 2. Socially Innovative aspects of the project LimiteLimite

	Core group	Neighbourhood groups	Metropolitan groups
WHY? IN REACTION TO?	The lack of collective action and, more specifically, the non-existence of coordination in the neighbourhood Brabantwijk.	The non-communication between the local-and metropolitan actors	
SOCIALLY INNOVATIVE STRUGGLE	The Formation of inclusive collective action through an incremental multi-step urban renewal approach consisting of a sequence of small cooperative joint actions between the local- and metropolitan groups	-Processes of effectuation driven by the unpredictability in the neighbourhood - Complex good production in anticipation of the heterogeneous (and not always compatible) human needs. -Social innovation as a by-product of the club-good (i.e. the latter provided the incentive for the formation of a partnership under the umbrella LimiteLimite)	
EMPOWERMENT STRUGGLE	- The appropriation of the role of tertius -The formation of 'glocal' partnerships	-Diversity as trigger for expertise-based partnership -Learning Processes in the different partnerships -Club benefits of the partnerships (networking,…)	
HOW LONG THE NEW WAS NEW?	-The tertius role as a positional good curbs the formation of inclusive partnerships	-Self-directive and Self-selective processes counteract the formation of inclusive partnerships.	

Table 1. Chronology of the series of joint actions (modules) in the project LimiteLimite[65]

Step	Project	Partnership
Stage 0: start of collective action and formation of partenership		
1. (3.10.1997)	Introduction of an application for funding the program "Extraordinary neighbourhood' at the King Boudewijn Foundation	Wijkpartenariaat, City Mine(d), Euroclear NV, Municipality Schaarbeek
2. (15.11.1997-01.04.1998)	Formation core - group	Steven Degraeve - social worker of Riso Brussel, a non-profit association involved in community work; Jim Segers - working for City Mine(d), a production house for social artistic projects in the city; Chris Rossaent - architect; and Jacques Lechat, a teacher of APAJ - Classe Chantier - an apprenticeship school.
3. (01.04.1998-01.08.1998)	Deliberation on Toweridea + making of sponsor dossier	Core-group + Ondex
4. (01.08.1998)	Introduction of an application for funding the program "Extraordinary neighbourhood' at the King Boudewijn Foundation	Core group; P. Morgan Bank; King Boudewijn Foundation; Municipality Schaarbeek; Neighbourhood committee Brabantwijk
5. (01.08.1998 -01.10.1998)	Formation of supportive networks at the neighbourhood level	The neighbourhood committee Dupont Street, three elementary schools, VIVA - a women organization; Wijkpartenariaat - a community work association and sports hall 58 - a sport association
6. (01.08.1998-01.10.1998)	Formation of supportive networks at the metropolitan level	Vleckho, an economic school for higher education; IRIS - a hogeschool - a school for higher education training social and cultural workers; St Lucas, a school for architecture; JP Morgan Bank; Koning Boudewijn Stichting.

[65] Note that the listed development steps are not always direct initiatives of the network LimiteLimite. For example step 11 and step 15 are significant changes in the neighbourhood where the positive impulse of Limitelimite played part in its realization but was not directly responsible.

7. (01.01.1999)	Formation of technical working group	Jacques Lechat, Jim Segers, Chris Rossaent
8. (05.1999)	Organisation of a neighbourhood festival and a flower project for the neighbourhood	Wijkpartenariaat; neighbourhood committee Dupont Street, three elementary schools; sports hall 58 - a sport association
9.(01.03.1999 - 01.04.1999)	Dupont Bizzare - cooperative project between neighbourhood and students	St Lucas City Mine(d), Wijkpartenariaat
10. (1999-2001)	International exchange program and workshop on socio-economic urban development between network LimiteLimite and initiatives in Amsterdam, London and Paris	Brusselse Raad voor het Leefmilieu, City Mined, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Neighbourhood committee Brabantwijk
11. (31.12.1999)	Approval of two neighbourhood contracts‘ between municipality and Brussels Capital Region for the regeneration of the Brabantwijk	Brussels Capital region, Municipality Schaarbeek
Stage 1: Construction tower		
12. (07.10.2000)	Inauguration Tower	Wijkpartenariaat; neighbourhood committee Dupont Stree, three elementary schools; sports hall 58; Vleckho; IRIS - a hogeschool; St Lucas, a school for architecture; JP Morgan Bank; Koning Boudewijn Stichting; Jacques Lechat, Jim Segers, Chris Rossaent; Steven Degraeve
13. (2000)	Brussels European Cultural Capital, 2000 - Artistic intervention in Brabantwijk and interventions in the tunnels bridging Brabantwijk with Business District.	City Mined(d); Committe of retailers in the Brabantwijk
14. (2001)	A monthly breakfast for the women in the neighbourhood	VIVA - a women organization; Wijkpartenariaat

15. (2000)	Approval of European Structural Fund Objective II for neighbourhood	-
Stage 2: Formation of formal non-profit association		
16. (01.12.2001)	Formation of LimiteLimite non-profit association	Frank Pottie (president), vice-manager of Euroclear; Micheline Goossens, director of Vleckho-Brussels, a business school for higher education; Nancy Van espen, coordinator Unizo-Brussels, an organisation that is support of people with independent profession; Inge Maes, coordinator student facilities Vleckho-Brussels; Kris Audenaent, president of Wijkpartenariaat, an organisation involved in community work; Steven Degraeve, staff member of Centrum voor Sociale Stadsont wikkeling, support of Flemish organisations involved in urban development and community work; Alain Storme, staff member RisoB, an organisation involved in community work; Lahoen Hammou, manager of the multicultural shopping street Brabantstraat.

Source: authors

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17. Social innovation at the local level: what have we learned from the SINGOCOM case-studies?

Frank Moulaert

17.1. Introduction

SINGOCOM is about the analysis of social innovation dynamics at the local level, and especially within neighbourhoods as part of a larger urban fabric. A detailed analysis of different meanings of innovation, as a process, as an objective, as a change in development agenda and governance, etc. has been made (see special issue of Urban Studies, October 2005, forthcoming). For SINGOCOM a definition focusing on a combination of innovation in development agendas and governance relations within the

local community, embedded within its larger social space, was privileged. This definition fits the spatial focus of the research; moreover it stresses the concern to examine ”innovation‘ according to a logic of social change as it differs - in essence or less fundamentally - from technological and organizational innovation (HILLIER, MOULAERT and NUSSBAUMER, 2005).

The definition of social innovation used in SINGOCOM is dynamic, it stresses process and reaction patterns more than ”voluntarist‘ or rationally preconceived strategies and actions of change (section 2). It therefore offers a direct starting point to develop the analytical ”crux‘ of SINGOCOM, i.e. the ALMOLIN model which links dynamics of exclusion and alienation to strategies, resoutrces and processes of change (section 3). Section 4 provides a short overview of the empirical aspects of this research. It raises questions of ”measurability‘ of development targets, governance dynamics, etc. Section 5, the main section in this transversal analysis, will dwell on shared features and particularities in social innovation dynamics across case-studies. This section provides the first comparative analysis of the case-studies. More details will be provided in Vicari and MOULAERT eds (2006) and MOULAERT, MARTINELLY and SWYNGEDOUW eds (2006).

Before diving into the comparative analysis, we briefly summarize elements from WP2 that are needed to understand the full reach of this exercise.

17.2. Defining social innovation at the local level

The concept of ”social innovation‘ has, by now, become a commonly - if not consistently used - term in the literature on innovation. This SINGOCOM research network, that started as a smaller group in the late 1980s, could be considered as having coined social innovation as a scientific concept in territorial and innovation analysis, although the term had been used before by other authors in reaction to or as amendment to outspoken technological and managerial views of innovation and innovation strategies in economics, sociology, business administration, etc.

In fact, social innovation was the structuring concept in a new approach which tackled neighbourhood development as a strategy against poverty in the European Community (MOULAERT et al., 1992).2 *Integrated Area Development* was defined as an alternative to sectoral, a-historical and top-down strategies for local development - especially neighbourhood development. For local development to be successful, various domains of intervention (economy, housing, education and training, local democracy, culture, etc.) had to be integrated; but the agencies and the spatial scales of intervention needed to be articulated in territorial *social* networks, often consolidated in territorial pacts or agreements. The integrating dynamics had to come from ”social innovation‘ in at least

two meanings: (i) social innovation through the satisfaction of unsatisfied or alienated human needs; (ii) innovation in the social relations between individuals and groups in neighbourhoods and the wider territories embedding them. In an ideal situation, both views of social innovation should be combined (MOULAERT et al., 2002). For example, strategies of neighbourhood development should pursue the satisfaction of failed needs, through innovation in governance relations in the neighbourhood and the wider communities.3

In the literature, various dimensions of social innovation are stressed, several of which we use in SINGOCOM (Urban Studies, special issue, forthcoming). We especially stress three dimensions, preferably occurring in interaction with each other:

- *Satisfaction of human needs* that are not currently satisfied, either because —not yet‟ or because —no longer‟ perceived as important by either the market or the state (content/product dimension). The stress will be on the satisfaction of alienated basic needs, although it is admitted that these may vary among societies and communities.

- *Changes in social relations*, especially with regard to *governance*, that enable the above satisfaction, but also increase the level of participation of all but especially deprived groups in society (process dimension).

- *Increasing the socio-political capability and access to resources* needed to enhance rights to satisfaction of human needs and participation (empowerment dimension).

If we were engaged in a mainstream debate on innovation, we would argue that an innovation process is effective if it contributes to higher productivity and greater competitiveness of a firm, an organization or a community. *But of course the concept of social innovation is more comprehensive, more context- and community- dependent, and not so easily assessable as within the mainstream approach to innovation. Therefore, we need to use a more indirect assessment approach.*

We can then say that social innovation in the SINGOCOM context means changes in institutions and agency that are meant to contribute to ”social inclusion‟. ”Institution‟ is used here in its most general meaning, i.e. as a set of laws, regulations, organizations, habitus, … In other words: formal and informal socialization mechanisms and processes that have attained a certain stability and/or regularity over time in the form of habits, laws and rules of behaviour and sanctioning, as well as organizations as institutionalised multi-member agents. ”Social inclusion‟ refers to a condition of (partial) exclusion at the outset, a condition that is to be transformed through institutional changes and agency.

Understanding the nature of social exclusion processes is an essential step in the process of determining inclusive actions and strategies. It is important to stress that such changes do not necessarily refer to something ”new‘. A return to old institutional arrangements or agencies can sometimes be quite innovative in the social sense (e.g. the re-introduction of free education for all; free art classes for all citizens; etc.). Social innovation in the sense of changes in institutions can, therefore, also mean a return to ”old‘ institutional forms, forms that could even be considered as reformist. This means that ”novelty‘ could involve (re)turning to mechanisms towards inclusion - if the old serves inclusion better, then opt for the old.

Also in contrast with mainstream approaches to innovation, we do not talk about innovative behaviour as ”optimal‘ behaviour: best practices are a normative concept, without real meaning in reality or for actual socially innovative strategies. *What counts for social innovation is ”good practice‘, i.e. a practice that has shown some contribution to social innovation in other or similar contexts, or ”good formulae‘ that could contribute to social innovation in the future.*

SINGOCOM is explicitly about social innovation at the ”local‘ level. However, as the literature argues, there is an escapist tendency in prioritising the local as ”the‘ appropriate level for social change. This holds a number of analytical and strategic risks.

First, there is the danger of *socio-political localism*: an exaggerated belief in the power of the local level agency and institutions to improve the world, disregarding the inter-scalar spatiality of development mechanisms and strategies.

Second, there is the danger of *”existential‘ localism*, the idea that all needs should be satisfied within the local *heimat*, by local institutions. This of course does not make sense, for economic, social, cultural and political reasons.

Third, there is the trap of *”misunderstood subsidiarity‘*, by which the higher state and capital levels tend to ”shed‘ their budgetary and other responsibilities onto the lower and especially the local levels.

Therefore (see for example Moulaert and Nussbaumer in the special issue of *Urban Studies*) social innovation at the *local* level must be interpreted in an institutionally and spatially embedded way:

- innovation in local *community dynamics*, according to the norms for innovation in development agenda, agency and institutions;

- innovation in the articulation between various spatial levels, *benefiting social progress at the local level* (agendas, institutions, responsibilities).

The latter can mean a number of things: multi-scalar institutions (networks), spatially combined agendas, with a division of labour according to spatial reach and power constellations. What should be avoided at any price is local level institutional dynamics that would be completely conform to higher level political decision-making and institutionalization: we do not propose a Russian dolls local development model, in which the little one in the dark centre is completely corseted by the overlaying dolls.

17.3. ALMOLIN: an Alternative Model for Local Innovation (Analysis)

ALMOLIN was presented in detail in WP2. Right here we pull together the strings and knots needed for a transversal, comparative analysis among the cases.

In the discussion on the theoretical underpinnings of the Alternative Model(s) of Local Innovation (ALMOLIN), we have developed several themes, all referring to dynamics of social exclusion and inclusion, as well as social innovation processes. The ”thematic papers‘ - included in the special issue of *Urban Studies* - cover several dimensions of these dynamics. Table 1 provides a matrix where the different themes analysed in the papers are ventilated against the main dimensions derived from preliminary philosophical, theoretical and empirical discussions about ALMOLIN. These themes are listed in the first column of table 1.

As argued before in the WP2 part of this report our model has been built using elements from various sources, including theoretical inputs stemming from different social science literatures. Theoretical inputs on the role of the State, Civil Society, Community and Neighbourhood development and organization, of the Social economy, of Economic Democracy (Participatory Budgeting), and of Participatory Planning are ”mobilised‘ or ”reconstructed‘ to improve our understanding of social innovation in local development in reaction to processes of alienation, exploitation and exclusion of different types.

The empirical analysis of social innovation dynamics is constructed around around figure 2 in WP2 presented earlier in this report. To smoothen the transition with the interpretation of the empirical results, we reformulate some of the dynamics observed there.

At the heart of figure 2 in WP2, there is on the one hand the dynamics of social exclusion and deprivation of human needs, which is (or ought to be) countered by Social Innovation dynamics. Social dynamics include reactions to deprivation and exclusion, social and political organization about a vision of change - often expressed in social and

political movements - and reproduction of a culture of change based on pursuit of a new identity - stepping out of the depth of humiliation and alienation to reconstruct individual and collective dignity. But there is no social innovation without public and private agencies seeking to overcome situations of exclusion; these agencies pursue strategies to mobilise resources within organizational and institutional dynamics. The figure does not show civil society or ”grand‘ political *dynamics*; these are only indirectly included through path dependency and the institutional nature of spatial scales (neighbourhoods, localities, cities, regions,…).

Table 1. Surveying theoretical elements useful for analysing social innovation dynamics, in relation to dynamics of inclusion and exclusion

Inputs from theory papers **Dimensions of ALMOLIN**	**Civil Society**	**Civil Society Neighbourhoods – Participatory budgeting**	**Sociological institutionalism**	**Social Economy**
TERRITORY, POPULATION and DEVELOPMENT/PLANNING	Changing state/civil society relations have impact on territorial organization and development	Social exclusion processes and segregated neighbourhoods, boundaries between social milieus,	Social innovation not a predictable trajectory but a multifaceted search for mechanisms	Path-dependency and context sensitivity of social economy initiatives
SATISFACTION of HUMAN NEEDS – STRATEGIES TO MEET THEM	Civil society and neighbourhood networks – Solidarity networks between privileged and deprived groups	Complementary arrangement between welfare state and civil society, associative democracy, social capital building	Involvement of non-traditional actors in governance who open up chances for innovation.	Economic functions Soc. Innovative Development strategies
RESOURCES FOR LOCAL SOCIAL ECONOMY – human, organizational, financial	Shifting power geometries have impact on associational dynamics at various spatial scales	Mobilisation of creative and productive resources within civil society,	Governance network resources may help to mobilise initiatives, if have appropriate qualities	Funding mechanisms (public/private) – Temporalities and their impact on resource availability
ORGANISATIONAL and INSTITUTIONAL DYNAMICS – CIVIL SOCIETY	Re-ordering of contours of governability	Re-ordering of governance structures as window of opportunity	Involvement on non-traditional actors in governance. Challenge of established practices.	Governance of local economy (social enterprise, neighbourhood) – Allocation systems - Associative economy

LOCAL AUTHORITIES and STATE	Rescaling of state as a consequence of crisis of state	Gatekeeper to local democratic processes, public resource allocation	Relationships between formal government actors and other critical actors – how to cultivate positive synergies	State as social entrepreneur? Role of third sector
CULTURE and IDENTITY	Institutional Planning Civil Society and neighbourhoods	negotiation among cultures and identities	Shared identity a powerful resource for collective mobilization but confrontation of deep cultural frames is a constraint for social innovation.	Culture of economic solidarity/reciprocity
VIEWS, VISIONS, MODELS of social innovation from point of view of ALMOLIN	Hybrid forms of government and governance	Public sphere should carry plural visions of governance	Recognition of plural visions and working out how they may interact	Integrated approach to satisfaction of human needs and innovation in governance relations in social economy
CONSTRAINTS ON DEVELOPMENT	Tensions between State/Market/Civil Society	Social fragmentation and social exclusion may reproduce in civil society and governance	Local institutional histories and cultures can be empowering as well as disempowering	Budget constraints Norms set by market competition
RELATIONS with "OUTSIDE WORLD" – SPATIAL SCALES	Rescaling of relations between civil society, economy and state	Structuring social forces are active on all larger scales and add significantly to place making	How multiple spatial scales are implicated in all levels of governance and how these may be negotiated	Multi-scalar organization with conflicting temporalities between agencies
METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS		Structural constructivism, local-global tensions	Analyses of processes of change in governance	Holistic definition and theory

Time and space are shown in the margin of the figure; this does not mean that they would play a minor role, but that they affect or interfere with almost any of the other elements in the figure. They refer to the importance of ”holistic‘ definitions and theories of social exclusion/inclusion and social economy, which adopt a historical perspective and recognise spatial specificity. Obviously the categories mentioned in the boxes of figure 2 use an abstract language. When applied in case-study analysis, they adopt a concrete content. It is particularly important to try to understand how, over time, organizations and initiatives have produced their particular social innovation content and neighbourhood development strategies in reaction to exclusion dynamics and situations of deprivation; how initiatives in the social economy were launched, agendas set, institutional dynamics promoted or hampered by … (e.g. institutionalization of civil society organization vs. power games of city hall; networking as an empowering strategy, etc).

The various connections between several elements of the ALMOLIN figure, referring to some of the theoretical inputs as well as to the case-study findings in SINGOCOM, can be summarized as follows. Observe that these connections constitute the major vectors of social change dynamics observed in the SINGOCOM cases; most probably these vectors are generally relevant to the study of social innovation in social space in general.

a) Processes of social exclusion and inclusion. They may play a particular role within localities or neighbourhoods; therefore, how these processes have articulated themselves at various spatial levels is relevant. Examples: immigration processes and reception/rejection of migrants in local community; complementarity vs. reinforcement of contrast between civil society and welfare state. Questions about the role of migrants in civil society - and e.g. their relation to the bourgeoisie - are of particular relevance here. But if ethnicities become completely marginalised as for example in Butetown, Cardiff, their mobilization becomes exclusively defined in terms of their specific identities. One of the most remarkable observations in this research is that social innovation is almost always a reaction against social exclusion, and only in exceptional cases is it an improvement of a situation of inclusion or harmony among social groups.

b) Mobilization, empowerment and power relations. These forces do not have an *a priori* ”socially innovative‘ impact or outcome. In reality, there will be (strong) antagonisms between movements for social inclusion and social exclusion, or in favour of the status quo. Example: local empowerment movements, often in

coalition with city hall, or neighbourhood councils, must counter mechanisms of social exclusion stemming from higher-level public authorities (e.g. cuts in social security spending, wage cuts, collective redundancies, etc.) or from conservative ”bourgeoishood‘ movements. Grassroots initiatives often play an important role here, since the more established movements may operate in an atmosphere of disbelief and lack of vision. Examples in SINGOCOM are the multi-scalar networks of grassroots organizations built around the *Centro Sociale Leoncavallo* in Milan and in the Brussels progressive artists circles.

c) *The dialectics between the satisfaction of human needs, the mobilisation of resources for the local social economy and the organizational as well as institutional dynamics of civil society* are the thriving forces of many initiatives for social innovation. In all cases where alienation of basic needs was a fact, either structural social innovation or direct reliance on the welfare State were pursued. Sometimes the Welfare State became a catalyst through which social innovation became acceptable to ”the larger society‘. Theories on the relationships between civil society and the State are helpful in understanding the various configurations which the relations between State and civil society may adopt.

d) Visions, movements and empowerment. Movements for change in all their forms and spatial scales (community committees, national coordination of locally active civil society organizations,…) are at the core of the dynamics of social innovation. Visions may change through strategy and action; but they can also change as part of institutional transformations (visions not only as empowering but also as organizational movement cultures).

e) Path and context dependency. Very important here is the dynamic of ”being driven by history and social context‘. This is partly structural, partly institutional determination. Structural: community development in a ”raw‘ capitalist environment is a different challenge from that in a ”welfare state‘ or ”mixed economy‘ environment. Institutional: a long tradition of private-public cooperation in local development will also point the direction of new future institution building and social innovation in governance relations. In this respect, institutional planning stresses the impact of local institutional histories and cultures that can be empowering as well as disempowering - the cases studies for Berlin and Vienna are very significant on these issues. However, social innovations can become institutional ”lock ins‘ at a later date, probably involving the need for a repeated or continuous evaluation of the meaning of social

innovation at a particular time, within a given territorial context - see e.g. the Antwerp case study.

f) Re-ordering of domains of action and institution building between civil society, state and market sectors. These dynamics are certainly directly related to those pointed out from b) through e). But there is also the role of the struggle and reorganization within the state and (capitalist) market sectors themselves. And these ”talk to‘ the constraints on development. Many of them are real, some of them imaginary. Example: how gloomy is the imagining of the global? Does globalization threaten the resources necessary to Social Economy development? The State plays an important role here: the space left by capital for non-market economy oriented social innovation is largely dependent on the interpretation the State gives to it - and on the State as an arena for class struggle. The extent to which the State maintains its independence vis-à-vis privatization and deregulation movements is key to the definition of the action space of social innovators in various domains.

g) Territorial specificity. This is the closing piece of a holistic definition of social innovation at the local level - see MOULAERT and NUSSBAUMER in the special issue of *Urban Studies*. The specificity of a local territory is not only defined by the factors identified by the dynamics pointed out previously, and by path dependency as well as context specificity; there is also the role of contingency and what we could call casual and micro-agency that occur in specific territories and, therefore, become constituents of the real character of the territory. Local leaders, charismatic leaders, traditions of economic solidarity, experience with public-private partnerships can ultimately determine the strength of local initiatives in defining their niche in a spatially broader institutional and economic space.

17.4. Social Innovation Dynamics in the Case-Studies

In this section we briefly present the *first* main findings of a *comparative* analysis of socially innovative dynamics in the case-studies. In the first sub-section we briefly list the initiatives by country and city and indicate which type of ”territory‘ (neighbourhood, quarter, small independent community, city-wide community) they refer two. This should later be refined as an analysis of ”factors of territorial specificity‘.

The second sub-section explains and compares the types of social innovation that was pursued and/or carried out, occasionally with reference to the resources that were made available. Finally, a comparison of socially-innovative dynamics is provided and a first

attempt of typology of socially innovative intitiatives, combining changes in social relations and development agendas is elaborated.

17.4.1. Social Innovation Initiatives and their Territorial Settings

Case-study analysis was undertaken for 16 initiatives of social innovation, most of them established within neighbourhoods facing problems to achieve economic development, employment and social-political inclusion. Table 2 lists these initiatives and provides some basic features of their territories.

A distinction can be made between: (1) neighbourhood centred initiatives; (2) neighbourhood initiatives with a wider spread effect; (3) ”neighbourhood-located wider impact‘ initiatives; and (4) city-wide initiatives. Table 3 provisionally classifies the initiatives from this point of view. The spatial reach considered here only takes into account the impact of the initiative as such and not the”parallel‘ learning and communication dynamics in which most of these projects are involved. For example, many of the projects are involved in pan European networking and exchange of experience, either within formal European arrangements (URBAN e.g.), or through spontaneous affinity search (as is the case for CityMined, BOM, Leoncavallo, AQS, Olinda).

Table 2. Territorial reaches of the Socially Innovative Initiatives

Territorial Reach	Initiatives
Neighbourhood centred initiatives	Butetown History and Arts Centre, Naples AQS, Naples Piazzamoci, LimiteLimite, Roubaix Ass. Alentour,
Neighbourhood initiatives with a wider intra urban/regional spread effect	Rhondda Arts Factory, Newcastle New Deal, BOM Antwerp, Berlin Quartiersagentur Marzahn, Vienna LA21 (District 9), Vienna Local Area Mangement
Neighbourhood-located wider impact. initiatives	Ouseburn, Milan Leoncavallo, Milan Olinda, Berlin Kommunales Forum Wedding
City-wide initiatives	CityMined

Source: authors

Table 3. Presentation of case-study areas of social innovation at the local level

Social Innovation Initiative	Type of local community	Basic features of community and/or spatial reach of initiative
UK, Rhondda Valley, Arts	Located in Ferndale ward, but with outreach to various places in the Rhondda Valley, South Wales.	Ferndale population: 3441(2001) Rhondda Valley: 231,946 (2001) Ferndale ranks 5th out of 864 in the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation.
UK, Cardiff, Butetown History and Arts Centre	Butetown is a neighbourhood of Cardiff, part of Cardiff Bay Development area. Highly deprived in many areas of human development	Butetown ward population: 4500 (2001) Functionally disconnected from the.high life. property led development are of Cardiff Bay.
UK, Newcastle, Ouseburn	Part of Ouseburn Ward.	Lower end of a Valley along the river Ouseburn. The area can bedefined in a wide (Ouseburnward: 4600 inhabitants) and narrow sense (Valley section only: 20 inhabitants).
UK, Newcastle, New Deal for Communities	An artificially constructed urban neighbourhood made up of distinct natural communities.	4000 households of a multicultural nature.
Italy, Naples, Associazioni dei Quartieri Spagnoli	Centrally located neighbourhood of Naples, historically one of the most significant. Relatively successful social development area.	Belonging two different districts, 0.5 km2, 15000 inhabitants, 3000 households.
Italy, Naples, Scampia, Piazziamoci	Scampia neighbourhood on the Northern outskirts of Naples. Highly deprived area.	A district of 4,3 km2 with 40372 inhabitants (and est. 30000 squatters) (2001).
Italy, Milan, Centro Sociale Leoncavallo	Leoncavallo is located in the 'Greco' district, in the north-eastern outskirts of Milan.	Greco's population is of diverse socio-economic composition: white and blue collar, migrants and original population. A multi-scalar spatial reach, local, metropolitan and national networking.
Italy, Milan, Associazione Olinda	Neighbourhood mobilization organization in reaction to traditional psychiatric clinic.	Neighbourhood, metropolitan and national scale matter. Networking

		with similar initiatives at broader spatial scales.
Belgium, Antwerp, BOM	Three subsequent Antwerp neighbourhoods: Northeast Antwerp, South Edge and Canal Area.	Northeast Antwerp: 36,000 inh. South Edge: 63,500 inh. City-wide integrated area development aproach.
Belgium, Brussels, LimiteLimite	Brabant neighbourhood, sitting on two municipalities: Schaarbeek and Sint-Joost Ten Node; eastern side of Brussels North railway station.	Population: 4328 inhabitants. 53% Maroccan and Turkish population, 2/3 younger than 30 years, high unemployment and lack of public spaces. Data: 2000.
Brussels, CityMined	This is not a neighbourhood oriented but a city-wide project.	The thickness of the set of connections at the urban level forms a cultural counterforce against the politico-instutional impasse..
Lille, Roubaix, Association Alentour	Alentour is a neighbourhood in the West of Roubaix. Serious deprivation problems.	About 9000 inhabitants. Activity of the association contained to the neighbourhood.
Germany, Berlin, Quartiersagentur Marzahn	Neighbourhood of Marzahn North/West, part of District of Marzahn-Hellersdorf.	. housing the largest housing estate.Marzahn. in Western Europe (145,000 inhabitants in 2000).
Germany, Berlin, Kommunales Forum Wedding	Area based approach to distressed neighbourhoods in Berlin District of Mitte.	Neighbourhood based approach, but with metropolitan and widerscale networking.
Austria, Vienna, LA21	LA 21 pilot project in 9th district in Vienna (1998-2002).	Meant as an experiment to overcome traditional neocorporatist neighbourhood governance/government. Two scales: district levels, promulgation across districts.
Austria, Vienna, Local Area Management	Pilot projects in two neighbourhoods of two Viennese districts: Brigittenau and Leopoldt	These two working class districts form an island between the Danube and the Danube channel.

Source: authors

The distinction between neighbourhood focus and wider-spatial scale targeting is scientifically and politically significant, and the research shows that a combination of

scales, especially for partnering and resource mobilization feeds the chance of positive outcomes in social innovation initiatives.

Contrary to the neoliberal *adagio* that targeting deprived neighbourhoods is a strategy based on a ”negative choice‘, some of the most successful strategies (BOM, AQS Naples) show that such neighbourhood focus can work very well if mobilization of resources and governance of partners is established at complementary spatial (institutional) levels. This does not mean that all locally inspired social innovation strategies should target neighbourhoods; the metropolitan or urban - the city as a whole - level is the appropriate level when a better integration of inter-area cooperation and an improved integrated of urban governance scales are pursued.

17.4.2. Needs, social innovation and resources mobilised

This sub-section provides a three-dimensional presentation of the socially innovative initiatives studied in SINGOCOM. It provides a ”static‘ picture of how the socially innovative initiatives have reacted to unsatisfied or alienated needs, and which resources have been mobilised to this purpose. The argument is based around apparently two tautological ”crosswords puzzles‘ (table 4 and 5).

The first table shows how different dimensions/types of social innovation - meant to satisfy alienated or unsatisfied needs, and to improve social relations of governance - have been addressed in the various initiatives; the second table provides an inventory of resources mobilized and constraints that have interfered with the resource flows needed to obtain satisfactory outcomes.

Reading social innovation in concrete initiatives as studied in SINGOCOM is not straightforward. There is often a distinction between the ”intention of change‘ and the ”results of these intentions‘. When there is no intention at all to e.g. maintain the cultural heritage in a certain initiative, the entry in table 4 ”Preservation of heritage‘ for this initiative was not completed. When there was intention, but no result at all (example: improve governance relations in Scampia around Piazzamoci) the entry was not filled either. The real difficulty occurs when intentions were present from the beginning, but the results were ambiguous or limited; at this static level of analysis, it is impossible to provide a ”scale of success‘. To assess the success, the various dimensions of the dialectics of exclusion, empowerment and change - see again figure 2 in WP2 section - should be related to each other, each for each case or for a certain type of social innovation dynamics as provisionally developed in section 17.4.3.

Reading the densities of entries in table 4, most intentions and positive results of social innovation refer to governance dynamics, stressing the desire to overcome politico-institutional alienation of citizens, by linking governance scales and by strengthening the dynamics of local networking within civil society, but also with various levels of the State apparatus; networking with the private market sector is much more exceptional however, and the number of socially innovative initiatives that has turned to the ”market‘ within this sample is limited (Leoncavallo, and to a less extent Olinda and BOM).

Citizens living in depressed neighbourhoods, migrant communities - although only quite visible in 3 case-studies - or dispersed over the urban fabric express their Voice, organise and address more powerful agents thus materialisering the desire to become politically and economically more visible and, in this way, more eligible for development strategies of local authorities.

But not only deprived neighbourhoods and communities Voice their alienation from political participation. The conquest of public space by private developers and their peers within the increasingly neoliberal State apparatus, feeds a discontent about the malfunctioning of local democracy within various layers of society (cf. for example the middleclass supported initiatives CityMined in Brussels, Ouseburn in Newcastle or LA21 in Vienna).

A remarkable observation is the (quasi) split between initiatives that pursue the improvement of the quality of local social and welfare services (Newcastle, Naples, Berlin but also Milan as far as mental health services are concerned) and the initiatives that are more in tune with an integrated approach to the satisfaction of needs in various existential fields (BOM Antwerp, Olinda, Rhondda through arts and culture, AQS in Naples). Although not visible from this table, there is a moving away from the latter ”Integrated Area Development‘ to demands of improvement in particular social and ”welfare‘ services. This probably reflects a ”new realism‘ by social change organizations that increasingly must face up against neoliberal urban policy and privatization of ”collective‘ service provision.

A further comparison of tables 4 and 5 show a number of quite interesting phenomena or point at more ”ad hoc‘ hypotheses about contemporary dynamics of social innovation (or their obstruction):

- The role of arts and culture in socially innovative initiatives grows and is multi-faceted: arts as an expression of identity, of cultural heritage, but also as a use-value, potentially marketable. But also culture and arts function as modes of communication, and vehicles of popular expression, resistance and socio-political

mobilization. *For example, 9 of the 16 initiatives employ artistic and cultural talents as resources to their activity and organization.*

- The failure or suboptimal achievements of some of the initiatives is seldom a consequence of internal malfunctioning, miss-strategising or lack of skills, but the outcome of a venomous State paternalism, cuts in public spending as a consequence of a neoliberal State philosophy and practice favouring market initiatives and privatization, causing in turn increased competition over scarce resources and patriarchal dependency relations on increasingly domineering State sponsors.

- The decline of integrated approaches to local development is the combined outcome of reducing resources, increasingly complex bid procedures for ever more sophisticated project oriented application and assessment rules, removing ”change skills‘ from the ”core business‘ of social innovation, to the financial management of short-term income flows.

- The increasing difficulty of civil society organizations and the growing control of local authorities lead to an integration of socially innovative initiatives into the local State service provision structure. Such development is quite visible in Antwerp, Naples and Newcastle. As a consequence, links with local constituencies and need groups are broken once again and the crisis of the local democratic system is reconfirmed.

Table 4. Socially Innovative Initiatives and Needs Satisfaction

Type of social Innovation / Socially innovative initiatives	Rhondda	Butetown	Ouseburn	New Deal, Nel	AQS, Naples	Piazzamoci	Leoncavallo	Olinda	BOM, Apen	LimiteLimite	CityMined	Alentour	Marzahn	KF Wedding	LA21 Vienna	Area Manag. Vienna
Improving governance relations	X		X		X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
Shared community learning	X	X			X			X	X	X	X	X				
Embedded endogenous development at neighbourhood level	X								X							X
Integrating needs satisfaction in various fields (housing, work and prof. training, public space, social services	X				X			X	X			X				
Incorporating of arts and culture into local development	X	X	X													
Creating space and opportunities for free culture and sociality		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X					
Preservation of heritage	X	X	X													
Improving 'Local urban Management'				X								X	X		X	X
Improving quality of welfare and social services	X			X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X		
Combining innovation in social relations with satisfaction of human needs					X		X	X	X					X		X
Linking governance scales / Partnerships	X			X			X	X	X	X	X				X	X
Using the city as a collective resource			X			X		X	X		X					
Overcoming politico-institutional alienation of citizens		X			X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Bringing government dynamics from City-Hall to Neighbourhood			X		X		X		X	X			X		X	
Reinforcing social bonds at neighbourhood level	X	X				X		X	X			X			X	
Empowerment starting from condition of exlusion and alienation		X			X		X	X				X	X	X		
Integration of migrants into governance/government dynamics	X	X								X			X			

Source: authors

Table 5. Resources mobilized for social innovation – Constraints experienced

Socially innovative intiatives / Resources mobilized and constraints identified	Rhondda	Butetown	Ouseburn	New Deal, Nel	AQS,Naples	Piazzamoci	Leoncavallo	Olinda	BOM, Apen	LimiteLimite	CityMined	Alentour	Marzahn	KF Wedding	LA21 Vienna	Area Manag. Vienna
Human																
- Skilled professionals – hired	X	X	X[67]	X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
- Other salaried labour force	X			X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
- Volunteers	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Organizational																
- Networking with local partners	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
- Civil Society associations and networking			X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X
- Strong internal organization									X			X	X			
- Collective learning	X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X	X			X	X
Financial																
- Local authorities	X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
- Private thrusts/ Foundations	X				X			X								
- Private firm(s)	X															
- National/ regional public funds				X	X				X	X	X	X	X			
- EU funds	X				X			X	X		X	X	X		X	X
- Membership contributions	X	X				X										
- Income from sale of products							X	X	X					X		
Artistic and cultural talents	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X					
Ethical values	X	X			X	X	X			X		X		X		
Constraints/vulnerabilities																
- Strict criteria of EU funding	X				X											
- Short time-horizons of funding mechanisms /Project based funding	X				X			X	X			X		X		
- Competetive fund raising procedures – Dependency relations for funding												X				
- Economically poor constituency		X							X							
- Lack of clearly defined leadership						X										
- Fragility of flexible/creative organization										X	X					
- Lack of adequate skills				X		X										
- Rigid planning system			X													
- Rigidity and hierarchy of public bureaucracy													X		X	X
- Neoliberal urban policy – Threat of real estate development			X					X	X			X				
- Tensions State/Market/Civil society							X	X					X	X		
- Competition between third sector organizations over funding					X				X							

Source: authors

17.4.3. Dynamics of social innovation: types and trajectories

As a provisional final to this transversal analysis will now focus to the interior of ”chimneyed factory‘ of figure 2 in WP2 ”Dynamics of social exclusion/inclusion and social innovation‘. In this ”social factory‘ emblem, the core of the dynamics consists of the triangular dialectics between ”Visions of Social Innovation ” - ”Culture and identity building‘ and ”Organizational and Institutional Dynamics‘. The latter refer to internal and external, social and political dynamics. Also inside the ”social innovation factory‘ figures the ”Social economy initiatives‘; they are visualised here as the ”real (economic?) thing‘ or infrastructure connected to the ”superstructure‘ of triangular socialization dynamics. The dialectics between the processes of exclusion on the one hand, and the ”social innovation fabric‘ fill the middle part of the figure; they constitute the core logic of ALMOLIN: social innovation as a reaction to or growing from the alienation - renaissance dynamics in particular conditions of exploitation and exclusion.

- *How much social economy?*

The presence of social economy activity in the initiatives depends on the definition of social economy that we utilize (see Moulaert and Ailenei in the special issue of *Urban Studies*). Only four initiatives include the ”social market‘: Olinda, Leoncavallo, BOM Antwerp, Rhondda Arts Factory (Windmills generating electricity) and New Deal Newcastle. But if we include the provision of social services and/or the improvement of their quality then also AQS and Piazzamoci in Naples, Marzahn and KF Wedding in Berlin and Alentour in Roubaix/Lille should be added to the list. And if in addition we also look at democratic and efficient urban management, also the Viennese experiences (Area Management, LA 21) should be added to the list. Observe that Olinda, Leoncavallo and BOM respond to all three criteria.

But whatever their ”social economy affinity‘ all these initiatives have responded in a unique way to alienated allocation systems, lack of purchasing power, lack of quality or accessibility.

- *The triangular dynamics of innovation in social relations: visions, identity building and institutional dynamics*

In the previous section, we already signalled the significant role of culture and arts in mobilising around the issues of concern to the deprived or alienated populations. Culture played indeed an important role in bringing together views of past and future - see WP2 on the role of movements and philosophy in the building of change agendas - and in

inspiring change agendas. Table 6 - towards the end of this paper - summarises the various sources of inspiration of the initiatives covered in the study.

- *Reordering domains of action and institution building between civil society, state and market sectors*

This is probably the most painful and discouraging conclusion drawn from the study. Mobilization and empowerment increasingly materialise as Tantalus torment and Sisyphus labour combined. Although the degrees of conflictuality vary significantly, there is not a single initiative within the SINGOCOM research without frictions between local authorities on the one hand and the leaders or/and consistencies or client groups of the initiatives. Conflicts concern: fights over leadership - including personality conflicts, authoritarian integration of successful civil society initiatives into the State apparatus, democratic control, budget cuts, tensions between State levels affecting the smooth functioning of the socially innovative initiatives, views of change (Conservative local powers), the role of ethnic minorities, etc. Successful initiatives especially in Antwerp, and Berlin are disciplined in the name of efficiency and the necessary return to ”physical renewal‘; a most remarkable way for local authorities to smash away their good practice experiences.

- *Path and context dependency – The link with multi-level governance*

This topic is particularly well developed in the special issue that European Urban and Regional Studies will publish on SINGOCOM. Despite the appealing generality of some of the findings presented above, space and time continue to matter - and maybe even more so in this era of globalization. Most of the case-studies in SINGOCOM cover a time span of 20 to 30 years and also connect to local, regional and national political conditions and ”regime‘ changes. For example, the changes in urban policy in Antwerp, Berlin, Milan and Vienna are well covered in the study. They show the recent tendency toward the entrepreneurial local state, the reliance on real estate development for urban renaissance, the privatization and/or internalization of service provision, the reconquest of public space by either the private market or the technocratic local state at the expense of civil society initiatives. They also show the gradual replacement of local democratic participation by ”political communication show life‘ - public hearings which function as confession for the public rather than commitment making for the local councillors, and how bottom-up initiatives fight desperate struggles to counter this trend.

In the short run it seems a lost battle, with as an outcome the transformation of civil society change agents into social service managers. In the medium and long run, the tight network relations which many of these initiatives have with peers in their country,

but also across Europe, point at new possibilities. The wealth of socially innovative capacity that is shared among these initiatives can be connected to the expertise of global networking which already exists in these peer spheres, but which could be made more instrumental to the reinforcement of local change initiatives. The experience of Participatory Budgeting promulgated by the Alter-Globalization movement after the positive experiences in many Brazilian cities is one example of how global networking can help to reinforce the impact of good local practice. But the approach should be broadened to include issues as the redistribution of income, Integrated Area Development, the role of arts and culture in urban development, traffic and environmental control, first-line health care, etc.

17.5. Concluding observations

SINGOCOM has brought together 16 wonderful experiences of socially innovative initiatives, most of them directly addressing a variety of problems in neighbourhood community development and governance. This report does not end the analysis of the wealth of case-study data provided by SINGOCOM, it is just the beginning. The threads of commonality span in the previous sections will be further detailed across cases and in connection with other themes of the ALMOLIN model which were temporarily left out. In addition, there is the so-called small data-bank which includes more cases than the in-depth studies, therefore also a wider basis for comparison. This data bank can be found on the SINGOCOM website.

But, as pointed out before, SINGOCOM is not only on discovering commonalities and connecting them with new themes; in the good tradition of holistic social science analysis, it is also about recognising the particular, the specific character of individual initiatives within their time and space. This has not been sufficiently done in the analysis of the empirical results and will be addressed in future work.

Another task to be accomplished in the future is the further elaboration of linkages between the results of WP3 and WP4, the latter stressing much more on governance and political dynamics.

Table 6. Sources of inspiration of socially innovative initiatives

Socially innovative initiatives Sources of inspiration/In reaction to?	Rhondda	Butetown	Ouseburn	New Deal, NI	AQS, Naples	Piazzamoci	Leoncavallo	Olinda	BOM, Apen	LimiteLimite	CityMined	Alentour	Marzahn	KF Wedding	LA21 Vi	Area Manag. Vi
Address decline in morale and community spirit – refuse to be labeled ' A problem'	X				X							X	X			
Reaction to human, social and physical decay of neighbourhood					X					X		X	X			
Desire for community governance as alternative to breaking apart of community bonds	X									X					X	X
Counteract property led development and 'pull down' renewal		X	X						X		X	X	X			
Provide a space for the production of alternative histories, identities and images		X									X					
Civil society organization, based on solidarity and					X	X										

change view																
Social movements and philosophies of 1960 and 1970s (solidarity, democracy, personal emancipation)							**X**	**X**	**X**							
Self-organization in response to political corporatism and legitimisation ccrisis of social democracy	**X**	**X**					**X**				**X**	**X**			**X**	
Recognition of rights of self-determination for people with social and mental problems								**X**				**X**				
Integrated Area Development as a neighbourhood development model					**X**											**X**

Source: authors

D) WP 4 - Socially innovative projects, governance dynamics and urban change: a policy framework

1. Introduction

As already discussed and presented in earlier work packages, social innovation in urban development arose in parallel to and partly as a response to growing attention to technological and organisation change in producing innovative and competitive territorial development dynamics on the one hand and to the rapid proliferation on all manner of bottom-up grass-roots initiatives in urban areas around the European Union on the other. It has now been generally recognised that such socially innovative practices enhance social capital and network formation and may play a pivotal role in revitalising and re-energising the socio-economic and physical fabric of urban areas that have been disenfranchised, marginalised or otherwise excluded. The objective of this synthesis report is to tease out the innovative character of a wide range of innovative social initiatives across Europe, ground their emergence in the dynamics of political economic change, assess the institutional and governmental arrangements, consider their emancipatory and empowering (or otherwise) character, and suggest trajectories that might enhance or support the proliferation of such innovative activities.

This synthesis report has two main parts. In the first part, we shall consider the wider political economic context of the emergence of socially innovative initiatives, their ambiguous relationship with both state and market, and their institutional embedding. In the second part, pointers towards a policy -- at a variety of geographical scales -- that might enhance and strengthen the proliferation of such initiatives will be outlined.

2. Governance Dynamics and Socially Innovative Projects

2.1. Introduction and context

The emergence of a wide range of socially innovative activities in local area developed has to be considered in the context of political economic transformations and, in particular, of changing relationships between state, economy and civil society as they developed over the past decade or so. As the historical analysis of socially innovative dynamics confirmed, the rise of civil society initiatives is intimately coupled with transformations in the social and political articulation of socio-economic forces, and, in particular, the changing structures of social service delivery.

There is no doubt that most socially innovative projects are directly concerned with the delivery of unsatisfied services and the provision of ”goods‘ that are neither provided by

the state nor by the market. To the extent that a growing number of services, particularly for the poor, remain unfulfilled, social actors emergence whose central activity is aimed at initiating of improving failing service delivery systems. Most social service delivery systems have, since the Second World War, become the privileged terrain of the state. To the extent that the state ”crowded out‘ earlier civil society organisations that aimed at that satisfaction of unfulfilled services, socially innovative civil society based initiatives disappeared or declined. Indeed, as the post-war Fordist/welfarist compromise replaced civil society organisations by state organised or regulated systems of generalised and comprehensive service delivery, civil society initiatives became institutionalised within the every day workings of the state.

Clearly, this welfarist approach to social integration and inclusion came under severe pressure from the 1980s onwards as a combination of economic problems and intense fiscal stress forced the state to gradually withdraw from or seriously curtail traditional Welfarist forms of service delivery. To the extent that a ”welfare void‘ arose, the private sector (or the market) stepped in. Pension schemes, health insurance, education, and a range of other social services became privatised or operated increasingly under market rules. Notwithstanding the potential benefits of such change, the uniform and standardised system of social service delivery was increasingly substituted for a more individualised, and market-driven system. This contributed to the real or latent exclusion of social groups from access to key services.

At the same time, a host of new social groups had begun to emergence in the urban field (migrants, youngsters, unemployed, etc…) whose growing needs became articulated outside the traditional state-based arrangements and remained unfulfilled. Socio-cultural identity and the provision of cultural ”capital‘ goods began to be experienced as vital ingredients for an inclusive development strategy. In addition, post-materialist and other affective economies became articulated through newly emerging civil society based activities and actions: emotional affect, mutuality, ecological sensitivities, everyday life qualities and the like became increasingly valued pointers for inclusive social life and well-being. These deeply political terrains equally remained largely outside the aegis of traditional state-forms of service delivery and welfare, while market forces have little or no purchase in satisfying these central, yet uncommodified, social and cultural needs. Moreover, market-based satisfaction of socio-cultural needs is particular precarious for social groups whose economic position is rather weak.

This twin dynamic opened up a new triadic social space of operation. While state, market and civil society were for a long time pitched in an antagonistic relationship with clearly demarcated and relatively sharp boundaries, the re-organisational patterning of socially

innovative initiatives points at a gradual blurring, if not erasure, of the lines of demarcation between state, civil society, and market. In other words, over the past twenty years or so, and as documented in the SINGOCOM case-studies, there has been a growing emphasis on ”joining-up‘ service delivery, a practice that actively fused market, state and civil society initiatives in all manner of urban and other development projects.

Collaborative partnerships, stake-holder networks, multi-partite institutional arrangements and other new governance formations have signalled a move away from the traditional commanding heights of state-based delivery to a collage of fuzzily organised formal and informal, but often highly innovative, practices. Although there are significant differences between countries and case-studies, they all point towards a similar recognition that insists on the centrality of such newly emerging state-civil society-market constellations.

Needless to say, the theoretical and empirical mapping of these initiatives cannot yet be exhaustively undertaken, but the present document suggest the prevalence and relevance of such practices in processes of community development and urban revitalisation. This suggests in itself the importance of tuning policy frameworks around these socially innovative practices.

At the same time, of course, these arrangements of governance are decidedly Janus-faced. Re-centering the state-market-civil society triad at the expense, primarily of traditional hierarchical, state intervention, opens up all manner of contradictory and potentially emancipatory or perverse effects. Notwithstanding the potential contribution of and the importance of strengthening such initiatives, it is imperative to recognize possible pitfalls.

In sum, the new modalities of governance that have arisen over the past two decades signal a transformation of state-based models of service delivery, combined with one on hand the rise of market-based delivery on the one hand and the growing attention of unsatisfied material and immaterial needs from an increasingly more vocal civil society. The latter sprung to action in the gaps left by a slimmed-down state that could not be filled by encroaching market forces. In this section, we shall first consider the embedding of the socially innovative initiatives within the state/civil society/market triangle and, secondly, assess critically the innovative and potentially contradictory character of these initiatives.

2.2. The ”embedding‘ of the initiatives within the state / civil society / market triangle

All initiatives arose out of a sense of ”failure of the state‘ on the one hand and ”failure of the market‘ on the other in the provision of a series of essential services. Driven by activist energies galvanised by a variety of motivational drivers, all initiatives sought to enhance organisational capacity and social capital, and empower the traditionally disempowered. Operating between state and market, but with varying degrees of overlap, these initiatives actively provided key services, secured institutional recognition and a certain degree of power, and mobilised a wide variety of social actors and agents (see table below).

A networked form of organisation is a key characteristic as well as a desire to transform both traditional state-based forms of urban regeneration and development and provide alternative and empowering forms of organisational embedding. They all suggest the importance of renaissance of civil society movements and organisations and signal the considerable innovative potential energised through bottom-up grass-roots initiatives.

Table 1. The social ”embedding‘ of the projects

	Background	Origin	Drivers	Functioning	Field of Action	Embedding
Newcastle New Deal For Com-Munities (NDC)	NDC is national programme designed to give leadership to local communities in delivery of unmet services	Dissatisfaction the with human needs service delivery – Developed through a mandate to change governance arrangements in the local state by involving the community sector.	The desire to experiment with a new type of regeneration delivery agency on the one hand and the need to construct an efficient delivery machine governed by the state's accountability rules	NDC is a Partnership Company limited by guarantee. Operates like a private company but City Council acts as financially-accountable body. Nationally funded with an elected representatives from the community. Movement towards professionalisation due to national accountability rules. Networked organisation	Improving service delivery and local environmental quality, enriching cultural activities and increasing links between local community and wider governance system. Identity building	Strongly embedded in local community; networked organisation with 'brokerage' role viz-a-viz the state.
Osseburn Trust Newcastle	A community initiative with an agenda to shape development in more equitable and sustainable way	Activists driven by local experience and political and religious philosophies that emphasised social commitment to community improvement	Anarchic resistance to the state's initiatives in urban re-development	Non-profit organisation. Creation of Osseburn Partnership (regeneration) in the context of national programme. 18 partners. Explored originally 'cracks' in	Support for local ventures; organisation of cultural and environmental events. 'Brokerage' role. Enhancing place quality through physical design. Inclusion of non-	Strong embedding in local civil society and inclusion of non-traditional participants in governance process.

				governance system but evolved to state-civil society 'partnership'. Nodal point for networked organisation	traditional actors in governance process.	
Olinda Milan	Olinda arose as part of the 'de-institutionalizatio n movement' of psychiatric patients in the 1960s, still within the context of a welfarist approach to mental health.	De-institutionalised mental health organisation, set up as formal association among doctors, social workers and professional trainers in the 1995.	Seeks to create individual paths to autonomy and work insertion. Networked based that calls upon civil society organisations and individuals	Operates as 'social cooperative' and host of productive venues that connects numerous civil society organisations.	Includes workshop, hostel, web-design service, restaurant, bar. Organises events and has national reach.	Broad embedding of various networked civil society organisations. Draws on both market and governmental resources.
Leoncavallo Milan	Roots in the movements of the late 1960s, with a strong emphasis on social justice and serving unserviced needs.	Links with socially, politically, and culturally progressive movements	To activate and mobilise people.	Provides socio-cultural and welfare services. Informal, non-hierarchical and self-managed organisation. Oppositional relationship with government.	It is currently a legal Foundation.	It holds a leading position in a network of social centres in Italy. Local, national and international embedding.
City-Min(e)d Brussels	Grew out of urban social movements in the early 1990s against speculative housing market.	Emerged as part of the movement 'VrijstadBXLVille libre' with a strong emphasis on direct action.	Reaction against institutional 'gridlock' in Brussels's governance and desire to act against Bruxello-negativism.	Networked organisation that provides logistical and institutional support for self-organising activist group in the city. It has a support and a	Non-profit organisation funded by a variety of local, national, and EU sources.	Wide embedding in civil society organisations, both locally and transnationally. Aims at 'glocal' interventions, i.e. urban networking

				production cell.		in a range of cities.
LimiteLimite Brussels	Response to the lack of collective action in a fuzzy, heterogeneous neighbourhood in Brussels.	Activists brought together a group of heterogeneous partners around a clearly defined urban project, i.e. the construction of a tower/meeting space.	Aimed at bringing together unlikely civil society groups in a disarticulated area characterised by institutional neglect.	Generating positive enactment by realising concrete project that includes non traditional participants in the formation of new civil society associations to promote self-empowerment.	Mixture of funding, both public and private. Non-profit organisation	Strong embedding within main civil society actors within the area and providing linkage-networking with higher level institutional and governmental organisations.
Butetown Wales	Outsourcing of local authority service delivery Presence of tradition of mutual support	Securing new collective action	Individual commitment and leadership	Exhibition space, photo archive, publishing Oral history project	Registered Charity and Company	Heterogeneous embedding with a variety of actors
Ferndale (Arts Factory) Wales	Outsourcing of local authority service delivery Presence of tradition of mutual support	Securing new collective action	Individual commitment and leadership	Social enterprise	Non-profit organisation and Independent Development Trust.	Heterogeneous embedding with a variety of actors, particularly people with learning and other disabilities
Phenrhys Partnership	Outsourcing of local authority service delivery Presence of tradition of mutual support	Securing new collective action	Church driven individual commitment and community sense of responsibility	Community service facilities	Non profit organisation Charitable Trust	Heterogeneous embedding with a variety of actors

Local Area Management Vienna	Deepening of relationship between public and civil sectors in society and to create innovative local governance	Initiated by the local state (municipality of Vienna) with an eye towards improved local governance	National desire to change traditional moder of governance, combined with pressure by the European Union to reform governance system	New mode of local participatory governance within liberal and autocratic national political regime		
Local Agenda 21 Vienna	Deepening of relationship between public and civil sectors in society and to create innovative local governance	Internationally agreed commitment. Initiated by the municipality of Vienna	National desire to change traditional moder of governance, combined with pressure by the European Union to reform governance system	New mode of local participatory governance within liberal and autocratic national political regime		
Alentour Roubaix (Lille)	Created in 1993 as an association to provide economic activities to people in socially disadvantageous position	Arose in the context of national plan (Plan Local d'Insertion par l'Economique – PLIE) Paternalistic context in which state is expected to deliver services	Started as 'social utility' initiative but became 'economic integration' project	Non-profit organisation funded for 60% by the state, closely associated with local state. Remainder of funding primarily from EU	Social Restaurant with social services, housing maintenance, reading-animation	Well embedded within the most disadvantaged social groups, but very much articulated with the local state

Quartieri Spagnoli Naples	Grew out of critical dissenting Catholic movements	Civic commitment to work and live in neighbourhood facing structural social exclusion	Capacity building and associative social needs delivery	Intense co-operation with local authorities	Wide variety of basic needs delivery	Bottom-up civil society intitiative
Piazziamoci Naples	Heterogeneous group of social actors	Giving voice to disempowered groups in the context of rapid urban change	Desire for greater participatory planning and intervention	Associative network Clash between social initiative and urban government	Pressure group, participatory planning	Bottom-up civil society initiative
Kommunales Forum Wedding Berlin	Grew out of alternative movements of the 1970s	Originated from remnants of squatter movement in the 1970s and the participatory turn in Berlin urban policy	The need to counter top-downn planning with great public participation and the need to establish public forums	Partnership construction.	Social economy, participation, education and quality of life	Bottom-up local initiative but co-operation with international, European, German and Berlin wide levels
Quartiers Agentur Marzahn NordWest Berlin	City-led private planning company commissioned to be neighbourhood management team	Emerged from the Social City policy of Berlin to initiate neighbourhood management	Increase participation and built institutional capacity in area of recent immigration	Private planning company contracted by the State	Integration of immigrants, public participation in governance	Part of city-wide 'Social City' Programme

Source: authors.

2.3. The ”Innovative‘ Character of the initiatives (with respect to Human needs, Institutional innovation, and Empowerment)

While ”innovation‘ is a difficult enough concept to define and operationalize in a purely market-driven economic context, it raises even greater problems when mobilised in the context of urban regeneration strategies and policies. While it is generally recognised that social innovation is as pivotal this domain as it seems to be in the economy, the operationalization of social innovation remains difficult. Yet, as the projects analysed in this research programme conclusively illustrate, innovative local development strategies have become key markers of the current urban social landscape and many of them have asserted themselves as important leverages for galvanising socially inclusive urban redevelopment processes.

There are of course important differences between case-study projects and, consequently, different impacts, particularly in terms of their longer term sustainability and the dynamics of innovation. Three main tendencies stand out with respect to both of these issues: their origin and driving motivations, their articulation with state and/or market, and their scalar effect.

a) The origin.

While all projects are clearly articulated within the state/market/civil society triangle, the most creative and innovative in terms of generating new forms of delivery, attending to new needs, and experimenting with innovative institutional or organisational arrangements, are those that originate from within civil society. Those initiated by the state - usually the local state - tend to be less successful and are generally seen as instruments to re-establishing fading governmental legitimacy.

b) The process

While all initiatives have to and do interact with both markets and the state, the nature of the institutional embedding of this arrangement is of central importance in shaping its innovative dynamics. To the extent that civil society initiatives become ”captured‘ by the state, their innovative dynamics are generally weakening and become part of the bureaucratic apparatus. Governments in fact have the tendency to ”cherry-pick‘ from the civil society initiatives those that are seen to be successful. Their incorporation, however, saps often their innovative energies. Some of the initiatives are fully aware of this dialectic between integration and autonomy and try to maintain a fine balance between cooperation (with market and state) on the one hand and oppositional tactics on the other. The latter, in turn, pre-empt full incorporation while generating a continuous

innovative dynamic as the relationships between both state and market need to be revisited continuously.

c) The scalar effect

While the projects are decidedly local and in some case even place-specific, there is an emergent trend to engage in ”scalar‘ politics. This refers to the articulating the local initiatives with processes, institutions, and social capacities that operate at other spatial levels or scales. To the extent projects are successful in doing so, their effects are more long-lasting, while transcending the particular place-specificity engenders the potential for broader political-economic transformations. Of course, such scalar politics are decidedly janus-faced as the new institutional arrangements that accompany such trans-scalar networks are not necessarily as inclusive or participatory as is often portrayed.

Table 2. The ”Innovative‘ Character of the Projects

	Innovative vision	Innovative delivery	Innovative institutional organisation	Innovative process	Innovative Scalar Effect
Newcastle NDC	The concept of the community leadership of regeneration	The delivery of holistic regeneration Capacity building across a wide range of distinct communities	Experimentation built into project development and appraisal	Attempts to link bottom-up and top-down style initiatives	Attempts to ‘mainstream’ innovative activities at wider geographical scales
Ouseburn Trust Newcastle	‘Brokerage’ role between community and government – Bridging ‘structural holes’	New facilities	Widened ‘cracks’ in the mainstream local state form Network form	Enlarging policy domain	Articulating gap between place qualities and local government
Olinda Milan	Creation of subjects capable of ‘agency’	Increasing socio-political capabilities	Integration of assistance and work insertion	Legitimise new practices and social claims Construction of shared interest Setting new standards	Mobilisation of resources from a wide array
Leoncavallo Milan	Needs satisfaction based on reciprocity	Increasing socio-political capabilities Satisfaction of human needs outside market relations	Tresholding lowering procedures Centrality of spatial dimension and availability of ‘free’ space	Legitimise new practices and social claims Construction of shared interest Provision of space and visibility	Wider mobilisation around social, cultural, and political issues. Resource for collective action
CityMin(e)d Brussels	Mobilization of unlikely partners from different geographical scales and from a heterogeneous social composition	Fostering networks that enhances self-efficacy	Fuzzy network arrangements	Non-territorial focus and autonomous-project driven. Mobilising ‘vacant’ or vaguely defined socio-spatial settings	Target strategically a micro geographic scale in order to have a positive impact on the development at another, often larger, scale.

LimiteLimite Brussels	The creation of a 'third' space between different groups in friction and to transform the hegemonic urban regime.	Broadening the capability sets of the participants.	Heterogeneous and unusual alliance formation in network organisation	Mobilising 'vacant' institutional and geographical spaces.	Local network organisation in order to effectuate changes at higher institutional level
Local Agenda 21 Vienna	Opening up democratic space	Providing mediating platform Free space for experimentation	Modernised institutional arrangements	Emergence of a new power field.	Some effectuation in breaking open higher level institutional gridlock
Local Area Management Vienna	Relatively limited – re-establishing existing power fields	Poor	Modernised institutional arrangements	Poor – Restricted and confirming existing power relations	Problematic involvement of EU scale (accountability rules – limited innovation
Quartieri Spagnoli Napels	Focus on citizenship rights	Associative delivery Creation of local capacity and social capital formation		Catalyst of Resources	Wide national and international recognition.
Piazziamoci Naples	Participation and counter-institutional power	Oppositional engagement resulting in capacity building and creation of expertise.		Process of interaction more important than outcome	Confrontational dynamics – creativity of protest
Alentour Roubaux (Lille)	Alentour arose in the context of public renewal policy – civil society counterpart to public initiative. Empowerment of weakest social groups	Delivery of food, social, maintenance and cultural services to the 'truly' disadvantaged. Particular focus on weakest social group	Alentour worked with all social actors in the neighbourhood.	Initial attempt at innovative networked organization, but ultimately largely incorporated within the local state	None

Wales – all initiatives	Access to and engagement with facilities and opportunities for personal development, enjoyment and self-representation	Reaches non-traditional groups and involves them in open, activist, and empowering manner.	Open organisational structure -	Extension of horizons, altering 'views'	While articulating with higher scale levels (municipality, EU), autonomous direction maintained and innovative relations developed
Kommunales Forum Wedding Berlin	Introducing new ideas in the field of action around area based civil society action for local quality of life	Welfare provision delivery	Partnership approach	Information and education based process to increase local public participation	Project worked through to the Berlin city-wide level as well as to other policy domains
QuartiersAgentur Marzahn NordWest Berlin	Establishing institutional links between immigrant and host society	The building of access organisations	Intercultural mediator between different social-ethnic groups	Social capacity building	Set-up by city government

Source: authors.

In sum, the selection of case-study projects suggests that significant creative energies are mobilised in urban re-devevelopment through such civil society initiatives. In fact, these processes that often target the ”truly‘ disadvantaged have become vital mechanisms for mediating pervasive mechanisms of social exclusion and economic hardship that has characterised contemporary urban change. It is ironic, therefore, that these initiatives have not gained the academic and policy attention that they deserve compared with the more spectacular, although not necessarily more significant, strategies of urban re-development through large scale top-down renovation mega-projects.

Yet, stimulating and fostering socially innovative projects has become a vital and necessary component of urban social change. The policy framework that might permit unleashing even greater socially innovative dynamics across Europe‘s cities is what we shall turn to next.

3. Policy Recommendations

As suggested by the Newcastle team report, civil societies initiatives grow in the interstices of governance relations dominated by the political and professionalised networks of surrounding state practices. They develop as much from conflict and resistance as from invitations to participate by state actors. When they succeed to break into the arenas of state actors, there is always the danger of ”capture‘ by dominant forces. This suggests that the really important issue for state and EU policy is to encourage more civil society engagement within urban policy initiatives. While of course the state remains centrally important in terms of access to resources and regulatory arrangements, the really vital social innovative development dynamics reside squarely within the domain of engaged civil society activities.

The policy framework, therefore, revolves around three interrelated issues. The first part will consider the policy strategies from the perspective of civil society initiatives themselves. The second and third part will look at the domestic and EU policies respectively. But before we embark on this, we shall briefly consider the actual impact of the EU on the projects analysed in this programme.

3.1. Actually existing impact of EU policies

As Table 3 suggests, most projects received direct and/or indirect support from the European level. Although generally seen as important in securing long-term survival, it was often felt that both the lengthy and complex administrative procedures mitigated against effective mobilisation of resources and often resulted in civil society initiative unable to secure EU-based funding. Unless the initiatives generate sufficient in-house social capital AND secure the support of the local or national state, access to EU funding is limited or difficult. Moreover, obtaining EU support depends crucially on fostering good relationships with the local or national state and makes oppositional strategies more difficult to pursue. In addition, innovative dynamics are often confronted with regulatory and bureaucratic conditions that prevent innovations to implemented or experimented with.

Table 3. Impact of European Union Funding and Policies on Projects

	Direct Funding	Indirect Funding	Impact of EU Regulations	Impact of EU Policy Initiatives
Newcastle NDC	No	No	Financial regulations embedded in national budget rules	Very indirect
Ouseburn, Newcastle	Small amounts for EU Objective 2 (now withdrawn)	No	Environmental regulations embedded in planning system	Very indirect
Olinda, Milan	YES	Yes, via national and local state		Direct projects (EQUAL and HORIZON) as means of leverage to national level
Leoncavallo Milan	NO Considers EU out of its reach			
Local Area Management, Vienna	Objective 2 funding	Funding from European regional policies	Yes, but seen as restricting	Yes, but limits space for experimentation

Local Agenda 21, Vienna	NO	NO	Through regulatory system	
Quartieri Spagnoli Napels	YES	YES, through urban and social policies	Bureaucratic regulation seen as problematic	Participation in several U programmes (INTEGRA, POVERTA, HORIZON, et al.)
Piazziamoci Naples	NO	NO		
Wales, all projects	ESF and ERDF funding	Yes	Yes	Yes, regional and social policy
City-Min(e)d, Brussels	Yes, Cultural Capital initiatives	Yes, via Flemish government	Yes	Yes, URBAN
Limite-Limite, Brussels	NO	NO	NO	NO
Kommunales Forum Wedding Berlin	YES	YES (through Social Fund)		YES, XENOS
QuartiersAgentur Marzahn NordWest Berlin	YES	YES (through EFRD)		YES, URBAN

Source: authors.

Notwithstanding these observations, the analysis supports the view that EU policy and financial support might have a leverage effect on generating and maintaining socially innovative dynamics in urban development. This requires a sensitivity to local activist and civil society initiatives and their dynamics on the one hand and to the particular arrangement between state and market in which they operate. We shall consider this policy framework from the perspective of both the socially innovative actors and agents on the one hand and the possibility for national and/or EU policy on the other.

3.2. General Framework and key objectives

Civil society activists generally embrace the following views:

a) Seek out the cracks and spaces in state governance relations, and be prepared to widen and shape them.

b) Build networks with others pursuing similar agendas, to enlarge the ”scalar reach‘ of activist initiative.

c) Maintain a continuously critical perspective when asked to participate across the boundary between civil society and state initiative, but avoid staying in ”entrenched‘ positions, as situations are in continual flux.

d) Demand resources from state agencies with as much spending autonomy as possible and demand the freedom to fail as well as to succeed in initiatives.

e) Emphasise the importance of respect from state actors for the capacities and values of citizens and those outside the state and economic nexuses.

f) Recognise that state actors can learn new attitudes and practices and are often trying to escape from contradictions they are trapped in, providing a space for generating combined momentum.

This is often confronted with more managerial and top-down approach of established and institutiionalised policy making. In order to permit networked partnership approaches that permit local civil society to pursue the above, higher level policy frameworks should:

a) Recognise contingency and particularity, avoid formulaic ”good practice‘ approaches.

b) Allow space for redundancy, ambiguity, invention and failure, which may all contribute to learning and to generating civil society initiatives.

c) Facilitate civil society groups in their efforts to make linkages and develop initiatives rather than controlling and shaping them.

d) Tolerate and respect the variety of ways in which activism in civil society is manifest, and keep an eye for potential oppressions and exclusions.

e) Help to develop a good community awareness of the various networks within and between government and civil society, and assess any state programme for its impact in building on, expanding, using and misusing the capacity of these networks before initiating a project or programme with a ”communty participation‘ or ”empowerment‘ dimension.

f) Encourage rich and varied debates about issues, to create a strategic understanding and knowledge base of both governance processes and the wider, multi-scalar social, economic and environmental dynamics which shape both problem issues and the possibility of innovative responses.

g) Encourage a recognition of social identity with places as well as with social groups, with identity understood as a multiple, open and revisable concept, as a way to build a force for maintaining an integrated agenda of interventions in local area development.

h) Encourage experiments with small initiatives and be cautious of grandiose and flagship big developments.

i) Avoid counter-productive over-management of any programme or project.

j) Expect and encourage conflict and challenge, as a sign of engagement and of the potential for innovation.

3.3. European Union and National Policy: Pointers towards supporting socially innovative development initiatives.

The above general principles that would facilitate the proliferation of socially innovative practices require of course an important reformulation of social, urban, and economic redevelopment strategies on the one hand and the need to experiment with new horizontal networked associations on the other. Effective innovative social development models require re-adjusting policy frameworks in a number of ways. Paramount in this is the recognition of civil society actors as generating considerable social capital that enables both self-development as well as socio-economic and cultural cohesiveness.

Each of the case-study reports provide a valuable set of mutually re-enforcing policy recommendations that are based on recognising the transformative capacity of socially innovative projects in urban development. Some of the key frameworks are summarised in Table 4.

Table 4. General Policy Framework: Stimulating Social Innovation

Type of Policy	Pointers
Political initiatives	a) Local empowerment and civil society insertion require (political) citizen rights. Effective state-civil society articulation necessitate the granting of European political citizenship rights to all local area residents b) Recognising the role of the social economy as a vital and key ingredient for social revitalisation alongside traditional top-down initiatives c) Recognising voluntary and civil society service delivery organisations as an integral part of innovative economic development systems.
Policy initiatives	a) The fostering of collective contracts between civil society organisations and local, national, or EU policy framework Focus on active socially innovative initiatives as pointers for support rather than traditional territorially focused policies. b) Establishing cross-scalar and inter-local networks of socially innovative initiatives across the European space. c) Providing points of direct access for civil society initiatives at the national and EU level.
Funding initiatives	a) The formation and direct funding of European networks of socially innovative initiatives. b) The streamlining of funding procedures with an eye towards maximising access, minimising bureaucratic rules and by-passing deeply entrenched national procedures. c) Securing long-term viability of successful social projects, particularly those that generate continuous institutional, participatory, and social innovation. d) The creation of social innovation centres e) The creation of logistical support centres for local civil society initiatives

Source: authors

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