Urban and social segregation: an analysis of the methods used in urban regeneration projects
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OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

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   1.2. Major factors that lead to segregation in housing

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APPENDIX 1. URBAN REGENERATION POLICIES: A FEW CASES

APPENDIX 2. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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On an initiative of the Swedish Government, Boverket has commanded an international study of methods and practices in urban regeneration and housing policies that allow tackling urban and social segregation. The focus should be on regeneration projects that aim at:

- improving the quality of the housing stock,
- mixing housing types,
- renovating buildings.

The purpose of the analysis was to understand the decision-making processes, the project management, the financial contributions, the partnership engaged as well as the role of the participation of inhabitants in the process. Seven different countries have been chosen for their experience in this particular topic, notably England, Germany, Denmark, France, the United States, Canada and the Netherlands.

The study proceeded in three steps:

1. The first step was to identify examples of urban renewal projects in deprived neighbourhoods. Different European or national organisms have been contacted, such as:
   - the European Urban Knowledge Network, E.U.K.N. (the National Focal Points of France, England, Holland, Denmark and Sweden),
   - the European exchange and learning program URBACT and,

2. The second step was to go deeper into the methods developed in urban regeneration plans: four researchers from France, Denmark and Germany suggested literature and documents concerning the framework of the housing and urban policies, as well as on the tools and methods used.

3. The third stage consisted in referencing the mains aspects of the projects and analyse the methods at the local level. I have contacted 20 project managers or local services that lead an urban regeneration project.
Out of 17 cases that were selected in the beginning of the study, 11 are presented in this document. During the study period I have encountered certain difficulties: the researchers and project managers did not always speak English that well, sometimes their email addresses were wrong, sometimes they did not reply at all, and when they did it was not always easy to set up a phone conversation, due to holidays, changes in the team, etc.). For this reason, the analysis is in part based on information found on the Internet, e.g. when it comes to the financial uses of an investment budget, the social composition of a district, the definition of the housing stock, etc.

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<td>-  Holmbladsgade Kvarteret</td>
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<td>-  Coventry</td>
<td>-  W.E.H.M. (Wood End, Henley Green, Manor Farm and Deedmore)</td>
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The study has two parts:

1. The first part consists of a synthesis, based both on the arguments proposed by researchers and on reflections developed by the project managers and by representatives of the local authorities in the framework of the regeneration projects. Concluding remarks are proposed in order to provide food for thought in the framework of the evaluation process launched by Boverket.

2. In the second part, the selected cases are presented as an appendix to the study, in order to clarify the context of an urban regeneration project, the strategy and the players, the financial plan and contributions, the main project measures, the dialogue process, the relocation process and the outcomes (especially when the project development is achieved). This part illustrates the intention of the analysis.
1. FIGHTING URBAN AND SOCIAL SEGREGATION: REVIEW OF THE DETERMINING FACTORS

The urban renewal programmes implemented by different cities are mainly of three categories: policies consisting of the redevelopment of town-centres and urban wastelands, social and urban area-based policies and policies based on a demolition and reconstruction process (Lelévriere et al. 2007). According to the requirements of Boverket mentioned above,¹ the present analysis focuses mainly on the two latter policy categories, which explicitly aim to tackle urban and social segregation.

1.1. Most of the cases selected are post-World War 2 areas and large high-rise estates

The isolated and segregated areas are not homogenous. An E.U.K.N. report (Wassenberg et al. 2007) identifies five kinds of districts that are affected by global depreciation: central urban areas, old deprived urban areas around the city, post-World War 2 areas, large high-rise estates, and finally old industrial, harbour, military or railway areas. However, most projects presented in this document are post-World war 2 areas (Oakwood Shores in Chicago, Montillet in Le Blanc-Mesnil, W.E.H.M. in Coventry) and typical large high-rise estates from the 1970’s (Évry, Cottbus, Échirolles, Meurisier). For the most part they consist of public or social housing units.

For the most part, this specific housing type is an expression of the massive development of dwellings that helped facing the housing shortage after World War 2. Ownerships and private rentals are not dominant forms in these districts, except for Holmbladsgade Kvarteret in Copenhagen and Cottbus, or to a lesser extent Évry.

1.2. Major factors that lead to segregation in housing

• A combination of social and urban problems

If “Neighbourhood effects” are often pointed out in the basic literature as a dominant factor behind segregation, the concept is limited when it comes to demonstrating that the concentration of poor groups in a district reinforces negative tendencies (such as discrimination, criminality, poor education and unemployment). The situation of inhabitants encompasses different social, economical and cultural realities from a deprived area to another that lead to a combination of problems. For this reason, many European countries have launched area-based programmes that have certain criteria of selection, such as unemployment rate, number of failures at school, criminality level, etc.

• The public or social housing stock becomes increasingly dedicated to poor groups

In many countries, the public or social housing stock can be considered as the front door that permits to house unprivileged people in the city. Since its initial development before and after the Second World War, the role of public housing in the U.S.A. and in Canada has been to house the poorest workers. In the European countries that traditionally have a public housing stock – France, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark – it proposed an

¹ All the urban regeneration projects that are presented must include a housing redevelopment housing improvements, and upgrading buildings.
affordable offer to the lower middle class. However, decades of industrial transformation have had massive unemployment as a result. In that framework, growing poverty has led to a specialization process in public housing:

- In terms of housing supply: the affordable offer available in the social housing stock gradually led to the relegation of unprivileged groups to these areas. Moreover, the national housing policies in the 70’s and 80’s promoted home ownership to the middle class which accordingly left the public housing, thereby contributing to the segregation process.

- In terms of housing demand: The difficulties to manage the housing waiting lists also represent a major problem as regards the high and growing demand of public housing observed all across the European countries (Scanlon et al. 2007).

As a consequence, in many countries the social or public housing stock has trapped the most vulnerable groups such as immigrants and produced a social contrast in comparison with urban areas where households live who can form a residential career and choose an attractive place to live with access to business and services.

**Technical and financial problems: unfinished urban design and lack of management lead to neglected areas**

Urban studies stress that deprived areas often suffer from problems of urban conception. Most of them have an unfinished urban design that affects the living conditions of the residents as well as the management of the areas: lack of equipments, lack of spaces dedicated to leisure and sport activities, or open spaces that are neither public nor private. During the initial development of these areas, the players faced many obstacles. Public housing was built in the rush to struggle against the shortage of dwellings and the budget was often insufficient to maintain all the orientations of the urban plan. For example, in the high-rise estate Les Merisiers in Trappes-en-Yvelines, the initial road network initially designed has not been entirely developed.

In many cases, there has been lack of management and problems of coordination between the local players, which have led to the neglect of housing blocks and outer spaces. The housing corporations, housing authorities and public bodies who, wholly or partially, owned the land of the neighbourhood have not had enough funding and cash flow to maintain a high quality of maintenance services (Trappes-en-Yvelines, Échirolles, Chicago, Toronto, Coventry).

**Urban polarisation in metropolitan areas: a spatial mismatch between the labour market and the urban structure**

Many neglected neighbourhoods were built in the interstices of cities, situated nearby declining industrial areas. They are therefore not well connected to the surrounding urban fabric – public transport, road networks, etc. – and often become isolated from the business centres.

Because of the growing mismatch between supply and demand in the local employment market, and, more particularly, because of certain distinctive features of the economic development in the area (e.g., all leading companies of a certain sector may be located in an area where there is no qualified work force, and hence be obliged to resort to skilled
workers travelling from other regions), unemployment and lack of urban mobility affect the daily life of the residents.
2. PRINCIPLES AND METHODS

2.1. National policies promote a targeted approach: points of convergence and difference

The increasing social and urban segregation in all the cities of Europe and North America call into question the tools and methods that have been implemented in deprived areas all along the 80’s and in the beginning of the 90’s. Local players have launched rehabilitations and restructuring programmes in plenty in order to improve the quality of the housing stock and the outer spaces. Theses initiatives were supposed to improve the living conditions of the long-term residents, but have not succeeded in over-coming the global depreciation of these areas.

At the turning point of the 90’s, the governments began to develop targeted policies in order to fight the combination of urban and social problems in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Slogans such as “more than bricks and mortar” used in the U.S.A. stress the need to balance physical solutions (enhancing the quality of the housing stock, improving the public spaces or developing transport projects) and social, cultural and economic approaches. In Europe, current public policies have a similar direction.

Research has identified several points of convergence between the policies in Europe as well in the U.S.A. For example, they share:

- objectives: the terms “social mix” in France, “mixed-income community” in the U.S.A. and in Canada, “community cohesion” in England, all refer to the social and economic integration of long-term residents in deprived areas.

- fields of public intervention: a set of measures in housing, urban planning, education, employment and transport aims at improving the living conditions of the residents and at restoring the attractiveness of the area.

Emblematic urban renewal policies: a few examples

- In the U.S.A., there are devices that permit the combination of a residential mobility program (the so-called The Housing Choice Voucher) with a mixed-income program (Hope VI). The Hope VI programme (Housing Opportunity for People Everywhere) aims at transforming public housing projects into mixed-income developments. The programme was created in 1992 and distributed $6 billion through 446 federal public blocks to cities.

- In Germany, three different programs have been launched. The Soziale Stadt promotes integration and cohesion through projects based on education, employment, involvement of the inhabitants and improvement of public spaces (budget: €1.7 billion, 447 areas selected, the state, the Länders and cities fund the programme). Two other programmes support demolitions in the west and east parts of Germany (Stadtumbau Ost launched from 2002 to 2009 has a €2.7 billion budget and concerns 342 areas, Stadtumbau West launched from 2004 to 2009 concerns 16 cities).

- In England, the New Deal for Communities, which has funded more than 100 local projects, aims at bridging the gap between the deprived neighbourhoods and the rest of the city. The programme of action is to tackle poor job prospects, high levels of crime, educational under-achievement, poor health and problems with housing and the environment.

- In the Netherlands, many experiments were launched during the 80’s and taken over by national policies during the 90’s. For example, the “major cities policy”, Grote Steden Beleid, promotes, e.g., mix of tenures in deprived areas and destruction of social housing units. The programme concerns 56 areas and proposes a €1.4 billion budget. New political orientations favour an integrated approach with the launching of a new policy that touches 40 areas (€2.5 billion budget).

- The French experience is quite similar to the Dutch, if we consider its development in the 80’s and 90’s. The current plan, the so-called Urban Renewal program, was launched in 2003 and aims at wiping out the ghettos (350 projects selected, 250 000 demolitions, 250 000 reconstructions and 400 000 rehabilitations). Each dwelling destroyed has, for the most part, to be reconstructed outside of the area. This ambitious programme is supported by new actors (A.N.R.U., A.C.S.E., La Foncière Logement) and proposes a one step-funding centre to support the plan (€30 billion budget). Urban Contracts for Social Cohesion are also launched from 2007 to 2014, promoting employment, education, health and safety.
However, the methods implemented also have major differences. Some researchers have distinguished between *exogenous* and *endogenous* models for tackling segregation (Kirszbaum 2009).

2.2. The exogenous model is based on massive housing redevelopment and relocation of long-term residents

The U.S.A., France and the Netherlands are the only countries that have launched massive housing destructions and proposed a redevelopment based on tenure mix. The common point is to support the redevelopment by the arrival of new residents and the relocation of long-term residents. This process leads to a new mixed-income community and a gentrification of the neighbourhood. Even if the urban regeneration process aims at tackling segregation by income, two intervention models have to be distinguished: the American model and the French and Dutch models.

*The American model and the self-sufficiency approach*

In the American model of urban regeneration, the method is to massively destroy the public housing stock and redevelop a mixed-income housing. Even if the destruction process is not systematic, many cities have adopted this approach. The housing redevelopment often proposes a mix of subsided and market-rate units as well as homes for sale. Most of the cities adopt a low-density redevelopment (houses, small housing blocks). This method is probably one of the most sophisticated approaches in terms of urban regeneration because of its combination of tools:

- To destroy the public housing stock in a targeted area.
- To redevelop a mixed-income housing plan with different housing types: ownership programmes, market-rent units (including an affordable programme) and public housing units.
- To propose project management and services in order to support the development of a new local community (education and training, employment, safety, culture, housing maintenance, etc).
- To promote a residential career in rental for low-income tenants through mobility programmes (such as the voucher’s programme),

On the one hand, the developers promote a friendly area (new urban functions, new parks, new public spaces, high quality of housing services, environmental measures, new parks, new schools, etc.) in order to attract affluent residents. On the other hand, they propose services and advice for individual improvement. The cities that have been selected to develop a Hope VI programme have a freedom of manoeuvre to define the
principles of the regeneration process. It explains the different approaches developed in the regeneration strategies of Portland and of Chicago (notably in terms of relocation).

The main goals of the housing strategy are to give opportunities for unprivileged groups to move out from the neighbourhood and to create a stable mixed-income community. The success of the urban regeneration depends on the combination of these two orientations (Kirszbaum 2009). The development of a private offer supposes a competence in order to set up a real estate strategy that stresses the important role of the developers. They have the ability to balance the supply and demand in housing according to the local market trends and to promote prime locations, quality of design or competitive pricing. The residents are very sensitive to these positive aspects. Another condition of success is linked to the community development: the interactions between affluent residents and long-term inhabitants who return to the neighbourhood need support.

Even though racial segregation is an obvious problem in U.S. cities, the urban regeneration programs in the U.S.A. do not explicitly deal with this issue. The objective is mainly to struggle against segregation by income and provide individual solutions for the well-being of the original residents (Beider et al. 2008). The individual solutions proposed to the original residents of the neighbourhood aim at promoting autonomy to each household and require their active participation. For example, through the Hope VI and Voucher programmes, it is hoped that the residents of public units will move to market-rate units (on site or elsewhere). However, this community development results in a gentrification process that favours the most active inhabitants of the deprived area. As a consequence, the idea of self-sufficiency promoted by the American model runs the risk of making the most vulnerable residents even weaker (the extremely poor households that don’t move to market-rate units and are relocated in another public housing units can disrupt the social network, etc.).

Social mix in France and Holland
In France as well in the Netherlands, the urban regeneration policy is to develop a new private offer in order to mix tenures in areas with mainly social housing units. The common idea is that the concentration of poor groups in the high-rise estates prevents their social and economic integration while residential mix promotes social cohesion. Concretely, the idea is to destroy a part of the social housing units, redevelop the social housing stock in different parts of the city and develop a private housing stock that replaces the destructions. The idea is similar in the U.S.A. but the destruction process is not that drastic in France and Holland. The destructions are often legitimated by technical
problems, and concern only a part of the housing stock whereas the rest of the housing stock is substantially renovated. The housing redevelopment focuses mainly on homes for sale, with in some cases social options to buy homes for sale (Le Blanc-Mesnil).

An important part of the regeneration project in France and Holland is dedicated to physical solutions: new equipments to favour the mix of uses, new road network to facilitate access and to integrate the neighbourhood in the surrounding area, new public parks, etc. All these aspects are supposed to improve the quality of life of long-term residents as well as new residents.

_Social mix in France_

- **Destruction of a part of the social housing stock and redevelopment of the offer in another part of the city (one social housing unit destroyed = one social housing redeveloped).**
- **Rehabilitation of the rest of the social housing stock.**
- **Redevelopment of a private offer (ownership for the most part and a few private rental units).**
- **Setting up a new maintenance management that helps clarifying the tasks of the city and the housing companies.**
- **Development of a set of measures in the field of culture and social work (often separated from the regeneration process).**
- **Some cities have improved the management of the social housing list.**

A distinction must be made between the U.S. model and the Dutch and French one concerning the relocation process. In France and Holland, the displaced residents often do not get support in terms of training or employment as in the U.S. cases. Furthermore, many residents are not involved in the regeneration process in the way they are in the U.S.A. (workshops on housing rehabilitations are often dedicated to those that will stay in the neighbourhood).

**2.3. The endogenous model is based on a set of measures to empower the residents and strengthen the cohesion of the local community**

The _endogenous_ model is based on the endeavour to empower the long-term residents: the idea is to involve them in a local partnership in order to define new community rules and to propose services that can improve their living conditions. In the cases of the United Kingdom and Denmark, the demolitions and the replacement of social housing units are not an explicit goal of the national programmes even if the destructions can locally be considered as a priority (such as in Coventry). The goal pursued in the urban regeneration plan is the development of a normal neighbour-hood where everybody would like to live. This policy aims at strengthening the community as a group, at developing projects and services adapted to the community life as well as at reinforcing the social control of the community.
The first step of this model is to integrate the residents in the decision making process, the management and the implementation of the regeneration plan. In England, a strategic partnership board is set up where the residents have 50% of the votes. In Denmark, a local board consisting mainly of inhabitants defines the orientations of the project that will be adopted by the city.

The second step is to determine the priorities of the project in terms of education, employment, training, housing, planning, transport, leisure and safety. This method gives much more flexibility in adapting the measures to the local situation, when compared with the French model where many of the urban regeneration goals were defined at the national level.

In Coventry, the strategy is based on housing and planning, employment and safety, whereas the approach in Copenhagen mainly focuses on urban planning and leisure. Another priority is the community life and its stability. In both cases (Coventry, Copenhagen), community centres, sports equipments and services are developed in order to improve the quality of life of the residents and attract new residents.

There is no updated British national evaluation that permits to precisely determine the outcomes of the strategy. However, an interim evaluation of the New Deal for Communities programme brings positive effects to light, such as the residents’ appreciation of their local partnership, the engagement of the black and ethnic minority communities or improvements in terms of safety.

The models developed in England and Denmark do not systematically focus on public housing. The multi-ownership is dominant in Holmbladsgade Kvarteret in Copenhagen and the housing stock in the deprived areas of England is quite varied. The percentage of social housing in New Deal for Communities areas, for example, ranges from 30 to 80% and more. According to some researchers, promoting tenure mix in a deprived area can locally give good outcomes but is not a necessary and sufficient condition for an improvement of the area (Betty et al. 2010).
3. ORGANISATION, FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS AND MANAGEMENT

3.1. Organisation and management

- *National programmes initiate the regeneration process, whereas local players design and implement the plan*

In most cases, the national or federal government initiates, adopts and partially funds the urban regeneration plan. However, the role of the government varies from one country to another. Only in a few cases, such as Évry and Trappes-en-Yvelines, is the state explicitly involved in the implementation of the project.

The regional governments, such as the Länder in Germany, are associated to the regeneration process thanks to their competence in social housing development. In France, the metropolitan councils, *Communautés d’Agglomération*, sometimes play a role. In that case, they contribute in co-financing the plan or coordinating the regional and local policies.

The local partners are the key players in the process. The cities, the housing authorities and the social or public housing corporations play an important role in the definition of the strategy. They co-finance the plan, coordinate the local policies, define and implement both the strategy and the management project, and finally implement the incentive programmes.

- *The project management: an incremental and heuristic approach*

Most of the urban regeneration projects propose several phases of development in order to tackle all the urban and social problems of the area at once. These phases are implemented

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<th>A specific governance process in each country</th>
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<td>• The role of the Canadian state in the revitalization of Regent Park in Toronto, for example, is quite limited. The whole process is supported by Toronto City in cooperation with Toronto Housing Authority.</td>
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<td>• The Housing and Urban Department (H.U.D.) in the U.S.A. proposes different incentive measures and the local authorities preserve a great flexibility in the design and implementation of the plan.</td>
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<td>• In the Netherlands, the housing corporations are quite powerful thanks to their legal status and financial position: they became private companies with a public task and have not received state subsidies since the beginning of the 1990’s. They have a dominant role in the urban regeneration process and work closely with cities such as The Hague or Rotterdam, that delegate the urban planning to local teams at the district level/sub-city level.</td>
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<td>• In France, the implementation of the urban regeneration process is supervised by the National Agency for Urban Renewal according to strict rules (notably in terms of objectives and financial management).</td>
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<th>Effectiveness of the decision making-process</th>
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<td>• The <strong>Public Interest Group</strong>, Groupement d’Intêret Public, in Évry and Trappes-en-Yvelines (France) represents the State and the local authorities.</td>
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<td>• The <strong>district management</strong> in Cottbus (Germany) works with the local authorities, the public players, the investors and the residents.</td>
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<td>• <strong>Urban management of proximity</strong> in Le village 2 is led by the city and the housing corporation in order to improve the maintenance services in the outer spaces as well. In some</td>
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by a wide range of local players and suppose a project management that makes the decision process more effective and more democratic. There are some common elements of this type of management:

• **It is a horizontal management** that promotes a better coordination between public and private initiatives. Different kinds of competence are developed through a cross-disciplinary team (town planners, social workers and housing managers) in order to define a comprehensive plan. The public players use to deconcentrate services and establish focal points on site. Social housing corporations take over these initiatives and must therefore develop skills in terms of relocation, dialogue with the residents, communication and evaluation (Échirolles, Hoogvliet in Rotterdam). Some of them have brought their efforts together through a common organization (Évry).

• **An evaluation process** at different stages of the project: the evaluative approach aims at measuring the impact of the urban regeneration step by step. Some researchers and experts have evaluated, for example, the relocation process (The Hague, Échirolles) or the impact of the project on the daily life of the residents (Chicago, Toronto) at the end of a development phase.

• **It resorts to the involvement of the inhabitants** in the different phases of the project (design of the project, implementation, evaluation) through meetings, workshops and training. The dialogue with inhabitants can vary strongly from one case to another. Some inhabitants are included in the decision-making process (Coventry, Copenhagen, Cottbus, Le Blanc-Mesnil) while others are only invited to design the plan or participate in the implementation of the project.

This type of project management can be defined as an incremental and heuristic approach (Ascher 1995) in many cases. The project managers constantly adapt their development strategy to the limits and difficulties that appear during the process. External effects or negative impacts evaluated in the first stages of the plan will serve to improve the strategy. This approach is particularly remarkable in the U.S.A., Canada and England, but also in France and Holland where the project managers have to deal with private actors of the housing market (the case of Trampes-en-Yvelines). In Chicago, the recent economic crash has forced the consortium of developers to reconsider the nature of the project. The developer who was in charge of the home ownership programmes in Chicago has abandoned his mission and the new housing strategy will mainly be supported by the development of private rental units.
3.2. Financial plan and contributions: the public funds boost the project but are not sufficient to sustain it

The cost of a regeneration project can vary substantially from one project to another. It depends mainly on the scope of the project and the scale of the neighbourhood. A $1 billion investment was, for example, allocated to the Regent Park redevelopment in Toronto, while €84 million were dedicated to the regeneration process of Cottbus in East Germany.

The most expensive part of the plan is dedicated to physical solutions such as the improvement of road networks, the upgrading of public spaces, the creation of equipments, housing redevelopment. Social and cultural projects are not systematically included in the investment budget.

The contribution of public funds varies according to the characteristics of the national programs (the contribution of the state in England, for example, represents £50 million on average, and between $20 and $50 million in the U.S.A.). The financial contribution of states is in general not sufficient to fund the whole regeneration project.

Coventry, England
- In the English case, the public funds support the regeneration during ten years. The master plan includes local, regional and national orientations.
- A Local Partnership that includes public players and inhabitants manages the plan. After ten years, the public partnership can be transformed into a private company limited by guarantee in order to pursue the implementation of the plan (Coventry).

Chicago, U.S.A.
- In the U.S. case, banks and foundations give additional support besides the HOPE VI grants. It is the developers who assume the financial risks in establishing the private offer. The risk is sometimes limited due to central or attractive location (nearby the sea, etc.).
- In the case of Chicago, a consortium of three developers has been in charge of the implementation of the Master Plan.
Cases in France and Holland
- In the French cases, the public authorities and the social housing companies fund the urban renewal agreement for ten years. The housing companies make a high contribution (40% in Village 2), whereas the private players only have a limited role.
- In the Dutch case, the housing companies and the municipalities fund an important part of the plan. In addition, different grants finance the regeneration plan, such as a national fund managed by the housing corporation. It allows the development of specific programmes, notably in the field of education.

The stake of the regeneration process is for project managers linked to the financial solution that will allow sustaining the process for 15 to 20 years. This is the length of time that an urban regeneration process in general takes, whereas most of the national programmes fund the plan for ten years at the most. This explains why other partners and notably private players have such an important role.

- Projects are developed with public grants for five to ten years on average. Some ambitious redevelopment projects depend completely on the continuation of the national policy. As a consequence, the project managers do not know how to fund the project for the ten years to come (the case of Évry in France).

- Many projects use the profit of the sale of housing or land to fund a substantial part of the Master plan (Chicago, Toronto, The Hague). Some projects use the conversion of public housing into affordable rental units in order to increase the project’s borrowing power (Portland). The market play in an urban regeneration process can lead to difficulties related to the financial and economic crash (Chicago, The Hague) and impose the setting up of preventive tools (Toronto). In Toronto, the developers proposed pre-sell units three years before the relocation of the owners in order to limit the financial risks.

To conclude on this point, the financial partnership is crucial for a successful regeneration. It is impossible to set up and implement an ambitious urban regeneration plan based on an integrated approach (planning, housing, transport, safety, economic and social options) without sufficient financial support for one or two decades. A strategic and flexible management is required, so that the risks related to market trends, economic crises, etc. can be handled.

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2 This observation results from conversations with project managers and representatives of public bodies.
4. SUCCESS FACTORS, CHALLENGES AND LIMITS
The urban regeneration policies often lead to an intense debate. Some experts judge the transformation of the depreciated areas to be a success as regards the design of the buildings, the quality of the public spaces, equipments and parks and the maintenance services implemented. Others draw attention to weaknesses and failures due to the relocation strategies and the difficulties to develop an affordable offer for the most unprivileged groups.

4.1. Success factors of the regeneration process

**The integrated approach**
The strategies proposed in the selected studies have, for the most part, an integrated approach based on a combination of national, regional and local programmes. A variety of actions are included in the plan, related to physical improvements and specific measures focusing on residents or groups of inhabitants (cf. tables).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measures focusing on inhabitants and specific groups</th>
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<tr>
<td>- Empowering the community (Chicago, Coventry, Toronto).</td>
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<td>- Creating jobs and proposing training (Le Blanc-Mesnil, Chicago, Coventry, Toronto).</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Making the streets safer (Chicago, Coventry, Évry, Toronto).</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Developing cultural projects (Le Blanc-Mesnil, Copenhagen, Cottbus).</td>
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This integrative approach is the key to successful outcomes in urban regeneration. The project managers adapt strategies according to the urban and social features of the area (trends on the local housing market, the location of the deprived area, transports and infrastructures available on site or in the surrounding area, scope and nature of the social problems in the neighbourhood, etc.).

First of all, the combination of physical actions in housing and urban planning enhances the attractiveness of the area as well as the living condition of the residents. Many projects resort to similar changes, such as reduction of urban density, creation of new open spaces, of a better connection between the housing blocks and their surrounding environment, improvements of housing blocks (private entrances in order to increase safety, e.g., in France and the U.S.A.).

What is more, the measures proposed are supposed to favour the economic and social integration of the residents: Programmes such as the New Deal for Community in England, the Major Cities Policy in Holland or Urban Contracts for Social Cohesion in
France favour for example measures that promote improvements in terms of safety, education and health in the local communities. “Besides the physical improvements, we are developing a considerable effort on education”, argues for example a representative of The Hague who considers that access to education is the major lever that can improve the condition of living of the unprivileged groups.

**The project management**
The implementation of powerful regeneration policies based on incentive measures has had a positive effect on the local governance and the project management itself. The representatives of local authorities have been much more involved than before in the transformation of the deprived areas. Furthermore, the housing companies and other private players such as the real estates developers have in many cases been dominant players if we consider their financial contribution or the efforts they have developed in terms of competence acquisition and new services. In general terms, there are three conditions that must be met by the project management, if an integrated approach is to be successful:

- A horizontal structure must be created, that will allow implementing an effective decision-making process, respecting the different steps of the project and the deadlines, develop a local partnership that generates links between urban, economic, social or cultural players.

- A financial plan must be set up that secures the revitalization process. In a short-term perspective, the massive injection of money into urban regeneration aims to support the housing development and the main physical measures. In a long-term perspective, there is a necessity to fund the maintenance management in order to sustain the positive impacts of the project and maintain the attractiveness of the area.

- The inhabitants must be involved in the different stages of the project (design, management, implementation), in order to legitimate the urban regeneration process. “People believe in the project”, says a representative of the Housing Authority of Toronto who observes that the urban regeneration process highly affects the daily life of the residents.

**4.2. Challenges of the years to come**

**Territorial policies and governance process**
Despite important local efforts developed in terms of financial contributions and management, the measures implemented in urban regeneration involve some questions linked to their complementarities and their sustainability.

1. The measures launched by the national governments do not, at present, imply a clear governance model in urban regeneration policies. In general terms, the local strategies have to be coordinated in a coherent whole at different government levels. An integrated approach based on housing, education, employment and safety often aims to strengthen the cooperation between different government
levels. But until now, most national governments have a tendency to promote urban regeneration programs where local players are dominant and the role of the intermediate governments vary substantially from a case to another.

2. Due to frequent changes in public policy, a renewal project cannot be sustained for the ten to twenty years that would be necessary to redesign the urban structure and to promote a new local community development. In France, for example, the government separated the social approach (promoting education, employment, integration) from the physical improvements (urban renewal) in 2003, whereas the previous government promoted an integrative and preventive approach through the Solidarity and Urban Law, in 2001.

*Urban regeneration and mobility*

The deprived areas often suffer from a shortage of public transportation and the transport networks are insufficiently adapted to the living conditions of the residents. Moreover, the residents who want to move out from the neighbourhood have difficulties finding affordable housing. Different measures favour urban mobility, such as residential mobility programmes, physical improvements of the road network, transport development and mix of uses based on the development of attractive equipments (schools, day-care centres, mall centres, cultural and sports centres) and new shops and businesses in the neighbourhood.

It would be a challenge to assess the general impact of the current mobility programmes. In terms of residential mobility e.g., the evaluative approaches do not always take the social and economic effects on the original residents (employment, schooling) as regards the relocation strategy sufficiently into account. Most of them only focus on the satisfaction of the residents in terms of quality of housing and urban environment.

4.3. Difficulties and limits

*Insufficient attention to relocation strategies*

Evaluations of drastic housing redevelopments often stress locally successful aspects as regards the relocation process (Échirolles, The Hague). But in general terms, the conditions of the relocation have been criticized in the U.S.A. as well as in Europe. Despite the efforts made during the process (one to one appointments, various housing propositions, specific services), various evaluations show that one group of the original residents of deprived areas have not benefited from the housing redevelopment: the most vulnerable ones. The relocation strategy also raises questions about the redevelopment of an affordable supply in housing.

1. Many of the displaced residents have not returned on site and have been relocated in another deprived area with public housing. An American evaluation of the Hope VI Programme (Popkin et al. 2004) stresses that the rates of return vary from one Hope VI development to another but often remain below 50%. In France, an evaluation of the national urban renewal programme (Comité d’évaluation 2010) emphasizes also that 68% of the displaced households have
been relocated in a targeted area (the so-called Sensitive Urban Zone), where the social housing stock is still dominant.

2. The diversification of tenure in a deprived area can be combined with the redevelopment of public housing in another part of the city, in order to balance the percentage of public housing in the local housing stock. But the French experience shows in that case that 30% of the relocated households had to bear an increase of their service charges after the relocation.

3. Furthermore, the costs of construction and land are high, which has an impact on the public housing redevelopment. To take one example, the social housing corporations cannot build as big living spaces as before, whereas the original households often consist of large families.

4. The difficulties linked to the relocation process also involved questions about the most vulnerable residents (such as preventing dependency in the elderly, specific home services for people who are suffering from different handicap and illness, but also viable solutions in relocation for those who have been evicted several times or have rent back).

In other words, the relocation process can be hazardous for a part of the original residents. Furthermore, the multiplication of relocation phases and the difficulties to meet the needs of the residents often increase social tensions during the project. To conclude the point, the relocation strategy cannot be underestimated. It has to be based on analysis of the social needs as well as of the available offer in housing.

**The urban regeneration dynamics is difficult to control in a local housing market**

Many project managers face tensions in the local housing market where the property market are locally difficult to regulate (the residents cannot become homeowners due to the high prices of the property market),¹ the social housing stock keep attracting the most unprivileged householders (it becomes much more difficult to relocate the residents when the social housing waiting lists are long) and private rental cannot absorb the whole demand of the unprivileged groups. As a consequence, the urban regeneration dynamic is difficult to control in the local housing market and sometimes generates adverse effects:

1. The ownership programmes developed in deprived areas mainly attract affluent households thanks to competitive selling prices in relation to the location of the area, high environmental quality in housing, creation of parks and equipments, etc. They only attract the most “dynamic” or “affluent” of the original residents. For this reason the concentration of unprivileged groups increase in certain housing blocks – those that have not been renovated, that are located nearby the neighbourhood but are not included in the urban regeneration plan, etc...).

¹ Some local authorities have developed ownership programmes that include a set of social measures and give the opportunity for unprivileged householders to become property owners (Le Blanc-Mesnil). However, this housing development is uncommon.
2. According to certain evaluations (Uitermark et al. 2007; Comité d’évaluation 2010), the housing redevelopment strategies can in some cases have mixed outcomes at the social level. For instance, the interactions between the new homeowners (most of them affluent households) and the long-term residents (low-income households, working poor) sometimes are described as superficial or even hostile.

3. Destroying a substantial part of the housing units supposes an available supply in public housing in order to relocate the displaced residents. If the original residents can sometimes be relocated in the existing public housing stock (Chicago, Toronto, Trappes-en-Yvelines), some developers and housing corporations have to develop a new affordable offer as well as alternative forms of housing (residence for elderly, emergency accommodation) in order to maintain a balance in the local housing stock. This is a challenge for all the local partners who face the decrease of the subsidies in public housing. The lack of affordable housing in an urban area can also slow down the relocation process. Most of the projects destroy the housing units before they redevelop. A few projects proceed the other way round and develop housing units first (Le Blanc-Mesnil).

This explains why local authorities do not always opt for massive destruction of their social housing units despite incentives measures: “We have chosen not to destroy our social housing stock. The states do not give us enough subsidies to develop an affordable offer and to meet the demand of social housing. We have designed an urban regeneration strategy based on the densification of the neighbourhood and the rehabilitation of the whole social housing units.”, observes the project manager for the urban regeneration in Rennes (France). This orientation lies within the scope of an urban policy that aims at promoting a better integration of the social housing areas in its environment. This strategy includes the transformation or the development of parcels of lands (such as an old industrial area, car park, etc.) around the neighbourhood and the development of new social housing units as well as a few units for home ownership. In this way, the existing public transport infrastructure can be used.
LINKING CORRECTIVES MEASURES WITH A PREVENTIVE APPROACH IN HOUSING

The methods used in urban renewal lean on different principles. Some tend to promote exogenous approaches that are based on massive destruction of public housing units, redevelopment of an attractive supply in housing and the arrival of affluent residents. Different tools are implemented in order to change the social composition of the neighbourhoods, such as the relocation strategies that lead to a deconcentration of unprivileged groups as well as a better management of the social housing waiting list. Others tend to endogenous approaches, which aim at redeveloping the districts together with existing local actors. A local partnership endeavours to stimulate the involvement of the residents in the definition of the project and strengthening the cohesion of the local community.

These two methodological approaches are not really opposed. In many cases, the urban renewal strategies combine these two levers in order to adapt the strategy to the local realities. Strengthening the local partnership, coordinating the territorial policies in terms of housing, urban planning, economic insertion, safety, education, improving housing services and maintenance services, promoting the dialogue with the inhabitants are the main success factors of the project. All these aspects lead to an urban regeneration that is more or less intense, more or less fast.

However, the implementation of urban renewal plans still encounters many challenges. By launching national programmes based on territorialized approaches, these policies for the most part concern the local actors, such as the local housing authorities or municipalities, the social housing corporations and/or the developers. This governance model does not sufficiently favour the cooperation between local authorities and, as a consequence, do not generate a real strategic reflexion at the metropolitan level when it comes to tackling a segregation process in housing.

Physical solutions developed in urban regeneration plans are “corrective measures” to restore the attractiveness of hot spots facing a depreciation process in housing. But the launching of an urban regeneration process smashes into local housing policies. The difficulties of regulating the housing market, developing an affordable supply in housing and sometimes creating adapted accommodations to vulnerable residents generate adverse effects that put a break on the implementation of urban regeneration plans.

Besides corrective measures, a recommendation would be to develop a preventive approach, in order to improve the development and distribution of affordable dwelling units in housing market areas as well as the management of the public housing waiting list. A first step would be to improve the cooperation between the regional governments and the local authorities in order better to face the segregation process.

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4The conclusion is partially based on the ideas of the French Law “Solidarity and Urban Renewal” that was launched in 2000. François Ascher has notably promoted some of the theoretical bases of the Law in his work.
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Chicago, Illinois
Area: Oakwood shores

**CONTEXT**
- 3200 social housing units
- 2000 residents

Situated in the south part of Chicago, Oakwood shores consist of three sections of public housing, built from 1940 to 1970. Each section of the housing stock has its own history and development (high and low-rise buildings). The purpose of these developments was to house the working poor. Over the time, the conditions of living became less acceptable (unemployment, crime, etc.) and the residents who had the opportunity moved away.

- A high level of vacancy in the housing stock: 32% of the public units are today occupied.
- All the inhabitants are African American.
- The residents suffer from poverty and crime.
- The overcrowded schools and the neglected housing stock contribute to the negative image of the area.

**FINANCIAL PLAN & CONTRIBUTIONS**
- **$35 million in Hope VI**

The Plan received a Hope VI grant of 35 million dollars in 2000 from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (H.U.D.). Different private funds add to the financial Plan.

- The contract of the developers stipulates that they have to return a third of the delivered profit in order to finance the affordable offer.
- The Mac Arthur Foundation supported some projects in the field of education and employment.

Because of the economic crisis, the developer staff estimated that the plan would not be achieved before 2015 (the redevelopment was initially expected to be finished in 2009).

**PROJECT MEASURES**

**MULTIUNIT BUILDINGS AND SUPPORT SERVICES AS PILLARS OF THE REGENERATION**
- Destruction of the public housing units
- Diversification of the housing stock
- Creation of a new school

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5 This development partnership includes The Community Builders, the Thrush Companies and Granit Development Corporation.
• Improvement of the infrastructure and parks
• Creation of community facilities
• Development of accessible and safe streets
• A plan for local jobs

The key method adopted by the developers consists in mixing rental units, public housing and affordable housing in the same housing block. Each housing form is to represent a third of the new developments. Construction of 3000 housing units in total:
• 1000 public housing units.
• 680 affordable units.
• 1320 market rates units such as condominiums, townhouses and detached houses.

Aspects of the housing plan
• New buildings mix public and private rental units on each floor. Different types of households can interact in the same housing block.
• A plan to reduce energy consumption and environmental goals (green roof, solar hot water).
• Rental unit features: low-rise, all-brick exterior construction, dishwasher, washer and dryers in every unit, etc.

• Two plans to improve the public schools with the support of the University of Chicago.
• A local service program is to be developed in order to meet the needs of the long term and the new residents (employment assistance, financial services, health care).
• A coordination of services to improve the cooperation between the property management and the resident services team.

■ THE RELOCATION PROCESS
TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE REGENERATION

Every household has to be relocated.
• The 1000 households concerned by the destructions were and will be relocated into available units in other parts of the public housing stock.

• The Voucher programme6 permitted to support specific residential itineraries for the long-term residents in the private rental stock.

Strict requirements to move in.
• The C.H.A. managed a waiting list for 25 000 households. Every household has a number. The list includes all information concerning the housing preferences.
• All of them cannot have a guarantee to be relocated in the new housing stock.
• In order to be relocated in the area, the residents have to meet a number of criteria: they have to find a job, the young people have to go to school and drug testing is organised for the residents each year.
• The developers help the residents to attain these requirements.
• The majority of the new residents are still African American.

■ THE DIALOGUE PROCESS
BUILD A NEW COMMUNITY

• During the planning process of the regeneration, hundreds of residents have been involved.
• Focus groups have been organized in plenty during the operational phases in order to evaluate the effects of the relocation and formulate new rules for the community.
• Public meetings led to the creation of the Bronzeville-Oakdale Neighbourhood Association and involved long-term residents and new residents.

■ OUTCOMES
THE REGENERATION AS A CHALLENGE FOR THE LONG-TERM RESIDENTS

The regeneration process in Oakwood shores is not finished yet. However, the regeneration has already had positive effects, notably on safety. But a part of the long-term residents felt that they were pushed out from their community.
• The crime rate is much lower than before.

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6 The Housing Choice Voucher Program is a national rental assistance program, funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (H.U.D.). The goal of the program is to assist low- and moderate-income families to rent housing in the private market, by paying a portion of the family’s rent each month, allowing families to access a broader range of quality housing options.
The cooperation between residents and the Police is constructive (periodic drug tests planned).

- Support services for residents that promote self-sufficiency for the unprivileged groups, is a key response.

The most important limit to the regeneration is linked to the economic crash.

- Finding a job represents a challenge for the unprivileged people.
- The developer in charge of the market sale gave up (the house market is dead, according to the developer staff). As a consequence, the redevelopment is currently redirected to the private rental offer.

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**Portland, Oregon**  
*Area: New Columbia*

**U.S.A.**

**CONTEXT**

- **PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL ISOLATION, OUTDATED URBAN DESIGN**
  - 1200 residents
  - 462 public units
  - A local community racially and ethnically different

Colombia Villa was built in 1942 to house the defence workers. The Housing Authority of Portland (H.A.P.) has managed the housing stock since its development. Until 1962, this low-density area was considered as a “beautiful place to live”. In the 80’s, drug dealers established their business in the neighbourhood. It led to violence and crime between gangs. In 1988, the Housing authority set up a strategy in order to stop the gang violence.

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**PLAYERS AND STRATEGY**

**CHANGING THE IMAGE OF THE AREA AND PROPOSING A MIXED-INCOME COMMUNITY BASED ON INCREASING URBAN DENSITY**

Supported by a Master plan, the strategy is based on three main principles:

- Replacing unattractive style buildings.
- Reducing the concentration of poverty by designing a neighbourhood of varied types of housing, in order to attract new residents.
• Providing support to residents through education and training in order to improve the employability of the long-term residents. H.A.P. has created economic development opportunities by encouraging participation by local businesses in all phases of the work.
• Establishing and maintaining high standards of community responsibility and home ownership.

H.A.P. is the key-player who works closely with state representatives, and financial and community partners in order to improve the Master plan.

• A Community Advisory Committee (C.A.C.) has been created to manage the plan and is the key link between the project and the residents.
• The C.A.C. proposed monthly meetings in July 2002 and quarterly meetings in January 2004 in order to discuss aspects of the regeneration project.

■ FINANCIAL PLAN AND CONTRIBUTIONS
PUBLIC FUNDING GRANTED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A HIGH STANDARD OF HOUSING
• $151 million in total
• A $35 million Hope VI grant

Sources of funding

• Public funds represent an impetus to the regeneration process.
• In addition, the replacement of public housing with a private offer allowed H.A.P. to obtain a larger loan from private lenders. Transformation of 131 public housing units into private rentals raised $9.5 million in the investment budget.

• The high costs of construction (50% of the funding) are due to a set of environmental measures.

■ PROJECT MEASURES
HIGHER DENSITY PERMITTED RELOCATING THE LONG TERM RESIDENTS, A HIGH ENVIRONMENTAL STANDARD IN HOUSING AND PLANNING ATTRACTED NEW RESIDENTS

• The number of units increased in total from 460 to 850, to obtain a mix of household incomes (including 232 homeownerships).
• In addition, the plan provided for a mix of uses: community centre, a life-long learning centre, an elementary school, a produce market, and a coffee shop.
• The costs of maintaining the deteriorating buildings (plumbing, electricity, ventilation, fire safety, accessibility) and the obsolete underground infrastructure of the area, increased every year, which explains the strategy implemented.

Aspects of the Master Plan
• Public housing, affordable rentals, senior housing, and both market rate and affordable homes for sale were developed on site.
  • Townhouses, garden-style apartments and single-family dwellings.
  • Front porches, parks and public spaces.
  • A new road network in order to provide easy circulation in the area and to connect the community with the rest of the district.
  • A Main Street that offers a variety of recreational, cultural and educational opportunities.
THE DIALOGUE PROCESS

• The C.A.C. developed specific projects including relocation and services, neighbours and design. A design team led the planning process for 10 months.
• Important effort was dedicated to local economic development, employment and training. Support services were proposed to residents for five years such as transport services, childcare service, education, and English courses.
• €4,25 million funded the development of community services.

THE RELOCATION PROCESS

THE RIGHT TO RETURN, RELOCATION SERVICES PROVIDED IN FIVE LANGUAGES

• 382 households affected by relocation
• 74% of the displaced residents have chosen an affordable unit in the private rental market and 23% preferred to stay in public housing
• 29% of the long-term residents returned to New Columbia (110 in rental housing, 2 in ownership). During the relocation process, the residents found their new dwelling comfortable and decided to stay in their new place.
• 86% of the relocated households were satisfied with the relocation services.

• Returning residents had to respect the community rules defined by H.A.P., which are shared by all the residents who live in the area (including homes for sale). For example, they could return only if they had not been convicted of a crime during the relocation period.

OUTCOMES

• New Columbia is considered as a national example of successful regeneration, integrating social, financial, economic as well as planning measures.

CONTACT

Web site: www.hapdx.org/newcolumbia/
Toronto

Area: Regent Park

■ CONTEXT
A GLOBAL DEPRECIATION OF THE DISTRICT
- 7500 residents
- 2083 rental units
- 63% of residents have a foreign maternal tongue
- 41% are under 16 years old

Built in 1948 as a garden city, Toronto’s Regent Park is Canada’s largest community housing project. The purpose of this development was to give the underprivileged groups a place to live. The area has gradually become isolated from the rest of the city.

■ PLAYERS AND STRATEGY
A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN FOR A MIXED INCOME COMMUNITY

The Toronto Community Housing Corporation (T.C.H.C.) is the not-for-profit housing corporation owned by the City of Toronto. In 2002, its board commanded a study that should define the conditions for redeveloping Regent Park community. It approved an Action Plan in 2003.

The most important aspects of the strategy are:
- To make the area denser: 12 500 inhabitants are expected with the redevelopment of Regent Park.
- To promote a mix of tenures and uses in order to favour a mixed income community.

T.C.H.C. leads the regeneration process and works closely with the City, the government and the housing developer (the Daniels Group).

The local governance includes tenant councils and different groups of influential residents. The community involvement process is conducted in seven languages.

■ FINANCIAL PLAN AND CONTRIBUTIONS
- Investment budget: $1 billion
- Cost of housing redevelopment: $595 million
- Cash flow: $250 million
- Public infrastructure: $40 million

Sources of funds for replacement units includes:
- Sale of land and profit on market units.
- Loans.
- Grants and investment in public infrastructure from the government.

The fact that the city owned the land was crucial because of the funds from sale or lease of surplus land.

- T.C.H.C. pays for the relocation and builds the same number of social housing replacement units as before. The developer sells condos and rents units on the rest of the site.
- Due to limited government support no additional offer in public housing could be constructed.
- The developer proposed pre-sell units three years before the construction of the buildings. In that way, the financial plan was secured before the economic crash.
- Even in difficult economic times, Regent Park has the advantage of having a central location.

■ PROJECT MEASURES
The Action Plan is to be developed **over 15 years**, in **six phases**. The measures include efforts to mix incomes and tenures, create employment opportunities, enhance education, promote culture, and provide community services.

**Aspects of the Masterplan**
- More than 5100 new units constructed.
- 2083 public housing units redeveloped on-site and in east downtown.
- 3300 market housing units.
- 700 new affordable housing units.

A regeneration centre is the focal point where the tenants meet the Toronto Community Housing to select a new unit. The centre also integrates the Regent Park Neighbourhood Initiative Staff and the Employment and Enterprise Office from the city of Toronto.

**THE DIALOGUE PROCESS**

**RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVES SUPPORT THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY**

Toronto Community Housing, the City of Toronto, the Regent Park Neighbourhood Initiative and Regent Park residents participated in the planning process through the Social Development Plan.
- 2000 residents were consulted in the plan.
- Community animators support the process.

The development of community workers is one way of reaching most of the long-term residents. Recruiting, training and supporting were necessary to reach this goal.

**THE RELOCATION PROCESS**

**THE RIGHT TO RETURN**
- 400 households were relocated in the first phase.
- 50% of them stayed in Regent Park.
- 50% were relocated in other parts of the city.

The relocation strategy has been set up through a community engagement process (with the city, the community housing and the community agencies). T.C.H.C. will work together with residents in developing the relocation plan, to make them stay in the neighbourhood.
- The tenants have signed an agreement including the right to return to the area and having certain moving costs covered for.
- One to one appointments are organized with the residents, who can choose the top three units or unit types where they want to move.

**OUTCOMES**
• Up to now, the T.C.H.C. staff is positive concerning the continuation of the project.

• Toronto University makes an evaluation to analyse the impact of the regeneration process.

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Coventry

*Area Wood End, Henley Green, Manor Farm and Deedmore (W.E.H.M.)*

[CONTEXT]

• 7000 residents
• 2976 homes in total
• 82% of the resident in social housing
• Half of the residents are under the age of 24 years

The targeted area is situated in northeast Coventry. It consists of a grouping of four estates (known as W.E.H.M.). Built during the post world war at the edge of the city, the estates were first considered to have cutting-edge designs (a mixture of two storey and four storey housing). Whitefriars Housing Group owns the majority of the current housing stock and land. With the decline of the motor industry, the area had a reputation for a high level of crime, anti-social behaviours, low aspiration and unemployment. The buildings and the physical environment were neglected. The area has been selected to be a part of the New Deal for Communities (N.D.C.) programme.7

[STRATEGY AND PLAYERS]

DEVELOP A STABLE COMMUNITY WITH A BALANCED MIX OF HOUSING TENURES

Based on a flexible and integrated approach, the strategy gives priority to housing,

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7 A national programme for the regeneration of the U.K.’s most deprived neighbourhoods.
community empowerment, health and employment. The whole process is supported by a combination of national, regional and local policies.

- To empower the current community and attract new residents represent the two sides of the strategy.
- The development of an additional housing stock in the area will increase the population – it was 7500 in 2001 and is estimated to 11 000 in the future.

The N.D.C. programme is managed by a group of residents and agency representatives called the Partnership Board. This board has elaborated a Masterplan, makes the strategic decisions and implements them on a project basis.

- Residents are in majority on the board.
- In addition, the Partnership Board includes agency representatives (police, health authority, job centre, benefit agency, college, Education Action Zone, Whitefriars Housing Group, and local ward councillors).

Planners from the City Council approve the detailed Masterplan stepwise. The partnership board presents the plan, designed by a developer consortium and the housing association, to the city.

**FINANCIAL PLAN & CONTRIBUTIONS**

**FINANCE THE PROJECT FOR 20 YEARS**

- £360 million redevelopment programme in total
- £54 million of public investment (2001 to 2011)

The public authority initiated the process (£54 million) within the framework of the New Deal Community Policy. The housing corporation is investing a further £2 million improvements of its retained social stock. The private sector investment funds, through the developers, the rest of the project (housing, physical improvements).

The stake of the years to come is to sustain the regeneration project in the long-term perspective: the N.D.C. programme finishes in 2011.

- Due to the financial crisis, the redevelopment plan, which is mainly based on market sale, has been supported by a public sector intervention to counter the market difficulties.
- A Moat House Community Trust, which is to be the successor body of the N.D.C. Coventry, will fund the plan in the ten years to come.
- A business plan (2011/2019) has been set up including an analysis of the needs in terms of investment and cash flow.

**PROJECT MEASURES**

**THE MASTERPLAN**

- 3328 new homes for sale and for rent out of which 1000 will be social housing
- 138 properties are to be low cost homes for sale (subsidized by an equity loan)
- New and refurbished shopping areas
- Creation of play areas
- New roads and transport links

The housing strategy is a key method in the regeneration process. The public housing currently represents 82% of the stock, and will decrease to 40% of the housing stock. 60% of the offer is to be market sale.

A range of projects has been defined to go deeper into all the priorities:
• A business centre proposes workplaces in order to provide opportunities for local people to work and train as well as to establish and expand businesses.
• A Community empowerment strategy proposes three community involvement officers and funds training and events for the community.
• A neighbourhood agreement is designed by the residents and the agency representatives to improve the community safety (a steering committee established, new police number, patrol in the area, etc.).
• A strategic Youth Project funds Personal advisors and additional creative activities both within school and out of school.

THE RELOCATION PROCESS
THE RIGHT TO STAY
• 50% of the residents wish to stay in the area.
• 50% want to be relocated elsewhere in the city.
The relocation process is managed stepwise by the partnership board with the support of an association. The objective was not to spread out the residents but to help them to choose a positive residential trajectory. The relocation process respects the wishes of the inhabitants:
• A housing list allows the residents to choose the place where they want to live.
• A face-to-face appointment with the residents work is launched set up by the housing association with the residents.

THE DIALOGUE PROCESS
Groups and forums are supposed to encourage residents to get involved in the work of the theme areas.
• Each theme area has its own Resident Chair.
• Regular meetings for residents have been organized to involve them in a subject area (education, employment, housing, safety).
• Many tools for communication: A community magazine, newsletters, a community web site (www.coventryndc.org.uk), community events and consultation meetings.

OUTCOMES
AN EVALUATIVE APPROACH TO OBSERVE THE OUTCOMES OF THE REGENERATION

Positive outcomes have been stressed thanks to a constant evaluative approach:
• Crime has fallen significantly (reported crime down by 23%, anti-social behaviours down by 65%).
• The percentage of students leaving school with no qualification has decreased from 20% to 8%.
• Many residents have been supported into employment (212 residents).
• The average of residents who feel that they can influence the decision making process has risen from 17% to 23% (in contrast with national trends in the N.D.C. program).

However, structural problems such as unemployment or unsafety still represent a challenge. The key is in the long-term perspective.

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Area: Sachsendorf-Madlow

■ CONTEXT
A HIGH VACANCY RATE
• 17,700 inhabitants
• 12,057 dwellings
• 3,040 vacant dwellings
• 26% unemployment
• 80 active clubs, associations, private actors

Sachsendorf-Madlow is a residential area situated in southern Cottbus. It is one of the largest housing estates of Brandenburg state. Built between 1974 and 1986 to house working people of the industry sector, the housing stock suffers from a high tenant fluctuation. The significant increase of unemployment combined with a lack of economic and commercial activities led to a high vacancy rate in the housing stock. The process has had a negative impact on living conditions: disorganized social networks, unattractive schools, etc.

■ ACTORS AND STRATEGY
URBAN SHRINKAGE AND THE PROMOTION OF NEW URBAN QUALITIES

The Sachsendorf-Madlow Framework Plan was adopted in 1998 by the municipality. It aims at reintegrating the district into the metropolitan area.

• Urban shrinkage is the core of the strategy: less urban density and more green spaces are the main aspects of the regeneration. The vacancy rate, the demographic trends and the condition of the buildings contribute to the definition of this strategy. As a consequence, a substantial part of the housing stock is destroyed.

• The regeneration included a set of measures in the fields of urban design, housing policy and social development.

Brandenburg land coordinated the different national programs (such as Socially Integrative City or Further Development of Large New Housing Areas) and Cottbus City municipality designed and implemented the Master plan with the support of the housing companies.

A district management was created in 2002, and includes an interdisciplinary team (town planners and social workers). This independent organisation has a key role in the regeneration process:

• It stimulates the partnership between the municipality, the local investors, social institutions, and the residents themselves during the regeneration process.

• It supports initiatives of the associations in order to develop a constant dialogue with the inhabitants.

■ FINANCIAL PLAN & CONTRIBUTIONS
A COMBINATION OF PROGRAMMES FUNDS THE PLAN

• Costs of the project: €84 million (public funds and credits)

Costs of the project (million €)

Various incentive programmes fund the urban regeneration:

• The programme City Reconstruction East funds the Master plan (€13.5 million).

• Funds from the programme Social City are to support social projects and activities but also the development of the local facilities (€6.4 million).

• Different national measures for credits facilitate the upgrading of the buildings and dwellings (€55.6 million).
PROJECT MEASURES

HALF OF THE HOUSING STOCK IN SACHSENDORF-MADLOW IS TO BE DESTROYED, A PLAN FOR A GREEN AREA
• Deconstruction of an 11-storey high-rise estate.
• Creation of five 2- and 3-storey residential buildings.
• Recycling of construction elements.
• Change of the garden areas close to the buildings.

The reconversion of a mono-structured housing estate into different types of housing is the key aspect of the physical regeneration.
• The first phase of the project, launched in 2004, concerned more than 1000 flats situated at the southern margin of the neighbourhood.
• A high-rise building (including 54 flats) has been transformed into five three-floor houses (with 13 flats) by re-using the slabs.

A DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND ACTIONS IN PLENTY TO INVOLVE THE INHABITANTS

Since 2003, a Citizen Council of 24 members decides on the expenses of the annual budget funded by the Social City programme.
• Nine members support the initiatives and represent the inhabitants.
• 15 members are selected among the inhabitants of the district.

Different actions have been planned in order to involve the residents in the regeneration process. The district management, the municipality, the housing industry, the local associations and the local schools are to take part in the generally public meetings.
• Regular public meetings are organised by the district management in order to inform the residents (of destructions, cultural activities and events).
• The Socio-Cultural Centre and the District Centre represent the local contact points that permit to inform and consult the inhabitants.
• Three workshops have been organized in order to discuss the way to deal with the demolitions.
• Since 2002, a monthly newspaper is edited by the inhabitants.
• The Network For Each Other – With Each Other and the Citizens Association represent the residents.

THE RELOCATION PROCESS
• 1073 households relocated
• 619 households relocated in the neighbourhood
• 42% inhabitants relocated in other parts of Cottbus or have left the city

The conditions of relocation that concerned all the landlords include:
• Similar housing types and same rents for households that have been relocated.
• The landlords pay the moving cost.

STAKES AND OUTCOMES

According to the representative of the Stadtbüro, Sachsendorf-Madlow is considered as a normal area.
• A new image and a positive identity helped overcoming the high vacancy in the housing stock.
Today the occupancy rate is 100% of the local housing stock.

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**Copenhagen**

*Area: Holmbladsgade*

**CONTEXT**

- 16,000 inhabitants
- 10,000 units in the local housing stock
- 18% of the inhabitants get allowances
- 12% unemployed people (9% in Copenhagen)
- 15% foreigners
- 45% the students have a foreign background

The Holmbladsgade-area is situated in Amager, close to the medieval city centre of Copenhagen. Despite some assets (active residents and institutions, equipments, etc.), the neighbourhood had specific problems that isolated the community from the rest of the city.

- The area suffered from heavy traffic and lacked public gardens and recreational spaces.
- Some inhabitants had difficulties integrating the labour market (students, immigrants).
- The housing stock dominated by multi-ownerships was running down. A high proportion of small and obsolete housing units (less than 60 m², no bath, toilets or heating) were dedicated to students and single households. This housing typology produced a high turnover.

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**STRATEGY AND PLAYERS**

*A DEMOCRATIC URBAN RENEWAL PROCESS*

The regeneration plan defined a set of measures that promoted a social-and-
physical-lift. This plan gave the opportunity to launch a new planning model based on the empowerment of the inhabitants.

A neighbourhood plan was set up in 1998 and approved respectively by a Local Steering Board (cf. the dialogue process), a Local Secretariat (including seven different municipal departments) and the City Council.

The strategy defined was to:
- Upgrade the surrounding public spaces.
- Rehabilitate outdated buildings in the local stock.
- Develop spaces dedicated to sports and culture.
- Increase the local rate of employment and establish new job opportunities.

**FINANCIAL PLAN & CONTRIBUTIONS**
- *Investment budget: DKK343 million*
- *Cultural projects: DKK105 million*

- The budget funded the whole process of the urban regeneration.
- The redevelopment of public services dedicated to employment, social work and cultural life was supported by the operating budget of the public services.
- The maintenance and refurbishment process was based on public grants and private co-financing.

**PROJECT MEASURES**

**A WIDE RANGE OF MEASURES TO RESOLVE SPECIFIC LOCAL PROBLEMS**
- 2679 housing units renovated
- Three open spaces developed
- Improvements of the public spaces (playgrounds, lightning of the streets, etc.)
- Creation of a maritime youth centre
- Development of community equipment
- New traffic plan

The elaboration of the plan took six months and the project was implemented during five years.

The housing plan aimed at transforming the small dwellings into bigger flats (3, 4, 5 rooms) in the public housing stock and refurbishing private properties.

- The diversification of the housing typology contributed to maintaining existing residents in the area but also to attracting new residents.
- *Proposing residential trajectories* in the neighbourhood should lead to diversifying the social composition of the area in a long-term perspective.

A neighbourhood centre, Kvarterhuset, was opened in 1998 and represents the pivotal point of the social life of the community. The equipment includes shops, public services and offices dedicated to the community:
- A library
- A multi-ethnic cultural café managed by an association
- A youth club
- A community centre (clubs and associations)
- Several departments of the municipality (health city project, social project for the residential area)

The redevelopment of the area gave the opportunity to set up a social action plan with a wide range of initiatives:
- The creation of a network for local business.
• Workshops on a sustainable future that allowed involving children and teenagers.
• A meeting place for alcoholics.
• A youth club dedicated to teenagers who are exposed to criminality.
• The project “Environment in Arabic” aimed at making the Arabic refugees and immigrants sensitive to the environmental topic.
• A local bus financed by the municipality facilitates the mobility of the residents.

THE DIALOGUE PROCESS
A BOTTOM-UP PROCESS

A local steering board prepared the Neighbourhood Plan.
• Inhabitants have been involved in different thematic working groups and designed the project with the support of representatives from the municipality, the local institutions, the economic players and the local cultural life.
• The selection of inhabitants represented different forms of housing (multi-ownership, owners and public housing). Inhabitants were in majority in the local steering group.
• After the conception phase, the neighbourhood plan was presented to the City Council, who decided what options would be financed.

This method helped to identify local and specific problems.

OUTCOMES
STRENGTHEN THE LOCAL IDENTITY

• The combination of physical solutions and social projects succeeded partially in meeting the social and cultural needs of the inhabitants.

• The regeneration process was limited by the difficulties to involve immigrants, to commit the private business players and to find key solutions to local unemployment.

• However, the method used in the project was a social innovation in Copenhagen that has been taken up in other districts of the city.

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Area: Morgenstond-Midden

• CONTEXT
A NEGLECTED HOUSING STOCK, CONCENTRATION OF UNPRIVILEGED GROUPS AND NO FACILITIES
• 3008 units in the housing stock
• 100% of social rental units in the housing stock

Morgenstond is one of the deprived areas of the southwest of The Hague. Built after the Second World War, Morgenstond’s housing stock concentrates the households who have not had the opportunity to buy a home ownership, especially those who cumulate social and economical problems ( incomes below the average of the Hague, high unemployment rate, low education level). The residents do not contribute very much to the development of the community life. The neighbourhood has been neglected for many years (in terms of housing, public space and facilities) and suffers periodically from urban violence and deals of drug.

• STRATEGY AND PLAYERS
CHANGE THE IMAGE OF THE AREA, ATTRACT NEW RESIDENTS
The district Morgenstond is included in the urban renewal plan of The Hague Southwest (one of the four targeted areas of the Hague). A Development Plan launched in the middle of the 90’s proposes important physical, economical and social measures in order to make a major breakthrough. The key objectives are:
• To mix the housing stock and plan new public spaces (liveable space and improvement of houses and facilities).
• To develop an economic fabric to favour local employment.
• To favour the social cohesion in the district (in terms of education, health care, etc.).
• To obtain a clean and safe neighbourhood.

Since the so-called Grossing and balancing operation in 1995, the Dutch housing associations are financially independent and manage their stock freely.5
• In that framework, the housing associations have a dominant position in setting up the destructions and the reconstructions.
• A flexible management was adopted by the housing associations to balance the housing market.
• The low price of the home ownerships (€30 000 for 40m2) attracts new residents.

The municipality worked closely with the housing corporation and used the strategy as an opportunity to mix communities in the deprived neighbourhoods. They have supported an integrated approach in the regeneration process.

• FINANCIAL PLAN & CONTRIBUTIONS
• €2,7 billion over ten years for the Hague urban regeneration
• 40% of the budget dedicated to physical options
• 60% of the budget dedicated to socioeconomic options

The financial Plan is not yet stabilized.

5 The housing associations in the Netherlands have the ability to buy or sell dwellings to households and landlords. The vacant dwellings can be sold on the market. The associations must sell the dwellings to tenants, who have the opportunity to buy or to rent. Depending on the age of the buildings, it becomes sometimes more profitable for the housing companies to destroy and reconstruct their housing stock.
• The municipality expects €323 million from the national government in the years to come.
• A national fund, managed by the housing association, supports social and education projects. This fund decreased with the economic and financial crises.

■ PROJECT MEASURES

- High-rise buildings at the Zuiderpark.
- Central place with facilities.
- New public park.
- School & Childcare.
- Working places.
- Home for elderly people.

The housing program is based on a drastic renewal of the housing stock.
• 2353 houses, 37 shops and workplaces destroyed.
• 1800 buildings reconstructed.
• 70% property and 30% social houses developed.

The plan also stresses the development of the equipments in order to meet the cultural and social needs of the new residents: a library, sport campus, playgrounds are to be developed in the neighbourhood.

Different national initiatives to develop a Social Plan will be implemented by the housing corporation and the Dutch municipalities.
• A new school will be created with extracurricular programs and activities for young people (remedial courses, sport activities) but also services for families (a day-care centre is integrated into the school, with a team of nurses and doctors).
• An incentive program is developed to help all the minorities to learn Dutch.
• Targeted actions dedicated to the inhabitants are to stimulate the development of a residential economy.

■ RELOCATION PROCESS

Interesting financial conditions were proposed by the three local housing associations to encourage the long-term residents to move.
• €5000 were offered to households who wanted to move out from the neighbourhood.
• This amount is supposed to help the residents to refurbish their new home.

Even if the residents are attached to their social network, half (50,6%) of the displaced households preferred to leave their neighbourhood in order to find a new residential environment.

A few figures in the relocation process
• 655 households to relocate in total.
• 53,5% relocated elsewhere in city.
• 26,9% relocated in the neighbourhood.
• 19,6% live outside of the city (mainly to find an affordable dwelling).

An evaluation of the relocation process carried out by the Utrecht University concludes that the urban restructuring leads to a desegregation of the low-income groups in the neighbourhood. Even the poorest social category has moved from Morgenstond into a more affluent area.

■ DIALOGUE PROCESS

A communication Plan has been set up by the housing associations with the support of the municipality. This Plan includes:
• A guarantee card to inform the residents at all the stages of the destructions: a bimonthly newsletter, distributed to every resident, includes a map that defines the destroyed buildings.
• Meetings are planned in every housing block.
• Public meetings are proposed to the inhabitants.

According to the municipality, the residents were not opposed to the project at all. On the one hand, the tenant association does not really play a leadership role in the community life. On the other hand, many of the long-term inhabitants were interested in moving to another environment.

■ OUTCOMES
At present, the renewal process faces important financial difficulties. The operational stage is stopped due to the consequences of the financial and economic crises.

- The home ownership program (about 200 units delivered each year) does not find a buyer due to the difficulty to take a mortgage loan.
- The national fund managed by the housing associations to develop social projects also suffers from the financial consequences of the economic crisis.

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**MUNICIPALITY OF THE HAGUE**

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**Trappes-en-Yvelines**

**Area: Les Merisiers**

**CONTEXT**

**CONCENTRATION OF POOR GROUPS**

**ISOLATION OF THE AREA**

- Social rental houses: 3000 units
- Social rental units in the housing stock: 100%
- *Inhabitants of the area*: 10 000
- Unemployment rate: 17,1%
- Single-parent rate: 20%
- Unqualified residents: 30%

Trappes is well known for its industrial and demographic development. Until the 70’s, this development was supported by massive construction of social housing units such as in *Les Merisiers*.

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Until 2000, the area suffered from different types of problems:
- The area was isolated from the old part of the city.
- Open spaces were neither private nor public spaces.
- The housing estate was been neglected.
- The industrial crisis increased the concentration of poor groups.
- The vacancy rate reached 50% in several blocks.
- Residents did not have the choice to move to another dwelling.

**STRATEGY AND PLAYERS**

**A STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP TO BOOST THE PROJECT**

The four priorities that were defined in the urban renewal plan aim at stopping the social and spatial segregation:
- Opening up the neighbourhood and reorganising the road network.
• Improving the housing stock and the public spaces.
• Balancing the local housing market.
• Strengthening the methods to fight social exclusion.

The strategic partnership that supervises the urban renewal plan, represents the city, the state, the housing corporations and the C.D.C. groups\(^9\) compose the Public Interest Group, the Groupement d’Intérêt Public (G.I.P.). This organisation aims at simplifying communication between the different public actors. The municipality still has a key role when it comes to setting up a dialogue with the inhabitants and to control the demand list of the social housing stock.

**Property developers in Trappes**
- The property developers did not want to invest in the city because of the high level of social rental units in the housing stock. Work has been done by the G.I.P. in order to favour the partnership with them.
- Propositions have been made to involve the property developers: home ownership programmes are launched, for example, at the city centre, in order to analyse the potential attractiveness of the local housing market. In a second step, the partnership can be extended to more difficult areas.

**FINANCIAL PLAN & CONTRIBUTIONS**
- Budget: £155 million
- Housing companies make the main contribution

![Financial Plan & Contributions Diagram]

**PROJECT MEASURES**
**ATTRACT NEW RESIDENTS AND IMPROVE THE MANAGEMENT OF THE SOCIAL HOUSING DEMAND**

\(^9\) The Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations group (C.D.C.) is a public group and investor that serves general interest and economic development in France.

- 2000 rehabilitations.
- 506 social rental units destroyed.
- 580 units developed for home ownership.
- 70 reconstructions of social housing units on site.
- 68 private rental units.

**Square Wallon (public house) before and after the regeneration**

\(\text{GIP-Renouvellement Urbain Trappes-La Verrière}\)

The destruction of social housing units (-14.5%) and the development of a private housing stock (+19.3%) are the core of the strategy.
- A combination of national and local measures aims at facilitating home ownership.
- The redevelopment includes public housing.

**Low prices of ownerships attract new residents**
- At the beginning of the project, the developer I.C.A.D.E. wanted to market a 70 dwellings programme. The success of the development has encouraged I.C.A.D.E. to launch a new home ownership programme.
- The low cost real estate of the new programmes has been attractive for the inhabitants of the metropolitan area (£2700/square meter estimated in Trappes versus more than £3000/square meter at the metropolitan level).
- The new residents are coming mainly from the metropolitan area (70%) and the municipality (30%).

A set of local initiatives that are supposed to appeal to the middle class and restore the attractiveness of the area:

- The urbanization of the surrounding area and the development of home ownerships nearby Les Merisiers (creation of 850 units).
- The creation of public spaces: A retrocession of the private spaces owned by the housing companies to the local authority permitted the transformation of outer spaces into public spaces.
- The setting up of an effective management that clarifies the role of the local actors in the outer spaces.
• The improvement of the control of the housing demand in the social housing stock.

■ THE RELOCATION PROCESS
• 245 households to relocate in total.
• 80% relocated in social housing units of the city.
• 12% are gone on their own initiative.

A relocation charter formalizes objectives including dwelling propositions and expenses concerning the move.
• The new dwellings are not so spacious as the old ones (the costs of construction do not allow for as spacious rooms as in the 70’s).
• The housing type has been respected.

■ THE DIALOGUE PROCESS

The municipality carries the dialogue process in collaboration with the social housing company.
• A community board, comité de quartier, favours communication between the elected representatives and the inhabitants (in terms of maintenance, violence, sociability, etc.).
• Thematic groups go deeper into different aspects of the urban renewal process (access and traffic, design of the private and public spaces, playgrounds).
• The principle adopted is to launch a consultation in every rehabilitation project. Ten inhabitants are elected in the neighbourhood to follow the development of the plan. Technical meetings precede a dialogue with the residents of the block.

■ OUTCOMES

A HOME OF ONE’S OWN

Most of the long-term inhabitants wanted a home of their own in the private housing stock, in order to feel protected, to secure the children, to secure their car park, to avoid damages on the sidewalks or in the halls of their block.

As a consequence, crowd barriers are going to surround all the upgrading blocks of social units and some of the home ownerships. Each block will be developed according to the inhabitants’ choices (private garden, car park, playgrounds).

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LE BLANC-MESNIL Seine Saint-Denis

Area: Montillet

**CONTEXT**
**AN ISOLATED AREA, BUILT IN A RUSH**
**A CONCENTRATION OF POOR GROUPS**
- 374 social housing units
- Half of the inhabitants non taxable
- 40% of the households do not have a car

Montillet’s neighbourhood was built in a rush from 1958 to 1967 to face the housing shortage. The area is situated in the southern part of Le Blanc-Mesnil and is isolated from the centre (a railway separate the area from the city centre, and the road network does not permit one to get easily into the neighbourhood). The public housing stock was not built to last and houses mainly a North African population that suffers the consequences of the industrial decline. The neighbourhood also has structural problems (a general lack of facilities in the surrounding area, internal traffic problems) that tarnish the image of the area.

**STRATEGY AND PLAYERS**
**THE MUNICIPALITY LEADS THE RENEWAL PROCESS AND PROMOTES AN INTEGRATED APPROACH**

In 1999, the municipality and the social housing corporation, the so-called Emmaus Habitat, worked out the design of the plan adopted by the National Agency for Urban Renewal in 2004. The orientations are to improve the living conditions of the residents in the neighbourhood.

The role of the municipality is major in the project management, especially when it comes to:
- Combining the urban renewal project with different policies (economy, housing, culture).
• Associating the local partners (job centre, public corporations, etc.).
• Involving the inhabitants in the renewal process.
The role of the social housing company is dedicated to the reconstruction of an affordable housing offer and the management of relocations.

A redevelopment that facilitates the employment of the residents

• The urban renewal project is accompanied by an important joint effort to promote the employment of the inhabitants.
• The municipality systematically negotiates an agreement with the companies who want to be established locally, in order to employ the unprivileged people who live in the deprived areas.
• A joint centre has been created to facilitate the employment of targeted groups such as the beneficiaries of the minimum welfare payment, the young unemployed, and long-term unemployed persons.

■ FINANCIAL PLAN & CONTRIBUTIONS

• €13.3 million: destructions and reconstructions of the social housing units
• Equipment: €6 million
• Cost of the destruction for a dwelling: €6680

The National Agency for Urban Renewal and the housing corporation gave the main financial contributions. However, the municipality spend €500 000 on cultural actions during the regeneration process (actions including dialogue, communication and artistic activities).

■ PROJECT MEASURES

FOUR YEARS TO DESIGN THE URBAN PROJECT, MORE THAN TEN YEARS TO IMPLEMENT IT
• The whole social housing stock destroyed

• 353 social rental units rebuilt on site
• 21 private rental units developed on site
• 21 social rented units built outside of the area
Improving the quality of the social housing stock and maintaining an affordable offer for all the residents represent the priorities of the municipality. The strategy is based on the destruction of the whole social housing stock and the reconstruction of 94% of the social housing units on site. The private rental development represents 5.3% of the new housing stock and is dedicated to the working population.

*The project promotes new urban forms*
- Separated buildings (including 55 terraced houses and four-storied buildings).
- Composition of urban courtyards that delimits the public and the private spaces.

Different options that allow for the integration of the neighbourhood into its urban environment and the change of its negative image, such as:
- The complete reorganisation of the road network and the public spaces.
- The fronts of the building respect the plan of the border streets.
- A community centre, established at the border of the area, is dedicated to the inhabitants of the southern part of the city.

### THE RELOCATION PROCESS
FAVOUR THE ATTACHMENT OF THE INHABITANTS

The municipality, the tenants association and the housing corporation signed a relocation charter.
- The housing corporation has created a social work team and made relocation propositions.
- About 95% of residents stay in the neighbourhood.
- The reconstruction phases of the social housing stock began before the destruction of the old stock. This process permitted to relocate directly the residents in their new houses.

In order to favour the residential attachment of the inhabitants, the local authority, with
THE DIALOGUE PROCESS

APPROPRIATION OF THE PROJECT BY THE RESIDENTS

• From 1995 to 1999, the local authority, the social housing company and the residents worked closely to set up an urban plan.
• 85 inhabitants participated in the workshops organised in the southern city in order to define concrete projects.

These workshops were developed in three phases:

• The inhabitants were at first invited to express themselves by anonymous note on what is not functioning in the area.
• Afterwards, they were asked to define an ideal district plan, without taking technical and financial constraints into account.
• 9 projects were selected at the city level, for example the creation of a community centre in Montillette and the implementation of cultural actions based on the history of the area.

A cultural project to facilitate the appropriation of the project by the inhabitants. In order to maintain a collective process in the long-term perspective, the local authority has developed artistic supports (theatre, video projects and photo exhibition, etc.) allowing to work on the memory of the district, on the symbolism of the change and other aspects that are difficult to express in short meetings.

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This cultural project results from the dialogue with the residents and has been developed with professionals such as ACTA Compagnie, a cultural association for theatre and visual art.
www.compagnie-acta.org

OUTCOMES

CHANGE THE IMAGE OF THE AREA

At the end of the project, there are indications that the inhabitants have succeeded in modifying the image of the area. Some of them have already substituted the term "residence" for that of "high rise estate" to describe their environment.

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Les Pyramides is a famous high-rise estate situated in the urban area of Évry. Built in the beginning of the 70’s, the initial urban plan promoted social mix (both co-ownership and public housing in every housing block) and a mix of urban functions (work places, retails, etc). With the economic crisis, poor groups moved into the neighbourhood while the middle class deserted the area.

The district suffers from a combination of physical and social problems:
• A high level of criminality.
• Managing agents in co-ownership face financial debts.
• Concrete-slab high-rise buildings make the maintenance services extremely difficult.
• Car parks built under the concrete-slab create problems in terms of safety and accessibility.

The urban renewal agreement approved by the National Agency for Urban Renewal in 2006 rests on three pillars for successful regeneration:
• An urban project aims at resolving the technical problems of the urban design.
• A social plan proposes improvements in terms of housing and living environment, insertion and employment, childhood and parenthood.
• A management strategy promotes a liveable environment.

The Metropolitan Council, Communauté d’agglomération d’Évry, the municipality of Évry, the state, the housing companies and the financial partners created a Public Interest Group, the Groupement d’Intérêt Public (G.I.P. Centre Essones), in order to implement the plan.
• The metropolitan council works closely with the municipality. It retains the strategic options of the regeneration process and coordinates the project.
• The Social housing companies (27 at the city level, four in the district) coordinate their efforts through the creation of a common organization, La Vincennoise, which will develop ownership programs in the neighbourhood.

The financial partners have revised the investment budget upwards (from €70 to €100 million) during the implementation of the project.

The Social Plan is supported by the operating budgets of the municipality and the public bodies (family allowance office, social workers, etc.).
■ PROJECT MEASURES

- Requalification of the two major open spaces
- Opening up the neighbourhood through the creation of a boulevard
- Creation and restructuring of public places around a project of public transport
- Requalification of spaces for convenience stores
- Creation of new equipments and services

The physical solutions represent the great stake of the regeneration plan and especially the upgrading of public spaces (27% of the budget).

■ THE DIALOGUE PROCESS

The city develops various tools to strengthen the dialogue with the inhabitants and the politicians are strongly involved in the regeneration process.

- The dialogue is supported by a democratic structure (the so-called Comité de quartier): 60 inhabitants who participate in thematic groups act upon the options of the urban design.
- A focal point, Les 4 vents, informs the residents and presents exhibitions.
- A local newspaper was launched in 2005.
- Public meetings are proposed at every stage of the project.

The social housing corporation strengthens the process through:

- Work sessions with the tenants during the rehabilitation process.
- Visit of a testing flat together with services for health care and social welfare.
- A specific service implemented to treat the complaints of the residents in the operational phase.

■ THE RELOCATION PROCESS

- 120 households relocated (1,2% of the inhabitants)
- 66% relocated in the neighbourhood
- 33% relocated in the city
- 7% in the metropolitan area

The relocation process is now finished. It was, however, not the main stake of the project since most of the residents stay in the neighbourhood.

■ OUTCOMES

Les Pyramides is in progress and will be developed over the five years to come, at least.
• The fact that the urban renewal plan is completely funded by the public authorities is an advantage. For this reason, the plan is not deadlocked by external factors such as the financial crisis.

• However, the regeneration plan is not supported by an evaluative approach. It is therefore difficult to estimate the effects of social and physical measures on the community.

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Échirolles
Urban Area of Grenoble
Area: Village 2

CONTEXT
ISOLATION OF THE AREA DUE TO STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS IN THE HIGH RISE ESTATE
• 2500 inhabitants
• 853 social rental units
• 37% of the young people (15–24 years) unemployed

The Village 2 was built from 1964 to 1969, and is situated in the southern part of Grenoble. The modern architecture adopted in the 60’s has structural problems (difficulties to get into the area, problems of traffic inside the area, lack of parking lots, public spaces and gardens damaged) that contribute to the isolation of the area from the city centre. Nobody except the residents crosses the area. Many inhabitants are confronted with a combination of economical and social difficulties (low-income households, high unemployment rate). However, the community life is rich.

STRATEGY AND PLAYERS
MIXING PEOPLE AND IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF THE LONG-TERM RESIDENTS

The municipality of Échirolles launched the urban renewal project during the period 2008–2014. The strategy is based on three key orientations:
• Diversifying the urban functions
• Diversifying the housing stock
• Opening up the area

The National Agency for Urban Renewal (A.N.R.U.) approved the orientations of the Urban Renewal Agreement in 2008. The municipality drives the project and the dialogue process. Their representatives work closely with the social housing company, which is responsible for the rehabilitation, the relocation, the destructions and the reconstructions of the housing stock. Grenoble Métropole coordinates the socioeconomic actions in the deprived neighbourhoods of the metropolitan area. A monthly steering committee assesses the main progress of the project and discusses the possible management problems.

**FINANCIAL PLAN & CONTRIBUTIONS**

*Investment budget: €83 million*

The rehabilitation of the social housing units represents the great financial commitment for the local partners. It explains the important contribution of the municipality and the housing company to the financial plan.

**Financial contributions**

- Social housing companies: 38%
- Municipality: 31%
- National Agency for Urban Renewal: 11%
- Regional Council: 10%
- Department: 5%
- Grenoble Métropole: 4%
- C3K group: 1%

**PROJECT MEASURES**

• **Creation of a new road network**
• **Creation of equipments (mall centre, multimedia library, a day-care centre)**
• **Diversification of the housing stock**

**Refurbishment of the outer spaces in every housing block and creation of low walls and courtyards between the public and the private spaces**

The housing strategy favours rehabilitations in order to decrease the maintenance charges of the residents. The private offer is developed at the border of the area.

• Rehabilitation of 642 social housing units.
• Destruction of 211 social rental units (5 blocks).
• Reconstruction of 94 dwellings on site.
• Reconstruction of 118 social houses in the city centre and in the western Échirolles.
• Development of a private rental program (35 units).
• Development of ownership program (56 units).

A positive project has been developed by the local actors in order to sustain the financial efforts in a long-term perspective.

• The municipality and the housing company have set up a strategy for improving the management services in the outer spaces.
• A “house of the inhabitants” was created by Grenoble Métropole and permits all local actors to exchanges ideas and good practices in order to maintain a high level of service in the deprived areas of the conurbation.

**THE RELOCATION PROCESS**

The municipality and the housing company have led the relocation process with the support of the local associations. The main objective was to propose a housing career to those who cannot choose to live elsewhere.

• A relocation charter has been negotiated with 130 residents. It includes initial expenses and compensations granted for those who wish to move on their own.
• The tenant association (C.N.L.) and the inhabitant association have organised six meetings to fix the moving and relocation conditions.

• 193 households are to be relocated in total.
• 124 households have been relocated.
• 60% of the residents have been relocated in new programs, mainly in the commune.
• 17 residents moved out from Échirolles.

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10 An experiment has been launched in order to facilitate the access to the employment of the unprivileged people of the neighbourhood. Together with the new constructions and rehabilitations, about 75 jobs are potentially created.
11 In 2003, the financial dispositions in terms of subsidies set by the National Agency for Urban Renewal encouraged the social housing corporations to destroy a part of their housing stock.
THE DIALOGUE PROCESS
A STRONG INVOLVEMENT OF THE RESIDENTS

The dialogue strategy is based on two main approaches:

To define concrete projects with the inhabitants

- Ten urban workshops consisting of inhabitants, technical services of the municipality and representatives of the housing company, aimed at coproducing an urban survey in the beginning of the project.
- More than 200 inhabitants have been involved.
- In every housing block, residents have discussed the arrangement of public spaces, public gardens, playgrounds and car parks but also the refurbishment of equipments, etc.

To inform the residents at all stages of the projects

- The first step was to consult, to secure support of the project and to forestall conflicts. A local newspaper was created at the very beginning and public notices inform the inhabitants throughout the project.
- The second step aimed at informing and communicating on the evolution of the project. A web site dedicated to the urban renewal project gives the main practical information to the inhabitants. (www.village2.echirolles.fr)

OUTCOMES

The regeneration is in the pipeline. However, several results can already be observed.

- Considering the strong involvement of the residents, the project management is successful.
- An evaluation of the relocation process shows that it worked quite well: **91% of the residents are satisfied with their new environment and about 80% are satisfied with their new dwellings.**

Two factors explain the success of the relocation process:

- The housing company has had the opportunity to reconstruct new housing units in the city centre (attractive area).
- Secondly, the associations and many inhabitants have defined the conditions of the relocation with the housing corporation. The inhabitants were not taken by surprise in the relocation process. All details of the relocation were well known.

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APPENDIX 2

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