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Comparative assessment of neighbourhood management in selected EU Countries

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COMPARATIVE ASSESSMENT OF NEIGHBOURHOOD MANAGEMENT IN SELECTED EU COUNTRIES

1. Introduction

Neighbourhood governance and management has been a theme of public administration ever since the 1960s, although it has gone in and out of fashion since that time, Very recently, however, the current Covid-19 pandemic has raised global awareness of the importance of local communities in dealing with the social, economic and health effects of the crisis and given a major impetus to interest in the neighbourhood perspective.

This report provides definitions of the concept of neighbourhood and neighbourhood management. Section 2 focusses on neighbourhood management in selected European Countries, including the UK, Germany and France. Section 3 highlights good practices on neighbourhood management issues in European countries. The final section discusses options for improving neighbourhood management in Turkey.

2. Definitions of neighbourhood as an approach for managing place, people and service

2.1. Neighbourhood as a 'layered' concept

The concept of 'neighbourhood' has become important for both practitioners and researchers with an interest in spatial planning, local government and local communities. While there has been a plethora of academic literature from different disciplines, including public administration, urban planning, and economic development, there is still no consensus on its definition. Like other common concepts it is hard to define but, as a term used in colloquial language, "everyone knows it when they see it" (Galster 2001, 2111). As this internationally comparative assessment will show, the concept of neighbourhood is highly context specific and influenced by administrative traditions.

In particular, there is often a tension between spatial definitions of neighbourhoods and community-oriented concepts of neighbourhoods. As Jenks and Dempsey (2007) point out, objective methods of neighbourhood delineation may not overlap with neighbourhood boundaries as understood by local residents. This is particularly, the case in the UK where neighbourhoods in urban areas are often very large.

This section will provide an overview of the key concepts of neighbourhood found in the academic literature, based on the research by Jenks and Dempsey (2007). Key definitions of neighbourhood include:

- *The neighbourhood as a spatial construct*: According to this definition a neighbourhood is defined by spatial criteria which may refer to administrative borders or environmental characteristics. However, as Jenks and Dempsey (2007, 155) comment critically, “the difficulty of divorcing the spatial from the social raises the question of why spatially or area-based definitions of ‘neighbourhood’ are pursued in the first place”. Pure area-based conceptions of ‘neighbourhood’ also imply the risk of looking for purely ‘area-based’ policy solutions, such as government funding, to neighbourhood issues, based on a deprivation index which does not take sufficient account of social characteristics of neighbourhoods.
- *The neighbourhood as a functional entity*: The functional conception – often promoted by town planners - considers neighbourhoods as a provider of services which respond specifically to the needs to people living there. The basic idea is that a neighbourhood should have access to a number of key public services. However, as pointed out by Jenks and Dempsey (2007, 156), there are different ideas as to what kind of services should be available at neighbourhood level and how far they should be located from residents.
- *The neighbourhood as a social construct*: Theorists have also pointed out that people attach meanings and identity to the space where they live, so that ‘space’ becomes ‘place’. As Soja (1980), quoted in Jenks and Dempsey (2007, 157), emphasises, people and space influence each other: people influence the nature and content of space but are also influenced by space. For example, in Japan people take great care not to throw litter in public gardens or parks, so that people like to use green space for sports and recreation. However, if parks do not look inviting (for example, if they have lots of fouling by dogs or junk food litter or abandoned drug syringes) or if they are considered to be unsafe (e.g. if they are frequented by gangs of unruly young people), then local people are unlikely to use them effectively.

While concept of neighbourhood as a social construct has become powerful in the public management literature, it is often used interchangeably with the term ‘community’ (Jenks and Dempsey 2007, 157-158). This is unfortunate and unjustified. Clearly, while place-based communities are strongly influenced by the physical context there are also communities of interest which are not defined by physical boundaries. In particular, in an increasingly digital world the concept ‘communities of interest’ such as people living with a specific health condition becomes more and more important.

Furthermore, even a place-based neighbourhood which is defined by a strong sense of space does not necessarily mean that all people living in that neighbourhood feel and act as a unified group. For this reason, Galster’s (2001, 2112) definition of neighbourhood is multi-criteria, including “a bundle of spatially-based attributes associated with clusters of residences, sometimes in conjunction with other land uses”, including:

- Infrastructure characteristics (e.g. roads)
- Demographic characteristics (e.g. the age profile)
- Public service characteristics (e.g. the number of leisure centres per 1000 residents)
- Environmental characteristics (e.g. the degree of pollution)
- Characteristics of identification with a place (e.g. the degree of pride in a place).

Galster’s definition of neighbourhood allows us to compare different neighbourhoods based on a wide range of characteristics, while not proposing an ‘ideal neighbourhood’ against which each

neighbourhood should be benchmarked (Jenks and Dempsey 2007, 160). Moreover, this definition allows us to monitor changes in a neighbourhood over time. Most of Galster's neighbourhood characteristics can be assessed objectively, although the 'sense of neighbourhood' remains a subjective concept which requires quantitative or qualitative data based on resident surveys, interviews or observation. In particular, it is important to recognise that there may be tensions between the spatial/functional definition of a neighbourhood and the social definition of a neighbourhood.

For example, in Birmingham City Council in the UK the neighbourhood Balsall Heath has become famous for being strongly disadvantaged but at the same time has also been renowned for being a national pathfinder for neighbourhood management. As the Neighbourhood Development Plan states, "from being one of Birmingham's least desirable areas, it became one of its best" (Balsall Heath Neighbourhood Planning Forum, 2015). However, this was largely because the level of community activism and community solidarity increased over decades – during this period the level of economic deprivation did not greatly improve and the political representation of the Balsall Heath neighbourhood was divided, as its politicians were also accountable to voters in an adjacent neighbourhood with rather different priorities.

In the light of the conceptual debate on definitions of neighbourhoods in the academic literature and the challenges facing local authorities in Turkey, this Report will consider the following three dimensions of neighbourhood, which need to be tackled through neighbourhood management:

- Place, including the natural and built environment
- People, including service users and local communities
- Local public services, which may be delivered by public sector, non-profit or private sector organisations.

2.2. Neighbourhood management

2.2.1. Defining neighbourhood management

Recognising that the neighbourhood is a layered concept with different meanings for different stakeholders, neighbourhood management is likely to have different priorities, depending on the local context. It may focus on improving the quality of the built environment in a specific local area, e.g. by imposing limits on the heights or sizes of buildings or by ensuring minimum standards of green space or shopping opportunities in each neighbourhood – this is the typical 'urban planning' approach; alternatively, it may focus on improving the quality-of-life of residents or of specific local groups – this is the 'social welfare' approach; or it may focus on improving the quality of local public services, such as public transport or waste collection or health care – this is the 'public service' approach. Each of these approaches typically requires that neighbourhood management involves collaboration between public sector organisations and other stakeholders, such as local business, resident associations or non-profit organisations. It also requires coordination with higher levels of government.

Taking a comprehensive perspective, therefore, neighbourhood management involves public services organisations, local communities and other relevant stakeholders working together to improve the environment, public services, the quality of life and public governance at neighbourhood level.

Neighbourhood management is often specifically targeted at deprived communities in order to reduce inequalities between the most deprived neighbourhoods and the rest of society. Indeed, effective neighbourhood management has often been considered to be a key mechanism for neighbourhood renewal and for managing neighbourhood grant programmes, such as the Neighbourhood Renewal Funding Scheme of the UK government.

According to a National Evaluation of the UK Neighbourhood Management Pathfinder Programme carried out between 2005 and 2006, there are seven key ingredients for effective neighbourhood management (SWQ et al. n.d., 6):

1. A clearly defined neighbourhood
2. Resident involvement and support for local communities
3. A dynamic neighbourhood manager with clout
4. A local partnership to provide strategic direction
5. Support and commitment from the local authority
6. Quality information
7. Commitment of public service organisations.

Putting these seven elements into practice means that “neighbourhood management is a process, not a project” (SQW et al. nd, 6). However, often only some of these elements are in place, in which case neighbourhood management often seems to be simply another project, which tends to die away when project funding is reduced or disappears.

The following section will summarise the key learning points related to the ‘seven ingredients of effective neighbourhood management’ outlined above (SQW et al. nd, section 3).

2.2.2. Key ingredients for effective neighbourhood management

A clearly defined neighbourhood

As outlined in section 2.1, the definition of neighbourhood depends on the stakeholder perspective. In particular, geographical boundaries may not always overlap with residents’ perception as to what constitutes their neighbourhood. The Young Foundation in the UK highlights that, depending on the local issue concerned, the size of what is concerned to be a neighbourhood varies (Hilder et al. 2005) – it can comprise:

- streets or housing estates of about 50-300 people which are relevant for neighbourly help and social associations
- proximity neighbourhoods of about 500-2000 people, bringing together a few streets, often considered to be the ideal size for neighbourhood wardens
 - strategic neighbourhoods of about 4,000-15,000 people, generally considered large enough to provide local public services such as public libraries or parks – this is where local public or community governance structures are often considered to be appropriate.

Consequently, when administrative boundaries make for big neighbourhoods– such as in the UK where neighbourhoods typically involve 10,000–15,000 people or in Germany, where they may be even larger, it is often considered important to break such big neighbourhoods into smaller units for strengthening community involvement. The Neighbourhood Management Pathfinder Evaluation

suggested that a larger size of neighbourhoods may be regarded by city managers as most efficient for neighbourhood management, in particular for managing local regeneration initiatives. However, this may be entirely counter-productive in engaging local people, so that inappropriate policies and expenditures are chosen by neighbourhood managers, often giving rise to examples of efficient implementation of ineffective initiatives. This is something local politicians need to consider seriously.

Resident involvement

Among the most valuable assets in a neighbourhood are the knowledge, skills and capabilities of local residents. Therefore, it is important to involve residents in neighbourhood management. The Neighbourhood Management Pathfinder Evaluation puts a strong emphasis on how neighbourhood management can make better use of the local knowledge of citizens in order to improve the legitimacy of public decisions and ensure that local public services are better tailored to local needs (SQW et al. n.d., 10).

However, the co-production literature also shows the importance of not just encouraging 'citizen voice' but also 'citizen action' by enabling service users and local communities to co-deliver public services and publicly desired outcomes (Loeffler 2021, chapter 3).

Effective resident involvement requires not only resources to help citizens to perform such roles but also training of professionals in how to engage with residents effectively. Furthermore, it is important that public service organisations engage with a wide range of diverse communities, which is also likely to require significant resources for community development across communities which are traditionally less well connected to public service organisations.

A dynamic neighbourhood manager with clout

Neighbourhood management does not happen of its own accord but rather requires a dedicated team of staff, led by a neighbourhood manager who needs to be able to influence and drive change both at neighbourhood and strategic levels. Typically, neighbourhood managers are 'boundary-spanners' who are able to network with different communities - in particular, a neighbourhood manager requires skills and credibility as a "facilitator, negotiator and 'honest broker' with service providers and residents" (SQW et al. nd, 11).

Dynamic neighbourhood managers need to be able to provide collaborative leadership by working across organisational boundaries. In particular, their leadership style needs to enable collective learning from actions, including mistakes. This is a big challenge in many organisations. In particular, many public service organisations have become risk adverse and have developed a blame culture (Bovaird and Quirk 2013). However, neighbourhood managers need to work within and also to promote a culture which enables risks instead of minimising risks.

A local partnership to provide strategic direction

Collaborative leadership needs to be embedded in collaborative governance structures. As the Neighbourhood Management Evaluation Report points out, "a partnership structure is essential to provide strategic direction and leadership for neighbourhood management" (SQW et al. nd, 12). The

partnership should bring together local councillors, representatives of public service providers, local business, communities and other stakeholders.

A partnership can take different forms – for example it may be an incorporated organisation or unincorporated. In the UK, most partnerships participating in the national pilot scheme remained unincorporated and relied on the local authority to employ staff and let contracts (SQW et al. nd, 12).

Support and commitment from the local authority

Any neighbourhood management initiative should have the buy-in of the local authority. Furthermore, neighbourhood managers need to engage with local councillors, as elected politicians can be particularly effective in acting as community champions and mobilise public and community resources.

Quality information

Effective neighbourhood management needs to be evidence-based. This requires a robust base line to assess progress over time. According to the Neighbourhood Management Evaluation the following quality information is considered essential (SQW et al. nd, 14):

- Baseline data on neighbourhood conditions
- Evidence of residents' needs and priorities
- Evidence of the level, quality and performance of local public services, including gaps in provision
- Assessing the impact of key interventions at neighbourhood level on the quality of life of local people and on public governance.

Commitment of service providers and mechanisms for engagement with residents

Public service providers need to collaborate with each other but also with local residents in order to provide place-based public services. Dealing with residents on neighbourhood issues is often easier for operational staff of public service organisations, who know each other well, but it can be harder for staff at strategic level, who are generally quite arms-length from what is happening on the ground. It is essential that public service organisations are able to ensure that community resources in neighbourhoods are fully used, that information is fully shared, and that services are focused on the outcomes experienced by local people.

2.3. The challenge of place-shaping for central and local government

However, the characteristics and diversity of neighbourhoods are often not fully recognised in centralised political systems. In the UK, for example, the policy-advisor Michael Lyons raised the awareness of central policymakers about the need for variation of policies at the local level through his call for 'place-shaping' in what became known as the 'Lyons Report' (Lyons 2007). Place shaping, according to Lyons (2007, 175), requires "the creative use of powers and influence to promote the general wellbeing of a community and its citizens". This requires shifting the relationship between central and local government by reducing central control and prescription in order to enable local

government to better respond to local needs and to manage pressures and expectations of public services more effectively. At the same time, Lyons (2007:174) stresses the need for local government to step up to its place-shaping challenge and to develop the capacity and behaviours to make this vision a reality. He suggests that this involves building a vision of how to respond to and address a locality's problems and challenges in a co-ordinated way, including:

- Creation of a sense of local identity – experienced locally and understood at regional and national level
- Developing a successful local economy
- Improving community cohesion
- Reduction of local inequalities and promotion of 'equalities'
- 'Peace' (as in 'keeping the peace' and resolving disagreements)
- Minimising harmful behaviours
- Tackling complex challenges (including those where outcomes clash, e.g. freedom of religious expression).

These criteria constitute a highly demanding role for place shaping, but at the same time suggest that neighbourhood management, by contributing to place-shaping, could be a highly promising way to improve local quality-of life-outcomes and to improve the achievement of local public governance principles.

2.4. Criteria for an international comparison of neighbourhood management

Comparative approaches to public management in the literature have stressed the influence of political-administrative regimes on processes of public management change such as the move towards neighbourhood management. This raises the question of which variables best capture the key characteristics of political-administrative regimes. As Pollitt and Bouckaert (2017,47) point out, most researchers undertaking international comparisons have focussed on structural, cultural, and functional elements. Based on the typology provided by Pollitt and Bouckaert (2017, 49), for the comparison of neighbourhood management in different European countries the following elements have been chosen:

- The state structure, including intergovernmental relationships, as a structural feature
- The administrative culture
- The civil society context as a functional element.

Table 1 provides a typology of state, inter-governmental relations, administrative culture and civil society characteristics for selected European countries, which provide relevant criteria for the selection of countries to be included in the international comparison of neighbourhood management.

The selection of European countries to be studied in more depth in the international comparison of neighbourhood management considers both a diverse range of countries in terms of the characteristics outlined in Table 1 and comparability of characteristics with the political and administrative system of Turkey. As far as population size is concerned, the bigger European countries such as France, Germany and the UK are more relevant to Turkey than smaller European countries such as Denmark and the Netherlands. In particular, France, Germany and UK provide a very diverse range in terms of the political-administrative factors influencing neighbourhood management:

- France, like the UK, has a quite centralised structure, even though there has been a degree of decentralisation since the early 1980s. Unlike the UK, France has a tradition of local self-government. However, it does not have a strong public participation culture, even though it has some strong NGOs.
- The UK has in recent years been the most centralised EU Member Country. Nevertheless, the process of devolution has given powers to the Scottish Parliament and more limited powers to the Welsh Assembly and Northern Ireland Assembly. In contrast to Germany and France, the UK has a public interest culture and a relatively high involvement of citizens in public services.
- Germany is the home country of the Weberian bureaucratic paradigm, which means that it has a strong Rechtsstaat tradition. In contrast to France and the UK it is a federal country, with a strong local self-government tradition. The involvement of citizens in public issues is of medium strength but it has strong NGOs.

Denmark and the Netherlands are smaller countries with a more decentralised structure, so they are overall less relevant for the Turkish context. However, the case study section of this Report will also include some revealing case studies from Denmark and the Netherlands, which are likely to be of interest in the Turkish context.

Table 1: Typology of state, inter-governmental relations, administrative culture and civil society characteristics for selected European Countries

Country	State structure	Inter-governmental relations	Local governance system	Administrative culture	Civil society context
Denmark	Unitary	Decentralised	Strong local-self government	Pragmatic and pluralistic	Relatively low involvement of citizens, strong NGOs
Germany	Federal	Decentralised, coordinated	Strong local-self government	Legalistic ('Rechtstaat')	Medium involvement of citizens, strong NGOs
France	Unitary	Formerly centralised, coordinated	Weak local self-governance	Predominantly legalistic ('Rechtstaat')	Relatively low involvement of citizens, strong NGOs
Netherlands	Unitary	Fairly fragmented	Strong local self-governance	Originally very legalistic but has changed to pluralistic/consensual	Relatively high participation of citizens, strong NGOs
United Kingdom	Unitary	Centralised but devolved, coordinated	Highly restricted local self-governance	Public interest	Relatively high involvement of citizens, very strong NGOs

Source: Adapted from Pollitt and Bouckaert (2017:49 and 63); Fanta et al. (2009: 64-66); Casey (2016: 196-7 and 205); Jensen et al. (2004); Hendriksen et al. (2008); John Hopkins Centre for Civil Society Studies (http://ccss.jhu.edu/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2013/02/Comparative-data-Tables_2004_FORMATTED_2.2013.pdf)

2.5. Summary

Neighbourhoods play different roles in public policy and in people's lives. Therefore, 'neighbourhood' has to be understood as a layered concept which may be interpreted as a spatial, functional or social construct.

It has been suggested that effective neighbourhood management entails: a clearly defined neighbourhood; resident involvement and support for local communities; a dynamic neighbourhood manager with clout; a local partnership to provide strategic direction; support and commitment from the local authority; quality information; and commitment of public service organisations.

Neighbourhood management, if it is effective, can contribute positively to a place-shaping vision for harnessing the resources of all citizens and public service organisations in local neighbourhoods and therefore to improving neighbourhood quality-of-life-outcomes and achieving local public governance principles.

3. Neighbourhood Management in Selected EU Countries

In each of the following sections, we will discuss how neighbourhood management is undertaken in three key EU countries – the UK, Germany and France.

We start each case study with a summary table of the main points, followed by the full text – both the table and the text are structured into the following headings, which are relevant to neighbourhood management in that country:

- Key governmental characteristics (administrative status, size in terms of population and area)
- Historical development
- Institutional status
- Roles and responsibilities of key stakeholders
- Capacity
- Financial structure
- Monitoring and evaluation
- Governance pitfalls
- Evidence of improved quality of life at neighbourhood level

3.1. Neighbourhood management in the UK

Table 2: Main themes and sub-themes in neighbourhood management in the UK

Main Themes	Sub-Themes
<p>Definition of neighbourhood management (context-specific) as a place, people and service management system</p>	
<p>Key governmental characteristics (administrative status, size in terms of population and area)</p>	<p>The UK is, in theory, a federal country, with a federal government in Westminster, London but also devolved administrations in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, although these devolved administrations have limited powers (with Scotland having most powers and Northern Ireland having least). In spite of this devolution, the UK is generally regarded as a very highly centralised country, especially in England, which has no regional or state government. There is no local self-government in the sense of fully independent local authorities protected by statute – local government is fully subject to laws passed by central government.</p> <p><i>Rural vs urban neighbourhoods.</i> Most of the UK population lives in urban areas (over 80%). However, the neighbourhood level of government is stronger in rural areas, where there are about 12,000 statutory ‘parish and town councils’. These cover mainly rural areas but not all rural areas have parish councils – for example, in England they cover only 30% of the country. They have very limited powers but do have 100,000 elected councillors, who are responsible for £1bn of spending each year. They have no statutory duties (and about 10% of them only meet once a year and spend no budget) but they do have a range of discretionary powers, to provide and maintain a variety of important and visible local services. Nevertheless, two thirds of town and parish councils spend under £25,000 per year. There are very few statutory parish councils in urban areas and virtually none in metropolitan areas (e.g. just one in London).</p> <p><i>Average territorial size.</i> Parish and Town Councils vary greatly in area – some are small villages, usually around a church, while others can be huge but almost uninhabited (e.g. in areas of high hills or mountains).</p> <p><i>Population.</i> Although their populations range from less than 100 (small rural villages) to up to 100,000 (Sutton Coldfield Town Council in Birmingham), most are small - about 80% have populations under 2,500.</p> <p><i>Councillor representation.</i> The UK has the fewest locally elected representatives per head of population anywhere in Europe, and this is even worse in Scotland. One reason may be that the current basic salaries for councillors are poor, so that a high proportion of councillors are retired or have to juggle their duties with another job.</p>

<p>Historical development</p>	<p>Parish and Town Councils in rural areas</p> <p>The lowest tier of local government in the UK is the set of parish and town councils in England, which are called community councils in Scotland and Wales. In this briefing note we will mainly focus on the parish and town council system in England. These very local councils lost much of their power since the mid-19th century, essentially as a result of the growth of larger statutory local authorities at urban and rural county levels.</p> <p>Rural County and District local authorities, at the level above parish and town councils, have also sometimes engaged in neighbourhood management initiatives, either from their own funds, in response to central government policies and funding programmes, or funded by European Union programmes.</p> <p>Neighbourhood management in urban areas in the UK</p> <p>The origin of neighbourhood management in urban areas can be traced back to the urban regeneration initiatives of the 1970s. Under New Labour, both the Neighbourhood Management programme and the New Deal programme (including New Deal for Communities) were aimed at regeneration in urban areas which were suffering from economic and social deprivation and the <i>Sustainable Communities Plan</i> had an even wider scope. Under the coalition government from 2010, ‘Big Society’ initiatives and the overall ‘Localism’ agenda sought to delegate responsiveness below the level of local authorities. At the same time, a number of European Union initiatives have funded neighbourhood initiatives, usually administered through national government departments and/or local authorities.</p> <p>Neighbourhood management initiatives have generally been focused either on neighbourhoods exhibiting some form of real or perceived geographical community or ‘policy-relevant neighbourhoods’ which may have little coherent community identity.</p> <p>When neighbourhood bodies are set up by the council, they normally consist of the councillors for the wards concerned, with or without elected community representatives. Where they are set up as part of national policy initiatives, they often have a wider range of stakeholders, usually with a strong representation of local community members.</p> <p>Neighbourhood planning in urban areas in England</p> <p>Neighbourhood planning focuses mainly on land use issues and gives communities direct power to develop a shared vision for their neighbourhood and shape the development and growth of their local area. Neighbourhood planning is not a legal requirement but communities in England have the right to draw up a neighbourhood plan but they need to ensure that their proposals for the neighbourhood are aligned with the strategic needs and priorities of the wider local area in which their neighbourhood is located.</p> <p>Community planning processes at local authority level</p>
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	<p>Community planning was introduced in England in 2000, in Scotland in 2003 (reinforced in 2015), in Wales in 2009 and in Northern Ireland in 2015. Community plans cover the whole local authority area but, in many cases, have special sections devoted specifically to more detailed plans for priority neighbourhoods. In this briefing, we will focus on the Scottish Community Planning process which has become the most developed in the UK.</p> <p>A Community Planning Partnership (or CPP) is formed of all the services that come together to take part in community planning. The CPP is a non-statutory body, being neither a public body in its own right nor a committee of the local authority. CPPs are responsible for producing two types of plan to describe its local priorities, the improvements it plans for and by what date. The first is the <i>Local Outcomes Improvement Plan</i>, which covers the whole CPP area. The second is a locality plan, covering smaller areas within the CPP or groups sharing common interests. or features, e.g. vulnerable adults needing care. Each CPP must decide for itself how to organise but it should make sure that everyone involved is clear about what they have agreed to do and who is responsible for taking agreed actions.</p>
<p>Public governance (governed by law or tradition?, obligatory or voluntary?, top-down or bottom-up?, bureaucratic or innovative?, coordination or partnership working?)</p>	
<p>Institutional status</p>	<p>Parish and town councils are corporate bodies which undertake activities conferred on them by statute and are therefore capable of owning or transferring land, carrying out powers delegated to them by higher-level local authorities, entering into contracts and taking or defending legal action. They are subject to regulation by auditors, under a system set in place by central government, requiring them to exercise tight financial controls.</p> <p>A local area is not obliged to have a parish or town council and it is not easy to establish new parish or town councils where they do not already exist. The ‘principal authority’ may decide to undertake a referendum of local electors before deciding whether to accept a petition to form a new parish council.</p> <p>Parish councillors are democratically elected and have a fiduciary duty to their local government taxpayers. They have traditionally been elected as independents rather than members of political parties and traditional party politics has played relatively little role in parish politics.</p> <p>There are no compulsory guidelines laid down for the governance or management structure of a parish or town council. However, effective governance checks are in place to ensure the decisions and actions taken by the council are lawful and transparent to the public and local council tax payers. However, by law parish councils have to meet at least four times per year. A parish or town council is also not required to have any specific employees, but someone needs to be designated as the Officer responsible for financial affairs. In practice, this is usually the Parish Clerk.</p> <p>Neighbourhood management initiatives in urban areas are non-statutory and non-obligatory initiatives undertaken (mainly) by local authorities (district and county councils, metropolitan councils and unitary councils). Representatives</p>

working on these initiatives have tended to try to keep party politics out of the decision-making process. The governance board of such initiatives usually has representation from elected councillors from the local authority, from public service organisations who act as partners with the local authority in that area, community representatives and sometimes other interested stakeholders. The choice of community representatives is particularly sensitive.

There is no standard management structure for neighbourhood initiatives in the UK, since they are so varied in their focus, their size, their duration and their constituent membership. However, as most of them are partnerships, there tends to be a rather horizontal structure, whereby many of the managers involved are at the same status level as each other, but from different organisations. This can make it difficult to get them to agree to decisions on strategy or operation, as there is no clear and firm leadership.

The level of financial autonomy of neighbourhood management initiatives also varies greatly. Some initiatives are fundamentally about coordinating local volunteering and therefore have little or no budget – e.g. when a community takes over the running of the local library from the local authority. However, at the other end of the spectrum, some initiatives involve quite large expenditures on local projects and here much more tightly controlled structures and processes have to be put in place, e.g. where a participatory budgeting exercise is being run in a neighbourhood.

Community planning is non-obligatory in England but is a statutory duty (and therefore obligatory) in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. In each of these three countries, community planning has to be carried out in a partnership arrangement between the local authority concerned and a range of other stakeholders. There is often a tendency for CPPs to give a lower profile to party political issues than in local authority business, as community plans tend to focus on specifically local issues.

Each CPP responsible for community planning must decide for itself the appropriate governance structure – however, it is required to put in place administrative structures and operational arrangements which support effective and efficient community planning.

CPPs and community planning partners are required by law both to engage with those community bodies which are likely to be able to contribute to community planning, and to participate with these bodies in community planning to the extent that those bodies wish to do so. Formal bodies would include, for example, community councils (equivalent to parish councils in England), tenant or resident associations, or local business associations, each of which may support the interests of **communities of place or communities of interest** (e.g. young people leaving care; disabled people; or people from black and minority ethnic communities.) The CPP should also engage with third sector organisations, where that supports effective participation from relevant community groups.

<p>Roles and responsibilities of key stakeholders</p>	<p>Parish and town councils:</p> <p>The main actors in parish and town councils are the elected councillors and the Parish Clerk. In many parish councils there are no other actors – and, indeed, small many parish councils do not even have a paid Parish Clerk. The Parish Clerk is the principal executive and adviser of the Parish or Town Council and, for most smaller parish councils, is responsible for its financial administration. The Clerk must be an independent and objective servant of the council and is required to give clear guidance to Councillors before decisions are reached, even when that guidance may be unpalatable. This guidance must cover governance, ethical and procedural matters. The Clerk is normally responsible for advising the council on staffing provision and managing recruitment.</p> <p>Neighbourhood management:</p> <p>The employees of neighbourhood management initiatives are normally those working already in existing public service organisations, such as the local authority, health organisations, police and third sector organisations. Where new staff are employed, they are typically seconded to the project from one of the existing partner organisations.</p> <p>Neighbourhood Managers are often appointed by partners in neighbourhood management initiatives to undertake certain tasks which are particularly relevant to the services provided by that organisation. Front-line professional workers are likely to be more successful when they have clear delegated authority to support the development and implementation of community plans. They, together with their middle managers, need to enable rather than control, seeking co-production and doing services <u>with</u> people, rather than <u>for</u> them or <u>to</u> them.</p> <p>The commitment of these community representatives is often very high but it is advisable to have a number of such representatives, not only to ensure that there is representation of a wide variety of local people but also as a backup in case some of these representatives drop out for some reason. Moreover, there should be not only relevant training but also appropriate accreditation and rewards available to them.</p> <p>Community planning:</p> <p>The community planning system in Scotland has now essentially become a fully standardised part of the local bureaucracy and has settled down to a regular and systematic process, largely in the hands of managers. The role of politicians in community planning mirrors their roles in other local government functions – they are expected to focus on the strategic issues facing their local authorities. To the extent that locality planning allows more political input to genuinely neighbourhood issues, it may bolster the ability of local politicians to influence the issues of most concern to their neighbourhoods – but here they have to share influence with a much wider range of local stakeholders.</p> <p>The importance of the Scottish central government in community planning process has to be recognised - community planning is in some senses as much</p>
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	<p>a product of central as of local government. The Scottish Government has set out strategic guidance which clarifies its expectations of Community Planning Partnerships (CPPs), within the broad framework of public service reform.</p> <p>For senior managers in public service organisations, especially those in the public sector, community planning makes more complicated their lines of accountability.</p> <p>The level of engagement of members of the community in community planning naturally varies from place to place – it can be very high in some areas but rather minimal in others.</p>
<p>Capacity</p>	<p>The local government sector in the UK has been under great strain in the past decade, due to financial austerity. The increasing focus on neighbourhood management and community governance has therefore occurred at the same time as reductions in many public services at local level.</p> <p>Moreover, many resources are wasted as activities are duplicated or are carried out in ways which are highly inefficient. Opportunities for increased efficiency are now more likely to be important, given the increasing importance of digital approaches to public services.</p> <p>Neighbourhood management and community governance can potentially reduce the danger of such waste occurring. Neighbourhood management and community governance also allow prioritisation to be more accurate, so savings can be made by reducing expenditure on lower priority services.</p> <p>In these ways, the capacity of public services can be fully used without over-extending the organisations concerned.</p> <p>The relationships between stakeholders vary greatly between local authorities and even within local authorities. In some places there is a long history of close and supportive working between local authority staff and people in the community working at neighbourhood level – but more often there is an arms-length relationship and sometimes the relationship is more characterised by hostility.</p>
<p>Financial Structure</p>	<p>Parish and Town Councils have the right to levy a precept from its ‘principal’ higher level council, based on the income to that principal authority from the council tax. They can also receive payments for services or projects carried out under delegated powers or contract and from donations.</p> <p>Neighbourhood management initiatives are generally funded by the public sector. The most visible and usually the highest funded initiatives have been financed by central government through national policies or by the EU, often based on ‘pilot projects’ or ‘pathfinders’ or ‘champions’. In some cases, the neighbourhood body undertake a form of participatory budgeting or raises funds through undertaking activities under delegated powers or contracts from other sector organisations in their area.</p>

	<p>Community planning Partnerships: The budgets for Community Planning Partnerships come mainly from three main sources, Community Choices Fund (Scottish Government), Council and Health and Social Care Partnership (which is largely funding by the National Health Service). CPPs in turn fund partnerships at locality level.</p>
<p>Monitoring and Evaluation</p>	<p>Parish and town councils must undertake an annual internal audit. In England, a small parish with income/ expenditure of less than £25,000 can declare itself as exempt from external audit or assurance review but parish councils with a higher turnover must have an external audit. They are not subject to any other statutory monitoring or evaluation mechanisms but they must, of course, comply with any monitoring and evaluation requirements attached to contracts they carry out for other organisations or contracts which they let to other organisations. These relatively light requirements can still be seen as onerous (and expensive) to local councillors and residents.</p> <p>Neighbourhood management initiatives generally have monitoring, and evaluation procedures imposed upon them by their funders, whether those are the local council (or local public service partnership) or by central government (or in the case of EU projects by the European Commission). A typical approach requires data to be collected on the local background conditions and context in each neighbourhood, the inputs involved in the neighbourhood initiative, the activities to be undertaken, the outputs to be produced, the outcomes to be achieved and the impact which those outcomes should have on the quality of life of local people in the neighbourhoods.</p> <p>Community Planning Partnerships similarly are required to collect and report relevant data on their progress and achievements. In Figure 1 we present an example of a performance dashboard for the Glasgow CPP, which covers key performance indicators on priority issues, such as the proportion of the adult population in employment, the proportion of Glasgow children living in poverty, the earnings gap between women and men in employment in Glasgow, and the proportion of Glasgow's residents who are positive about their quality of life. All financial information is again audited through the audit arrangements for their host organisations (typically the council).</p>
<p>Governance pitfalls</p>	<p>There are a number of governance pitfalls which are common to all the forms of neighbourhood governance in the UK:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Low levels of participation by stakeholders. - Difficulty in getting representation from all sections of diverse communities in neighbourhood initiatives. - Inappropriate neighbourhood boundaries. - Weak mechanisms for holding neighbourhood initiatives accountable. - Weak legitimacy of neighbourhood bodies in holding accountable higher levels of government. - Tendency to prefer short-term rather than long-term solutions. - Competition between local representative bodies, each claiming to represent the people of the neighbourhood. - Over-emphasis or under-emphasis on performance targets. - Out-dated communication mechanisms.

Effects of neighbourhood management on public value	
Evidence of improved quality of life at neighbourhood level	<p>In spite of the large volume of neighbourhood level activity, which is detailed above, relatively little evaluation has occurred of how much difference such activities have made to the quality of life in neighbourhoods. The evaluations which have been undertaken have highlighted some very positive benefits from successful neighbourhood-based activities – but have also thrown up some issues and challenges.</p> <p>Evaluations have highlighted, for example, substantial improvements in how residents regard their area, their environment and the local partnership and narrowing in the gaps between project areas and both national, and comparator equivalent area, and monetizable benefits attributable to the Programme which were substantially greater than costs. There were sometimes also wider benefits in terms of improved working cultures and innovative practices within service provider organisations in the neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, it has to be recognised that in some such neighbourhood management initiatives, overall satisfaction has remained well below the national average, largely reflecting their high level of deprivation. Moreover, one summary study has concluded that, in reality, the sums involved in supporting regeneration work were always too limited to make a real impact on the capacity of communities to weather wider economic change or to generate the base for community-led change.</p> <p>Some of the challenges which remain include embedding effective approaches by utilising mainstream resources and community assets; and achieving attitudinal changes to traditional models of service design and delivery.</p>

Key governmental characteristics

The UK is, in theory, a federal country, with a federal government in Westminster, London but also devolved administrations in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, although these devolved administrations have limited powers (with Scotland having most powers and Northern Ireland having least). In spite of this devolution, the UK is generally regarded as a very highly centralised country, especially in England, which has no regional or state government (although there are some combined authorities for the major metropolitan areas). There is no local self-government in the sense of fully independent local authorities protected by statute – local government is fully subject to laws passed by central government and this has meant a great deal of interference in local affairs by central government over the decades, continuing to the present day. For example, the maximum level of local government tax increases in England has since 1984 been subject to a ‘cap’ determined by central government (although since 2013 a local council could, in theory, overturn this cap by holding a local referendum). (In Scotland the national government also imposed a tax freeze on local authorities between 2007 and 2018).

Rural vs urban neighbourhoods. Most of the UK population lives in urban areas (over 80%). However, the neighbourhood level of government is stronger in rural areas, where there are about 12,000 statutory 'parish and town councils'. These cover mainly rural areas but not all rural areas have parish councils – for example, in England they cover only 30% of the country. They have very limited powers but do have 100,000 elected councillors, who are responsible for £1bn of spending each year and are able to make representation on behalf of their area to the district and county councils which lie above them in the hierarchy of governmental institutions. They have no statutory duties (and about 10% of them only meet once a year and spend no budget) but they do have a range of discretionary powers, to provide and maintain a variety of important and visible local services including allotments, bridleways, burial grounds, bus shelters, car parks, commons and open spaces, community transport schemes, community safety and crime reduction measures, events and festivals, footpaths, leisure and sports facilities, litter bins, public toilets, planning, street cleaning and lighting, tourism activities, traffic calming measures, village greens and youth projects (NALC, <https://www.nalc.gov.uk/about-local-councils>). Nevertheless, two thirds of town and parish councils spend under £25,000 per year.

There are very few statutory parish councils in urban areas, where they are largely an accident of history, having been established in an earlier period before the town concerned grew to its present size. There are even fewer parish councils in metropolitan areas (e.g. just one in London and just two in Birmingham) – neighbourhood governance and management in metropolitan areas is essentially undertaken through non-statutory bodies, usually set up by the urban district or borough council or, for time-limited periods, by central government as part of national initiatives in neighbourhood regeneration (e.g. London Docklands Development Corporation, which was instituted in 1981 with a 25 year lifespan).

Average territorial size (sq. km) Parish and Town Councils vary greatly in area – some are small villages, usually around a church, while others can be huge but almost uninhabited (e.g. in areas of high hills or mountains).

Min-Max-average (resident) population within territory. Although their populations range from less than 100 (small rural villages) to up to 100,000 (Sutton Coldfield Town Council in Birmingham), most are small - about 80% have populations under 2,500.

Councillor representation of the population: The link between local authority councillors and their communities is an important issue in the governance and management of neighbourhoods. If we focus on the main tiers of local government (excluding parish and town councils), the UK has the fewest locally elected representatives per head of population anywhere in Europe, and this is even worse in Scotland. One reason may be that the current basic salaries for councillors are poor, so that a high proportion of councillors are retired or have to juggle their duties with another job (Scottish Government 2019).

Historical development

Parish and Town Councils in rural areas

The lowest tier of local government in the UK is the set of parish and town councils in England, which are called community councils in Scotland and Wales. In this briefing note we will mainly focus on the parish and town council system in England, whose origin dates back many centuries, although elected parish councils were only established in their current form by the Local Government Act 1894. However, these very local councils lost much of their power since the mid-19th century, essentially as a result of the growth of larger statutory local authorities at urban and rural county levels.

By the 1890s, urban borough councils and rural county councils were the main mechanisms for sub-national governance. In neither system was there a strong belief in the need to consider neighbourhood differences or to harness neighbourhood strengths. The predominant paradigm was rather the need to achieve economies of scale within the local authority, by standardising processes and offering standard services to each different target group of service users – a form of Taylorism in the welfare state. These tendencies were magnified in the UK after 1945, with the advent of a Labour Government for which the Welfare State was a fundamental purpose of government, not simply a ‘provider of last resort’ for the most marginal population at times of personal. Economic or social crisis.

Since the Local Government and Public Involvement in Health Act 2007 the power to decide on the formation of a new parish council was devolved to ‘principal councils’ (county and rural councils) through ‘community governance reviews’ and from January 2015 citizens could petition the principal authority to conduct a community review with a view to forming a parish council, making the process much easier.

Rural County and District local authorities, at the level above parish and town councils, have also sometimes engaged in neighbourhood management initiatives (Bailey and Pill 2015), either from their own funds, in response to central government policies and funding programmes, or funded by European Union programmes, e.g. the EU LEADER scheme, whereby Local Action Group (LAGs) approve funding for projects that create jobs, help businesses to grow, and benefit the rural economy, available to local businesses, communities, farmers, foresters and land managers.

Neighbourhood management in urban areas

The origin of neighbourhood management in urban areas can be traced back to the urban regeneration initiatives of the 1970s (e.g. the Comprehensive Development Programmes in major metropolitan authorities, following by Urban Programme in 1980s).

- Under New Labour, after 1997, both the Neighbourhood Management programme and the New Deal programme (including New Deal for Communities) were aimed at regeneration in urban areas which were suffering from economic and social deprivation and the later *Sustainable Communities Plan* had an even wider scope.
- Under the coalition government from 2010, ‘Big Society’ initiatives sought to delegate responsiveness below the level of local authorities. These included:
 - ‘Localism’ Act of 2011, with a section on community empowerment
 - Community right to challenge, bid, buy, build and to manage, which among other rights made it easier for the community to bid for and take over any community asset, especially if it was proposed to close it or sell it
 - Neighbourhood planning (undertaken in urban areas by neighbourhood forums, in rural areas by parish councils or neighbourhood forums) with Community

referendum on any plan or order that meets the basic standards, after which they have statutory force

- Neighbourhood community budget pilots (participatory budgeting)
- Big Society Capital, through which major banks make money available for local projects, partly through the use of 'dormant' bank accounts
- National Citizen Service, a voluntary programme for 16-17-year olds who wish to develop themselves personally and socially by service in local neighbourhoods (piloted in 2011 and later recruiting 30,000 per year).
- Big Local programme, established by the National Lottery Community Fund in 2012, which has given 150 'left behind' communities £1m each to spend through participatory budgeting over a 15-year period
- Neighbourhood forums must be set up by local councils, at request of at least 21 residents - no statutory powers but can prepare neighbourhood development plans
- 'Pop-up parishes', proposed as temporary, hyperlocal institutions, established to tackle specific local issues (Fyans and McLinden 2020).

At the same time, the European Union structural funds (European Regional Development Fund and European Social Fund) have funded neighbourhood initiatives, usually administered through Local Economic Partnerships and/or local authorities.

Given the diverse origin and purposes of these different neighbourhood management initiatives, they have taken many different approaches to the definition of 'neighbourhood'. Copus (2018: 73) contrasts approaches in which neighbourhoods "follow some form of real or perceived geographical community" with those which "collect a few streets, or an estate or other geographical area, which does not have a defined sense of identity, but which has been identified by the parent council, or central government, as requiring some special policy focus", so that "neighbourhoods can therefore be clear, distinct and discrete communities ... or rather broad and amorphous areas with no real sense of neighbourhood at all". These latter 'policy-relevant neighbourhoods' may have neighbourhood committees of the parent council looking after their interests or may have a governance board whose constitution and responsibilities are dictated by the national government policy under which they are funded.

Where such neighbourhood committees (sometimes called 'neighbourhood forums or 'community forums', especially where they operate less formally) are set up by the council, they normally consist of the councillors for the wards concerned, with or without elected community representatives. Where they are set up as part of national policy initiatives, they often have a wider range of stakeholders, usually with a strong representation of local community members. In both cases, these committees can vary widely in the powers and functions they have (Copus 2018: 73-74). Copus (2018: 73) further suggests that "neighbourhood groups maybe formed for specific ethnic, gender or sexual orientation communities that exist within a council boundary."

For delivery of neighbourhood- and community-based initiatives, some UK communities have set up a Community Interest Company (CIC), which operates in the same way as a standard company, except that its assets are secured for the benefit of the community. This allows it to engage in profit-making trading activities but the profits have to be retained in the company and used for the benefit of the local community, rather than being distributed to shareholders. Typically, some directors are appointed, who oversee the operation of the CIC and there is also a management committee, comprised of volunteers who carry out all day to day activities involved in running the CIC. All those involved are local volunteers (see: www.gov.uk/government/publications/community-interest-companies-business-activities).

Neighbourhood planning in England

Neighbourhood planning focuses mainly on land use issues and gives communities direct power to develop a shared vision for their neighbourhood and shape the development and growth of their local area. It covers the location of new homes, shops and offices to be built, sets out guidance on what those new buildings should look like and what infrastructure should be provided, and influences the grant of planning permission for the new buildings that communities want to see go ahead. Neighbourhood planning is not a legal requirement but communities in England have the right to draw up a neighbourhood plan, although they might alternatively choose to pursue the outcomes they desire through other planning routes, such as getting their proposals for the neighbourhood into the local plan. In all cases they need to ensure that their proposals for the neighbourhood are aligned with the strategic needs and priorities of the wider local area in which their neighbourhood is located.

Community planning processes at local authority level

Community planning was introduced in England in 2000, in Scotland in 2003 (reinforced in 2015), in Wales in 2009 and in Northern Ireland in 2015. Community plans cover the whole local authority area but, in many cases, have special sections devoted specifically to more detailed plans for priority neighbourhoods. In this briefing, we will focus on the Scottish Community Planning process which has become the most developed in the UK.

A Community Planning Partnership (or CPP) is formed of all the services that come together to take part in community planning. There are 32 CPPs across Scotland - one for each council area. Each CPP is responsible for developing and delivering a plan for its council area. The CPP is a non-statutory body, being neither a public body in its own right nor a committee of the local authority.

Effective community planning brings together the collective talents and resources of local public services and communities to drive positive change on local priorities. It focuses on where partners' collective efforts and resources can add most value for their local communities - with particular emphasis on reducing inequalities.

The Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015 strengthens the statutory base for community planning, creates new rights for community bodies and introduces new duties on public authorities - strengthening the voices of communities in the decisions that matter to them. Under Part 2 of the Act, CPPs are responsible for producing two types of plan to describe its local priorities, the improvements it plans for and by what date. The first is the *Local Outcomes Improvement Plan*, which covers the whole CPP area. The second is a locality plan, covering smaller areas within the CPP. Locality plans may also be produced for groups sharing common interests or features, e.g. vulnerable adults needing care. Each CPP must produce at least one locality plan, and some CPPs will produce many - as a minimum they must produce locality plans for every smaller area in which the local community has lower outcomes and higher deprivation than elsewhere. Locality planning aims to meet the needs and ambitions of local people, so the voices of local communities are especially important.

Each CPP must decide for itself how to organise but it should make sure that everyone involved is clear about what they have agreed to do and who is responsible for taking agreed actions. In some cities,

such as Dundee, a Local Community Planning Partnership (LCPP) oversees the development and delivery of a Locality Plan for that area, setting out a series of priorities and actions that services and community organisations have agreed to improve the services and to ensure that local priorities are addressed. CPPs must report every year to their communities and the reports should make it easy for local people to see how things that are important to the community are changing (<https://www.gov.scot/publications/community-empowerment-scotland-act-2015-part-2-community-planning-plain/>).

Institutional status

Parish and town councils are corporate bodies which undertake activities conferred on them by statute and are therefore capable of owning or transferring land, carrying out powers delegated to them by higher-level local authorities, entering into contracts and taking or defending legal action. They are subject to regulation by auditors, under a system set in place by central government, requiring them to exercise tight financial controls in respect of activities.

A local area is not obliged to have a parish or town council (e.g. they cover only 30% of the area of England). It is not easy to establish new parish or town councils where they do not already exist – only 300 new such councils have been established in the last 20 years (Jones 2020). A community must collect a petition for a new parish or town council and must define the area that it will cover. The petition must be signed by a certain threshold of registered electors, varying from 7.5% of electors in large areas to 37.5% of electors where there are fewer than 500 eligible electors. Up to 2015, once the petition has been signed by this minimum number, the local district council or unitary authority could not stop it but the final decision to allow the community to have its own parish council was made by the relevant central government department. Since 2015 the decision has been devolved to the ‘principal authority’ (the county council or unitary authority) in which the proposed parish or town council will be located. It is also possible for new parish or town council to be created after a ‘community governance review’, carried out by the principal authority, which must consult residents of the area before making its decision – and it may decide to undertake a referendum of local electors before deciding.

Parish councillors are democratically elected and have a fiduciary duty to their local government tax payers. They have traditionally been elected as independents rather than members of political parties. traditional party politics has played relatively little role in parish politics, which tends to concern purely local issues. Indeed, the policy of the National Association of Local Councils, the national body representing all parish and town councils, is that party politics should have no place in parish councils (<http://askyourcouncil.uk/governance-toolkit/ensuring-effective-governance/#Relationships>). In 2011, only 19% of parish councils were run along political lines, although admittedly this was increasing – it had been only 4% in 1991. Moreover, 48% of councils surveyed in 2011 had members who declared a political affiliation, compared to 10% in 1991 (Stapleton 2011).

There are no compulsory guidelines laid down for the governance or management structure of a parish or town council. However, effective governance checks are in place to ensure the decisions and actions taken by the council are lawful and transparent to the public and local council taxpayers.

Core governance documents for parish councils comprise (<https://askyourcouncil.uk/governance-toolkit/>):

- Standing Orders for the conduct and transaction of business at meetings of the council (and any of its committees and sub committees).

- Clear written terms of reference for committees and sub committees which evidence the nature and extent of the duties or powers which have been delegated.
- Arrangements for inspection of minutes and accounts by local residents.
- Standing orders and arrangements for the proper administration of its financial affairs.
- Standing orders for entering into contracts.
- The code of conduct adopted by the council which Councillors must observe.
- Arrangements for access to information held by the council under the Freedom of Information Act 2000.
- Arrangements for handling complaints.

Given their small size, many of these legal stipulations are about the council's communications with the public, in order that their business is conducted transparently and fairly, rather than internal structures or procedures.

Legislation lays down that parish councils have to meet at least four times per year and must have sub-committees (such as the Resources Committee and the Planning Committee), although they do not have to meet in any given year.

A parish or town council is not required to have any specific employees, but someone needs to be designated as the Officer responsible for financial affairs. In practice, this is usually the Parish Clerk (who must be an employee of the parish council, not an independent contractor or self-employed person. In small councils, the Parish Clerk is often the only employee of the council and in some the role is taken by one of the councillors – but in this case the role must be unpaid.

Neighbourhood management initiatives in urban areas are non-statutory and non-obligatory initiatives undertaken (mainly) by local authorities (district and county councils, metropolitan councils and unitary councils). As they tend to be in areas of high deprivation, the elected representatives for these neighbourhoods have often been Labour Party councillors but representatives working on these initiatives have tended to try to keep party politics out of the decision-making process – indeed, one of the most influential analysts of English neighbourhood management did not mention party politics in her summary of current practice (Power 2004) at the height of the New Labour drive for neighbourhood revitalisation.

As they are generally set up by the local authority, sometimes working in partnership with other public service organisations (e.g. from the health sector or the police), the governance board of such initiatives usually has representation from elected councillors from the local authority (usually the councillors for the area in question), from public service organisations who act as partners with the local authority in that area, community representatives and sometimes other interested stakeholders. The choice of community representatives is particularly sensitive, given that there are usually quite a few community organisations who are unsuccessful in having their nominations accepted. "Representation needs to be balanced, accountable and adequately resourced ... [and] dynamic rather than static, with adequate provision for turnover of representatives" (JRF 2000: 4). There is often sensitivity, too, that the neighbourhood management initiative is meant to be citizen-centric, but the governance and management structures can seem dominated by officials and organisation-centric representatives. Partly for this reason, it is often the case that the governance board of such initiatives often has a chair and vice-chair from amongst the community representatives.

Whatever the governance structure, it is important in the UK context that "the shape, functions, powers and structure of any sub-municipal units and the relationships they have with the council itself are of course decided by the council. In many cases, councils retain control over sub-municipal units' budgets and allow them only to make recommendations rather than decisions" (Copus 2018: 70).

There is no standard management structure for neighbourhood initiatives in the UK, since they are so varied in their focus, their size, their duration and their constituent membership. However, as most of them are partnerships, there tends to be a rather horizontal structure, whereby many of the managers involved are at the same status level as each other, but from different organisations. This can make it difficult to get them to agree to decisions on strategy or operation, as there is no clear and firm leadership. This problem can be compounded when the 'project officer', whose role is to coordinate the initiative, and who typically has to spend more time on it than anyone else, has a status level significantly below that of many of the other officials who have to be co-ordinated. On the other hand, bringing in a range of other public service organisations clearly raises the potential to achieve more creative and joined-up solutions to local problems.

The level of financial autonomy of neighbourhood management initiatives also varies greatly. Some initiatives are fundamentally about coordinating local volunteering and therefore have little or no budget – e.g. when a community takes over the running of the local library from the local authority. However, at the other end of the spectrum, some initiatives involve quite large expenditures on local projects and here much more tightly controlled structures and processes have to be put in place. This applies, for example, where a participatory budgeting ('community chest') exercise is being run in a neighbourhood, encouraging local groups to bid competitively for a small grants fund and disbursing the moneys concerned over a period of months or even years. Again, where neighbourhood initiatives involve large-scale spending on infrastructure, e.g. in some EU-funded projects, the potential for fraud or corruption means that special steps have to be taken to ensure financial probity.

Indeed, other evidence has shown that, particularly for disadvantaged areas, the level and quality of 'popular' civic action, i.e. actions initiated from bottom-up, is enhanced by the presence of 'invited' structures of neighbourhood working, i.e. actions initiated from top-down. The Local Research Project (CLG, 2010a) investigated the impact of the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal across twenty-one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in England. It found that deprived neighbourhoods with effective systems of neighbourhood working were more likely to have resident participation in decision making and service delivery, and as a consequence more likely to have benefited from improved and often innovative services and projects nested within their neighbourhoods.

Community planning is non-obligatory in England but is a statutory duty (and therefore obligatory) in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. In each of these three countries, community planning has to be carried out in a partnership arrangement between the local authority concerned and a range of other stakeholders (who differ in each of those countries). As community plans cover the whole of the local authority area, the stakeholders are usually organisations which have an interest across the whole local authority area – but some stakeholders only represent smaller areas, particularly those neighbourhoods which have priority status in the community plans. By the same token, the local authority politicians involved in community planning tend to have the same partly political balance as the local authority as a whole but many CPP representatives, including councillors but also non-executive representatives from the National Health Service and the Boards of third sector organisations, have no such political mandate, so that the role of these representatives is unclear and this can be a barrier to effective CPP governance (Audit Scotland 2013). In any case, there is often a tendency for CPPs to give a lower profile to party political issues than in local authority business, as community plans tend to focus on specifically local issues – but some community planning participants nevertheless feel that party politics can sometimes get in the way (Escobar 2015).

Each CPP responsible for community planning must decide for itself the appropriate governance structure – however, it is required to put in place administrative structures and operational arrangements which support effective and efficient community planning. Some employ thematic sub-groups, others area sub-groups; some build extensive locality planning into their arrangements, while others focus on a small number of priority localities. Each CPP must also determine how to resolve challenges between partners, ensure that its structure and operations, including in its assessment of risk, provide for transparent debate and bring together those with appropriate expertise and authority to take actions to resolve disputes. In total, the CPP should be clear why it has collaboratively agreed to act in the way it has and to explain this clearly to partners, including communities (<https://www.gov.scot/publications/community-empowerment-scotland-act-2015-part-2-community-planning-guidance/pages/7/>). As in the case of parish councils, the emphasis here is on effective communication processes, not specific structures.

An example of an organisation chart for a CPP is the Aberdeenshire CPP, a rural area in the North of Scotland (https://www.ouraberdeenshire.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/_CPP-Terms-of-Reference-2018-FINAL.pdf). The CPP Board is linked to (and establishes governance arrangements for) another partnership board which oversees issues of community justice (e.g. policing and the administration of the courts). The CPP Board appoints and oversees the activities of the CPP Executive (which includes the community planning team, accountants, community engagement officers and communications officers, among others). The CPP Board must also approve a Local Outcomes Improvement Plan (LOIP) and a Locality Plan and develop locality and thematic approaches to address these plans, with participation from community bodies representing the interests of persons experiencing inequalities. This is achieved through the work of three issue focused LOIP Strategic Lead Partnerships (for Alcohol, Child Poverty and Connected & Cohesive Communities) and six Local Community Planning Groups, which hold knowledge of local communities' needs, circumstances and opportunities and understand the local partnership landscape and services. Not all of these Groups have an agreed Locality Plan but those which do must report to the Connected and Cohesive Communities LOIP Strategic Lead Partnership Group on the progress, achievements and barriers of their Locality Plans.

The Board consists of all the partners in this Partnership, namely:

- Aberdeenshire Council
- Police Scotland
- Scottish Fire and Rescue Service
- NHS Grampian
- Health and Social Care Partnership
- Aberdeenshire Voluntary Action
- Scottish Enterprise
- Aberdeenshire Integration Joint Board
- Aberdeenshire Rural Partnerships
- Aberdeen and Grampian Chamber of Commerce
- Cairngorms National Park Authority
- Historic Environment Scotland
- North East Scotland College (NESCOL)
- Nestrans
- Scottish Environmental Protection Agency
- Scottish Government
- Scottish Natural Heritage

- Skills Development Scotland
- Sport Scotland
- VisitScotland

The CPP Executive is made up of the first seven organisations in this list, who take it in turns to chair the Executive for one year.

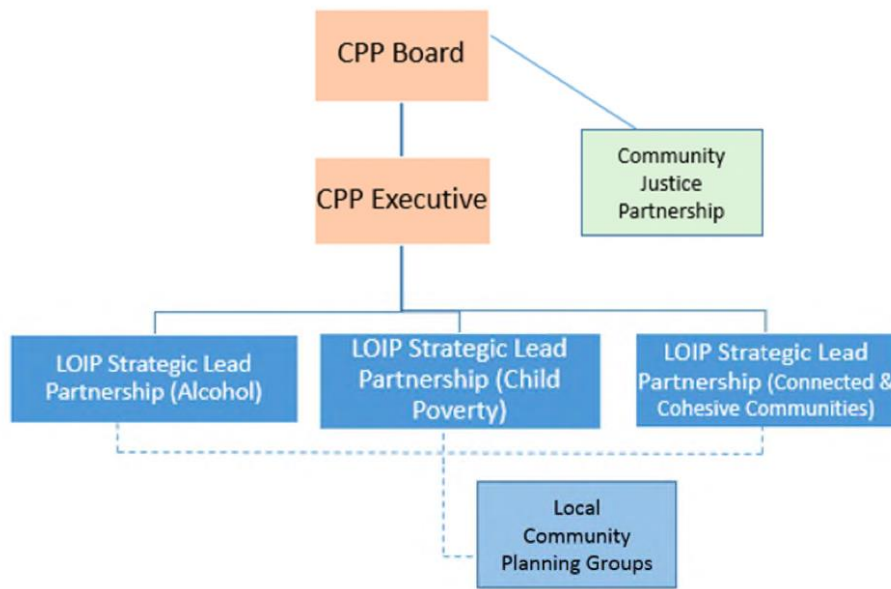


Figure 1: Organisation chart for Aberdeenshire Community Planning Partnership

CPPs and community planning partners are required by law both to engage with those community bodies which are likely to be able to contribute to community planning, and to participate with these bodies in community planning to the extent that those bodies wish to do so. ‘Community bodies’ are defined in the relevant Act as “bodies, whether or not formally constituted, established for purposes which consist of or include that of promoting or improving interests of any communities however resident or otherwise present in the area of the CPP”. Formal bodies would include, for example, community councils (equivalent to parish councils in England), tenant or resident associations, or local business associations, each of which may support the interests of **communities of place or communities of interest** (e.g. young people leaving care; disabled people; or people from black and minority ethnic communities.) The CPP should also engage with third sector organisations, where that supports effective participation from relevant community groups. The CPP should be open and transparent in making clear to such bodies why it has decided to engage directly with some and not others in community planning (<https://www.gov.scot/publications/community-empowerment-scotland-act-2015-part-2-community-planning-guidance/pages/7/>).

Roles and responsibilities of key stakeholders

Parish and town councils:

The main actors in parish and town councils are the elected councillors and the Parish Clerk. In many parish councils there are no other actors – and, indeed, small many parish councils do not even have a paid Parish Clerk, as the role is played without pay by a councillor or a retired member of the community. In a small number of parish councils, which are able to raise funding to undertake a larger range of services (often outsourced to it by the higher level district or county council), there are more employees and their organisational structure and employment relationships typically resemble those of a small third sector organisation.

The Parish Clerk is the principal executive and adviser of the Parish or Town Council and, for most smaller parish councils, is responsible for its financial administration – indeed, sometimes its only employee(<http://askyourcouncil.uk/governance-toolkit/part-two-the-parish-clerk/#Responsibilities>).

The Clerk must be an independent and objective servant of the council, taking instructions from the council and recognising that the council is responsible for all decisions. However, the Clerk is required to give clear guidance to Councillors before decisions are reached, even when that guidance may be unpalatable. This guidance must cover governance, ethical and procedural matters. The Parish Clerk must also liaise with the Monitoring Officer at the district/unitary council on ethical issues and the Councillors' Register of Interests. If the council employs other administration and support staff, the Clerk is normally responsible for advising the council on staffing provision and managing recruitment. In smaller councils the Clerk may also be the Finance Officer, although larger councils commonly appoint a separate Responsible Finance Officer, with specific duties relating to the budget, annual accounts and audit to ensure proper financial management and transparency. Many parish councils encourage their clerks to seek professional qualifications and recognition for the work that they do, with appropriate training.

Neighbourhood management:

The employees of neighbourhood management initiatives are normally those working already in existing public service organisations, such as the local authority, health organisations, police and third sector organisations. Where new staff are employed, they are typically seconded to the project from one of the existing partner organisations but often they only have short-term (one to three years) contracts.

Neighbourhood Managers are often appointed by partners in neighbourhood management initiatives to undertake certain tasks which are particularly relevant to the services provided by that organisation. For example, a neighbourhood manager appointed by a social housing organisation might have such responsibilities as leading the team providing neighbourhood services; managing the neighbourhood service budget; resolving housing and estate management issues for tenants and other local residents; enabling the delivery of housing services and implementing the neighbourhood service plan.

Clearly, a great deal of the success of neighbourhood management is likely to depend on the achievements of front-line professional workers. They are likely to be more successful when they have “clear delegated authority, regardless of agency, to support the development and implementation of

community plans” (JRF 2000: 6). They need to be multi-skilled, able to operate in situations where they are accountable to a range of stakeholders and to exercise influence without traditional line management authority. They, together with their middle managers, need to enable rather than control, seeking co-production and doing services with people, rather than for them or to them.

Community representatives typically find themselves taking on much more work when they become involved in neighbourhood management initiatives, whether it is at Board level or as co-deliverers of some of the initiatives. While there is therefore a danger of ‘burnout’, the commitment of these community representatives is often very high, so that they stick to the task even when under heavy pressure. However, it is advisable to have a number of such representatives, not only to ensure that there is representation of a wide variety of local people but also as a backup in case some of these representatives drop out for some reason. Moreover, there should be not only relevant training but also appropriate accreditation and rewards available for community representatives (JRF 2000: 6).

Community planning:

The community planning system in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland has now essentially become a fully standardised part of the local bureaucracies in those countries. In Scotland, in particular, the system has been running for sufficiently long to have settled down to a regular and systematic process, largely in the hands of managers, with only strategic oversight and occasional redirection from the relevant governance boards (in the Scotland, the CPP Boards).

The role of politicians in community planning mirrors their roles in other local government functions – they are expected to focus on the strategic issues facing their local authorities (in which many of them have relatively little expertise or interest), while leaving operational issues (which are of most interest to their electors) to the managers and frontline workers of public service organisations. “Many non-executive councillors feel distanced from council decision making and struggle to engage with local strategic partnerships and other structures set up to influence decisions about mainstream service allocation” (James and Cox 2007).

To the extent that locality planning allows more political input to genuinely neighbourhood issues, it may bolster the ability of local politicians to influence the issues of most concern to their neighbourhoods – but here they have to share influence with a much wider range of local stakeholders. Nevertheless, for many councillors, a greater emphasis on locality planning of neighbourhood issues may come as a great relief.

Sinclair (2008: 376) suggests that certain other features of Scottish politics also influenced the development of local governance reform and community planning, including the ‘village-life’ quality that results from the shared experiences, close proximity, and inter-penetrating networks that characterize Scotland - for example, 36% of the Members of the Scottish Parliament elected in 2003 had previously been local authority councillors, creating a strong familiarity between the levels of government.

Furthermore, the importance of the Scottish central government in community planning process has to be recognised - local institutions and policies are shaped by national elections and politics, so Sinclair (2008: 386) has suggested that, in this sense, community planning is as much a product of central as of local government. The Scottish Government has set out strategic guidance which clarifies its expectations of Community Planning Partnerships (CPPs), within the broad framework of public service reform, and in line with the Single Outcome Agreements (SOAs) agreed between each council in Scotland, in conjunction with local community planning partners, setting out the planned

improvements for the local area and how these are intended to contribute to the 15 national outcomes set by the Scottish Government in its National Performance Framework.

For senior managers in public service organisations, especially those in the public sector, community planning makes more complicated their lines of accountability. As Knox and Carmichael (2015: 50-51) observe: “There may also be a conflict of accountabilities for community-planning partners. Each will have *vertical* accountability to their parent government department ... The expectation is that senior officials will also have *horizontal* accountability to each community planning partnership.”

The level of engagement of members of the community in community planning naturally varies from place to place. The report of the Commission on the Future Delivery of Public Services in Scotland (Christie 2011, p. 44) reported: “There are significant variations in the effectiveness of community planning partnerships; and that, for the most part, the process of community planning has focussed on the relationships between organisations, rather than with communities.” The most negative aspect of this variable relationship is summarised by Matthews (2014: 467-8) in his study of experience in two Scottish CPPs: “Overall, community engagement within the CPPs was severely limited and accountability to communities was minimal – expansive hand gestures over meaningful engagement”.

Relationships between stakeholders

The relationships between stakeholders vary greatly between local authorities and even within local authorities. In some places there is a long history of close and supportive working between local authority staff and people in the community working at neighbourhood level – but more often there is an arms-length relationship and sometimes the relationship is more characterised by hostility.

Capacity

The local government sector in the UK has under great strain in the past decade, due to financial austerity imposed by central government on all parts of the public sector. The increasing focus on neighbourhood management and community governance has therefore occurred at the same time as reductions in many public services at local level. This has led Knox and Carmichael (2015: 50) to observe: “The seniority of those participating at the community-planning table is paramount – they need to be able to take decisions on behalf of their organisations, including committing resources. There could well be a capacity issue here – will senior officials have the time available and professional inclination to ‘service’ [their] community planning partnerships?”

Moreover, it has long been a concern in public administration that many public services are delivered in silo-like fashion, rather than being joined-up. Consequently, many resources are wasted as activities are duplicated or are carried out in ways which are highly inefficient because not combined with complementary activities by other public service organisations or making full use of the skills and expertise in organisations through more collaborative working. Indeed, such opportunities are now more likely to be important, given the increasing importance of digital approaches to public services, which allow more interconnectivity between individuals, organisations and service systems.

Neighbourhood management and community governance can potentially reduce the danger of such waste occurring. Matthews (2014: 453) argues: “Partnerships are commonly conceived as a way to deliver joined-up working to tackle complex ‘wicked issues’ ... There has been concern ... with the need to tackle problems of deprivation in a cross-cutting way. ... Reforms ... placing a statutory duty on

Scottish local authorities to form CPPs could be characterised as a ‘decongestant’ – joining diffuse partnerships and partner organisations to tackle strategic issues”.

In addition, neighbourhood management and community governance allow prioritisation to be more accurate, so that in each neighbourhood expenditure can be focused on those services which are regarded as most important and savings can be made by reducing expenditure on lower priority services.

In these ways, the capacity of public services can be fully used without over-extending the organisations concerned.

Financial Structure

Parish and Town Councils have the right to levy one tax - an annual payment (precept) from its ‘principal’ higher level council (the county **council or unitary authority**), **based on the** income to that principal authority from the **council tax** (a local tax on the value of residential property). However, they can also receive payments for services or projects carried out under delegated powers or contract for other levels of government and they can benefit from donations (although these are often in kind rather than in money).

Neighbourhood management initiatives are generally funded by the public sector. While there have always been initiatives funded by local authority departments (or sometimes by the corporate local authority), the most visible and usually the highest funded initiatives have been financed by central government through national policies or by the EU, often based on ‘pilot projects’ or ‘pathfinders’ or ‘champions’. In both cases, the neighbourhood organisations may have a delegated budget (although this is more likely when the organisation is formally constituted as a separate body) but often its budget is managed by a third party – usually either the local authority or a third sector organisation which is centrally involved in its work.

In some cases, the neighbourhood body is responsible for organising a form of competitive bidding by local community organisations to be given small grants for community-based projects (a form of participatory budgeting, often called a ‘community chest’ scheme) – this requires particular attention to the financial procedures of the organisation and again is often done through the finance section of a partner organisation.

Some neighbourhood management forums are also able to raise funds through undertaking activities under delegated powers or contracts from other sector organisations in their area (e.g. managing a local park, dealing with the fly-tipping of rubbish, organising a Streetwatch scheme) and in some cases through crowdsourcing specific activities (e.g. a Christmas or New Year party in a local community centre) or a specific piece of infrastructure (e.g. new play equipment for the local school).

Community planning Partnerships: The budgets for Community Planning Partnerships come mainly from three main sources, Community Choices Fund (Scottish Government), Council and Health and Social Care Partnership (which is largely funding by the National Health Service).

CPPs in turn fund partnerships at locality level. For example, Glasgow Community Planning Partnership allocates a budget to each of its Area Partnerships to be used mainly to provide grants to local community and voluntary organisations to provide services that will help to achieve the Area Partnership's local priorities and Glasgow City Council's objectives. Area Partnerships can also decide to use these budgets to provide extra financial support to Council services and the activities of partner

organisations - but in this case those services and organisations must be able to demonstrate how they fit with local priorities, involve local communities and provide extra benefits over and above what they normally provide (see <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/areapartnershipgrants>).

Monitoring and Evaluation

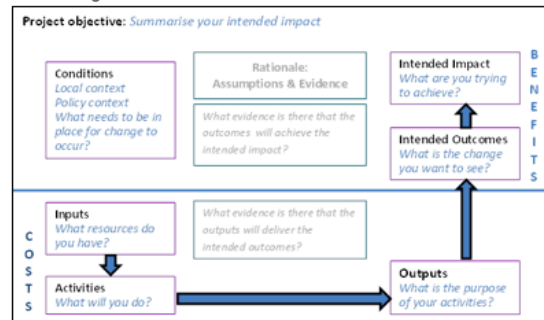
Parish and town councils must undertake an annual internal audit, which involves a review of the effectiveness of the system of internal control, and must prepare and publish an annual governance statement in accordance with proper practices in relation to their accounts. In England, a small parish with income/ expenditure of less than £25,000 can declare itself as exempt from external audit or assurance review (in Wales the limit is £75,000) but parish councils with a higher turnover must have an external audit. They are not subject to any other statutory monitoring or evaluation mechanisms but they must, of course, comply with any monitoring and evaluation requirements attached to any delegated powers or contracts which they carry out for other public service organisations, must impose similar monitoring and evaluation conditions upon any contracts which they themselves let to external contractors, and may voluntarily conduct further monitoring and evaluation procedures on other aspects of their own work.

While these arrangements are designed to reduce the level of bureaucratic scrutiny imposed on small and low-spending parish councils, they can still be seen as onerous (and expensive) to local councillors and residents – one councillor has even described them as ‘ludicrous’, explaining that: “I say “ludicrous” because when you add the charges of both internal and external audit together, they generally amount to 10 per cent of our annual income, which could be better spent on our tiny community of 230 residents” (see post from *Cllr David Unwin, Merthyr Mawr Community Council, Bridgend*, at: <https://www.clerksandcouncilsdirect.co.uk/content.asp?id=12>).

This approach, which DCLG labelled as a ‘Logic Model’, required data to be collected on the local background conditions and context in each neighbourhood, the inputs involved in the neighbourhood initiative, the activities to be undertaken, the outputs to be produced, the outcomes to be achieved and the impact which those outcomes should have on the quality of life of local people in the neighbourhoods. Figure 1 shows the model as it is applied in advance, showing how the intended inputs and activities are hoped to change the outcomes and impact. The model can then be used after implementation of the neighbourhood initiatives to evaluate which inputs, activities, outputs, outcomes and impact were actually achieved. In Figure 1 the various results which can be obtained from a cost-benefit analysis are defined – most neighbourhood management initiatives do not focus strongly on financial return but rather on the other measures, particularly on fiscal benefit and social benefit, but this does vary between initiatives, depending on the purpose for which they have been launched. While other neighbourhood initiatives have used variations on this approach, this underlying model has been common to most of them.

Areas were first required to develop a Logic Model which set out the rationale, inputs, activities, outputs, outcomes and intended impacts. These formed the basis of those 56 CBAs required.

- 118 neighbourhoods were recruited on the Our Place programme with the ambition of achieving 100+ Operational Plans. Programme support and grant administration was provided by a consortium led by *Locality*.
- The logic models were assessed according to their suitability and 57 areas were seen to be undertaking substantial service transformation in policy domains where the metrics were well developed, such as employment or health interventions, and thus were asked to provide full CBA. Other areas were asked to refine and quantify their logic models to the best of their abilities.
- The template used for the Logic Models was as below:



- Areas were provided with training and direct support from a number of sources typically: New Economy, Pro Bono Economics, Office of Public Management, or their allocated relationship manager
- Drafts were provided in October and support continued until submission from February/March 2015
- Assessment and collation of figures was undertaken by DCLG analysts. A number of CBAs were sent back for revision in April.

11

Figure 2: UK government approach to Cost-Benefit Analysis of neighbourhood initiatives.

Source: DCLG (2015), **Our Place 2014-15 - Cost benefit analyses: messages for neighbourhood service transformation**. London: Department of Communities and Local Government.

Term	Description
Financial return	Financial Return Ratio (FRR) = $\frac{\text{Present Value of Fiscal benefits}}{\text{Present value of Fiscal costs}}$
Economic return	Economic Return Ratio (ERR) = $\frac{\text{Present Value of all (Fiscal , Economic and Social) benefits}}{\text{Present value of all costs}}$
Fiscal benefit	Savings to the taxpayer due to the specific intervention. These can be cashable or non-cashable.
Economic benefit	Gains which accrue to individuals, such as increased earnings (for decreased unemployment), or whole economy, such as higher skilled people
Social benefit	Gains which accrue to society for example increased well-being in terms of greater confidence.
Deliverability	An indication of how close to implementation a proposal is, whether there was strong evidence to support the CBA, if partners were engaged/pledged and if any other risk factors had been considered.
Cashability	The extent to which a change in an outcome or output (e.g. fewer children in care) will result in a reduction in fiscal expenditure such that the expenditure released from that change can be reallocated elsewhere.

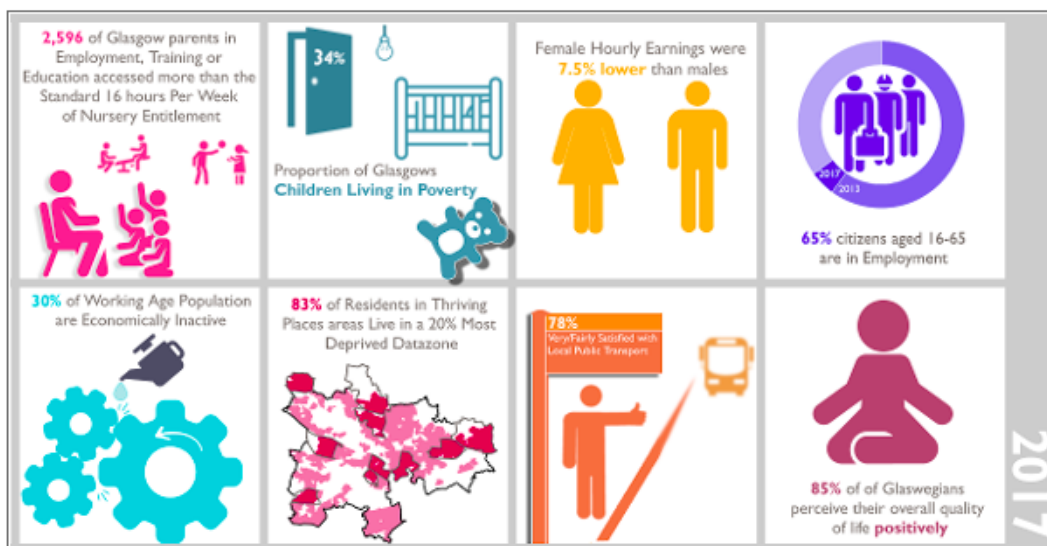
Figure 3: Definitions of cost-benefit results

Source: DCLG (2015), **Our Place 2014-15 - Cost benefit analyses: messages for neighbourhood service transformation**. London: Department of Communities and Local Government.

Community Planning Partnerships similarly are required to collect and report relevant data on their progress and achievements. In Figure 4 we present an example of a performance dashboard for the Glasgow CPP, which covers key performance indicators on priority issues, such as the proportion of the adult population in employment, the proportion of Glasgow children living in poverty, the earnings gap between women and men in employment in Glasgow, and the proportion of Glasgow’s residents who are positive about their quality of life. All financial information is again audited through the audit arrangements for their host organisations (typically the council).

Communications - Performance Dashboard

Our Performance Dashboard provides visualised and structured performance data on the progress of the Partnership at any given time. The dashboard focuses on the headline performance measures within the Glasgow Community Plan and will be updated regularly.



Data - Open for all

A full range of Performance Monitoring Data which drives the dashboard, informs our infographics and underpins reports is available **open for all** in the attached excel file. The performance data provides a detailed list of measures that we will use to track the impact of the Partnership across all of our priorities in the years ahead.

 [2017 Baseline \(Phase 2\) Performance Monitoring Data \[3Mb\]](#)

 [2018 Performance Monitoring Data \[3Mb\]](#)

 [2019 Performance Monitoring Data \[3Mb\]](#)

Figure 4: Performance dashboard for the Glasgow CPP

Source: (<https://www.glasgowcpp.org.uk/index.aspx?articleid=15815>).

Governance pitfalls

There are a number of governance pitfalls which are common to all the forms of neighbourhood governance in the UK:

- Low levels of interest by residents in neighbourhood issues, so that participation is often low.
- Difficulty in getting representation from all sections of diverse communities in neighbourhood initiatives – representatives generally still tend to under-represent people from black and ethnic minority backgrounds, young people, and people from lower socio-economic backgrounds.
- The definition of a neighbourhood's boundaries may exclude some groups (deliberately or accidentally), so that the development of local plans and initiatives within that boundary is restricted to reflect the interests of those included and ignores those excluded.

- Weak mechanisms for holding neighbourhood initiatives accountable, given the previous three points.
- Weak legitimacy of neighbourhood bodies in holding accountable higher levels of government, given the previous four points.
- Tendency to prefer short-term rather than long-term solutions – e.g. higher resident participation in campaigns to block new developments rather than to encourage change – a form of NIMBYism ('Not In My Back Yard').
- There can be competition between local representative bodies, each claiming to represent the people of the neighbourhood, when in fact each only represents one section of local people (Sturzaker & Gordon 2017: 1333).
- Over-emphasis on targets as performance management mechanisms in the 2000s, but an under-emphasis on targets since 2010.
- Tendency for rather out-dated communication mechanisms (e.g. notices in the local community centre or parish hall, rather than through online mechanisms, such as email and social media).

Parish and town councils had a number of governance pitfalls which were specific to them:

- Low levels of voting in local elections – and electorate turnout for neighbourhood elections or referenda is even lower than turnout for local government elections (typically between 30% – 40%), which in turn is much lower than national elections (typically around 65% in Scotland and Wales) or UK elections (typically over 65%)
- Relatively low levels of interest in standing as a candidate for parish council elections – in 2019, a survey found that the majority of councillors were co-opted in the election (38%), as no candidate had been nominated for that seat, while 32% were elected in an uncontested election and only 29% in a contested election (NALC 2019: 10).
- Weak representation of the diversity of local populations – a survey of English parish councils (NALC 2019) revealed that only 39% of councillors were female, only 7% had disabilities (as compared to over 20% in the national population), only 11% were under 45, and only 10% were from a group other than White British (as opposed to 14% of the English population).

Neighbourhood management initiatives had a number of governance pitfalls which were specific to them:

- Low levels of participation in many specific neighbourhood initiatives – as summarised by McKenna (2011): “it is difficult to get people to participate in initiatives. This ‘input’ side of the relationship between local government and public participation is characterized by more general public disengagement from formal politics, low levels of electoral participation in comparison with national government, worryingly low levels of awareness of what local government actually does and low levels of public trust in local politicians and political institutions.”
- Participation by residents in neighbourhood management initiatives is highly variable and often non-representative. As Sturzaker & Gordon (2017: 1330) comment in relation to neighbourhood forums and neighbourhood planning: “There is nothing in the 2011 Act to make active participation by citizens compulsory. So the Localism Act and accompanying regulations could simply decentralise the power to make plans to an unaccountable/unrepresentative body at neighbourhood rather than local authority level, which may be no more likely to give people a “meaningful say” – smaller geographical areas can be just as readily dominated by elite individuals or groups as larger areas.” They also suggest that areas with strong residents’ associations may be far more strongly represented

than areas where residents have to put forward their views individually. They note, however, that this pitfall of 'elite domination of democratic process' may be partly mitigated by two factors. First, the proposals which emerge from such representative or participatory bodies does not mean that they escape traditional forms of expert oversight. Secondly, a neighbourhood plan or order must be approved by a majority of voters in a local referendum, with the representative local planning authority obliged to act to implement the result.

- There can also be tensions or even conflicts between those different bodies that claim to represent people: those which are part of traditional representative democracy, in the form of elected local authorities; and neighbourhood forums, which are representative in a non-democratic but rather participatory way (Sturzaker & Gordon 2017: 1330).

Community planning partnerships had a number of governance pitfalls which were specific to them:

- The feasibility of integrating voluntary sector organisations (VCOs) into local governance partnerships has been questioned, since many VCOs have difficult relationships with their local authorities, sometimes stemming from power imbalance and cultural mismatch, it seems but also from a general lack of mutual understanding, respect and trust (Sinclair 20108: 78-79). This was exemplified by respondents from the public sector in Sinclair's research who were adamant that the participation in community planning by voluntary, community or private sector organisations should not be allowed to compromise the duties of public agencies (Sinclair 2011: 85).
- VSO representatives often have to juggle the tasks of becoming and behaving like public sector partners while retaining the critical and challenging stance towards the public sector which the voluntary sector expects (Sinclair 2011: 86).
- The role of non-governmental stakeholders in Scottish community planning may be too restricted. As Shaw (2017: 6) comments: "The dominant model of community empowerment as it is framed in policy is quite clearly based on increasing citizen participation in the practices of government rather than on independent community action as a means of informing and changing practices of government ... a 'smothering embrace'. ... In other words, the community is there to serve the priorities of government rather than vice versa."
- There appears to be no real interest in whether priorities are shared between different stakeholders, "nor is there any opportunity for communities to dissent or disagree except in the most tokenistic of ways. For example, consultations are framed in ways and timescales that exclude much that is of real local interest" (Shaw 2017: 8).

Evidence of improved quality of life at neighbourhood level

In spite of the large volume of neighbourhood level activity, which is detailed above, relatively little evaluation has occurred of how much difference such activities have made to the quality of life in neighbourhoods. The evaluations which have been undertaken have highlighted some very positive benefits from successful neighbourhood-based activities – but have also thrown up some issues and challenges.

One useful evaluation covered the New Deal for Communities (NDC) programme which was designed to transform 39 deprived neighbourhoods in England over 10 years, each accommodating about 9,900 people, through NDC partnerships which implemented local regeneration schemes, each funded by an average of £50m of Programme spend. The evaluation (Batty et al. 2010) concluded that this was a successful Programme, contributing to very real changes in these 39 areas, with substantial improvements in how residents regard their area, their environment and the local partnership.

Moreover, it found that the gaps between NDC areas and both national, and comparator equivalent area had narrowed, especially with regard to place-related outcomes. The evaluation carried out value for money assessments, which showed that monetizable benefits attributable to the Programme were substantially greater than costs.

Another of the most extensive evaluations of neighbourhood management was carried out on the English Neighbourhood Pathfinders Programme which involved 35 partnerships in deprived urban and rural neighbourhoods across every region of England from 2002-2008 (SQW 2008). It concluded that, overall, residents' satisfaction across the Pathfinder areas had clearly risen (and risen faster than the survey comparator) – both satisfaction with their area, with its improvement and with their own ability to influence organisations locally. Nevertheless, overall satisfaction in most Pathfinders remained well below the national average, largely reflecting their high level of deprivation. However, significant progress had been made in a relatively short period of time and was plausibly linked to Pathfinder activities. There was also evidence of positive effects of Pathfinders in making their areas safer and cleaner – their largest area of activity – for example, communities felt more reassured by the Police. It was also clear that Pathfinders were indeed exerting positive influences on a wider range of local services, such as housing, education, health and employment, and that this was providing benefits in Pathfinder areas, although changes were too small to measure at neighbourhood level. There were also wider benefits in terms of improved working cultures and innovative practices within service provider organisations in the neighbourhoods.

However, the recent Commission on the Future of Localism (Locality 2018), which explored the current framework of localism, including formal mechanisms of community power such as the set of Community Rights, concluded (p. 21) that: “We find that this framework stops short of enabling the fundamental shift in power that is needed.”

Indeed, one summary study has concluded that, in reality, the sums involved in supporting regeneration work were always too limited to make a real impact on the capacity of communities to weather wider economic change or to generate the base for community-led change but the withdrawal of ring-fenced funding for regeneration makes such funding even more vulnerable” (Scott 2012: 86). However, the very diversity of neighbourhood activities which have occurred means that this can only be a very broad-brush summary and does not mean that specific approaches and initiatives have not been cost-effective.

Moreover, it is clear that that purposes of neighbourhood policy management are perceived quite differently by different stakeholders. This is illustrated very clearly by an evaluation of one Scottish CPP, where the evaluators concluded: “It was apparent that the shared meaning of [Action Partnerships] between its members varies significantly. The elected members appear more focused on concerns of accountability for funding decisions, whereas the limited number of community representatives concentrated on the potential of participatory budgeting and the APs' role in tackling inequalities, and the need to strengthen the reach and inclusion and engagement of local communities” (Christie and Bynner 2018: 25).

There have been very few evaluations of CPPs but these caveats about the success of neighbourhood management are echoed in an evaluation of an East of Scotland CPP by Lamie and Ball (2010), who found that stakeholders believed partnership was working reasonably well and had a number of strengths, including a strong recognition of the need to work in partnership and to develop trust. They also agreed that the partnership had accomplished substantial past achievements, particularly because of goodwill on the part of the members. However, they also highlighted some weaknesses, including a lack of connection with those working in more strategic levels within the organisation and

the need to adopt a better communications strategy. There was also a need to identify more clearly defined service outcomes and to have a sufficient number of 'boundary spanners' who work between as well as within the organisations involved. However, perhaps the most worrying conclusion from many of the stakeholders was that service delivery had not improved – a warning signal that better collaboration and partnership working may not be sufficient in itself to improve service and quality of life outcomes.

The Improvement Service (2016: 44) in its review of place-based working in Scotland pointed out some of the challenges which remain: "In contrast to various historical approaches, which involved significant injections of external funding, a major challenge in place-based working going forward relates to embedding effective approaches by utilising mainstream resources and community assets. Much of this will also entail attitudinal changes to traditional models of service design and delivery."

3.2. Neighbourhood Management in Germany

Table 3: Characteristics of neighbourhood management in Germany

Main Themes	Sub-Themes
Definition of neighbourhood management (context-specific) as a place, people and service management system	
Key governmental characteristics (administrative status, size in terms of population and area)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Federal system based on local self-government. - States are responsible for local government which means that there are 16 different local government constitutions in Germany. - There are two types of neighbourhoods in Germany: municipal districts (Ortsbezirke) within bigger unitary municipalities of the German states and metropolitan districts of bigger cities such as Berlin. - Huge variation in the territorial size of municipal districts and metropolitan districts. - Huge variation in the number of inhabitants at sub-municipal level (e.g. in Frankfurt neighbourhoods range from 4,000 to 100,000 inhabitants).
Historical development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Origins at state-level, in particular the city states Berlin, Bremen and Hamburg in the late 1970s. - In 1999 development of a joint federal-state government programme 'Social City' (<i>Soziale Stadt</i>) to improve public infrastructure in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. - In 2016 improved coordination at departmental level through the cross-departmental Strategy 'Social City. Strengthening Neighbourhoods, Collaborative Neighbourhoods' at the Federal level. - In 2020 the Programme 'Social City' will be developed further through the new Programme 'Social Cohesion – Shaping Together Community Interactions in the Neighbourhood' (<i>Sozialer Zusammenhalt - Zusammenleben im Quartier gemeinsam gestalten</i>).
Organizational structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The establishment of municipal and metropolitan districts may be mandatory or voluntary depending on the state constitution. In most states, big cities introduced sub-municipal districts voluntarily but the states of North Rhine-Westphalia and Hesse passed legal regulations which made the establishment of sub-municipal districts mandatory. Also, in Bavaria sub-municipal districts became mandatory in cities over 100,000 inhabitants. - The state government has the responsibility for developing and implementing the 'Social City' funding programmes. The Federal level is responsible for strategic management. This is provided by the Department of the Interior and for Infrastructure and Homeland, in cooperation with the Federal Agency for Building, Urban and Space Research.

Public governance (governed by law or tradition?, obligatory or voluntary?, top-down or bottom-up?, bureaucratic or innovative?, coordination or partnership working?)	
Institutional status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sub-municipal districts are led by directly elected bodies. Their institutional status is regulated in the local government constitution and by acts of the German states. For example, in the state of Hesse, the number of the members of a sub-municipal district council is related to the size of the sub-municipal district: Districts with less than 8,000 inhabitants can have between three and nine council members whereas districts with more than 8,000 inhabitants can have a maximum of 19 council members. - The election of the municipal district councils takes place at the same time as the sub-municipal elections in each state, and the legislative periods are harmonised as well (typically 5-6 years, e.g. in Hesse 5 years). Although party politics is usually less important in sub-municipal district councils, most candidates still belong to a political party.
Roles and responsibilities of key stakeholders and links with other actors (in relation to neighbourhood management)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In general, sub-municipal districts are allowed to intervene in all important aspects relevant to the district. - Sub-municipal districts have two key roles: one is to be informed and comment (monitoring function) and the other one is the right to make proposals (planning function). - In practice, often sub-municipal district councils play a more reactive monitoring role than a proactive planning role. - Sub-municipal districts also have administrative responsibilities. In particular, bigger sub-municipal districts manage public services such as libraries, sports and leisure centres and community centres. - The relationships between stakeholders are highly context-specific and shaped by the local government constitutions and acts at state-level. - There is often confusion about responsibilities of neighbourhood managers and other managers at neighbourhood level. - Within the Programme 'Social City', relationships typically are very collaborative, both between federal, state, local governments and sub-municipal units and between sub-municipal units and external stakeholders, such as local business and NGOs - In all state, since the 1990s there have been reforms to introduce elements of participatory democracy and direct democracy.
Capacity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the lack of clearly described responsibilities often leads to dissatisfaction with job quality and ultimately increases staff turnover, often exacerbated by part-time or term contracts employments, high demands and fuzzy or even contradictory job descriptions.
Financial Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Grants from the Federal Government are made available to the states abased on Article 104b of the German Basic Law. They amount to one third of the costs eligible for public funding. The states and local authorities have to provide together the remaining two thirds of the funding.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - As of the end of 2019, the ‘Social City’ Programme provided funding for 965 public infrastructure projects in 544 local authorities. - In 2014 the Federal budget for the Programme ‘Social City’ was increased from 40 Mio. Euro in 2013 to 150 Mio. Euro. In 2015 the Federal government funded another 150 Mio. Euro for the Programme ‘Social City’, in 2016 the funding was 140 Mio. Euro. In 2017 the budget from the Federal Government was increased to 190 Mio. Euro. In 2018 and 2019 the Federal Government provided the same amount of funding to the states.
Monitoring and Evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There are no specific audit mechanisms for sub-municipal units but they are subject to the same audits from the state level as local government generally.
Governance pitfalls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sub-municipal units often lack sufficient autonomy to be able to make binding decisions which blurs accountability. -
Effects of neighbourhood management on public value	
Evidence of improved quality of life at neighbourhood level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Indicators of improved social outcomes (e.g. higher levels of employment, public health)

The concept and evolution of neighbourhood management in Germany

This description and analysis of neighbourhood management in Germany will distinguish between neighbourhood management at sub-municipal level and neighbourhood management of disadvantaged areas and communities within the federal-state programme ‘Social City’. The overview of neighbourhood management in municipal and metropolitan districts draws strongly on the edited volume *Sub-municipal Governance in Europe: Decentralization beyond the Municipal Tier*, which provides the most comprehensive and up-to-date description and assessment of sub-municipal governance in a number of European countries, including Germany. In the case of the neighbourhood programme ‘Social City’, we have analysed government documentation, including two evaluation reports.

German local government is still characterised by a tradition of local self-government even though a new trend toward privatisation and outsourcing has somewhat hollowed out the responsibilities of German local authorities. Nevertheless, according to Article 28(2) of the German Basic Law “municipalities must be guaranteed the right to deal with all issues concerning local communities as their own responsibility, within the limits prescribed by the laws” (author’s translation). These broad responsibilities also affect neighbourhood management.

The concept of neighbourhood management in Germany is closely linked to collaborative governance involving multiple stakeholders. It is considered as an integrative approach to achieve multiple goals such as economic development, social development and the development of the built environment.

A key principle of neighbourhood management in Germany is the joint development of social spaces with which local residents identify (Mehnert und Kremer-Preiß 2016). Another key principle is the empowerment of local residents, in particular, disadvantaged groups. In other words, neighbourhood management is supposed to provide 'help for self-help' by enabling residents to organise themselves and to share responsibility for the development of their neighbourhood. This implies that neighbourhood management typically implies community co-production of public services and outcomes. According to Bahr und Kremer-Preiß (2018, 7) neighbourhood management in Germany is about the cooperation and network management between local stakeholders, the participation of local residents and the emergence of "local communities sharing responsibility", which develop social spaces together at sub-municipal level.

While neighbourhood management as a form of collaboration provides potential benefits through synergies, it also gives rise to tensions and conflicts between multiple stakeholders. In particular, the implementation of the 'Social City' Programme in Germany showed that there are often tensions between administrative structures defining a neighbourhood and the social space which local residents perceive as their neighbourhood (Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat 2020e).

Key governmental characteristics of neighbourhoods

It is important to note that in the German federal system, the states (*Länder*) are solely responsible for local government legislation, which means, that unlike in Turkey there are many different local government constitutions. However, since the 1990s all German states, except the city states of Berlin, Hamburg and Bremen, have introduced directly elected executive mayors, following the example of Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria. However, in the state of Hesse a special institutional arrangement applies, where a collegial body, called a Magistrate, constitutes the executive with the directly elected mayor being 'primus inter pares' within this Magistrate (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 94).

There are two types of sub-municipal units (SMUs) in Germany: municipal districts (*Ortsbezirke*), within bigger unitary municipalities of the German states, and metropolitan districts of bigger cities, such as Berlin. As a result of the states' responsibility for local government "there is still a broad variance regarding the size, functions, and political culture of SMUs within the Länder" (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 94).

In most states, big cities introduced SMUs voluntarily, but the states of North Rhine-Westphalia and Hesse passed legal regulations which made the establishment of SMUs mandatory. In Bavaria SMUs also became mandatory in cities over 100,000 inhabitants (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 94).

The development of municipal districts has been strongly shaped by territorial reforms at the local level. In order to avoid amalgamations, the states used two different territorial reform strategies. Those states where municipalities are often relatively small in terms of number of inhabitants (for example, Bavaria) decided to preserve existing small-scale local units, with the counties playing a key

role. However, other states such as Rhineland Palatinate tried to increase administrative efficiency by introducing a new layer of inter-communal bodies (*Verwaltungsgemeinschaften*) (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 95-96). “These offer administrative support to their member municipalities- the boards and directors of these bodies being elected by the councils of the member municipalities” (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 96). By contrast, some states such as North-Rhine Westphalia or Hesse a strategy of amalgamation was reinforced in order to create large enough municipalities to avoid the need to create an additional layer to provide coordination and support (Kersting and Kuhlmann x2018 96). NorthRhine-Westphalia, In particular, paid little attention to local identities in the creation of its sub-municipal units (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 97).

An interesting development took place in the East German state of Brandenburg, which adopted a territorial reform in 2003. As a result, some inter-municipal bodies were replaced by bigger ‘unified municipalities’ without completely dissolving the inter-municipal bodies, particularly, in the more rural areas (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 96).

The formation of sub-municipal units has to be understood as a strategy to counter negative effects of amalgamation. As suggested by Kersting and Kuhlmann (2018, 97), the introduction of sub-municipal councils (*Ortsbeiräte*) was meant to compensate for the loss of autonomy and self-regulation following an amalgamation. Furthermore, it was argued that sub-municipal units are closer to citizens and focus on specific neighbourhood issues so that the city council is able to focus on more strategic issues.

Historical Development

In post-war Germany neighbourhood management has a long tradition. It was first used in the 1970s and 1980s as an integrated policy approach to reduce economic and social inequalities at sub-municipal level in big cities such as Berlin, Hamburg and Bremen.

The implementation of Agenda 21 provided another push for neighbourhood management in Germany. In particular, the German city states used neighbourhood management in order to provide public grants at sub-municipal level since the 1990s. For example, Bremen set up the Programme ‘Living at Neighbourhood Level’ in 1992 and the state of NorthRhine-Westphalia set up the funding scheme ‘City Districts with Special Developmental Needs’ which was later also implemented in other states. In 1999, the national initiative ‘Social City’ (*Soziale Stadt*) was initiated. The name ‘Social City’ was initially quite controversial, as some local authorities feared a further stigmatisation of neighbourhoods benefitting from the Programme, since it was targeted at “neighbourhoods with special developmental needs – the Social City” through the funding of public infrastructure projects.

The Programme ‘Social City’ is targeted at economically or socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods and is an important part of federal-state urban development policies. The public investments have the purpose to improve the quality of the built environment, public infrastructure and the quality of life at neighbourhood level. The programme also aims to create lively neighbourhoods and to foster social cohesion (Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat 2020a). Therefore, the participation and co-production of local residents is considered to be important for social innovation, better public services and outcomes.

The investments are justified on the basis of article 104b of the Basic Law (which is the German constitution). Since its initiation, about 850 local areas in about 450 local authorities have benefitted from the programme (Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat 2020a).

The Programme 'Social City' not only requires a high level of integration at neighbourhood level but also coordination between different government departments and levels of government. An important impulse for better coordination was the set of 'beacon projects' decided in 2006, which involved additional funding from the Federal Government between 2006 and 2010 to enable the implementation of 781 projects.

In 2016 the Federal Government agreed the strategy 'Social City. Strengthening Neighbourhoods, Collaborative Neighbourhoods' (*Soziale Stadt. Nachbarschaften stärken, Miteinander im Quartier*) (Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat 2020b). The Federal government has earmarked about 10 million Euros from 2017-2020 for the implementation of this cross-departmental strategy (Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat 2020b). This funding will complement the funding for infrastructure projects of the Programme 'Social City' through local projects aimed at improving social integration.

Starting from 2020 it is intended that the Programme 'Social City' will be developed further through the new Programme 'Social Cohesion – Shaping Together Community Interactions in the Neighbourhood' (*Sozialer Zusammenhalt - Zusammenleben im Quartier gemeinsam gestalten*) (Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat 2020c). The objectives of this programme is to improve public infrastructure but also to diversify the benefits of neighbourhoods, to improve social integration and to strengthen cohesion at neighbourhood level. In particular, the new programme will put a stronger focus on neighbourhood management, citizen participation and voluntary engagement of citizens. This new programme has already given rise to three new pilot projects (Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat 2020d):

- 'Youth migration services at neighbourhood level', in cooperation with the Federal Department for Family, Seniors Women and Youth
- 'Strengthening consumers at neighbourhood level', in cooperation with the Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection
- 'UTOPOLIS – Socio-culture at neighbourhood level', with the Federal Agency for Culture and Media.

Organisational structure of neighbourhoods and of the federal state 'Social City' Programme

The organisational structure of neighbourhoods varies depending on the local government constitution of the respective state. The state of Hesse offers a particularly interesting example, as neighbourhood structures largely respect local identities and traditions. In the state of Hesse, local authorities are free to choose to have municipal districts if they want them. In fact, nearly all local authorities have introduced municipal districts but the definition of municipal districts and of the regulations concerning them differs from municipality to municipality (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 98). Most of the municipal districts were created just after the territorial amalgamation in the 1970s. "Therefore, older neighbourhoods and villages, as well as suburbs that were created later, mostly those that were not incorporated in the 1970s, did not get their own municipal district council, but were included in other districts. ...This led to a situation that in some cities such as Frankfurt (800,000

inhabitants), which introduced municipal districts in the whole territory, the districts ranged from 100,000 to 4000 inhabitants. The smaller municipal districts mostly respected old village structures” (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 98). In other cities in the state of Hesse, such as the old university city of Marburg, a different organisational structure was set up (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 98-99: Marburg was divided into 14 municipal districts but its city centre was excluded for decades and was not represented through a municipal council. The logic was that the city centre was considered to be over-represented in the city council, and there was also concern that this would lead to more bureaucracy. Only in 2015 was a municipal district set up to cover Marburg city centre.

As far as the organisational structure of metropolitan districts is concerned, the example of Berlin is very interesting, even though Berlin had a special status as a divided city following the second world war and as a capital city since German reunification in 1990. Berlin has been characterised as a decentralised unitary municipality with a two-tier model (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 104). This means that the districts were not full legal entities, although they benefited from extensive authority over organisational and personnel issues. However, the expansion of the public sector in Berlin mainly increased the power of the central-level city administration (*Senatsverwaltung*).

After reunification the relationship between the city administration and districts had to be rebalanced. First of all, political reforms were introduced which followed the introduction of similar elements of direct democracy in other German states. As a result, Berlin introduced a number of new participatory mechanisms in order to give local people a bigger say through popular initiatives, petitions and referendums at district level. Berlin districts are so-called ‘two-body systems’, made up of, first, the district government (*Bezirksamt*), consisting of the district mayor and four district councillors and, second, the district assembly (*Bezirksverordnetenversammlung*), which is the district’s self-government body and is composed of 55 directly elected members (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 106).

Institutional status of sub-municipal units

In Germany sub-municipal units are governed by directly elected bodies. According to the Hessian local government act, the number of the members of a municipal district council is related to the size of the municipal district: Districts with less than 8,000 inhabitants can have between three and nine council members, whereas districts with more than 8,000 inhabitants can have up to a maximum of 19 council members (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 99).

The election of the municipal district council takes place at the same time as the sub-municipal council elections in the states, and the legislative periods are harmonised as well (typically 5-6 years, in Hesse 5 years). Although party politics is usually less important in sub-municipal district councils, most candidates still belong to a political party (Kersting 2008, quoted in Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 99). “To be elected candidates, they have to be well known, and most of them have a long experience in local politics. Women, candidates from smaller parties, as well as young candidates are quite rare” (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 99-100).

In Berlin, the districts are composed of 55 directly elected members. It is not allowed for a politician to hold both a mandate at central city and district level at the same time. The district mayors and

district councillors, who are all full-time salaried elected officials, do not belong to the central-city House of Representatives, as stipulated in the Berlin state election law (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 106).

Neighbourhood management may also involve higher levels of government beyond the local government level, as is the case of funding provided through the 'Social City' Programme. Based on the federal structure of the German political system, the state governments have the responsibility for developing and implementing the 'Social City' funding programmes, including the definition of funding criteria. Strategic management, and a part of the funding, is the responsibility of the Federal level, specifically the Department of the Interior, for Infrastructure and Homeland in cooperation with the Federal Agency for Building, Urban and Space Research (Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat 2020d).

Apart from a few exceptions the states have co-financed the Social City' programme since 1999, with the option of add additional funding to the programme in their own state. Furthermore, the federal aid for the 'Social City' Programme can also be used by the states as national co-financing in relation to specific EU Programmes (the so-called 'EFRE Programmes'). The states of Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg and NorthRhine-Westphalia have the greatest number of local authorities benefiting from the "Social City" Programme (Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat 2020d, 11) and have seen continual increases in the numbers of such local authorities. The differences between the states result from different political and strategic priorities. For example, the distribution of funded projects within Germany shows a discrepancy between the East and West of the country - in states in Western Germany the 'Social City' Programme has been given greater emphasis than in the 'new' states, where the 'Social City' Programme is used more as an add-on to other public infrastructure programmes.

The following three principles are considered to be key success factors of the 'Social City' Programme (Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat 2020d):

- 1) *The integrated approach*: The use of the public funding is coordinated with the local authority and the respective neighbourhood. Furthermore, other external actors are *involved, depending on the local context*.
- 2) *Citizen participation and activation*: Local residents are involved in the planning and design of projects at an early stage. This improved project management and local participation strengthens ownership and commitment.
- 3) *Neighbourhood management*: An active neighbourhood management facilitates the coordination of local projects and promotes the development of local networks.

Another success factor is the 'learning approach' of all 'Social City' Programmes at federal, state and local levels (Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat 2020e, 10). From the very start of the implementation of the Programme, a lot of emphasis has been put on exchange of experiences, knowledge transfer and evaluations. The learning approach is also supported through the provision of staff and financial resources and organisational frameworks. In the first phase of the programme implementation (1999-2003) each state designated a 'model' area which benefitted from continuous external evaluation. Since 2003 the 'Social City' Federal Agency facilitates the exchange of experiences and information between all projects. Two intermediate evaluations of the national programme have

been published in 2004 and 2017. The insights gained from the evaluations were used to develop the next phases of the 'Social City' Programme. At local level, as well, the learning approach was used to probe local projects and methods and to adapt them if necessary. The development at neighbourhood level was assessed, based on social context factors and a continuous quantitative and qualitative monitoring which allows adjustments at both strategic and operational levels.

Roles and responsibilities of key stakeholders and and links with other actors (in relation to neighbourhood management)

Sub-municipal districts are considered to be a mediator between citizens and the local council, as well as the local administration (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 100). In general, they are allowed to intervene in all important aspects relevant to the district. For example, in the state of Hesse "the sub-municipal district council is responsible for and shall be consulted on all questions as well as complaints in regard to the municipal/local council area and can make proposals in all matters concerning the district, in particular the draft budget. It is responsible for all the incoming concerns submitted to the sub-municipal council in the district (Hessian Local Government Act HGO para 82 (3) quoted in Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 100). Specific responsibilities are mainly defined in the local charter. Kersting and Kuhlmann (2018, 100) stress in particular two functions of sub-municipal districts: one is to be informed and to comment (the monitoring function) and the other one is the right to make proposals (the planning function).

Specific monitoring functions include "the development of the local budget, change of district borders, changes in the local charter, development and changes of the territorial planning law, investments in the district, street naming, citizen forums, and the local festivals in the district" Kersting and Kuhlmann (2018, 100-101). In general, the municipal administration is responsible for keeping the sub-municipal district councillors informed. The municipal administration and the local council must consider the views of the sub-municipal district councils in decision-making processes. In particular, a sub-municipal district council has binding decision-making rights in relation to some traffic issues within its area. According to research by Kersting (2004) sub-municipal district council meetings often have long debates over controversial issues such as the renaming of streets, the placement of cultural or social facilities, the delineation of parks and pedestrian zones or other traffic issues.

In general, the right to make suggestions is not limited as far as the range of topics is concerned, as long as the suggestions focus on the sub-municipal district concerned. However, as Kersting and Kuhlmann (2018, 101) comment, sub-municipal districts mainly make suggestions related to traffic issues and the use of public facilities in the district, which means that their role is more reactive, with a focus on monitoring rather than pro-active with a focus on planning. Nevertheless, the council chair is mostly involved at an early stage in local planning processes which affect the district, in order to avoid opposition.

Finally, sub-municipal districts also have administrative responsibilities. In particular, bigger sub-municipal districts manage public services such as libraries, sports and leisure centres and community centres. "Although these are part of the city administration, in some cases the chair of the sub-municipal district council informally and formally fulfils administrative functions. These sub-municipal decentralised units are often confronted with severe fiscal problems" (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 102).

In Berlin, the districts have no formal local self-government authority. This means that, in contrast to other local councils in Germany, the district assemblies neither have statute nor taxation rights, nor are they allowed to decide upon budgets or the employment of civil servants (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 107). So far, the central-city assembly in Berlin still refuses to share the tax revenues of the city with the districts. “As a result, *the district administration* [sub-municipal districts] are legally regarded as part of the state [*Land*] administration and the district staff are viewed as state personnel” (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 108).

Nevertheless, the constitution of Berlin prescribes a general competence clause in favour of the districts which gives the districts a rather broad profile of tasks which they can undertake. The position of the districts has further been strengthened as a result of territorial reforms in 2001, which reduced the number of districts from 23 to 12. These newly created districts have an average of 300,000 inhabitants. Even though this has given the districts bigger political leverage, the responsibilities of the districts have been diminished by strong re-centralisation tendencies. For example, the increase of single-purpose authorities or public enterprises at city-level has weakened the multi-purpose profile of districts (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 109). This is also reflected in the decrease in the districts’ share of public employment in Berlin from 30 % in 2003 to 19% in 2016 (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 109).

As Kersting and Kuhlmann (2018, 101) point out, many sub-municipal districts are demanding more rights to participate in municipal government, including the right to speak in the city council. At present, this is often denied by the administration as well as by the city council (even though this right to speak exists in the council committees). Furthermore, some sub-municipal districts demand the right to table a bill in the council, on which the council would have to vote, which would extend their existing rights, which only allows them to submit proposals which the council can simply ignore (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 101).

Some sub-municipal district councillors go further, demanding an extended sub-municipal budget, which would allow them to plan projects at district level (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 101). While such a ‘neighbourhood budget’ is possible according to existing legislation, in practice it plays a minor role. Indeed, most proposals from sub-municipal districts refer to the overall city budget, where the local council has the final say.

In the state of Hesse, the municipality can delegate to the sub-municipal district council some matters for decision-making, as long as its final decision does not interfere with the unity of local administration – in this case, the sub-municipal district council is responsible for the provision of the funds to carry out the tasks concerned (Hessian local government act HGO para 82(4) quoted in Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 102). This enables the city council to provide sub-municipal district councils with more binding decision-making rights but, in practice, this does not happen to a large extent.

As Kersting (2004) suggests, most city councillors do not know much about the work of sub-municipal districts. As a result, councillors of municipal districts often complain about their lack of influence. As Kersting and Kuhlmann (2018, 102) suggest, sub-municipal district councils often rely on strong informal relationships with the city administration, rather than on their formal links.

A study by the Bertelsmann Foundation on the effectiveness of neighbourhood management (Bahr and Kremer-Preiß 2018) revealed that the tasks of public managers and other stakeholders involved

in neighbourhood management are often unclearly described, so it is often unclear who is responsible for what.

In Berlin, there has been a functional weakening of the districts vis-à-vis the central city and a rolling back of local public services in general. According to Kersting and Kuhlmann (2018, 110), there are various reasons for this trend: the centralisation of an increasing number of tasks has been justified by the need to create uniform living conditions throughout Berlin. Another key driver has been the fiscal crisis and the need to cut back public services. Finally, the centralisation in Berlin may reflect a general trend toward more single-purpose agencies, public enterprises and other new forms of public service provision in OECD countries.

Capacity

A study by the Bertelsmann Foundation on the effectiveness of neighbourhood management has revealed key capacity issues (Bahr and Kremer-Preiß 2018). First, the tasks of public managers and other stakeholders involved in neighbourhood management are often unclearly described. As a result, it is often unclear who is responsible for what. Secondly, the lack of clearly described responsibilities often leads to dissatisfaction with the job quality, and ultimately increases staff turnover. For example, an evaluation study of about 300 neighbourhood projects funded between 2012 and 2017 has shown that more than every fourth project was affected by staff fluctuation. According to Kremer-Preiß and Mehnert (2018) the reasons may lie in part-time or term-contract employment and in the high demands on staff, coupled with fuzzy or even contradictory job descriptions.

Financial structure

Financial aid from the Federal Government related to the Programme 'Social City' is made available to the states based on Article 104b of the German Basic Law. Art. 104b of the German Constitution allows the Federal Government to grant financial aid for significant investments to the states in order to deal with economic disequilibrium, to reduce disparities of economic capacity at national level or to promote economic growth.

In particular, this legal framework allows the Federal Government to contribute funds to financial investments which are the responsibility of the states and local authorities – hence the term 'financial aid'. This regulation allows the Federal Government to provide federal aid "in a targeted and flexible way to solve specific problems" (BT-Drs. 16/813, p. 19. quoted in Bundestag 2018, 4). The Federal Government is free to decide whether any specific financial aid is to be granted at all and the duration of this federal aid. However, the states have a say in deciding the kind and extent of Federal Financial Aid Programmes such as 'Social City'.

The federal aid amounts to one third of the costs eligible for public funding. The states and local authorities then contribute together the remaining two thirds of the necessary funding. It is important to note that the federal aid must not be made dependant on permissions in specific cases nor is the Federal Government allowed to interfere with the selection of projects (Bundestag 2018, 4-5). However, in 2017 (as part of a wider financial reform) two changes were made to Article 104b. According to Art. 104b Para. 2 Page. 2 GG the Federal Government can issue a Federal Law or

Administrative Agreement on the implementation of the state programmes which benefit from federal aid. The purpose of this change is to ensure a more efficient use of public grants based on nationally consistent implementation. Furthermore, in 2017 Art. 104b Para. 2 Page. 4 GG was added, which enables the Federal Government to check reports and documents to ensure that the Federal Aids have been used according to the relevant criteria (Deutscher Bundestag 2018,5).

By the end of 2019, the ‘Social City’ Programme provided funding for 965 public infrastructure projects in 544 local authorities (Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat 2020c).

The distribution of federal aids within the ‘Social City’ Programme from 1999-2019 is mapped at: https://www.staedtebaufoerderung.info/StBauF/DE/Programm/SozialeStadt/soziale_stadt_node.html. As the map shows, local authorities in North-Rhine Westphalia and Rhine-Main area have benefitted considerably as well as the Cities of Berlin and Hamburg. In 2017 about a third of all projects benefitted big and medium-sized cities, the remaining third of the funding went to small local authorities and rural areas (BBSR 2019: 33). The context of all local authorities taking part in ‘Social City’ projects is highly diverse, varying greatly in respect of their built environment, economic structure, location and population level. In general, the duration of ‘Social City’ projects is typically under ten years (BBSR 2019, 42 quoted in Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat 2020e).

The Federal budget for the ‘Social City’ Programme increased very significantly in 2014 and was increased again in 2017 but has remained relatively stable since then – see Table 4. This means that in the last 20 years the Federal Government provided states with financial aid of about 2.1 billion Euro (as of 2019) (Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat 2020e,15).

Table 4: Federal budget for the ‘Social City’ Programme

Year	Federal budget for the ‘Social City’ Programme (Mio Euro)
2013	40
2014	150
2015	150
2016	140
2017	190
2018	190
2019	190

Source: Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat (2020c).

Governance pitfalls

In Germany sub-municipal districts were formed after the territorial reforms and amalgamations in the 1970s as a compensation for the loss of autonomy (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 102). They gained in importance during the 1990s as a motor for social innovation, volunteering and community development. Bigger sub-municipal districts also play an important administrative function. However,

most sub-municipal districts are challenged by financial problems, which partly stem from their size and lack of opportunities to raise revenue from taxes or charges for the services they provide. Furthermore, the trend to provision of one-stop shops and digital public services may imply a 'hollowing out' of sub-municipal governance in the future (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 103), with these very local units tending to disappear behind the 'brand' of the 'overall customer service provider'.

On the other hand, given 'wicked issues' such as climate change and resilience, sub-municipal governance may become more important in the future, as it allows for decentralised energy production and consumption and social innovation through small-scale experimentation. However, this raises the question whether some metropolitan districts (e.g. those with over 100,000 citizens) are actually too big to harness the benefits of decentralised structures at the local level. For example, it is striking that the Borough of Berlin Lichtenberg divided up its districts into smaller neighbourhoods in order to make participatory budgeting more effective (Martin and Loeffler 2016). This highlights how the drive for service efficiency may have driven many municipalities to choose a scale of sub-municipal entities which is too large for the effective mobilisation of community commitment, capabilities and collective sense of purpose.

Effects of neighbourhood management – monitoring and evaluation approaches and results

As Kersting and Kuhlmann (2018, 102) suggest, there has been little empirical research on the effectiveness of municipal and metropolitan districts in Germany. Nevertheless, data from surveys of 2700 citizens and 600 councillors from 2014 show that sub-municipal district councils are regarded as an effective instrument in local politics (Gabriel and Kersting 2014). In this survey, 70% of the citizens and 71% of the councillors regard sub-municipal districts as a very effective participation approach. Nevertheless, "some councillors are quite sceptical about parochial '(sub-) local heroes' interfering in their domain" (Kersting and Kuhlmann 2018, 102).

However, there have been two major intermediate evaluations of the 'Social City' Programme, which were undertaken 10 and 20 years after its launch. The second intermediate evaluation showed that the 'Social City' Programme had made a positive impact in terms of improving the built environment, creating new public facilities and a better educational infrastructure, and building up local networks but that sometime expectations regarding the reduction of social inequalities had been too high (Bundesinstitut für Bau-, Stadt- und Raumforschung 2017). This higher-level goal may require longer-term interventions which go beyond the duration of 'Social City' projects. In order to make the initial improvements more sustainable, the evaluation report recommends that a 'follow-up' phase should be started already during the lifetime of the programme. During this phase all stakeholders concerned should be asked to create new structures which are independent of the current funding, in order to stabilise the success achieved. Another key recommendation was to improve the policy coordination at state and federal level and to strengthen neighbourhood management in the neighbourhoods concerned.

Furthermore, the state of NorthRhine-Westphalia has had a strong focus on evaluation, which not only involved project evaluations but also included the definition and measurement of socio-demographic and economic context indicators, the qualitative analysis of change processes and the identification of good practice cases in selected policies.

3.3. Neighbourhood management in France

Table 5: Characteristics of neighbourhood management in France

Main Themes	Sub-Themes
Definition of neighbourhood management (context-specific) as a place, people and service management system	
Key governmental characteristics (administrative status, size in terms of population and area)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historically governed by powerful, geographically centralised government - High emphasis on the role of local government and on the state in general, as a ‘guardian of the public interest’. - Trend over recent years for greater political decentralisation – starting in 1980s with transfer of responsibilities and tax raising powers to local government, as well as the creation of a new elected tier of government at the regional level. - Nevertheless, retention of strong central steer, partly through <i>prefets</i> in <i>departements</i>. - Huge variation in the territorial size of municipalities, with very large number of very small communes. - High level of involvement of locally elected politicians. - Urban problems of rising unemployment, racism, and a rapidly deteriorating urban fabric.
Historical development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A series of experimental and innovative urban regeneration projects were launched during the course of the 1980s - <i>Développement Sociale des Quartiers</i>, <i>Zones d'Éducation Prioritaire</i>, and <i>Conseils Communaux de Prévention de la Délinquance</i>. - Most of these innovative schemes relied on a partnership model between local actors and central government ministries. - Origins of <i>Politique de la Ville</i>, French equivalent of British inner city policy - The innovative local projects which emerged exposed the weakness of addressing complex issues of social exclusion and urban regeneration at a national level through the programmes of individual ministries - The reforms did not address the very small size of the majority of communes and all communes were treated exactly the same in relation to increased powers and autonomy, with little attention to the scale of the problems faced by particular localities, the resources available to tackle them, or mechanisms for inter-communal assistance. - Strengthened decentralisation measures in 1990s, including transfer at national level of some finance from richer to poorer communes and an anti-ghetto act to prevent concentration of social housing at the periphery of major urban areas. - Contrat de Ville model launched in 1988 , leading to complex and lengthy negotiations between central ministries and local authorities, followed by a pilot programme. - The Contrat de Ville emerged not as a general development plan but as a plan to tackle specific social and economic problems in urban areas through an agreed inter-agency strategy designed to encourage

	<p>coherence between the plans of the various ministries and local authorities.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It is generally agreed that the Contrat de Ville initiative has represented an important step forward in the management and delivery of urban policy. It is based on partnership within the public sector between Central Ministries, their field services and local authorities, with collaboration and coordination of state ministries at national and local levels to an extent which previously would have been thought inconceivable. - Local authorities have been drawn into this process as partners in influencing the manner in which central government policies are delivered at the local level, as well as facilitating their adaptation to local circumstances. - The Loi Vaillant of 2003 required local government to designate and establish Neighbourhood Councils in all cities with a population of over 80,000, to provide residents with a voice in local policy making and a resident feedback mechanism for city government. (Durose et al.)
<p>Organizational structure and institutional status</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The National Urban Renewal Programme (PNRU) was based on very strong interaction between mayors and national government representatives - the mayor was the key person at local level, speaking for all other partners in the dialogue with the national government and its agencies - The mayor is also in charge of the definition and implementation of the master plan at strategic level in the municipality. - Below the level of the mayor, there are various different approaches to organising neighbourhood management. - One approach which has been studied in detail is that of the small city of Roubaix, which established Neighbourhood Councils. These served populations of approximately 20,000 each. Each Neighbourhood Council consisted of 80 members, of whom half were residents, meeting every two months and led by the Neighbourhood Mayor, an existing elected politician. - The 'regies de quartier' (so-called 'neighbourhood management companies') are formed largely from neighbourhood residents and their operations cover maintenance and services the neighbourhood. 'Regies de quartier' are usually commissioned by housing associations, municipal services and residents. - In the PNRU, municipal authorities were encouraged to engage local residents through consultation processes which varied from city to city but was often limited. - The law on <i>programmation pour la ville et la cohésion urbaine</i>, established in February 2014, introduced the new concept of '<i>conseils citoyens</i>' ('citizens councils') to ensure the co-production of local revitalization projects with residents - independent political bodies, established in all priority neighbourhoods, which have the aim of actively involving citizens in each neighbourhood in the development and implementation of the <i>Contrats de Ville</i>.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Some institutional characteristics make France rather different from many other countries – e.g. the term ‘community’ as a designation for people living in a same area has no proper translation in French. - There are many associations, including in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, but they are usually based on ethnic groups or cultural and leisure activities, and can hardly pretend to represent a whole local community.
<p>Public governance (governed by law or tradition?, obligatory or voluntary?, top-down or bottom-up?, bureaucratic or innovative?, coordination or partnership working?)</p>	
<p>Roles and responsibilities of key stakeholders and links with other actors (in relation to neighbourhood management)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A key element of neighbourhood management in France is its integration into wider public sector planning and management systems. - Consequently, all stakeholders in neighbourhood management are expected to contribute not only to the improvement of their own neighbourhood but also to the achievement of wider public services and public plans. - An example of how these roles interact with each other is the case of Toulouse, where the mayor of the central urban communes was opposed by powerful alliances of smaller communes and the Départements. Here, the prefect used the mechanism of the <i>Contrat de Ville</i> to mediate between the local mayors and, in return, pressed for ‘solidarity’ around the <i>Contrat de Ville</i> and collaboration on distributional issues outside the immediate sphere of the <i>Contrat de Ville</i> (- Similarly in the case of the Lille metropolitan area, with 86 communes, the communes with the greatest to gain from the development opportunities arising from the Channel Tunnel (the TGV highspeed train link, station and conference/office developments) agreed with the poorer communities of Roubaix and Tourcoing to a conurbation wide strategy which linked an economic development strategy with a <i>Contrat de Ville</i> programme designed to tackle its social problems. - Successive evaluation reports on the PNRU have stressed that more innovation was necessary and suggested that agencies should work in new ways along with residents and also with the mayors and local elected officials. - Tensions can arise between longstanding Neighbourhood Committees and the more recently established Neighbourhood Councils, especially as they cover rather larger areas than the areas with which residents naturally identify. - Neighbourhood Councils have a focus on engaging residents and officers in democratic debate (particularly around strategy and local services) but often do not invest significant decision making power with the residents themselves, which causes active debate between the residents and the elected representatives. - In Roubaix this was partly dealt with by organising resident engagement at this ‘real’ neighbourhood level and the interaction of Neighbourhood Councils and the smaller scale, resident-led Neighbourhood Committees in Roubaix was considered particularly

	<p>successful, although it also added to the complexity of local governance, including citizen engagement and democratic renewal.</p>
Capacity and Financial Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - As part of the National Urban Renewal Programme (PNRU), by the end of 2013, almost 490 neighbourhoods were being extensively regenerated, covering nearly 4 million inhabitants at a cost of 45 billion euros, in projects subsidized by the ANRU at nearly 26 per cent. - In a number of French cities, participatory budgeting has been used to increase the local resources available to neighbourhoods. - An example of a well-set up Neighbourhood Committee is provided by Roubaix, where each Neighbourhood Committee was supported by 10-15 permanent staff, including the <i>Cadre de Vie</i> Technician (community life technician) who dealt with the daily contacts with residents, coordinates local services and supported partnership initiatives (managing an annual budget of Euro 100,000 to spend on micro-urban renewal projects, in partnership with the local authority). - In France the main policy streams operate within similar time frames, including the Contrats de Ville, adoption of operational (French and EU) programs and electoral mandates, representing a unique opportunity to combine political mobilisation of the European programmes for the benefit of residents of priority neighbourhoods. -
Monitoring and Evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Monitoring and evaluation have been constant requirements imposed by central government on the various neighbourhood management initiatives which it has initiated and funded. - Different approaches have been tried, including the involved of top management, such as the prefects in the <i>departements</i>, national bodies (such as the <i>Cour des Comptes</i>, the national public sector audit body), and also bottom-up approaches, involving citizens and community associations. - The data agency <i>Observatoire National des Zones Urbaines Sensibles</i> (ONZUS) provides systematic national monitoring of neighbourhoods in difficulty. - However, limited participation of citizens involved in urban renewal was one of the weaknesses of the first phase of the programme. - Consultation often consisted mainly of information dissemination and collecting citizen reactions, without allowing citizens any influence. - The law of 21 February 2014 on city and urban cohesion determined that, at the local level, “citizens will be included in the formulation, monitoring and assessment of the 2014-2020 <i>Contrats de Ville</i> which will give rise to the set-up of “citizen councils” in each priority neighbourhood” - A series of evaluations and reports has been undertaken on how to get better results from urban and neighbourhood policy but there is a paradox arising from these evaluations - although the French [neighbourhood improvement] programmes have had a more critical evaluation, they still continue, whereas many English programmes showed modest successes, but have been abolished.

<p>Governance pitfalls</p>	<p>Governance pitfalls which emerge from the experience of neighbourhood governance in France include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low levels of engagement of residents in neighbourhood especially by the Neighbourhood Committees • Neighbourhood's boundaries often reflect more the requirements of the local authority than the sense of identity and interactions of residents. • Weak mechanisms for holding neighbourhood initiatives accountable, with little use of performance information • Strong intervention powers (and practices) of higher levels of government in neighbourhood policies and issues, sometimes undermining legitimacy of neighbourhood bodies. • Competition or lack of collaboration between local representative bodies, each claiming to represent the people of the neighbourhood, e.g. Neighbourhood Committees and Neighbourhood Councils. • Lack of representativeness of some of the neighbourhood bodies. • Lack of integration of voluntary sector organisations and private firms into local governance arrangements, with strong dominance of different tiers of government and various public sector bodies. <p>diversify membership of the Neighbourhood Councils and including professionals and representative organisations alongside residents (Durose et al. 2011).</p>
<p>Effects of neighbourhood management on public value</p>	
<p>Evidence of improved quality of life at neighbourhood level</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Since 2003, the National Urban Renewal Programme (PNRU) embodied an ambitious public policy toward neighbourhood revitalization, including massive public investment, shared between national and local levels in order to drastically change the quality of life in disadvantaged neighbourhoods - Evaluations suggest that the primary objective of abolishing the rundown image of neighbourhoods classified as Sensitive Urban Zones (ZUS), by reducing the stigma attached to housing and changing the urban planning landscape, had in large part been achieved, although not necessarily with long-term sustainability. - Great physical transformations has often been achieved - but the overall socio-economic impact in targeted neighbourhoods has been categorised as insufficient. - Reasons may include that, first, the programme had been too top-down and, second, there was an undue predominance of public actors among the partnerships and funding sources, with too involvement of the private and civil sectors. - The funding of the PNRU from 2003 to 2013 was exclusively public or quasi-public money, coming from national and local governments, public housing authorities, and public banking institutions but rarely leveraging private funding or implementing a public-private partnership (PPP) framework. - Moreover, some social outcomes actually worsened during this period in the priority areas and inequalities persisted, despite a decade of reforms.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The unprecedented physical renovation efforts were poorly linked to social interventions. - It was even uncertain if poorest neighbourhoods in practice got the 'budgetary 'priority' to which they were entitled. - There were risks that specific budget allocations had substituted for mainstream spending. - While the urban renovation programme has improved infrastructure, and a large majority of residents are satisfied with the results, the impact on social mix is unclear. - There is a need for better integration of neighbourhood policies with employment and social policies. - Limited participation of the relevant citizens was one of the weaknesses of the first phase of the programme – in the future, softer forms of rehabilitation should be considered, including co-production approaches, such as tenants being allowed get receiving materials and professional assistance to improve their buildings themselves. - Whereas the first wave of urban renewal focused almost exclusively on town planning, the new citizen councils provide an opportunity to focus much more on social and employment policies to improve life in poor neighbourhoods.
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Key governmental characteristics (administrative status, size in terms of population and area)

Historically France, like the UK, has been governed by a powerful, geographically centralised government. However, in the 1980s, the French government embarked on an ambitious programme of decentralisation, transferring some responsibilities and tax raising powers to local government, as well as creating a new elected tier of government at regional level (Mawson and Le Gales 1995).

There are 13 regions in France and 101 departments, 96 of which are in France. The department has responsibility for aid for the elderly, infants and disabled; local energy policy, including connecting to the electric grid; managing and maintaining education infrastructure; maintaining transport infrastructure; and promoting sports and cultural activities.

Apart from municipal arrondissements in the largest cities, the *communes* (local authorities) are the lowest level of administrative division in France. They have extensive autonomous powers for local policy as well as for implementing national policy. They are governed by elected officials, namely the mayor and the council (*conseil municipal*). Decentralisation of local government is most obvious from the fact that there are over 35,000 local authorities (*communes*) in France, the average size of which is 1700 inhabitants, with a median population of only 380 (in the 1999 census) – indeed, French communes have the lowest median population in Europe – for example, in Spain it was 584 and in Italy it was 2343 (both in 2001). The [median](#) area of communes at the 1999 census was 10.73 square kilometres, smaller than that of most European countries. Moreover, a major conurbation may comprise a large number of these small jurisdictions, multiplying problems of coordination and coherent city-wide strategy.

In France, the local level plays a smaller role in terms of current public expenditure than in other European countries but, on the other hand, 70% of public investments are made by local governments. Although local government debt is restricted to investment expenditure, it is not bound to any other limits. However, communes must keep to a strict, *ex ante*, monitored balanced budget rule, otherwise the prefectures as oversight bodies and central government representatives in the region can take over, although this happens only rarely (Millet 2019).

Inter-municipal cooperation is often undertaken through the *Établissements Publics de Coopération Intercommunales* (EPCIs), a type of territorial entity responsible for the joint management of tasks which historically belonged to a group of municipalities. Municipalities are free to form an EPCI, which has its own council, elected by the boards of its member municipalities. They mainly cover economic development, promotion of tourism, and water and waste management, and (in urban areas), local urban planning (Millet 2019).

It is important to bear in mind that the term 'community' is avoided in France, because, in principle, the French Republic deals directly with individual citizens or their elected representatives. Although, in the context of urban policy, public authorities are mandated to deal with legally constituted 'associations' that represent groups of citizens, the Republic does not recognize other forms of collective representation (Hall and Hickman 2010).

While in France there is great emphasis on the role of the state in general, as a 'guardian of the public interest', this also covers local government, in contrast to the situation in England, where local government is subordinate to central government. This status of the state as a guardian of the general interest, and of the communes as the most democratic level of government, has traditionally led to a high level of involvement of locally elected members (Smith, Lepine and Taylor, 2007). Moreover, there is a tradition in France of the public sector leading many major policies and infrastructure projects, unlike the more partnership based approach in the UK, and France also has greater experience of strategic working between tiers of government (Hall and Hickman 2010, 691).

Despite its commitment to decentralisation, the French government has nevertheless sought to retain at the same time a strong central steer in the case of the management of cities and local government – for example, in the development of the famous *Contrat de Ville*, the prefects played an increasingly dominant role. Consequently, in its search for a decentralised urban policy, and with its commitment to economic and social redistribution (*Solidarité urbaine*), the state has nevertheless used its traditional instruments of power to maintain the Jacobin tradition of guaranteeing national solidarity (Mawson and Le Gales 1995).

The French Constitution does not foresee formal structures at the sub-municipal level. However, the General Code for Territorial Collectivities (*Code général des collectivités territoriales*) foresees that in municipalities of more than 80,000 inhabitants, the municipality must subdivide into *quartiers*, each of which must have a council or *conseil de quartier*, sub-municipal units whose existence, functions and organization are determined by the municipality (European Committee of the Regions 2020, 16).

Moreover, in recent years the Macron government has been accused of dividing France, giving rise to the *gilets jaunes* movement. Relationship between the president and local politicians have been frosty. Since 2014, 750 mayors have resigned (more than ever before), while more than 50 percent do not intend to run again in the local elections in 2020. They feel abandoned by the state in coping with their everyday problems and increasingly see their competences curtailed, so that they are less able to play their dual role of acting as representatives of the state and, simultaneously, as directly elected representatives of their community (Kempin and Tokarski 2019).

Meanwhile, social and economic problems remain serious. While overall poverty is relatively low in France, it is often highly concentrated at the neighbourhood level - in some neighbourhoods, 40% of households are below the relative poverty line. In 2011, 8,279,000 people lived below the poverty line (€977 a month), equal to 14.3% of the population. In sensitive urban zones, this poverty level was 36.5% in 2011 and up to 51.5% among under 18s (the national average was 19.5%) (Gautier and Masclauz 2015, 72). In the poorest neighbourhoods, unemployment is high, children struggle in school, housing and urban infrastructure is run down, and there is a lack of local jobs, public and private services, and amenities (Brandt 2017). Brandt (2017) suggests that these problems are partly due to discrimination - those with foreign-sounding names or addresses in lower-income areas are less likely to obtain job interviews – but also due to many lower-income neighbourhoods being remote and poorly connected to transport infrastructure and services (and to low-skilled workers being less likely to have a driver’s license or own a car).

Historical development

Millet (2019) describes the French history of decentralisation as a story with three acts:

Act 1: In 1982 legislation gave more shape to the constitutional principle of local autonomy, allowing municipalities to vote on local tax rates and giving them greater fiscal autonomy.

Act 2: The constitutional law of 28 March 2003 focussed on the decentralised organisation of the republic, confirming financial autonomy of local authorities and raising the principle of equalisation, guaranteeing that the poorest administrations would still be able to deliver the same quality of public services through a redistribution mechanism

Act III: Between 2012 and 2016, a package of three laws modernised territorial public-sector action and reaffirmed the metropolitan areas (MAPAM law) and the country’s regional organisation.

During Act 1, in the 1980s and 1990s, the problems of French cities were greatly exacerbated by rising unemployment, racism, and a rapidly deteriorating urban fabric, issues which become the central pre-occupation of French policy, with a focus on small scale neighbourhood regeneration schemes (Mawson and Le Gales 1995). A series of experimental and innovative urban regeneration projects were launched during the course of the 1980s to tackle the urban crisis, most significantly the *Développement Sociale des Quartiers* (DSQ) programme, the *Zones d'Éducation Prioritaire* (ZEP) initiative designed to target teachers and education resources within deprived areas, and the *Conseils Communaux de Prévention de la Délinquance* (CCPD), a youth programme which brought together representatives from the police, the local courts, councillors, youth leaders and social workers (Mawson and Le Gales 1995). Most of these innovative schemes relied on a partnership model between local actors and central government ministries, although some of these ‘partners’ were not always enthusiastic participants. The national programmes and the local projects which emerged exposed the weakness of addressing complex issues of social exclusion and urban regeneration at a national level through the programmes of individual ministries (Mawson and Le Gales 1995).

In particular, the reforms did not address the very small size of the majority of communes - they were all given exactly the same increased powers and autonomy, with little attention to the scale of the problems faced by particular localities, the resources available to tackle them (particularly the lack of

tax income for the poorest communes), or what mechanisms were in place for inter-communal working (Mawson and Le Gales 1995).

The retreat by central government from direct service delivery, as responsibility for key aspects of social and urban policies were transferred to local government, was not matched by the policy response of those communes which gained the most from decentralisation. On the other hand, with little political influence, resources or organisational capacity, deprived suburbs and small industrial towns experienced problems they could not tackle, arising from the assimilation of their immigration population, the attendant social problems and the growth of the National Front (Mawson and Le Gales 1995). Many of these decentralization reforms therefore threatened to institutionalize the divide between disadvantaged neighbourhoods and richer communes (Hall and Hickman 2010, 692).

Eventually, some legislative changes were made including the passing of an Act in March 1991 which facilitated the transfer of a limited amount of finance from richer to poorer communes and an anti-ghetto act in May 1991, to prevent concentration of social housing at the periphery of major urban areas. Turning more specifically to the management of urban policy, the state resorted to the use of contracts, whereby central government offered additional finance and influence over its policies in return for securing a formal agreement from the local institutions of the state concerning their participation in a particular initiative, project or policy (Mawson and Le Gales 1995).

Urban policy in France from the 1990s onwards had three, well established, dimensions: mechanisms (such as the CDV) for long-term co-operation within and between tiers of government; time-limited, area based initiatives and neighbourhood management for fast 'quality of life' improvements locally; and national laws and norms to facilitate these initiatives.

The Contrat de Ville model, launched in 1988, emerged from a complex and lengthy period of negotiation between central government ministries and local authorities, including a pilot programme with 13 communes. Its purpose was to tackle specific social and economic problems in urban areas through an agreed, coherent inter-agency strategy, incorporating the plans of the various ministries and communes. It was generally agreed that the Contrat de Ville initiative represented an important step forward in the management and delivery of urban policy, helping to reduce the fragmentation and compartmentalism of central government and local authority bureaucracy. The contract process in many cases secured a degree of collaboration and coordination of state ministries at national and local levels to a much greater extent and helped communes and state field services to develop and implement together many experimental programmes. It achieved a strategic approach to urban management (in many cases for the first time) with enhanced targeting and delivery of public services for disadvantaged groups and areas (Mawson and Le Gales 1995).

As the initiative was regarded as a success by the government, it was, decided that the Contrat de Ville model would replace the previous neighbourhood regeneration schemes from 1994 onwards, intending to inject just under 10 billion francs over five years in the areas concerned, with 50% cent committed to housing (Mawson and Le Gales 1995). A programme of 214 CDVs was incorporated into the strategic, regional Contrat de Plan, and, hence, into the XIth National Plan (1994 to 1998). With its emphasis on crosscutting, territorial working and resident involvement, the CDVs represented an important mechanism for achieving the broader objectives of neighbourhood regeneration. The participation of local residents became a key priority for CDVs after 2000, although resident participation was still in its infancy and business involvement was very limited (Hall and Hickman 2010, 694).

In 1996, the City Regeneration Pact prioritized job creation, with the creation of 751 'sensitive urban zones' (ZUS) (population 4.5 million), plus around 400 'urban regeneration zones' (ZRU) were created,

with tax and social charges advantages, plus 44 'urban free zones' (ZFU) with additional advantages, particularly tax breaks for incoming businesses.

The Loi Vaillant of 2003 required communes to designate and establish Neighbourhood Councils in all cities with a population of over 80,000, to give residents a voice in local policy making and a feedback mechanism to city government (Durose et al. 2011). However, these could often be for quite large populations – e.g. in Roubaix they served approximately 20,000 residents each (Durose et al. 2011), led by a Neighbourhood Mayor (an existing elected politician), supported by 10-15 permanent staff. In spite of their size, Neighbourhood Councils such as that in Roubaix could focus on engaging residents and officers in democratic debate (particularly around strategy and local services) – however, this did not devolve significant decision-making power to residents (Durose et al. 2011). Subsequently, Contracts for Social Cohesion (CUCS) were developed in 2,200 neighbourhoods, with Residents' Participation Funds, through which small budgets of €5,000 were allocated to community associations via a straightforward and accessible application process (Durose et al. 2011) – this programme, run by another public agency (ACSE – *Agence pour la Cohésion Sociale et l'Égalité des chances*) subsidised social issues such as education, employment, culture, sports, and arts and unfortunately was not coordinated with the National Urban Renewal Programme (PNRU), run by the National Agency for Urban Renewal (ANRU), (Gilpoulon 2015).

New corporate, civil service and political structures were established to co-ordinate the activities of central government but, although the emphasis was primarily on improving the effectiveness of mainstream public investment and service provision, the Contrat de Ville focused mainly on inputs (expenditure), and there was little formal emphasis on monitoring and evaluation - the French approach placed greater emphasis on developing relationships between partners than on achieving immediate tangible results (Hall and Hickman 2010). Moreover, it promised strong ministerial intervention to override departmentalism; a pro-active role for central government as local partner; and, sufficient institutional capacity, both in local partners and within the apparatus of government itself, all of which were seen as prerequisites for managing complex area regeneration initiatives (Hall and Hickman 2010, 692).

However, by the mid-1990s it was widely recognized in France that the principles that underpinned Contrat de Ville were not always being translated into practice and, in particular, public intervention in deprived neighbourhoods still tended to be sector- based. In 1998, the highly influential report, *Demain la Ville*, presented to the government by the Mayor of Orleans, Jean- Pierre Sueur, was broadly) supportive of the basic principles underpinning the Contrat de Ville but highly critical of the way it had been implemented.

It concluded that the resources invested in regeneration by the state were not commensurate to the task; the administration of these resources was excessively complex and centralized; and the ability of local governments to raise tax was uneven and often inversely proportional to need. Moreover, the institutions of government were poorly adapted: centrally, there were too many structures outside the control of the minister responsible for urban affairs; and locally there was a proliferation of inter-communal structures with too little power and/or democratic legitimacy. Finally, the Contrats de Ville were not fully comprehensive in their coverage, objectives were vague, procedures were complex; and evaluation was inadequate.

One of the key principles upon which urban policy in France is based is encouraging greater social mix across each city - by definition, it is considered impossible to regenerate a deprived neighbourhood from within; hence the preoccupation with inter-communal collaboration. However, this has given rise to an on-going (and unresolved) debate on the appropriate balance between long term,

conurbation-wide measures to counter social exclusion and short term, neighbourhood-focused interventions to improve the daily lives of residents (Hall and Hickman 2010, 694).

While urban policy in France seeks to transform disadvantaged neighbourhoods irrevocably, the very large numbers of neighbourhoods involved in CDV and the subsequent diffuse nature of investment makes this difficult. Consequently, 50 GPVs were developed in selected CDVs, each lasting 7 years and entailing public expenditure of 18 million euros – here, instead of the refurbishment of problem housing, particularly in large social housing estates which had become unpopular, the GPV programme acknowledges the obsolescence of much existing housing and undertakes substantial housing demolition and new-build. There are 50 GPVs (Grand Projects de Ville) within the CDV programme for 2000 to 2006. Each lasts seven years and represents an average state investment of 18 million euros (Hall and Hickman 2010, 694).

After the November 2005 riots in the suburbs, an Equal Opportunities Law created the National Agency for Social Cohesion and Equal Opportunities, which focused on funding the social development of neighbourhoods, increasing urban regeneration. New ‘urban social cohesion contracts’ were introduced from 2007 to coordinate all policies funded in priority neighbourhoods. In 2008, the ‘suburban hope programme’ included an ‘autonomy contract’, offered to unemployed young people under 26, to teach them “the necessary codes for integrating into a company” and ‘second chance schools’ for young people who had failed school. As part of this approach, Prefectoral representatives were introduced in the priority neighbourhoods, increasing governmental influence (Gautier and Masclauz 2015, 59).

From 2004, the ten-year National Urban Renewal Programme (PNRU), under the responsibility of a public operator, the National Agency for Urban Renewal (ANRU), laid the groundwork for unprecedented national efforts to transform neighbourhoods classified as Sensitive Urban Zones (ZUS). It involved a massive public investment, at both national and local levels, to drastically change the quality of life in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, mainly targeted at “tower in the park” style projects built outside the city centre and a few inner-city neighbourhoods (Gipoulon 2015). It attempted to turn these long-segregated neighbourhoods into ‘ordinary’ ones through physical investments in mixed-uses and mixed-income housing, under the rationale that many of the handicaps residents experienced were accentuated by their isolation and intensity of poverty, so that enhancing their environment and bringing diversity would reduce their difficulties (Gipoulon 2015). The comprehensive urban approach with a complete masterplan required for each area, over hundreds of different neighbourhoods throughout France for at least a five-year period, made this programme innovative and less heavily dedicated to the physical transformation of the neighbourhoods than previous urban regeneration programmes (Gipoulon 2015).

The objective of the PNRU was therefore to shift from repairing neighbourhood problems to fostering the emergence of the potential value of the neighbourhoods (e.g. attractive location or land, improved public transport, redesigned and safer neighbourhoods) (Gautier and Masclauz 2015, 74). By the end of 2013, almost 490 neighbourhoods were being extensively regenerated, improving the quality of life of nearly 4 million inhabitants, (costing 45 billion euros for projects subsidized by the ANRU at nearly 26 per cent) and renovating 610,000 housing units (demolition, reconstruction, renovation), together with building, extension or renovation of public amenities and planning operations (Gautier and Masclauz 2015, 73), but also creating or renovating commercial and trade premises.

There are also policies to promote social mixing: municipalities in the programme must devote at least 25% of housing to social housing or be fined. The *Programme National pour la Rénovation Urbaine* is a large-scale urban renovation programme that aims to attract residents from wealthier areas to lower-income neighbourhoods, where there has been a programme of replacing dilapidated social housing estates with smaller units mixing social, private rental and owner-occupied housing, to reduce the high geographical concentrations of poverty, which are believed to reinforce and reproduce economic and social disadvantage (Brandt 2017).

However, Gautier and Masclauz 2015) emphasise that, although the issue of employment is crucial in these priority neighbourhoods (with unemployment in the priority neighbourhoods running at 24%, double the national rate, and a 40% rate of inactivity among women and nearly 45% among young people), there are few measures for fostering economic growth and current measures still do not appeal enough to private investors. They also point to a lack of operators capable of integrating the different facets of public procurement (social, urban and economic) and implementing it operationally at the various local and national levels.

The current Priority Neighbourhoods in France were established by the planning law for urban affairs and urban cohesion of 21 February 2014, drawn up by the General Commissariat for Territorial Equality (CGET), which became the National Agency for Territorial Cohesion (ANCT) on 1 January 2020. The approach was based on concentrations of low-income populations. Once these neighbourhoods were defined, collectivities discussed their shape and sometimes modified them. (See <https://www.insee.fr/en/metadonnees/definition/c2114>).

Organisational structures and institutional status

The National Urban Renewal Programme (PNRU) was based on very strong interaction between mayors and national government representatives (Gipoulon 2015). In the PNRU organizational framework, the mayor was the key person at local level, speaking for all other partners in the dialogue with the national government and its agencies – a major feature of French urban policy and management. The mayor is also in charge of the definition and implementation of the master plan at strategic level in the municipality. Since the first decentralization laws in the 1980s, the mayor has been the most powerful leader on urban matters. However, where neighbourhood management is concerned, the mayor's legitimacy may be questioned in the most deprived neighbourhoods, where electoral turnout is very low (Gipoulon 2015).

Below the level of the mayor, there are various different approaches to organising neighbourhood management. One approach which has been studied in detail is that of the small city of Roubaix, which established Neighbourhood Councils, as prescribed by statute (Durose et al. 2011). These served populations of approximately 20,000 each. Each Neighbourhood Council consisted of 80 members, of whom half were residents, meeting every two months and led by the Neighbourhood Mayor, an existing elected politician.

Emerging from community action in the 1970s in the Alma-Gare district of Roubaix, with the aim of preserving social life and physical look of the district, the organisational form of 'regies de quartier' arose, the so-called 'neighbourhood management companies'. They are formed largely from neighbourhood residents and operate in 60 municipalities. Their field of activity covers maintenance

and services the neighbourhood. 'Regies de quartier' are usually commissioned by housing associations, municipal services and residents.

During the different phases of the projects in the PNRU, municipal authorities were encouraged to engage local residents through consultation processes, although the mechanism for involving local residents varied from city to city. In practice, it was often limited simply to public meetings. However, in a few cases, community-based groups fought the municipality's plans, and even sometimes succeeded in having them redefined. However, in spite of these one-off successes, these community groups generally have not evolved to become more enduring forms of representation and therefore the opportunity has been lost for local resident involvement to have more influence on socioeconomic matters, better use of local resources and assets, or to increase civic participation and other forms of citizen empowerment (Gipoulon 2015).

The French law on *programmation pour la ville et la cohésion urbaine*, established in February 2014, introduced the new concept of '*conseils citoyens*' ('citizens councils') to ensure the co-production of local revitalization projects with residents (Gipoulon 2015, 35). They are independent political bodies, established in all priority neighbourhoods, which have the aim of actively involving citizens in each neighbourhood in the development and implementation of the *Contrats de Ville*. They are intended to participate fully in the governance of city contracts by being a stakeholder at each stage of the *Contrats de Ville* - development, implementation, monitoring, evaluation. The resident members of the *conseils citoyens* are drawn at random from electoral lists, the files of public housing organizations, the directory of local buildings used for the census, etc. and also through a call for volunteers. These citizens participate in all stages of the development of the city contract, in the same way as all the institutional actors. Unlike neighbourhood councils, *conseils citoyens* must not be chaired or led by elected officials (see <https://www.conseilscitoyens.fr/quest-ce-qu-un-conseil-citoyen>).

However, it is important to recognise that institutional characteristics which make France rather different from many other countries. Gipoulon (2015, 35) stresses that in France: "The notions of 'community' and 'community-based interests' as used in the United States are not formulated this way. The term "community" in itself as a designation for people living in a same area has no proper translation in French. There are many associations, including in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, but they are usually based on ethnic groups or cultural and leisure activities, and can hardly pretend to represent a whole local community." Together with the emphasis in the French constitution on the 'unity' of France this means that its governance has to be careful not to over-emphasise the importance or dominance of any single tier of government or process of public decision-making.

Roles and responsibilities of key stakeholders and links with other actors (in relation to neighbourhood management)

A key element of neighbourhood management in France is its integration into wider public sector planning and management systems. This has been the case for a long time - Mawson and Le Gales (1995, 18) commented that "One of the most significant features of the recent changes is that French urban policy is now fully integrated into the national planning and public expenditure cycles through the inclusion of the *Contrat de Ville* programme within the negotiations for the national plan (1994-1999) and specifically its regional component the *Contrat de Plan*". Consequently, all stakeholders in neighbourhood management are expected to contribute not only to the improvement of their own neighbourhood but also to the achievement of wider public services and public plans.

An example of how these roles interact with each other is the case of Toulouse, where the mayor of the central urban communes was opposed by powerful alliances of smaller communes and the Départements. Here, the prefect used the mechanism of the *Contrat de Ville* to mediate between the local mayors and, in return, pressed for 'solidarity' around the *Contrat de Ville* and collaboration on distributional issues outside the immediate sphere of the *Contrat de Ville* (Durose et al. 2011). Similarly in the case of the Lille metropolitan area, with its 86 communes, the communes with the greatest to gain from the development opportunities arising from the Channel Tunnel (the TGV highspeed train link, station and conference/office developments) agreed with the poorer communities of Roubaix and Tourcoing to a conurbation wide strategy which linked an economic development strategy with a *Contrat de Ville* programme designed to tackle its social problems (Durose et al. 2011).

Nevertheless, the relationships between stakeholders in neighbourhood management have not always worked well. Successive evaluation reports on the PNRU have stressed that more innovation was necessary and suggested that agencies should work in new ways along with residents and also with the mayors and local elected officials (Gilpoulon 2015).

The tensions which can arise are exemplified in the case of the relationship between Roubaix's longstanding Neighbourhood Committees and the more recently established Neighbourhood Councils (Durose et al. 2011), where the Committee in a particularly deprived neighbourhood felt that the Council did not always take their suggestions and proposed projects into consideration (although the issues concerned were admittedly contested within the community) – however, this was not general, as other community associations spoke highly of the engagement role of the Neighbourhood Councils.

A clear cause of such tensions was that both the Neighbourhood Committees, as compared to Neighbourhood Councils, normally covered areas which were significantly larger than the areas that residents identified more strongly with – those which, in reality, residents considered their 'neighbourhoods'. The Neighbourhood Councils were required by national law and provide clear examples of 'invited' spaces, defined by the needs of Roubaix City Council, rather than residents (Durose et al. 2011, following Lowndes and Sullivan 2008). Moreover, the Neighbourhood Councils had a focus on engaging residents and officers in democratic debate (particularly around strategy and local services), but did not invest significant decision making power with the residents themselves, something which caused active debate between the residents and the elected representatives (Durose et al. 2011). On the other hand, the Roubaix Neighbourhood Committees are examples of 'popular spaces', much more aligned to the neighbourhood identities perceived by local people.

In Roubaix this had partly been dealt with by organising resident engagement at this 'real' neighbourhood level and the interaction of Neighbourhood Councils and the smaller scale, resident-led Neighbourhood Committees in Roubaix was considered particularly successful, although it also added to the complexity of local governance, including citizen engagement and democratic renewal (Durose et al. 2011). Durose et al. 2011, 21) conclude: "The evidence suggests that invited spaces set up to manage services and deliver economies of scale may well be predisposed towards engaging with larger numbers of residents to achieve purely informative and consultative goals. They may also be considered insufficiently independent by community parties, particularly private companies and residents with which they may be seeking to engage, leading to limited involvement. Some level of independence and autonomy from any one public sector agency/service provider is required to best deliver the civic rationale." This reinforces the conclusion of Hall and Hickman (2010, 696) that local involvement "is still in its infancy in France".

Capacity and financial structure

As part of the National Urban Renewal Programme (PNRU), by the end of 2013, almost 490 neighbourhoods were being extensively regenerated, covering nearly 4 million inhabitants at a cost of 45 billion euros, in projects subsidized by the ANRU at nearly 26 per cent (Gautier and Masclauz 2015, 73).

In a number of French cities, participatory budgeting has been used to increase the local resources available to neighbourhoods. For example, In Paris in 2016, about 5% of the city's capital budget (approximately €100 million) was dedicated to 21 participatory budgets, with almost 160,000 people voting to select between 219 project ideas (Fioritti et al. 2020, 170).

An example of a well-set up Neighbourhood Committee is provided by Roubaix, where each Neighbourhood Committee was supported by 10-15 permanent staff, including directors responsible for running the office, neighbourhood project managers who supervised implementation of projects funded in the neighbourhood, and the *Cadre de Vie* Technician (community life technician) who dealt with the daily contacts with residents, coordinates local services and supported partnership initiatives (managing an annual budget of Euro 100,000 to spend on micro-urban renewal projects, in partnership with the local authority) (Durose et al. 2011).

Fioretti et al. (2020, 164) highlight how useful it is that In France the main policy streams operate within similar time frames, including the Contrats de Ville, adoption of operational (French and EU) programs and electoral mandates, representing a unique opportunity to combine political mobilisation of the European programmes for the benefit of residents of priority neighbourhoods.

Monitoring and evaluation

Monitoring and evaluation have been constant requirements imposed by central government on the various neighbourhood management initiatives which it has initiated and funded. Different approaches have been tried, including the involvement of top management, such as the prefects in the *departements*, national bodies (such as the *Cour des Comptes*, the national public sector audit body), and also bottom-up approaches, involving citizens and community associations.

Moreover, experience from England inspired the creation of the data agency *Observatoire National des Zones Urbaines Sensibles* (ONZUS) in 2003, which provided systematic national monitoring of neighbourhoods in difficulty (Provan 2017, 452). ONZUS reports provide data on gaps between neighbourhoods and their parent city in terms of measures such as level of qualification, income, and worklessness, although (unlike the UK) there has been no 'carrot and sticks' approach to rewarding or incentivising better performance (not even naming and shaming systems). Other monitoring approaches include a mix of self-assessment by local agents of progress, output measurement (numbers of buildings demolished or refurbished), and resident surveys (Provan 2017, 459).

However, Brandt (2018, 29) concludes that: "Limited participation of citizens concerned by urban renewal was one of the weaknesses of the first phase of the programme. Consultation consisted mainly of informing them and collecting their reactions without allowing them to influence the project's course." She suggests that this was a key reason why in 2014 the government created citizen councils (*conseils citoyens*), consisting of local inhabitants and representatives of associations.

Specifically, the law of 21 February 2014 on city and urban cohesion determined that, at the local level, “citizens will be included in the formulation, monitoring and assessment of the 2014-2020 *Contrats de Ville* which will give rise to the set-up of “citizen councils” in each priority neighbourhood” (Gautier and Masclauz 2015, 54). However, Brandt (2018, 29) suggests that this needs to go further: “To ensure that urban renewal responds to citizens’ needs, they should be systematically surveyed at the outset of any project – e.g. citizen councils as well as tenants concerned by renovation should be involved in the decision process about its nature and demolition should be allowed only if a majority of affected tenants votes for it, and there should be a right to return after renovation”.

A series of evaluations and reports has been undertaken on how to get better results from urban and neighbourhood policy (the results of which are summarised in the next section). Intriguingly, Provan (2017, 461) points to a paradox arising from these evaluations: “Curiously, although the French [neighbourhood improvement] programmes have had a more critical evaluation, they still continue, whereas the English programmes showed modest successes, but were abolished.” This highlights the potential gap between evidence and policymaking, a characteristic of all policy systems, to a greater or lesser extent.

Governance pitfalls

There are a number of governance pitfalls which emerge from the experience of neighbourhood governance in France:

- Low levels of engagement of residents in neighbourhood especially by the Neighbourhood Committees
- Neighbourhood’s boundaries often reflect more the requirements of the local authority than the sense of identity and interactions of residents.
- Weak mechanisms for holding neighbourhood initiatives accountable, with little use of performance information
- Strong intervention powers (and practices) of higher levels of government in neighbourhood policies and issues, sometimes undermining legitimacy of neighbourhood bodies.
- Competition or lack of collaboration between local representative bodies, each claiming to represent the people of the neighbourhood, e.g. Neighbourhood Committees and Neighbourhood Councils.
- Lack of representativeness of some of the neighbourhood bodies.
- Lack of integration of voluntary sector organisations and private firms into local governance arrangements, with strong dominance of different tiers of government and various public sector bodies.

However, it is important to recognise that institutional characteristics which make France rather different from many other countries. Gipoulon (2015, 35) stresses that in France: “The notions of ‘community’ and ‘community-based interests’ as used in the United States are not formulated this way. The term “community” in itself as a designation for people living in a same area has no proper translation in French. There are many associations, including in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, but they are usually based on ethnic groups or cultural and leisure activities, and can hardly pretend to represent a whole local community.” Together with the emphasis in the French constitution on the ‘unity’ of France this means that its governance has to be careful not to over-emphasise the importance or dominance of any single tier of government or process of public decision-making.

An interesting example of a number of these governance pitfalls is provided by the case of the city of Roubaix, where the city council made some changes to the Neighbourhood Councils in 2008 following accusations of demagogic behaviour by Neighbourhood Mayors, an over-representation of some groups, and the subsequent loss of other members (Durose et al.). It was argued that Neighbourhood Mayors had not properly fulfilled their functions, acting in isolation for their own benefit, rather than for the general interest, behaviours which had led to disillusionment and disengagement among stakeholders. There were also reports of 'class confrontation' between more mobilised and well-resourced residents and other, less well-off groups in the community. In the city council, an official had claimed that in the one Neighbourhood Council (*Ouest*) there was no room for the 'little people' (Durose et al.). The actions taken by the local authority involved introduction quotas, to help diversify membership of the Neighbourhood Councils, and including professionals and representative organisations alongside residents (Durose et al. 2011).

In Roubaix, there were also tensions between the pre-existing Neighbourhood Committees and the Neighbourhood Councils created by the *Loi Vaillant* in 2003, with the pre-existing bodies feeling their legitimacy to be threatened by these new governance bodies, which covered a larger area and had significantly higher budgets and the city council appearing ill-prepared for managing these tensions, falling back on the position that its members had direct suffrage. So, their elected representatives have the right to take decisions, with residents simply giving their opinions or, on occasion, co-producing (Durose et al. 2011).

A further interesting illustration of the governance pitfalls potentially arising from neighbourhood management is given by the case study of Toulon Provence Méditerranée (TPM), an intercommunal structure created in 2001 (although reformed recently as a metropolitan area) consisting of 12 municipalities, principally Toulon, located on the Mediterranean coast in the Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur region (Fioritti et al. 2020). Within the broader framework of a metropolitan strategy, TPM has developed an integrated territorial investment (ITI) strategy as a tool for neighbourhood regeneration, working jointly with the TPM *Contrat de Ville* 2015-2020, which is funded by the national City Policy (*Politique de la Ville*) and identifies 13 priority areas distributed over four of the TPM cities. To be eligible for ITI support, the projects must fall within the boundary of the priority areas and be connected to the broader metropolitan priorities, working at neighbourhood and higher scales. In this situation, tensions naturally arise between the metropolitan region and the individual priority areas, with their different priorities and competences (Fioritti et al. 2020). These tensions have partly been defused by the technical assistance and capacity-building undertaken within the metropolitan area, and particularly by the support given by the agency for urbanism "AUDAT.VAR" (*Agence d'urbanisme de l'aire toulonnaise et du Var*) that manages an observatory monitoring key indicators in the priority neighbourhoods and the metropolitan region and supports evidence-based diagnosis of local needs, which was used as a basis for the strategy. Furthermore, a key role is played by the TPM metropolis, which acts as an Intermediary, managing the relationship between the neighbourhoods, the cities and the metropolitan area, coordinating the projects, provides for guidance and technical assistance with project development, and integrating sectoral and area-based policies with wider Regional strategies, contributing to an outward-looking perspective to neighbourhood regeneration (Fioritti et al. 2020).

Evidence of improved quality of life at neighbourhood level

Reviewing the earlier generations of French neighbourhood policy, and drawing on consultancy reports undertaken for the DIV (TEN Consultancy 1991,1992) and the LGMB study, Le Galès and Mawson (1994) suggested that it was possible to conclude that the most successful outcomes tended to occur where there was a reasonable balance of organisational capacity, and political influence, not only between the state and local government but also amongst the local authorities and other local actors. In the case of politically well organised blocks of communes the prefect was well placed to mediate between conflicting groups and sets of interests and in turn secure the state's aim of mobilising a wider financial solidarity to tackle problems of social exclusion. Many of these conclusions appear to have been reinforced by experiences in the later rounds of French neighbourhood policy.

Since it was established in 2003, the National Urban Renewal Programme (PNRU) embodied an ambitious public policy toward neighbourhood revitalization, including massive public investment, shared between national and local levels in order to drastically change the quality of life in disadvantaged neighbourhoods all over the country (Gipoulon 2015). A series of evaluations and reports has been undertaken on how to get better results from this public policy. Gautier and Masclauz (2015, 73) conclude that the primary objective of the ANRU's intervention to abolish the rundown image of neighbourhoods classified as Sensitive Urban Zones (ZUS), by reducing the stigma attached to housing and changing the urban planning landscape, had in large part been achieved, although not necessarily with long-term sustainability.

Similarly, Gilpoulon (2015) summarises the main assessments as concluding that great physical transformations had been achieved - but then goes on to conclude that the overall socio-economic impact in targeted neighbourhoods was insufficient. The reasons suggested were that, first, the programme had been too top-down, involving collaboration between national, regional, and local governments to shape the choices for neighbourhoods and, second, the undue predominance of public actors among the partnerships and funding sources, with too involvement of the private and civil sectors. Gilpoulon points out that the low rate of private investment reflects the fact that investors have yet to be attracted to these areas, in spite of their new developments. In fact, the €42 billion in public works generated by the PNRU from 2003 to 2013 was exclusively public or quasi-public money, coming from national and local governments, public housing authorities, and public banking institutions but rarely leveraging private funding or implementing a public-private partnership (PPP) framework.

Moreover, reviewing the outcomes of the neighbourhood programmes up to 2010, Provan (2017, 459) highlights that some social outcomes actually worsened during this period – for example, the gap between unemployment in poor neighbourhoods and the municipality average increased, as did the income gap, although the gap in delinquency behaviour declined substantially. Poverty actually increased by 1.3% over 2008-2013, remaining much higher than in surrounding neighbourhoods (36.5% of poor households in ZUS compared to 12.7% in the cities in general) and illiteracy rates were 15% in ZUS, compared to an average of 7% or the whole country (Gipoulon 2015).

Particularly telling were reports in 2002 and 2012 on the overall programme, compiled by the *Cour des Comptes*, the national audit body charged with reviewing the value for money and performance of programmes incurring public spending. The 2012 report set out evidence of (Provan, 2017, 460):

- inequalities persisting, despite a decade of reforms;
- little movement in the gaps across the key indicators;
- increasing numbers of areas for priority interventions;
- unprecedented renovation efforts, but poorly linked to social interventions;
- uncertainty on whether poorest neighbourhoods in practice got 'budgetary 'priority';
- risks that specific budget allocations had substituted for mainstream spending.

Brandt concludes that, while the urban renovation programme has improved infrastructure, and a large majority of residents are satisfied with the results, the impact on social mix is unclear. Although demolition of unfit properties in poor neighbourhoods to make way for mixed housing did bring some mixing, the poor were often relocated to other high-poverty neighbourhoods and, in any case, mixing different kinds of housing has not brought about more social interaction. Moreover, "attempting to change the social mix of neighbourhoods directly through relocations is not only unlikely to work, but it can also undermine public acceptance for urban renewal, as locals may view it mainly as an attempt to make them leave a neighbourhood to which they are often attached" (Brandt 2018, 29), and this is especially true for younger generations. Brandt (2017), on the basis of these conclusions, recommends better integration of neighbourhood policies with employment and social policies – for example, consultation with residents about planned renovation projects could be used as an entry point for basic skills and language training and construction and renovation work could support apprenticeship-style training for construction sector jobs.

More recently, Brandt (2018, p. 29), in OECD research, has concluded that limited participation of the relevant citizens was one of the weaknesses of the first phase of the programme - consultation consisted mainly of informing them and collecting their reactions without allowing them any influence, although may have subsequently have been addressed by the creation in 2014 of citizen councils (*conseils citoyens*), consisting of local inhabitants and representatives of associations. Brandt (2018, 29-30) goes on to suggest that softer forms of rehabilitation should be considered, including co-production approaches, such as tenants being allowed get receiving materials and professional assistance to improve their buildings themselves, so that savings made by the public sector can be invested in other infrastructure or services that may be more important to them (e.g. a concierge to address safety concerns). Moreover, Brandt suggests that, whereas the first wave of urban renewal focused almost exclusively on town planning, the new citizen councils will be an opportunity to focus much more on social and employment policies to improve life in poor neighbourhoods. She suggests (Brandt 2017) that consultation with residents about planned renovation projects should be used as an entry point for basic skills and language training; that construction and renovation work could be an opportunity for apprenticeship-style training for building sector jobs.

4. Good practice in neighbourhood management in European Countries

This chapter will highlight selected good practice case studies in neighbourhood management which are particularly relevant for the Turkish context. The focus is mainly on case studies from the UK, Germany and France in order to anchor them in the earlier country comparison compiled in this report, but when relevant, case studies from other countries have been included.

The case studies will focus on the following themes:

- Participatory budgeting at neighbourhood level
- Community co-production at neighbourhood level
- Community planning at neighbourhood level

Each of the following sections will provide a brief introduction to the theme and case studies covered. Each of the case studies, most of which have been published by Governance International, has been supplemented with key learning points for neighbourhood management in Turkey.

4.1. Participatory budgeting at neighbourhood level

Participatory Budgeting (PB) is “a democratic innovation where citizens participate directly in making collective decisions about how to spend public money” (Escobar 2021). Originating in Porto Alegre in 1989 PB has become a global phenomenon and been adopted in 70 countries, including experimentation in some local authorities in Turkey within the LAR 2 Programme.

Since then, a wide range of PB approaches have been implemented globally which provide Turkish local government with different options for implementation at neighbourhood level. Participatory budgeting enables Turkish local government to engage with citizens on a regular basis as the determination of the local budget is an annual recurring process. In particular, it may be used as a steppingstone toward the transfer of budget responsibilities to neighbourhoods. Regular PB processes may not only help to build trust between local stakeholders such as mukhtars and the new 30 Metropolitan Municipalities but also trigger important learning processes on how to manage budgets effectively. As Escobar (2021) argues, “developing a particular PB model can create path-dependency, but ambitions and arrangements can evolve over time. For example, after a decade of funding neighbourhood initiatives through community grant schemes, Scotland is transitioning towards incorporating these ‘special budgets’ into mainstream public service budgets (initially for current expenditure programmes but potentially later also for capital investment). This follows the agreement between the Scottish Government and the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities that PB will allocate at least 1% of local government budgets by 2021 (Escobar et al. 2018)”.

The case studies will focus on PB in Recife (Brazil), Saint Denis in France, the Berlin Borough of Lichtenberg in Germany and in the City of Ghent, Belgium. The experience of Recife shows how the institutionalisation of a PB process in a weak democratic local government system has brought about culture change and improvements in the quality of life of local people. In particular, it has given a voice to people who suffered from social exclusion. In Saint Denis, the PB process has been widening since 2001 to include the budget of the wider urban agglomeration as well. Furthermore, the Saint Denis process is instructive given the strong focus on making citizen proposals transparent in public budget documents. In Berlin, the PB process has triggered regular dialogues between local councillors, public

officers and local people at neighbourhood level so that now the two processes reinforce each other. In particular, the first PB process has been backed up by an external evaluation which has benefitted the learning and helped the Borough to develop its PB process further over time. In Ghent, the PB process has focussed on small community chests in order to empower local citizens. Recently, Ghent has also set up a crowdfunding website which allows local people to vote on proposals for community projects in a different way but also enables local business and other funders to donate money to project proposals.

4.1.1. Participatory budgeting in Recife, Brazil

Introduction

While the roots of participatory budgeting in Recife go back to the struggles against the Brazilian dictatorship in the 1960s and 1970s, it first began to be practised in the late 1980s and 1990s, as in other parts of Brazil. However, the current system of *Orcamento Participativo (OP)*, which literally means ‘participatory budgeting’, dates back to 2001, with the advent of a new political administration in Recife, based on a coalition of three left-oriented parties, led by mayor João Paulo de Lima e Silva. This coalition believed at the beginning of the electoral campaign that it faced an uphill battle to gain power, so it adopted a clear commitment to PB in its joint manifesto and then campaigned vigorously to make this commitment convincing, under a Director of Participatory Budgeting (*Secretario do Orcamento Participativo*) João da Costa. Its subsequent victory in the election was believed by the coalition to be due, in significant part, to the popularity of its commitment to PB. It therefore set up a structure to implement PB quickly. The PB process has operated every year since then. In 2011, the Recife PB project became one of the finalists of an International Award of the Bertelsmann Foundation in Germany and was showcased in a brief video clip - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UHxVj4lyWFO>. Given the worldwide interest in Recife’s PB approach Governance International published a case study authored by Tony Bovaird (2012).

Objectives

The main purposes which the City Council of Recife originally had in mind when designing and running PB were:

- To give people a belief that they can play an important role in the co-management of the city and in the decisions, which influence their quality of life
- To increase the perceived democratic legitimacy of the City Council by demonstrating that its actions are in line with what local people really want
- To find better ways to meet the needs and priorities of local people

Leading politicians in the new government recognized that there would be scepticism about whether this new PB programme would really be implemented. The new administration therefore committed itself to the principles of:

- Transparency – so that people could see what had been agreed and what was being done
- Co-management – so that people felt involved in the process from beginning to end
- Universal right to engage – everyone had a vote in the process

- Implementing agreed actions – so that the community had tangible outcomes that made their involvement worthwhile

Of course, such ambitious objectives and principles run the danger of raising expectations. As the mayor, João da Costa, commented in an interview with Governance International: “At first, when they saw what we were trying to do, they thought we were mad!”

In order to stop people expecting too much, it was essential that people themselves became involved in the prioritization process – in fighting for their ideas of what was MOST needed, people realized quickly that not everything was possible. This reinforced understanding that the main role of government is to make choices. By sharing these choices with the population, responsibility for the choices made was also shared. This meant that it was no longer possible for people simply to blame the government for things that were done – and not done. In this way, people were encouraged to co-govern with the administration, and to understand the role that both played in making choices for the city.

Implementation process

Recife is divided into six regions, each of which has 3 ‘micro-regions’. The area-based discussions in PB take place in these 18 micro-regions. There are four basic processes involved in the Recife PB:

- A. Generating proposals for the most important projects or service changes to consider for the next year.
- B. Getting citizens to vote on these, so that the priorities can be established
- C. Refining these priority projects/service changes, so that they are more practical and cost-effective.
- D. Monitoring the implementation of the agreed (and refined) priority projects.

People in each micro-region (with varying populations, averaging around 80,000 residents) are encouraged to get together to propose initiatives or projects. In 2011, the PB meeting started at the end of May, with one meeting per night – 4 were held in each of the 18 micro-regions (plus pre-meetings in each micro-region to explain the methodology and encourage people to think about projects to nominate. This nomination period usually lasts about 14 days. Originally, it was enough for people to make general proposals but now, as experience has accumulated, specific proposals have to be put forward, e.g. on location, size, etc.

When these projects have been chosen, each micro-region holds four or five meetings to discuss which of these should go forward to the overall neighbourhood to be voted on.

At the final meeting, groups of 10 people can nominate a delegate to go forward and two proposals, each of which has to be in the remit of two different Directorates (Secretarios) of city hall, such as housing or education. The PB approach has been designed to preserve the rights of citizens to propose projects which they want, even citizens who are clearly organizing themselves through opposition parties.

Every 10 people in the micro-regions can choose one delegate. (Although some delegates end up with far more than ten votes, the City Council encourages people to elect as many delegates as possible). Then every month there are meetings with all the delegates to discuss the progress with

the proposals and wider problems in the microregions. These meetings also choose micro-region coordinators and working groups ('commissions') to tackle specific issues.

Each micro-region co-ordinator has their own team and acts as first point of contact, mobilizes people to come to meeting, and encourages them to follow up. They also act as a bridge with the public sector – traditionally, public sector officials don't understand or know much about the life of ordinary people, as they live in very different circumstances. However, people in the favelas (or slums) of the city, make up over half the population – and this 'emerging market' has significant power, both in the marketplace and in elections.

Therefore, city hall officials have increasingly realized that people have to be asked what exactly they want in their areas. In the past it was often the case that local leaders believed they knew the answers, insisting, for example, that local people just wanted proper roads in their area. However, when local people were actually asked, they often had very different priorities – like adequate schools or health facilities. In Recife it is now clear that the views of local people have to be sought in order for local government to be legitimate.

Effective partnership working can improve the viability of PB – e.g. one shopping mall signed up to undertake one PB project as part of its planning agreement with the city – this was good for the PB process AND for the mall. However, this is complicated and requires flexibility on all sides - every year there are new PB projects, many of which require new kinds of partnership working.

The projects proposed at the previous stage are considered in a plenary meeting of people in the region, where people vote for the ten priorities of that region. Importantly, for those who can't attend these meetings there are two other opportunities to vote – electronic voting machines are located at strategic points within each area or online voting is possible through the City Council's website. To ensure fair voting, citizens have to register to vote using their ID cards or any other formal document.

Everyone has two votes – one on specific projects proposed for their region and one thematic vote, where they indicate the key area of the city's budget, they consider to be the highest priority. Interestingly (and similarly to many PB initiatives in the UK), groups of people in micro-regions often agree to vote for each other's proposals.

In contrast to PB approaches in other parts of Brazil, the whole budget is potentially voted on – not just the investment budget. About 8% - 10% of total municipal budget is voted on each year in PB projects, infrastructure proposals, local initiatives, etc. All services have been a priority at one time or another since 2001.

This process has remained almost unchanged since 2001, with the exception of the introduction of digital voting and the streamlining of some processes in 2007.

After the votes have decided the region's priorities, local forums consider all the proposals chosen – this allows some small-scale redesign.

At this stage, costs are also brought into the choice of projects. Up to this stage, no specific costings have been made for proposals, although there is always a sense of what's more and less expensive. For example, drainage channels are known to be a big job – in such cases, people are encouraged to break down proposals into several stages and consider them as separate projects, e.g. buying the land first, and then later building the specific facility.

There is no limit to the level of investment which can be proposed – it depends on the local context and needs. In hilly areas, like Ibullia, each proposal for stabilizing land can cost up to R\$ 1m – but if this is what local people ask for as a priority, then they get it.

However, all Directorates (Secretarios) of the City Council are consulted about the viability of projects before they go ahead. If they say: “No, not feasible!” then the proposal goes back to the people of the region to discuss further – this doesn’t happen frequently, as there is discussion about project feasibility early on. Moreover, more than ten years of PB have educated local people about what is realistic and what isn’t, so they generally vote for feasible options. If Directorates disagree about feasibility, which happens only rarely, then the mayor makes the final decision.

Although theoretically officials might mobilize to get their own ‘pet’ projects chosen at local level, there has been no sign of this happening – it is widely believed that people are too clever politically to allow this to succeed. Of course, at the thematic meetings, there are specific opportunities for the Directorates to make suggestions about which initiatives within their Directorate might be important for people to vote on through the PB approach.

After the priority proposals have been voted for, there are regular forums to monitor the implementation of these proposals until completion. Of course, the process has to allow for funding to be put in place and full design to be carried out. In the early days of PB there could be a delay of up to 5 years but now the target is to complete all initiatives within 2 years (although it still often takes 3 years in practice).

The micro-region co-ordinators, together with their own team and the local people elected to the ‘commissions’, have the role of ensuring timely implementation. Moreover, every 14 days there is a meeting of the commission to consider progress of each initiative - here the commission gets an update from city council staff and discusses how to effectively communicate the project. Of course, some projects have an impact on wider areas or on the whole city – e.g. public toilets close to beach in one area – so approaches to communication have to differ between projects.

A key issue in implementation is, of course, finding the necessary resources. When João da Costa was Director of PB, he often had to find the resources alone. However, now that he has become mayor, this has become more of a joint effort by all the Directors. This has been made easier since it is now possible to show that what people are voting in the PB is, in any case, in line with what most Directors actually have suggested as most important for the city.

One remaining weakness in the PB system in Recife is evaluation of its impacts. A key politician in Recife described the evaluation approach as ‘fragile’ – mainly done internally, usually quite partial rather than through a structured method, and not using citizens as independent evaluators (although the PB commissions do some kinds of evaluation as part of their monitoring role).

Results

Over 7.5% of the population are now involved in the PB process. The process is sustainable and part of the city’s fabric - indeed, it is unlikely that it could now be dropped by any of the political parties. However, the approach is continually tweaked in order to keep it interesting and to keep participation levels up.

The projects undertaken through PB have had major effects on the quality of life of local people – consequently, there has been great feedback, with many testimonials and favourable comments to

the mayor and the City Council. The main challenge now in the PB process is to increase the speed of project implementation. Already, the average time taken to implement projects has fallen to under three years, but the target is now two years.

A critically important outcome of the PB process is that people have the chance to be heard – particularly people who were previously excluded socially and politically. Now more than 100,000 people participate in the process every year (those attending forums and those voting online). Participation in the favelas is often intense, as they feel they have the most to gain in influencing the city's budget decisions.

Source: Governance International case study, © Governance International 2012.

Learning points for neighbourhood management in Turkey

Over the decade of implementing PB in Recife, it has become more than a policy – it is now a cultural process, embedded deep within the ways in which local people think and relate to the City Council.

By institutionalising a similar process in Turkish local government PB could trigger similar culture change in Turkey. In particular, a regular PB process could help to influence the expectations of both local people and mukhtars of what kind of public service improvements are feasible but also help to make public officers at metropolitan level understand the benefits of public consultations at neighbourhood level.

Specific learning points for Turkey are:

- The PB process gives neighbourhoods a proactive role in making proposals for improvement – rather than just complaining about what does not work. This may also change the role of mukhtars who currently often act as 'crisis managers' to play a more important and positive role in shaping neighbourhood issues.
- In the PB process, mukhtars could play the role of leading teams and partnerships at neighbourhood level in order to implement the prioritised proposals. This would provide mukhtars with a wider network and support in the neighbourhood.
- In Recife, citizens have also been learning as the process has evolved – solidarity has grown, as some groups have come together to support each other ("You vote for my school, I'll vote for your roadworks"), as a proposal has a much higher chance of being chosen if two groups agree on it. This may be particularly beneficial for rural neighbourhoods in metropolitan areas which may feel 'left out' as a result of the loss of the administrative status.
- The involvement of mukhtars and local people in the prioritisation process may help the metropolitan municipalities to undertake a more effective needs assessment at neighbourhood level. At the same time, the prioritisation process is likely to ensure that stakeholders in neighbourhoods remain realistic about what can be achieved and what is less likely to be possible.
- Given the current trend towards centralisation in the new metropolitan municipalities PB may help local politicians to change their attitude towards the transfer of responsibilities towards neighbourhoods and local people. In Recife, in the beginning, many local politicians were against PB – they saw it as taking away some of their power, since getting local projects into the city budget has always been central to local politics. However, most politicians have gradually come to realize that they have to go along with something which is now very popular. Consequently, even if they are not enthusiastic, they now tolerate it.

4.1.2. Participatory budgeting in Saint-Denis, France

Introduction

Saint-Denis is a northern Paris suburb of around 90,000 inhabitants, which has gone through extensive regeneration in the last 20 years – it was the planned site for much of the Paris Olympics bid. It plays a leading role in a “communauté d’agglomération” with bordering local authorities. It has neighbourhood committees and a history of consultation with local “Bonjour Voisins” meetings. It’s PB approach focuses on the whole city and the “communaute d’agglomeration” budget, which makes it interesting for the new Turkish Metropolitan Municipalities.

From May to September the expectations/ priorities of local people are mapped; during October/November the budget propositions of the council departments are drawn up; in December there is negotiation between the two and the Deputy Mayors, described locally as a period of “making compromises”; in May the budget decisions are evaluated and the process begins again.

Governance International organised a study trip to Saint Denis with a focus on PB which provided the following summary by Elke Loeffler based on information provided by the former Chief Executive Luc Bouvet.

Objectives

When Saint-Denis started to launch participatory budgeting in 2002 it had the advantage of building on more than 10 years of experience with neighbourhood management.

According to an internal report of the local council a vital success factor was embedding the participative budget in the neighbourhoods in order to get a maximum number of citizens interested.

The report also stresses a number of objectives of the PB process:

- discussing issues relevant to citizens, even if this means purely street-level issues;
- making sure that the whole process “leads up to something”;
- making sure that citizens can voice their views independently.

At the same time, the local council thought it important that the citizens also had a city-wide perspective. Therefore, the participatory budget process also includes city-wide consultations.

Implementation process

Typically, the participatory budget cycle consists of four phases:

- (1) May to September: the local council assesses the expectations and needs of the citizens through neighbourhood-based workshops and thematic city-wide workshops.
- (2) October to November: the local authority finance department does the costing of the proposals made by the citizens.
- (3) December: elected members negotiate with citizens on which proposals should be financed, although of course, the local council has the last word.
- (4) May: evaluation of budgetary choices

The “mapping expectations” phase involves neighbourhood meetings, a questionnaire to citizens, budget workshops and advisory committees focussed on themes. Around 400 questionnaires were returned in the most recent example setting out resident priorities, around 800 people attended the budget workshops in the neighbourhoods, and a further 250 were involved in the advisory committees – making over 1000 people involved in all. The published budget explicitly demonstrates how citizens’ suggestions have been incorporated or not into the final budget. The council now intends to focus on increasing the number of people involved directly in the PB process.

The way in which each of the phases has been implemented has changed over the years as a result of an annual self-assessment of the process by the local authority. For example, the local council introduced a written survey of the population in 2005 in order to get a better picture of their expectations. The purpose of the questionnaire was also to encourage more citizens to take part in the budget workshops. In fact, 129 citizens declared themselves ready to participate in budget workshops in their neighbourhood. However, the return rate of the questionnaire was rather low (only 400 questionnaires were returned), so that the statistical representativeness of the survey is questionable. Nevertheless, the survey revealed some key issues local residents care about, such as public safety, cleanliness, and shopping facilities and housing.

The budget workshops in the neighbourhoods are also used by the local council to report on the suggestions made by citizens in the previous year and to detail which suggestions have been implemented. Finally, the new proposals by the citizens are drafted and aggregated by delegates of each neighbourhood into a document presented to the local council. During the first phase, there is also consultation with city-wide thematic working groups which debate on issues such as public health, culture, the disabled and elderly and community groups. All in all, the mapping of the expectations of the population draws from three sources:

- (1) a written survey
- (2) a budget workshops in the 14 neighbourhoods
- (3) thematic advisory committees

The proposals by each forum are aggregated during an “integrating workshop” and the final set of proposals passed to the financial department.

In the second phase, the financial department does the costing of the final set of proposals and checks how big the financial margin from which voluntary activities can be financed, on top of the mandatory tasks.

The third phase is characterised by a political negotiation process between a citizen assembly composed of the delegates of the budgetary workshops and advisory committees and the local council. Clearly, the local council needs to have an eye on the budget balance whereas the citizen delegates are more concerned about pushing their priorities. Even though the mayor has the last word, it is important to note that in Saint-Denis this process takes place in public and not behind the closed doors of the Cabinet of the Mayor. Therefore, the participatory budgeting process in Saint-Denis comes closest to the ideal of co-decision-making.

In the last phase of the participatory budget cycle - which falls into May of the subsequent year - the local council sends the budget report to all participants in the process to give them feed-back on the participatory budget. The citizen-led proposals which have been taken on board by the local council are marked by a 😊 so that citizens can easily see where they have been considered.

The following table provides an example of the Budget 2005, including running costs and investments of the City of Saint-Denis and the intermunicipal cooperation of Plaine Commune.

Table 6: The participatory budgeting of Saint-Denis

	fonctionnement				investissement				total	
	budget ville		budget Plaine Commune		budget ville		budget Plaine Commune		total	dont budget participatif
	total	dont budget participatif	total	dont budget participatif	total	dont budget participatif	total	dont budget participatif		
développer les solidarités, lutter contre l'exclusion	465 952	59 923			758 362				1 224 314	59 923
réussir la transformation de la ville	450 039	10 000	223 617		608 400		9 090 632	477 095	10 372 688	487 095
une meilleure qualité de vie pour les habitants et les salariés	287 780	230 200							287 780	230 200
un service public municipal proche des habitants et performant	1 736 156				3 412 105				5 148 261	
contribuer à la protection de l'environnement et à un développement maîtrisé	47 000	5 000	105 848	38 300			1 266 514	420 000	1 419 362	463 300
favoriser l'égalité des chances par le développement des politiques éducatives	1 018 476	197 480			10 270 851	1 597 000	1 524 280	1 524 280	12 813 607	3 318 760
un renforcement de la démocratie participative	272 575	103 500			949 200	949 200			1 221 775	1 052 700
total	4 277 978	606 103	329 465	38 300	15 998 918	2 546 200	11 881 426	2 421 375	32 487 787	5 611 978
% budget participatif		14%		12%		16%		20%		17%

Source: © Municipality of Saint-Denis 2005.

Recently, the results of the participatory budgeting process are also published online. For example, in 2019 31 projects have been voted by 1902 residents - <http://ville-saint-denis.fr/r%C3%A9unions-de-d%C3%A9marches-quartier>.

Over the years the extent to which citizens have been consulted on the budget has gradually increased as follows:

- In 2001, the participatory budget only involved investments.
- In 2002 citizens were consulted on the investment budget and running costs without staff costs.
- In 2003 the participatory budget related to the whole budget of the local council.
- Since 2004, the consultation process involves the whole budget of the local council as well as the budget of the intermunicipal co-operation agreement (*Communeauté d'Agglomération*) of which Saint-Denis is part.
- Since 2019, residents of Saint-Denis may take part in three types of PB approaches:
 - PB at neighbourhood level: Residents may make propositions for their own neighbourhood which are discussed in neighbourhood meetings taking place at the end of the year.
 - PB at city-wide level: Residents are encouraged to contact their Neighbourhood Office to provide suggestions and their opinions on the municipal budget which is voted on in March.
 - Projects of public value for the neighbourhood or Saint-Denis: Residents can also propose projects which they implement with other residents. The City of Saint-Denis allocates a budget of 200,000 Euros for citizen-led projects.

Source: Governance International Study Trip Report, © Governance International 2008.

Learning points for neighbourhood management in Turkey

First of all, the PB process of Saint-Denis is one of the rare examples where PB has become sustainable since 2001 but, at the same time, it has not stayed the same but evolved over time. Even though Saint-Denis has never commissioned an external evaluation of its PB process, there has been a systematic internal self-assessment after each round which have helped to develop PB further during the next year. While there has been some experimentation with PB in a small number of municipalities the experience of Saint-Denis shows that it is important to grow such initiatives over time and to embed them in a learning process.

Specific learning points for neighbourhood management in Turkey:

- In order to demonstrate to local people and mukhtars that they can make a positive difference at neighbourhood level it is important to make their suggestions transparent. This can be done using creative methods such as inserting smileys in the budget plan and/or publishing neighbourhood proposals online.
- The mix of neighbourhood workshops and thematic workshops ensures that the involved participants are aware of wider city-wide issues. The themes may also attract the interests of citizens who care about a specific issue and eventually get them more involved in their own neighbourhood. In particular, thematic workshops would enable mukhtars to get a wider perspective beyond their own neighbourhood.
- The availability of a small budget for citizen-led project could spark community engagement in rural neighbourhoods and help local stakeholders access more funding through other sources. However, the seed-funding provided through the PB process could trigger innovation and creativity in rural areas where neighbourhoods have lost their former administrative status which makes accessing public funding difficult.

4.1.3. Participatory budgeting in Berlin Lichtenberg

Introduction

The borough of Berlin-Lichtenberg (ca. 256,000 inhabitants) to the east of Berlin is one of the 12 boroughs of the City-State of Berlin. (Berlin is not only a capital-city but also one of the 16 *Länder* in Germany). Like the other boroughs it has responsibilities which have been transferred to the borough by the Greater Berlin Council (e.g. payment of child benefits) and which the Council finances and audits. These responsibilities are not part of the participatory budgeting process at borough-level. The borough also has a number of its own responsibilities such as the running of old people's homes and kindergartens.

Since the local government elections in 2002, Lichtenberg borough council has had a Left Party majority (the successor of the former communist party of the German Democratic Republic). The mayor, Mrs. Emmrich, volunteered to introduce participatory budgeting in her borough in late 2005 to prepare for the budget year 2007. This initiative was in response to a PB Workshop of the Parliament of Berlin, aimed at relaunching PB at local level in Germany. The PB initiative has to be seen in the context of a new regulation of the City-State of Berlin in July 2005 which required the boroughs of Berlin to consult with their citizens in all matters concerning the borough. Until then, Berlin had been the only state in Germany where citizens could not take direct political initiatives and it was therefore considered to be rather lagging behind in direct and participatory democracy.

So far, the Lichtenberg example is the most long-standing participatory budgeting (PB) experience in Germany and also benefitted from an external evaluation by Klages and Damarus in 2007 which forms the basis of this summary.

Implementation process

The PB process in Berlin-Lichtenberg was formally started by an all-party decision in October 2004. As previous failed examples in Germany suggest, all-party backing has been a key success factor in keeping the PB concept out of party politics and making the project sustainable as changes of political power have occurred.

The total budget of the borough of Berlin-Lichtenberg amounts to about €500 million and consists of about 300 services. By 2007 citizens have already been involved in two rounds of decisions on how to prioritise the spending of about €30 million on services which are the responsibility of the borough.

The project is managed by a steering group consisting of three representatives of the borough authority, one representative of each party of the borough council and another three officials from the borough authority who are also members of the project team. All decisions are taken unanimously. The project team consists of 4 representatives of community groups, one representative of each party and 4 representatives of the borough authority.

The first round of PB was organised as a *five-stage process* including

- a kick-off meeting for all residents in the borough of Berlin-Lichtenberg on 24 September 2005
- 5 decentralised citizen meetings in the neighbourhoods of the borough where residents could submit proposals and vote on the proposals made
- a one-day meeting of 'citizen journalists' to edit and aggregate the 20 most popular proposals which received most votes in each of the 5 neighbourhood meetings
- a general citizen assembly on 21 January 2006, an internet vote and a written vote to select the 20 best proposals from the set submitted by the citizen journalists.
- a citizen survey to check the reactions to the prioritised proposals by citizens who did not participate

All in all, the budget process with citizen involvement lasted from September 2005 to January 2006. Afterwards the proposals were debated by the borough council in several public meetings. The borough council took the final decision on the proposals in May 2006.

The kick-off meeting was attended by 277 residents, of which about 50% represented a political party, an association or some other organised interest. It was clear that without a personal invitation of the mayor the percentage of non-organised citizens would have been much lower. The programme included speeches by local politicians, a presentation on the local budget and a briefing on the PB project by the head of the budget department and some group work to discuss the expectations and concerns of citizens in relational to the participatory budget. The meeting was closed by performances from several artists groups. There was also the possibility for citizens to meet officials at so-called "market stands" which provided citizens with facts and figures on the local budget and services provided by the borough.

Although the participants in the kick-off meeting praised the overall organisation of the event, their feedback made it clear that they considered it had been too long. Nevertheless, and in spite of some

other criticisms, two thirds of the attendants declared that they would take part in the further stages of the project.

Citizen meetings in the five neighbourhoods of the borough took place from October to November. The number of participants varied between 86 and 157 (out of neighbourhoods with approximately 55,000 people in each). The meetings had the objectives (Klages and Daramus 2007, 68)

- to encourage citizens to make proposals,
- to discuss the proposals with the other participants and to persuade them to vote for them,
- to get advice from professional staff of the borough authority on the proposal
- to vote on proposals made in order to select the 20 'best' proposals which would attract most votes,
- to determine 2 citizens who would volunteer to be part of the 'citizen journalist' team which had to prepare the proposals emerging from the neighbourhood meetings for the further voting process.

All in all, about 400 proposals were submitted in the five neighbourhood meetings. As a result of the voting at neighbourhood level, 99 proposals were prioritised. The team of citizen journalists first analysed (together with borough staff) whether the proposals were legally eligible to be considered further.

The second-round of voting offered citizens three different voting mechanisms (Klages and Daramus 2007):

- (1) Citizens were invited to vote for the 20 best proposals in a citizen assembly, where each participating citizen was given 5 points to allocate between the 42 proposals. The proposals were grouped into themes consistent with the budget plan and presented briefly on pinboards. About 300 citizens attended the meeting, which was opened by the mayor.
- (2) There was also the possibility of voting for the 20 best proposals by internet – 69 persons people used this method, mainly people who had not been involved before.
- (3) Last but not least, 5000 randomly selected citizens of the borough were also invited to allocate 5 points among 42 proposals by postal vote. In addition, all citizens who had expressed a wish to be given a postal vote were able to vote this way - in total, 673 citizens took part in the postal vote.

The phase of citizen involvement ended with the second borough-wide citizen assembly in January 2006. The top 20 proposals resulting from each of the three voting mechanisms were then in the hands of the borough council. Before the proposals were debated in the borough council committees, the borough authority did some costing and made recommendations on the feasibility of the proposals.

On 27 April 2006 the borough council decided that 37 proposals out of the 42 submitted for the final citizen votes could be implemented. The council communicated this decision to the public at a citizen assembly on 21 June 2006. However, the meeting was only attended by 50 citizens and no further PR activities took place. However, some council members suggested that in the next round the borough council's decision should be published in the local press, so that citizens would be better informed about which proposals would be implemented.

In spite of the weak feedback after the first round, about 400 citizens took part in the second round of the PB process which was designed to influence the 2008 budget.

For the third round of PB, in relation to the 2008 budget, the existing five neighbourhoods were divided into 13 smaller units, so that the neighbourhoods will be closer to the everyday experience of citizens.

Furthermore, internet voting became more important over time, as the Borough of Berlin Lichtenberg developed a user-friendly PB website – <https://www.buergerhaushalt-lichtenberg.de/>.

Another important change was the introduction of small-scale budget for neighbourhood projects (called Kiezfonds) of €6000 in each neighbourhood in 2010, which was managed by a citizen committee in each neighbourhood. This provides citizen activists with seed funding to organise events, tackle local environmental problems or take other actions which improve key outcomes at neighbourhood level.

In 2013, a new mayor of the Social-Democratic was elected who introduced a number of changes in order to simplify the PB process in Berlin-Lichtenberg, including (<https://www.berlin.de/ba-lichtenberg/aktuelles/pressemitteilungen/2013/pressemitteilung.305730.php>):

- Citizen proposals would no longer be embedded in the two-year budget plan of the Berlin borough as citizens do not wish to wait for such a long time to get feedback. Instead, citizen proposals are to be discussed four times per year in a direct dialogue between citizens and local councillors and are to be implemented within less than a year.
- The direct dialogue between citizens making proposals and local councillors strengthens public accountability of the local council and provides citizens with direct feedback on the decisions taken with regard to their proposal.
- The new website will provide a user-friendly overview of all citizen proposals, regardless whether they have been submitted through the internet, by post or in a citizen meeting.
- The website will also link to social media and allow the dissemination of the PB process via modern apps in order to encourage more young people to participate.
- The project budget (Kiezfonds) will be increased to 7000 Euro for each of the 13 neighbourhoods. Citizens are entitled to submit proposals of up to 1000 Euros.

Results

The external evaluation showed that the overall experience of all stakeholders involved had been positive (Klages and Daramus 2007, 10-11):

- (1) A large number of citizens had been mobilised to get engaged in the PB process – in the first round from 2005/2006 about 4000 citizens took part in the process. In the second round the number of involved citizens was about the same even though much less money was invested in PR campaigns. The biggest increase in participation resulted from the online participation.
- (2) It proved to be a good decision to use a mix of media to inform and engage citizens since each of the communication channels – the citizen assemblies, the internet and the postal vote – showed distortions in terms of gender, age, education and nationality.
- (3) Most citizens only attended one citizen assembly, whereas the participation offer included a general kick-off meeting, one decentralised neighbourhood meeting and a second general citizen assembly. The discontinuity in attendance brought about challenges in addressing the different information needs of the citizens involved.
- (4) The proposals made by the citizens revealed a high willingness to get engaged more.

The evaluation by Klages and Daramus (2007) revealed a number of surprising results regarding the expectations of the 55 council members towards PB. Whereas it is typically assumed that elected members are sceptical about participatory democracy, the majority of the Lichtenberg councillors wanted more citizen participation. Even after the PB experiment, most councillors had a positive view of the project, although there is more disagreement on whether the chosen approach has been the right one.

As the PB Website shows, since the start of the PB process 1074 proposals have been made by citizens of which 561 have been implemented.

Source: Governance International Case Study, © Governance International 2013.

Learning points for neighbourhood management in Turkey

The PB process in Berlin-Lichtenberg has become sustainable and has evolved since 2006. Most importantly, even after a major political change in 2013, the new mayor committed to continue the PB process. In particular, the Borough recognised the need to embed PB strongly in neighbourhoods and supports the PB process with neighbourhood dialogues which aim to reach out to different target groups. This may take the form of 'neighbourhood walks' or informal events which are attended by local people, local councillors and public officers.

Furthermore, Berlin Lichtenberg has made efforts to increase digital participation in order to attract more young people.

Furthermore, similar to Saint-Denis, the Borough introduced 'project budgets' (Kiezfonds) of about €6000 in each neighbourhood in 2010, managed by citizen committees. This provides citizen activists with seed funding to organise events, tackle local environmental problems or take other actions which improve public outcomes at neighbourhood level.

Specific learning points are:

- The PB process in Berlin-Lichtenberg is characterised by a strong focus on evaluation and learning. This is also needed in Turkey where a number of PB experiments have already taken place but there has been a lack of external evaluations. Collaboration with local universities may provide a way of creating mutual benefits as university staff and students could get engaged in facilitating PB meetings.
- Berlin Lichtenberg engages in regular dialogue with citizens at neighbourhood level which is done in a creative way. This is also important in Turkey which has a weak culture of citizen engagement and trust needs to be built in both local government and civic society. In Turkey, such meetings could be planned and led by mukhtars.
- It is important that neighbourhoods are not too big in terms of population to support community engagement and identification with the neighbourhood. The Berlin Borough of Lichtenberg works closely with local people in the micro-neighbourhoods (called Kiez in Berlin) within the 13 districts of the borough. In particular, the Kiezfonds aims at enabling small-scale community initiatives which benefit local people within their Kiez. The allocation of the funding is decided by a citizen committee which creates transparency and trust. Similar small pots of seed funding for community projects could be made available at neighbourhood level in Turkish municipalities. The administration of such community budgets could become a new responsibility of mukhtars who are already directly elected and therefore in a position to take

decisions on whether citizen proposals should be granted funding or not. This would also increase the status of mukhtars.

4.1.4. Participatory budgeting in the City of Ghent, Belgium

Introduction

With more than 230,000 inhabitants Ghent is the second largest city of Flanders. Due to its medieval character and historical buildings it is also an important tourist attraction. At the same time, Ghent is a city of knowledge and culture. The University of Ghent and the renowned colleges of higher education attract a large number of students from all over Flanders and Europe.

Ghent is also a city in which the Industrial Revolution has left its traces, with high density housing and densely populated neighbourhoods in the so-called 19th century belt around the (historical) centre. The housing and social problems in these areas have not only given rise to a number of regeneration projects but also to a new initiative on community-based planning.

When the Municipal Executive Board introduced participatory budgeting in 2003, this was intended to change local service delivery in two-ways: first, a key objective was to join-up local services so that citizens would get more customised services. Secondly, the mayor wished to increase citizen participation in service planning and management of the City.

Implementation process

On 26 June 2006, the Municipal Executive Board approved the participatory budgeting project "Districts on the Move" (*De wijk aan zet*). As part of the Community Based Planning programme, the City of Ghent Municipality wished to use parts of the local budget to support bottom-up initiatives and self-organisation by local resident groups in the 25 neighbourhoods within Ghent. In order to be eligible for funding the initiatives must improve the liveability, the well-being and the levels of participation and communication in their neighbourhood.

In 2006 the budget allocated for all the neighbourhoods amounted to €175.000. Each neighbourhood is entitled to a fixed amount of €7000. This amount can be paid in grants of a minimum of €500 and a maximum of €2,500 per initiative.

Each group can apply for only one annual grant. A 'residents group' is defined as a group of people who are living and active in a neighbourhood of Ghent. The residents group can be either a formally constituted group (e.g. non-profit organisation) or a *de facto* group of inhabitants who have joined in a particular initiative.

This new initiative was communicated to the neighbourhoods through a PR campaign in the summer of 2006, comprising:

- postcards, posters and brochures
- similar material on the city's internet- and intranet sites
- articles published in the several magazines in the city
- press releases, which led to several newspapers publishing articles
- presentations to the local television

- dissemination by employees of the Community-Based Planning Department through their networks, detailing the initiative, its scope, its potential and the conditions attached to it.

In order to apply, interested citizens need to form a group of at least two citizens and then to fill out the appropriate form and submit it within the indicated deadline. When participatory budgeting started in Ghent, in 2006 and 2007, these starting years were meant as an experiment and the requirements placed on applicants were rather large. The most important criteria included:

- the initiative should come from the citizens themselves,
- projects should come from a group of people in the neighbourhood, not just one individual
- initiatives had to encourage communication, participation, dialogue and the quality of life in the neighbourhood
- initiatives had to be in line with the neighbourhood programmes and the city's policies,
- the initiatives had to be executed within fixed periods of time (for applications in 2006, this meant they had to be finished at the latest by 31 December 2007, while for applications in 2007, they had to be finished by 31 December 2008).

Initiatives would not be funded if they had a political or religious aim, or a commercial interest, or if they came only from an individual.

The selection procedure itself consists of two phases. First, a local jury deliberates and gives its motivated assessment on each initiative submitted in their neighbourhood. If necessary, conditions or remarks for the applicants will also be added. The role of these local juries is essential within the scope of "Community Based Planning": they are an important step towards more participation and involvement of Ghent citizens in the local authority and public service management. The juries are composed of equal parts of three groups, namely representatives of local associations, local inhabitants and civil servants of the local authority. The resident representatives join the juries as volunteers, which means that they are neither elected at neighbourhood level nor appointed by the local authority. These juries convene once per call for entries. So, once in 2006 after the call for entries for 2006 was closed, and, likewise, once in 2007.

Then, following the deliberation of the jury, all assessments are examined by the Municipal Executive Board, which takes the final decision as regards the funding of the applications. The decisions are first individually communicated to each of the applicants, after which the results are made public.

Building on this PB experience the City of Ghent decided in 2015 to develop a crowdfunding platform to provide funding for community projects (Monstrey 2016). Each resident in Ghent can submit a project by completing the crowdfunding.gent application form. The application needs to be approved by the platform manager who checks whether the project proposal meets a set of pre-defined criteria such as making a positive contribution to the city or one of its neighbourhoods. If necessary, the platform managers advised the applicant on necessary changes to the application. When the proposal has been published supporters can donate to the projects during a pre-defined period of time.

In its first year of operation, the platform raised €70,000 in contributions from local communities. In addition to financing the set-up and running costs of the platform, the City of Ghent provided €55,000 extra funding for community projects which achieved their funding goal through the crowdfunding platform. Most importantly, the local authority is aware that not every citizen initiative is likely to succeed and considers the platform successful if 1 out of 3 projects reach their pre-defined funding goal. However, in 2015, 80% of projects raised enough funding to be implemented (Monstrey 2016).

Results

50 applications were submitted in 2006, rising to 147 in 2007. They can be roughly categorised under the following themes:

- organisation of a social gathering or festive meeting (about 20 in 2006, 70 in 2007),
- projects to improve the liveable environment (about 15 in 2006, 20 in 2007),
- social-cultural initiatives (8 in 2006, 15 in 2007),
- improving communication in the neighbourhood (4 in 2006, 8 in 2007),
- opening up schools for the local community (2 in 2006, 3 in 2007).

In the first year in 2006, only three projects were not given a grant, but the increased level of applications meant that this rose to 19 in 2007. The main reasons for being turned down were:

- not fulfilling the criteria as stated
- being more appropriate for other grants or subsidies, e.g. from the Cultural Department
- being too vague
- not being in line with the city's policy.

There were no new staff employed. Each staff member integrated the task in his/her daily work, as participatory budgeting is seen as one of the tools for community-based planning. The professional staff have to set off some of their daily time in guiding interested inhabitants' groups, in particular right before and after the deadlines. The jurors had to invest time in two meetings, once in 2006 and once in 2007. The only extra direct costs were for printing.

The crowdfunding platform has provided an additional tool to enable community initiatives in the City of Ghent. Even though the initiatives are typically small-scale crowdfunded projects may create larger ripple effects as demonstrated by 'the Edible Street' project (Monstrey 2016): The implementation of this project was quickly followed by a similar project in Kortrijk; Groene Straat (Green Street). This initiative finances the realisation of planters and other forms of new green spaces by offering bulk purchasing. The initiator based the project on a quick assessment of the core elements of the Ghent project that would allow a scaling-up of the project to a city level. The Groene Straat website describes 22 projects where additional (edible) green has been realised. Another project that followed the Ghent example is 'Groenselare' in the city of Roeselare, which started providing information to citizens on ways to create green facades after the city was named the 'greyest' cities of Flanders in 2014.

The website crowdfunding gent is very user-friendly by providing an overview of concluded and ongoing projects in all of the neighbourhoods in Ghent - see <https://crowdfunding.gent/lopende-initiatieven/>.

Source: Governance International Case Study © 2020

Learning points for neighbourhood management in Turkey

Better partnership working with other services has proven to be important in order to provide effective support to the citizens-led initiatives. For example, consultation has been necessary between the Cultural Department and Community-based Planning Department on projects bidding to undertake community-based cultural activities.

Furthermore, it is necessary to check whether specific permits and grants are required or if other services, not provided by the City of Ghent, could help implementing the projects. Better coordination between municipal departments and other service providers also contributes to one of the key objectives of the Community-Based Planning Strategy, which is to provide joint-up services.

There were several challenges. These included, for example, the first round of selection of initiatives, the (short) period for consultation with relevant services and departments, the selection and role of the juries, and reconciliation with the Municipal Executive Board's final decisions.

4.2. Community co-production at neighbourhood level

There is a wide agreement in the neighbourhood management literature that community engagement is a key element of effective neighbourhood management albeit different authors use different terms such as public participation, community empowerment and community co-production.

This report focusses on community co-production as it involves 'citizen voice and action' (Loeffler 2021). The case studies in this section will illustrate how communities work together with public services provides in order to improve public services and outcomes at neighbourhood level.

The case study from the famous neighbourhood Balsall Heath in Birmingham shows how a deprived neighbourhood can initiative an improvement cycle by mobilising local communities. In particular, the foundation of the Balsall Heath Neighbourhood Forum provided the neighbourhood with a governance structure to manage volunteers and to attract government funding.

Bristol Community Housing Foundation (BCHF) has worked with residents and partners to improve the Upper Horfield estate in Bristol through the 'Pride of Place' initiative, forming a 'Pride of Place' Group which links community representatives with key agencies in the area. In particular, this initiative has recruited 36 street representatives who have brought about further improvements.

The German case study 'Better Living in Offenbach' which has been going on for a long time shows how complaints can be used as a starting point for co-production and how to make the contributions of volunteers visible through effective public campaigns.

The Scottish case study of deprived neighbourhoods in NW Kilmarnock highlights the importance of listening events and partnership working between public agencies which provided a joint-up approach which allowed improvements to happen quickly so that over time, more and more local people developed community initiatives.

4.2.1. Balsall Heath: Engaging local people in reducing crime and improving the environment

Introduction

The neighbourhood of Balsall Heath begins about a mile from Birmingham city centre and contains 15,000 residents (based on the 2011 Census). During the industrial revolution it grew from a tiny village to a cohesive, thriving working class area. Balsall Heath Urban District Council became part of Birmingham City Council in 1891. However, the collapse of traditional manufacturing industry in the area in the 1960s and 70s led to widespread unemployment and falling population. The Council knocked down a third of the hundred- year-old houses and rehoused the residents all over Birmingham (Atkinson 2012). In a very short period of time the population changed - by 1980 it had come to be made up of 60% Asian, 20% African and Caribbean and 20% white. This new population was fragmented and unconfident. Before long, crime soared, and the area became the centre of Birmingham's prostitution trade (Atkinson 2010). Residents who could leave did so.

However, this slowly changed from the 1980s onwards. A variety of voluntary agencies, street groups and the neighbourhood wide Balsall Heath Forum were formed to represent the area and mobilise local people to take action. As the Neighbourhood Development Plan states, "from being one of Birmingham's least desirable areas, it became one of its best" (Balsall Heath Neighbourhood Planning Forum, 2015).

Objectives

Some of those residents who could not afford to move – often because nobody would buy their house – resolved to try to make a difference and improve the quality of their lives. At first, just a few, then more and more residents joined in. Their objectives were to:

- form a Forum to represent the area and to be a voice for the 'village'.
- build capacity and confidence, to create a social capital and join people and streets together.
- to deliver some services to improve the look, feel and safety of the area

To join together the existing, one-size-fits all, services of the area and tailor-make them to suit the local needs. That is, a key objective became to change the way the neighbourhood was managed, disentangling services from remote head offices and devolving as much as possible to the neighbourhood itself.

Implementation process

The improvements to the neighbourhood involved the following key actions:

- Fixing broken windows, hedges, gates, alleyways, graffiti, dumping: As the saying goes, if a broken window is left unamended, the message says, 'nobody cares'. It invites others to be broken. So, a volunteer handy-person or two were identified to mend broken windows, trim overgrown hedges, fit gates to gardens and side entryways, clear overgrown alleyways, remove graffiti, clear dumped rubbish and organise litter picks.
- The development of resident groups: First one, then more, resident groups were formed until the whole area was covered. Each group covers just 3 or 4 streets, meets every 2 months and agrees what needs to be done. As some 30 people attend each group this means that 30 x 15 = 450 people regularly meet and either tackle small jobs themselves or notify the relevant

services that they need to be done. Each resident group has 2 or 3 particularly good, active, neighbours for whom nothing is too much trouble. They visit the elderly, phone the police to move any dumped cars and befriend the lonely. They 'give' a lot and 'receive' much gratitude and respect in return.

- A Capacity Builder – Community Organiser: None of these three steps or those which follow could have been sustained without a full-time Capacity Builder. So, residents raised the money to permanently employ their own organiser. Just as the workers in a factory need a shop steward to help them to improve their working conditions, so also residents need a 'Street or Community Steward' to help them to improve their living conditions.
- Communal Celebrations: Every November 1,500 people gather to watch and enjoy and display of fireworks. "It's good", said one young girl, "It's like we are all just one big family. It puts me on cloud nine for a week". Thirty years ago, 200 people attended the first Carnival held on the village green, one of the small local parks. It was policed by 15 officers on the alert for problems. By 2012, 5,000 people attended and there were only three police (staffing a stall distributing smoke alarms!)

This process led to the Foundation of the Balsall Heath Forum in 1994 when local residents were given a piece of land by the council that used to be a drugs den. This place is now a welcoming site with allotments where residents can grow vegetables and plants. Its current objectives are (Balsall Heath Neighbourhood Planning Forum, 2015):

- To represent the area to itself and to statutory bodies.
- To build the capacity and social capital of the neighbourhood.
- To deliver some safe, clean and green services.
- To provide a focal point for more effective management of the neighbourhood.

Balsall Heath Forum (BHF) is set up as a 'Company Limited by Guarantee', with membership open to all residents in the neighbourhood who are over 19 years old; there are several hundred members. Each year over a three-year cycle, the membership elects six residents to form their Executive, giving a total of eighteen (Balsall Heath Neighbourhood Development Forum, 2015). They constitute a non-party political Executive, who come from all sections of the community. Each year the Executive selects a chair, two vice-chairs, a secretary and treasurer and co-opt four others to join them, giving a total of twenty-two. The full Executive meets every month. The councillors for the Sparkbrook Ward are invited to attend meetings of the Executive as observers and one of them does so on a regular basis.

BHF provides the secretariat for the Balsall Heath Neighbourhood Strategic Partnership (NSP), which is a group of local organisations, facilitated by the BHF. The statutory providers of services in the area and the Town Centre Manager (BID) all sit on the NSP, which has no formal administrative status but provides a forum for discussion of the area's needs and allows members to guide and influence each other, while fulfilling an advocacy role for the neighbourhood. There is also a Balsall Heath Voluntary Sector Alliance, which includes most of the key local voluntary organisations. The Alliance sends two representatives to the NSP.

However, over the years, the context of the Balsall Heath Forum changed. In the period up to 2010, Balsall Heath Forum benefited from a number of central government funding schemes for

neighbourhood regeneration, many of them routed through Birmingham City Council and the Local Strategic Partnership. Funding was also available from a range of foundations and charities. However, since 2010 funding has been much more difficult to obtain and the Forum has had to scale back its activities and seek alternative funding models, such as undertaking contract work for local housing associations and Birmingham City Council.

Results

'Be Birmingham', the city's strategic partnership, holds an Annual Opinion Survey of 8,000 residents in 31 neighbourhoods. The Annual Opinion Survey is a citywide survey measuring residents' satisfaction with local public services, perceptions of their local community and their views on challenges facing the city as a whole. The citizen survey of 2010 reveals that Balsall Heath performed better than the average of the whole city.

Table 7: Comparison of citizen satisfaction between Balsall Heath and Birmingham City average

Indicator	Balsall Heath	City average
Residents feel they can influence decisions affecting their local area.	58%	47%
Residents are satisfied with the amount of control they have over decisions affecting their lives.	79%	76%
Residents believe the local area has a good reputation.	61%	57%
Residents feel safe in their local area.	76%	74%
Residents feel that the local area is improving.	51%	48%

Source: Be Birmingham - Annual Opinion Survey Data, 2010.

Source: Governance International Case Study, © Governance International 2010

Learning points for neighbourhood management in Turkey:

- This good practice case shows the crucial role of community mobilisers in order to motivate and coordinate volunteers and resident groups. Residents must lead the process of renewal. To enable them to do so they need time and the support of a Capacity Builder or two. In Turkey, mukhtars could play this role but this would require training to help mukhtars understand that their new role is mobilising local people and help them to help themselves rather than trying to get things sorted for local residents.
- A neighbourhood organisation needs to engage with local councillors on a regular basis. The Balsall Heath Forum did this very successfully. In Turkey regular meetings need to take place a neighbourhood level which do not only involve public officers but also local councillors.
- There is also a need to assess and document changes in the local neighbourhood. Community mobilisers are not necessarily interested nor competent in processing data and data analysis. This requires a different set of skills which may sit in neighbourhood managers employed by the local council rather than in muhtars.

4.2.2. “Better Living in Offenbach”: Engaging local people in improving the built environment

Introduction

Offenbach, a city close to Frankfurt with about 120,000 residents, has started turning things around: fed up with the bad press and complaints about the local living environment, the directly elected mayor, Herr Schneider, decided to take action. In 2007 he launched the initiative "Better Living in Offenbach", in partnership with the local utility company and other public agencies (Suessman and Birk 2013). This also involved a communication campaign to give the signal to citizens "we care but you must do your part as well". As many "before-and-after" photos demonstrate, the living environment in many disadvantaged neighbourhoods has improved significantly due to the involvement of local citizens. Survey data also demonstrate that overall people now feel safer. But without the commitment and guidance of the professional local manager, Sabine Süßmann, these improvements would not have been possible.

Implementation process

The key objective of the initiative was to improve the quality of life in Offenbach, with a particular focus on disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Even though the local council had engaged in various improvement activities in the past, these had remained largely unnoticed by the public and the local press. Therefore, it was decided to take a new approach which involved partnership working with the local utility company, the police and other public agencies. Another important innovation was co-production with local people. It was also important to the mayor to improve transparency. As Herr Schneider stated "This initiative aims at giving local people, schools and communities more responsibility for their neighbourhood. But this is only going to work if the local council does its homework as well. A citizen who complains about fly tipping on the internet should be able to read

shortly afterwards on our website what we have done about this. And the results need to be documented on our homepage on a continuous basis."

The project was started in May 2007 with a pilot in a disadvantaged neighbourhood. Staff of the local council, utility company and local people engaged in clean-ups, painting and weeding for three months. In the meantime, the initiative has been extended to four neighbourhoods.

Many improvements have been made. For example, many street switch boxes of the electricity utility which had been covered in posters and graffiti have been cleaned up, while others boxes have been redesigned for advertising or arts projects. Furthermore, lighting poles have been cleaned up and painted and green areas along streets have been planted. The walls of subways and public buildings have been cleaned of graffiti. Indeed, whole public places have been given a complete going-over. Local companies acted as sponsors in these efforts and schools undertook arts projects in the areas concerned.

The clean-ups were accompanied by public campaigns – for example on the issue of dogs and dog fouling. Special bins for dog droppings were installed on streets and, in addition, fines of €50 were introduced for those who would not make use of the new facilities. Schools joined initiatives such as "Clean Hessen" and launched arts festivals for children. Another new initiative was the launch of neighbourhood offices with a neighbourhood cafe where local people could talk to the community organiser responsible for their neighbourhood'.

After a three-month "action phase" a community organiser was recruited in each neighbourhood from the ranks of local people. This person acts as bridge between the neighbourhood and the professional project manager working for the utility company. Furthermore, 42 citizen mentors have been recruited, who take responsibility for specific green areas and playgrounds. The mentors take care of the planting, fertilising and maintenance of specific green areas and tell the utility company when things go wrong, e.g. through vandalism. Karlheinz und Bärbel Gebhard, two mentors, recalled: "Recruitment took place at street parties but also when people complained, as they were then asked whether they could not help to make things better". Another mentor, Ursula Schäfer, has taken responsibility for an orchard behind her house in Rumpenheim, where she has been picking up litter for years. „Being born in Offenbach, I care about this city", she explains. Since she has been removing the litter on a regular basis, the size of the problem has been reduced. „Seeing me removing the litter makes many people think", she says. On average, she spends about 5 hours a week cleaning up the orchard – for her efforts, she got a volunteering "bonus card", giving reductions for visits to public leisure facilities all over Germany. Other citizens also help but by doing rather less onerous things – like taking responsibility for a tree or ensuring the locking of public football pitches.

Further mentors are also recruited through other social projects run by the local council and nonprofit organisations. "We are happy to participate in this successful project" says Kalle Hildebrand, a social worker in StartHaus Offenbach, which works on social inclusion issues. What still needs to be improved is the engagement of ethnic minorities in the peer programme.

Since the start of the co-production initiative, the citizens have taken part in many activities. For example, in the neighbourhood Nordend the following activities have been carried out:

- About 500 poles have been cleaned.
- About 70 switch boxes were cleaned and painted.
- 11 reverse sides of the "Pedestrian Zone" signs have been refurbished.

- 2,000 flower bulbs have been planted.
- 10 uncared for and damaged plant bubs were removed and another two relocated.
- 20 further dog fouling bag-dispensers were installed.

"Before and-after" photos clearly demonstrate that anti-social behaviour and vandalism have reduced after the "cleaner, safer, greener" activities of the citizens and the council. This positive view is also shared by local citizens: the participants at a public meeting after the three-month clean-up thought that their engagement had been worthwhile. The utility company and the councillor Paul-Gerhard Weiss also thought that this initiative has been positive and needed to be extended to other neighbourhoods.

When local people take responsibility for their street, they not only take better care of public spaces but they change the outlook of other citizens, as well. As Frank Weber, head of Department for Cleansing (and responsible in the city for local prevention policies) suggests: "When local people collect litter, they visibly take responsibility for the environment and become a role model for others". Last but not least, clean-up days in the local neighbourhoods create social capital and improved social cohesion. When young people decorated the flowerpots in the Ludwig Straße with mosaics, some local citizens gave them drinks and chocolate to thank them for their engagement.

The initiative has been so successful that it is still ongoing in 2021 as can be seen from the local website <https://www.offenbach.de/leben-in-of/sicherheit-ordnung/besser-leben-in-offenbach/index.php>.

Community projects have evolved to focus on urban gardening and neighbourhood events such as a regular event on Friday afternoons based on French food to incentivise local people to meet up in a local square after work. In the meantime, the project has shifted to a new non-profit company which is part of the Offenbach Utility Company which works closely with the Unit 'Clean Offenbach' of Offenbach Municipality.

Source: Governance International Case Study, © Governance International 2010.

Learning points for neighbourhood management in Turkey

This case study shows the impact of citizen action which has triggered behaviour change at neighbourhood level and led to visible improvements of the built environment but also strengthened social cohesion.

Particular learning points for Turkey are:

- As mukhtars deal with a lot of local people making complaints they could use the contact point to explore whether complainers would be prepared to help them to deal with the problem. This has been done very successfully in Offenbach.
- The Offenbach co-production approach is flexible and acknowledges that different people are interested in different issues and do not wish to have the same level of responsibility. For example, while some citizens are happy to take care of a local park others only wish to look after a little green space in front of their house. In Turkish neighbourhoods there is likely to be a lot of willingness of local people to make a contribution to make their neighbourhood safer and greener, but they have to be enabled to make different offers.
- Behaviour change needs to be embedded in a public campaign (which may be co-designed with the respective target groups). The use of 'Better Living in Offenbach' stickers on public facilities or public spaces which have been improved raises public awareness of the contributions of volunteers and has increased social control. Mukhtars could also highlight the

difference which they and community volunteers have made more visibly in order to improve citizen satisfaction.

- The 'Safer and Greener' initiative in Offenbach initially reported directly to the directly elected mayor which helped this initiative gain momentum. Also, in Turkey neighbourhood issues should be considered to be strategic and 'have the ear' of the Mayor, not just the Neighbourhood Management Office.

4.2.3. Community empowerment deprived neighbourhoods in North-West Kilmarnock in Scotland

Introduction

The areas of Onthank and Knockinlaw in North West Kilmarnock are home to 3,500 people with a fairly even distribution of ages. Due to higher than average rates of crime and violence, this location was nominated by the local police commander as a Public Reassurance area, which indicated the need for increased targeting and co-ordination of public service resources to enhance community safety. The same area also features in the top 5% most deprived areas in Scotland – in fact, out of 6,500 data-zones it features within the top 150 most deprived.

Objectives

The key objective of this community co-production project was to pilot an assets-based approach to improve social cohesion in this deprived neighbourhood. The assets-based approach provides a means for previously connected and unconnected people and organisations to work in collaboration with residents and communities in order to improve their quality of life. This approach is based on identifying existing assets within communities and empowering residents to make a significant change to their environment, health and wellbeing. By creating the right conditions, people and community groups, previously marginalised, are encouraged to apply their own inherent or learned skills and talents to various projects and initiatives. The transformative change and outcomes which follow, not only empowers and strengthens individuals, it also converts them from passive recipients of services into participating agents in their neighbourhoods.

Such talent and skills were discovered in abundance in North-West Kilmarnock in Scotland. In the neighbourhoods of Onthank and Knockinlaw, residents and community groups readily embraced this new approach. Being led by Strathclyde Police and the national Violence Reduction Unit the overarching aim was to explore ways in which residents could take greater control and ownership in their neighbourhood in order to reduce violence and the fear of crime.

Implementation process

The project was started in spring 2010. The starting point for the work in Kilmarnock was spreading awareness and gathering support from public service organisations for experimenting with an assets-based approach. In order to get buy-in for this new way of working Strathclyde Police invited the local council, health visitors and midwives, community workers and drugs counsellors, employability staff, local college representatives and third sector organisations and many more to an awareness seminar. Once that was achieved it was time to meet with the community. Initially there was suspicion and mistrust but as relationships developed people came on board.

For example, John and Julie, local volunteers, took over the management of a youth project with a vision to support and develop young people from the area. Along with their newly formed community group, and with zero funding, they started an after-school club for primary school-aged children. With

the help of local volunteers, they added a homework club and then a breakfast club, which attracted significant funds from the People's Health Trust Lottery. Some of the kids reported for the first time that they were being rewarded at school with 'well done' and 'smiley' stickers in their jotters. These made them feel really good about themselves and will hopefully inspire them onto even greater things as their levels of aspiration increase.

By now the word was spreading fast about the regular Listening Events being held in the local primary school. These were informal gatherings held in the heart of the community and used to connect with local people – this enabled a shared understanding of the most pressing needs and priorities to be heard at first-hand. The Listening Events attracted hundreds of local residents and local service providers from all three sectors and helped raise expectations. For example, a local church minister who was motivated to build greater momentum in communities within his Parish committed the support of his congregation and who went onto become an integral part of this innovative approach.

Another example was a local person who had been raised in the area and had gone on to become a senior partner in a global architect's firm. He was able to advise on the creation of a new community garden and resource centre which he also went onto help design and project manage. The offers of support from the community and numerous organisations became overwhelming and there was a need to establish a means of co-ordinating and communicating ongoing work.

In addition to the 'Listening Events' an assets-mapping exercise was undertaken to map existing physical and people assets – 'You don't know what you need in a community until you know what you already have'. A local management consultant was commissioned to train community members of all ages including people who were in recovery from substance abuse, to work as peer researchers across North West Kilmarnock. The task of the peer researchers was to identify available resources in the area, establish how local people would like to use these and what the barriers were. This included mapping the physical environment (e.g. using photography) and mapping social resources (e.g. supporting a group of young people to create a community newspaper). The resulting report identified gaps but also highlighted many opportunities.

One offer of support came from an elderly and highly energetic resident called Jim who had expertise in Archery. His suggestion of teaching young people about bows and arrows did initially raise eyebrows. However, he demonstrated that while bringing the young and the elderly together he was also breaking down barriers and reducing fear and suspicion between different generations. Not only that, he was also capturing the essentials of many school-taught subjects by explaining the vagaries of velocity, cable strength and origins of the wood.

Another inspiring project sparked off by two local volunteers who had a vision of improving the lives of young children from the local area but who had no prior experience in this field other than looking after their own children. They took over a building lease building ...After a few months about 300 young people were involved in various activities. One of their flagship policies is 'Children's Choices' which basically translates as the children are consulted on all aspects of the youth project.

Results

Feedback was captured from the Listening Events and used to collect views and concerns of residents. These were categorised into themes and fed back to the community. They were then asked what collaborative solutions could be found which produced a number of ingenious suggestions.

Collaboration between the local youth project and the local drug addiction service was developed. The significant benefit was that many registered addicts lived locally but previously had to travel two or three miles to their treatment centre. As the service was now on their doorstep, they could take their children along who would gain from the programme of services on offer at the youth project. The number of addicts attending increased dramatically.

It became apparent that it would be necessary to find a means of co-ordinating increasing offers of support, which led to creation of the multi-agency Community Capacity Building Group with residents integral to its success. The Group was really dynamic as only the agencies that could impact on specific issues would attend meetings. This Group acted as a filter for great ideas. For example, the local Kilmarnock College representative collaborated with the health visitor to deliver beauty treatments for free to young mums from the area. The young mums felt better about themselves and the students gained invaluable 'on-the-job' training.

The local church minister was appointed as chair and a representative from East Ayrshire Council as vice-chair. This enabled a direct link into the local community planning framework and ensured that although the assets work was very localised, at the same time, it also operated within the strategic aims of the community planning framework. Simultaneously, the local community police officers were becoming much more accepted and on first name terms with many people.

Source: © Governance International 2012.

Learning points for neighbourhood management in Turkey

This case study shows the importance of listening to local people and taking their views and opinions seriously. It also shows that a needs analysis needs to be supplemented by an analysis of local assets which goes beyond the assessment of public infrastructure and budgets. However, most public officers even in the UK are not used to ask people about "what they can do to help others" rather than asking them what kind of services they need. In particular, in Turkey in many parts of the society there is still a strong culture of solidarity which may be stronger in rural areas where 'everybody knows everybody'. This is an important community asset with a lot of potential which needs to be mobilised more effectively in neighbourhoods, in particular in rural areas.

4.3. Good Practice in Community Planning at Neighbourhood Level

The traditional planning approach has been the urban planning approach undertaken mainly by professionals. However, since the late 1960s, there has been an increasing awareness on the part of urban planners about the need to involve the public. While this requires extra time and resources there are benefits of community planning, in particular at neighbourhood level.

The following case studies highlight approaches of how community planning can be put into practice, including the regeneration of a major public square in Strasbourg (France), the Pride of Place initiative in Bristol in the UK which concerned a deprived neighbourhood and the regeneration of a huge military area in the City of Mannheim in Germany.

4.3.1. Community planning of the regeneration of Austerlitz Square in Strasbourg, France

Introduction

The regeneration of Austerlitz Square in the City of Strasbourg in France was shaped through a carefully designed community planning process with local neighbourhood associations and the wider public. In a city-wide citizen survey of 2015, the new square was considered to be one of the most three popular green spaces in Strasbourg. A follow-up committee with local citizens and public officers ensures that Place Austerlitz continues to meet the needs of local residents.

Objectives

Austerlitz Square in Strasbourg is a public space with a high symbolic value. Already in the Middle Ages it marked the southern entry to the City of Strasbourg. Today it links the historic city centre with new urban development areas in the south of Strasbourg. It also plays a key role for the neighbourhood Krutenau.

The built environment of this public space dated back to the post-war period and was designed around car transport, with vast car parking space and bus stops for tourist coaches. Over time, the area fell into disarray.

In 2008, the local council and metropolitan council of Strasbourg took the decision to regenerate Austerlitz Square within an innovative consultation process with neighbourhood groups and local residents.

The strategic objectives of the regeneration project as defined at the start of the consultation process were as follows:

- To create an urban space which is both a central square for the City of Strasbourg and the neighbourhood of Krutenau.
- To create a space for all. This meant favouring 'soft' forms of mobility, for example, through the creation of pedestrian zones and a decrease of the space devoted to car transport and parking. This implied different traffic options for specific streets and the need to find solutions for potential conflicts between pedestrians, cyclists and car drivers.
- To define the functions of the new square and organise it accordingly so that the square would allow the passage of people but provide social space for people to meet others and relax. Again, this involved different options to be discussed with local people.

Implementation process

The community planning process of the regeneration of Austerlitz Square was characterised by the following milestones:

October 2008 - January 2009: Co-design of the regeneration plan with local associations

- This involved local associations scoping the project and shaping the regeneration plan in co-operation with the project manager.

February – June 2009: Consultation on the regeneration plan

- After a public meeting in February 2009 a number of specific information and consultation events were launched, including an exhibition in a community centre, an online consultation on the website of Strasbourg Council and six different locations where citizens were asked to

participate in a survey by filling in a questionnaire. This phase concluded with a consultation of the neighbourhood council on 1 April 2009. In France, this is a statutory body in cities with more than 80.000 inhabitants, but their composition can be decided locally. In Strasbourg the 75% of the members of neighbourhood councils involve local residents (with an equal representation of women and men) and 25% of representatives of associations and socio-professional groups. This was followed by two events to provide feedback on the resulting project plan on 23 April to local associations and subsequently, on 11 June to the wider public.

November 2009 – May 2010: Citizen representatives shaping the public tender

- This phase focussed on the selection of the company to be awarded the public tender to redesign Square Austerlitz. This involved a preparatory meeting with neighbourhood associations to identify suitable candidates who were either qualified or interested to take part in a jury. The jury involved six elected councillors (including one president), six professionals and five interested people from neighbourhood associations and the neighbourhood council.
- The jury members were asked to select the bids based on the following criteria:
- Respect of the key objectives of the project
- Quality of landscape and urban integration
- Respect of the budget guidelines
- Environmental quality
- The participation of citizens (as representatives of neighbourhood associations or the neighbourhood council) was a first in Strasbourg in a public space project. After receiving the offers, the jury engaged in a debate and voted the company in charge of planning the project.

Autumn 2010 – June 2012: Intense public information on the public works

- In autumn 2010 the award winner presented the plans for the new square to the public in a public event. Furthermore, an exhibition was organised. From May 2011 – June 2012 the public works were carried out. Every two months a public information event was organised to provide feedback to residents and allow them to ask questions. On 2 June 2012 the new Square Austerlitz was publicly opened.

Since October 2014: Feedback through a local follow-up committee

- After the opening of Square Austerlitz a number of residents who took part in the jury volunteered to take part in an informal assessment committee with public officers which meets about three times per year to assess the quality and the use of the new square and to identify actions for improvement. For example, the fact that the new Square Austerlitz focusses on indigenous plants means that at times there may be fewer flowers than in other parks where plants are changed throughout the seasons. While this biodiversity is a strong point from the point of view of an ecologically oriented local neighbourhood association this requires communication to other users who may not be aware of local plants.
- The design of the consultation process shows that each step involved an intense consultation with neighbourhood associations before the wider public was consulted. Furthermore, in each phase, feedback on the results of the consultation was provided – again, first to the neighbourhood associations and second to the wider public.

Results

The use of the square has considerably increased as a result of the regeneration. There are now many more residents, tourists and other groups using it. For example, visitors of patients in a nearby hospital like to walk to the square and dwell there. Indeed, the use of Square Austerlitz has increased so much that many surrounding restaurants and bars have expanded their facility – some of them state that their turn-over has increased three times.

In a city-wide citizen survey carried out in 2015 on the perceptions of local people about the state of nature in Strasbourg, Austerlitz Square was identified as one of the green spaces most liked by local people. There are now more public events taking place in the square – both small-scale neighbourhood events and events for a wider public.

The regeneration of Austerlitz Square has received two awards: the first in the competition “Victoires du paysage” in 2013 and, secondly, in the competition “Infrastructure for mobility, biodiversity and landscape” in 2015. Based on the terms of reference resulting from the co-design and consultation process, the landscape architect Agnès Davel of the company Digitale Paysage put into place a regeneration project which put a new emphasis on biodiversity with a majority of indigenous plants.

The result was “a nature archipelago between the historical city and the modern city”. All in all, the regeneration project provided residents with:

- 10,000 square meters of public space, from house front to house front
- 2,600 square meters of plants
- 6,000 bulbs
- 46 trees, 13 160 herbaceous and 5810 shrubs (the majority of which are indigenous plants).

Source: © Governance International 2017

Learning points for neighbourhood management in Turkey

The community planning process in Strasbourg allowed the involvement of a large number of stakeholders and placed great value on the contribution of the neighbourhood associations. As a result, the stakeholders involved now take ownership of the new square.

Specific learning points are:

- The involvement of diverse stakeholders was carefully phased, and the stakeholders segmented into groups which was a key success factor. Bringing everybody together at the initial stage of potentially controversial planning processes is likely to lead to conflicts and reduce the chances of effective collaboration. Major infrastructure projects in Turkey with a strong impact on specific neighbourhoods may also follow this community planning approach to consult with representatives at neighbourhood level but also the wider public.
- The community planning process allowed experimentation with the use of new materials, new types of equipment and decoration, and a different approach to nature within the city, with the full integration of nature in an urban area and the use of many indigenous plants. As climate change is also a challenge for Turkish municipalities a community planning approach may help to generate new ideas on how to improve the local environment.

4.3.2. The 'Pride of Place' Initiative in Bristol, UK

Introduction

Bristol Community Housing Foundation (BCHF) is a small, community based social landlord in north Bristol, UK which experienced concerns raised by a number of tenants living in the Upper Horfield estate about the rise in street litter after the regeneration of their estate.

The Upper Horfield estate underwent significant regeneration of the housing stock between 1999 and 2007 which saw the eventual replacement of 450 failing prefabricated homes which had been blighted by concrete cancer. As the old homes started to become vacated and boarded up, the long process of assembling the necessary finances and local authority support for the regeneration began. Throughout this period, many of the tenants who remained in the area had to endure issues including high crime rates, arson and anti-social behaviour.

The new housing was built in four phases between 2002 and 2007 on an estate designed using Home Zone principles. Each street mixed together social and private tenure at an approximate 50:50 ratio.

As the first two phases of the project in the west of the estate were completed and tenants began to move in, a number of them expressed concerns to BCHF's Community Development Worker that they wanted to ensure a higher level of management of the neighbourhood than had been the case when the estate was managed by the local authority. This was of particular importance to them as they had suffered such problems during the area's long decline and were keen to ensure the regeneration project marked the start of a new way of doing things in closer partnership.

Objectives

The initial instigators of the 'Pride of Place' initiative were residents who had lived in the area prior to the regeneration project and had been closely involved in establishing BCHF as the estate's new housing provider. In October 2007, they met with the Community Development Worker to start a simple project to walk around part of the estate with key BCHF staff and note down issues of concern. Initially, these walkabouts comprised about six residents, BCHF's Community Development Worker, Housing Officer and Neighbourhood Caretaker. The list of issues was then logged onto a database by the Community Development Worker and farmed out to the relevant staff member or external agency to follow up.

After only two months of walkabouts, residents felt they would like to deal with the street litter as they walked around so BCHF invested in litter pickers, a pull-along garden truck and high-visibility tabards so that litter picks could be incorporated into the walkabouts. Walkabouts were advertised in advance and the group started to attract some additional members, including from residents starting to move into homes in the phases that were being completed to the east of the estate.

In 2008, residents volunteering on the partnership were given the title of Street Rep and a further recruiting campaign was then commenced to try to recruit a Street Rep in every street. This led to a further 34 residents applying to become Street Reps – giving coverage in the majority of streets. A guidance manual had already been created by two neighbourhoods in south Bristol who had existing Street Rep schemes and BCHF was granted permission to use this and adapt it to fit their areas. This manual contains everything from how to report a broken streetlight to how hate crime can be reported.

Contact was also being made by the Community Development Worker with agencies including the police and city council's waste services team and meetings were then introduced to enable residents to meet with these officers and raise neighbourhood issues with them directly.

Of particular importance to the success of 'Pride of Place' initiative are the links it has created with the Neighbourhood Beat Manager, and the City Council's Waste Services Manager. These links and the strong partnership approach which places residents in the driving seat has helped to change the dynamics of neighbourhood management in the area away from a simple list of anonymous issues to a setting where relationships drive action and all partners start to appreciate each other's position.

Results

For residents of Upper Horfield, POP has done more than simply remove items of litter from the street. It has led to a rise in confidence of residents when dealing with agencies responsible for particular issues and has enabled residents to take on more action for themselves and report things directly to the relevant agency as soon as they are noticed.

One significant outcome for the 'Pride of Place' partnership came when it decided to apply to Keep Britain Tidy for a national Quality Mark award for its work to improve clean, safe and green issues in Upper Horfield. This involved creating a Neighbourhood Action Plan which the group agreed through a series of workshops. The action plan highlighted a number of persistent issues which the partnership looked at in turn and agreed action that would be effective in dealing with the problem. A particular example of this was to do something to increase the level of plastic recycling at the bring centres (this was before Bristol started trialling doorstep collection of plastic materials). The group set up a day of action on plastic and gave information to residents about their local bring centres. Residents were also invited to leave out their plastic bottles and cartons for the group to have collected. As a result of this action, the group identified a site and successfully lobbied for an additional plastic bottle bank in the area.

A local resident and Street Rep said:

"Being a Street Rep has really made a difference to the amount of pride people take in their neighbourhood. Other residents see our group in the area and recognise us as their neighbours; this helps to raise awareness of the need to do their bit to keep the area tidy."

Source: Governance International Case Study © 2012.

Learning points for neighbourhood management in Turkey:

It takes time to grow residents' confidence so they can become the driving force behind this work. This means not imposing organisational timetables or priorities onto local residents. This has been fundamental to the success of this project. Agencies come to answer their questions, provide updates and enable action to take place rather than telling them what to do.

Research shows that self-efficacy, i.e. the awareness of local people that they have made a difference is an important driver of community engagement. In the case of Bristol achieving the Neighbourhood Quality Mark from Keep Britain Tidy was a major boost for local residents. The Ministry of Interior could launch an award programme in order to provide recognition to excellent neighbourhood management and/or creative neighbourhood projects. This would not only give recognition and boost the self-confidence of mukhtars and other stakeholders driving improvement processes in neighbourhoods but also help to disseminate good practice.

4.3.3. Community planning of the regeneration of a former military area in Mannheim

Introduction

The City of Mannheim (about 325,000) in South-West Germany is one of the most ambitious local authorities in Europe when it comes to transforming public services and community engagement. Mannheim is an industrial city in the state of Baden Wurttemberg in Germany, which is bisected by the Rhine and the Neckar rivers. Rebuilt after 1943, today's Mannheim is architecturally functional and efficient. It's laid out on a strict grid: in the city centre, there are no street names, just numbers referencing the grid.

The transformation programme *Change Squared* (www.change2.de), which alludes both to the scale of the transformation programme but also to the famous baroque grid-like layout of the inner city, the "City of Squares", is widely admired in German local government for its focus on outcomes and community engagement. It was started by the directly elected mayor Dr. Kurz in 2008 and provided the framework for an ambitious regeneration project in Mannheim.

In 2012 Mannheim faced the challenge to regenerate over 500ha of former US Military barracks which involved a new community planning process. Among other sites, this involved the redevelopment of the Benjamin Franklin Village as an urban, socially mixed and energy-efficient neighbourhood for 9,000 people.

Implementation process

The Mannheim Development Company was set up in 2012 to oversee the development, work with investors and organise the community planning process.

The governance framework of the overall Mannheim transformation process is reflected in the process being adopted at the Franklin Barracks. "Engaging the city, surrounding citizens and future citizens is a key priority in ensuring a future engaged community who shares the conversation on priorities and action with the wider city governance. The approach breaks down into specific areas of focus: Empowering, Experimenting, Obligating and Educating:

- The community empowerment involved the mobilisation of local citizens through the generation of ideas on how to regenerate Franklin Village.
- The experimentation phase involved community co-production with a new local association called Franklin Field Association. This included documenting the history of the local area by citizens working with professionals and other creative projects.
- Obligating referred to the commitment of investors to the catalogue of criteria of the so-called Franklin Certificate. This certificate, which was unique in Germany, was awarded to investors by the 'Quality Team' of the Local Development Agency who met the criteria and obliged investors to consider social and ecological considerations in the development of housing and other building projects.
- Education activities focussed on the documentation of history of the neighbourhood. As the Mannheim website <https://mwsp-mannheim.de/en/maemories> says: "Awareness of the history of a place helps to create future-oriented living space. Therefore, the careful handling of the history of the conversion areas plays an important role in their transformation. The project MAEMORIES considers the history of the Americans and their impact on the life of the city with great respect. It preserves the view of the former US military areas as important evidence of Mannheim's city history". ... "MAEMORIES is one of three pillars of the active

history project called ZEITSTROM, which arose from citizens' ideas as part of the white paper process”.

The Mayor Dr. Kurz met with people in a creative space built by of the Development Agency on the site of Franklin Village and in city cafés to discuss a vision for this new neighbourhood. In particular, the City of Mannheim organised several citizen meetings which produced ‘1000 ideas’. These ideas were aggregated into five themes and outcomes in the first ‘White Book’, including (<https://mwsp-mannheim.de/en/white-papers/brands-projects>):

- Green
- Housing
- Blue City Mannheim & the Engineering Mile which is Mannheim's strategy for innovative, technology-supported and sustainable development.
- Culture
- Energy and Quality.

As the community planning process also involved a lot of conflicts between stakeholders, including citizen groups, volunteers were trained as ‘Future Stewards’ and ‘Social Stewards’ to facilitate community engagement. The criterion for their selection was that the Guides must not be club, company or political party spokespersons, nor claim commercial interests in the sites. They met with the Regeneration Agency monthly. The 18 ‘Future Stewards’ mainly planned and facilitated citizen events. Supported by a social planner, 17 ‘Social Stewards’ focussed on inclusive living and housing in the conversion areas. There was also a resident artist who has been employed to work with the community from the outset.

The results of the subsequent phases of the community planning process were published in further White Books which made the inputs of citizens public and provided feedback on the decisions taken by the City of Mannheim. Altogether four White Books were published which provided public accountability of the community planning process.

Results

The City of Mannheim presented White Paper I in 2011 and White Paper II in 2012. The third White Paper was published in 2014. At the end of 2016, White Paper IV was published. This White Paper provides an interim balance sheet after five years of regeneration. It is also marks the completion of the work by the Local Development Agency, which closed at the end of 2016. The White Papers can still be accessed online - <https://mwsp-mannheim.de/media/downloads#white-paper>.

In December 2020 the local council of the City of Mannheim decided on the development plan and the associated statutes for the FRANKLIN-Mitte sub-area. It covers an area of approx. 65.5 hectares, divided into 33 construction fields and is surrounded by open space in the form of a green “U”.

In order to still enable a quick conversion and high quality with the outstanding dimension of 144 hectares, FRANKLIN implemented the unusual approach of creating building permits in individual stages. Accordingly, the development plans of the area are brought to the statute in different sections.

The FRANKLIN-Mitte development plan was drawn up in close cooperation with the advisory group due to its size. The advisory group is made up of architects, town planners, sociologists, administration and political representatives. The current projects are presented to and appraised at regular meetings. The urban development qualities of the individual building projects were approved in advance by the

advisory group, which enabled the development plan and the building projects to be implemented in parallel.

As the Mannheim website <https://mwsp-mannheim.de/en/news/concentrated-development-plan-for-franklin-mitte> states, “Against the background of a resource-saving and space-saving approach to nature and the landscape, the development plan makes an important contribution to the development of the area into a district”.

Learning points for Turkish neighbourhoods:

The Mannheim regeneration project shows that community planning is feasible even for large-scale urban planning projects. However, it needs to be carefully phased and managed. In particular, the recruitment of citizen stewards to facilitate citizen meetings helped to build trust. Furthermore, the publication of the White Books has been important to create transparency on what the citizens suggest and what the local council decided. In particular, the directly elected Mayor Dr. Kurz but also the head of the Local Development Agency were driving this participatory approach and strongly supported the community planning process. In Turkey, more experimentation with such participatory approaches is needed.

5. Options for the development of neighbourhood management in Turkey

This section will identify options for more effective neighbourhood management in Turkey drawing on the international comparison and case studies.

The options will both consider on how stakeholders in Turkey could change governance structures and develop new strategies at central and local levels to improve collaboration between the stakeholders concerned. Last but not least, it is also important to consider culture change, which may be more long-term but is key to effective collaboration.

5.1. Structure, Strategy and Culture

Table 8: Options for neighbourhood management in Turkey: Structure, culture and strategy

Challenges in Turkey	International good (and bad) practice	Future options for Turkey
Uncertainty about current structure of neighbourhood administrations ; scattered legal regulations on neighbourhood administrations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In Germany, neighbourhood administration is clearly integrated into municipal administration but due to its federal structure, legal regulations vary between the states (Länder) In France, local government structures and powers change only slowly, which helps people to understand the system. Moreover, most people live in communes which are very small or in an urban area which has a system of Neighbourhood Councils and Committees, which correspond to some degree with the neighbourhoods with which local people identify. Consequently, people tend to have a strong sense of identity and commitment to their local authority and, at least on some issues, to their local neighbourhood. Although there is a constant flux in intermunicipal arrangements, with many different approaches to collaboration and joint work overtime, this is fundamentally the concern of the administration, not the local residents. In the UK, local government structures are tinkered with every ten years or so, which increases uncertainty on the part of local politicians and decreases clarity on the part of local citizens as the structure and role of the local government in which they find themselves. This is bad practice. However, the national associations of local government are expert at keeping abreast of the changing regulations which apply to local governments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is a need to consolidate legal regulations on neighbourhood management following the Law No. 6360 and to decentralise the 30 MMs into neighbourhoods based on the principle of subsidiarity. The strengthening of district councils, between MMs and neighbourhoods, would help to make public policy more sensitive to local conditions. However, there is a need for a coordinated intergovernmental approach to support disadvantaged neighbourhoods, in particular in rural areas (e.g. such as the German Programme 'Social City') It is better not to make frequent changes to structures and boundaries of the basic local government units, since this can create lack of clarity by citizens about

Challenges in Turkey	International good (and bad) practice	Future options for Turkey
	<p>of all levels and types, which allows clarity of decision-making at local level – this is good practice.</p>	<p>the local governance system and can lead to confused and confusing decision-making. It is often better to change the powers and funding of these basic local government units and to encourage them to innovate within their own boundaries by having different approaches in different neighbourhoods, co-designed with local people, and to collaborate with each other beyond their local authority boundary.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many local authorities are too large to generate any genuine sense of identity or commitment on the part of residents – this is the rationale for creating a network of much smaller neighbourhoods at sub-municipal level. However, this is only important if people in each neighbourhood are going to have a significant say in what happens in their neighbourhood, are going to be strongly involved in co-production of better local outcomes, and if there is going to be a significant budget to be spent in the area.
<p>Weak neighbourhood governance, as board of elders has no influence or function</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Germany, the head of the sub-municipal district council is supported by other district councillors who, in a number of states, are directly elected by residents of the respective neighbourhood • In France, there is a strong system of Neighbourhood Committees and Neighbourhood Councils, imposed by national 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mukhtars need in future to be supported by a wider group of elected residents which would also allow representation of wider groups in the neighbourhood population • A national statutory system of neighbourhood

Challenges in Turkey	International good (and bad) practice	Future options for Turkey
	<p>statute but with some flexibility at local level in respect of design and operations.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the UK, there is a very varied pattern of sub-municipal governance across and within the four nations. Some urban areas have neighbourhood forums, many do not. Some rural areas in England have parish councils but many do not. Community planning is strong in some parts of Scotland, weaker in others. The advantage is that governance arrangements can be flexible to suit the needs of specific neighbourhoods. However, the disadvantages are that it is unclear and allows many local authorities to ignore any form of neighbourhood governance and to keep power fully centralised. 	<p>governance bodies would be valuable – but it should leave considerable flexibility for their design and their operations to be decided by local people in each neighbourhood, not by statute and not solely by the local authority. This would also valuably promote more intensive use of the assets and capabilities of local people through co-production.</p>
<p>Triple accountability relationships of mukhtars (to central government, which pays them, to the local authority with which they have to work closely, and with the neighbourhood which elects them).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In Germany, in most states, heads of the sub-municipal district council are considered as volunteers but in particular, in cases of amalgamations, public officers may be appointed as head of a district (in which case they do not have a vote in the district council) In France, Neighbourhood Committees are chaired by local elected politicians, who therefore have primary accountability to the local authority in which they service. Neighbourhood Councils, however, are led by local people whose accountability is mainly to the neighbourhood residents. In the UK, the Parish Clerk in rural areas only has accountability to the local parish. In urban areas, most neighbourhood bodies are led by either local authority elected members or by staff appointed by the local authority, so their accountability is primarily to the local authority rather than to the neighbourhood for which they are responsible. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The financial and political independence of mukhtars is important to enable them to voice complaints of local people to the municipal administration/(vice)mayors. There may be value in having the local Board of Elders chaired by one of their own members (who is elected by the Board) – possibly but not necessarily the mukhtar - so that there is one local leader whose accountability is purely to the neighbourhood.
<p>Lack of budgetary powers of neighbourhood administrations in 30 MMs</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In Germany, in Baden-Württemberg, Bremen, Hesse and the state of Saarland, district councils may be provided with their own budget and also be granted the same status as municipal committees, in which case, they can decide on a bigger budget than their own up to a specific limit. In France, even small rural councils have some taxation powers, which allow them to undertake some innovative local activities, if 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The introduction of participatory budgeting at neighbourhood level may help to build trust between stakeholders at neighbourhood and municipal level and enable learning processes on how to determine local needs and budgets. There is a

Challenges in Turkey	International good (and bad) practice	Future options for Turkey
	<p>local people are supportive. In urban areas, there has been significant local authority funding for Neighbourhood Committees and Councils. In both rural and urban areas, some of the funding has entailed or encouraged participatory budgeting approaches, so that the initiatives funded have been chosen by neighbourhood residents.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the UK, parish councils in rural areas have taxation powers (although limited and not often used to the full), which allow them to undertake some innovative local activities, if local people are supportive. In urban areas, significant funding has tended only to be available to neighbourhoods where national pilot schemes have been run, usually for 3 or 5 year periods. In both rural and urban areas, some of the national funding schemes have entailed or encouraged participatory budgeting approaches, so that the initiatives funded have been chosen by neighbourhood residents. In Scotland, there is an agreement between the Scottish Government and the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities that PB will allocate at least 1% of local government budgets by 2021. 	<p>strong case for a PB scheme similar to the new Scottish initiative, whereby each local authority would have to allocate at least 1% of its budget to initiatives agreed through PB approaches at neighbourhood level. The task of coordinating this PB approach could be given to the mukhtars (or to a local committee chaired by the mukhtars).</p>
<p>Lack of responsibility for public services by neighbourhood administrations in 30 MMs</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In Germany, in most states, the head of the district council may be transferred specific responsibilities and permission to take final decisions on specific issues In France, communes are responsible for decisions on a wide range of local services, although in rural areas they typically form consortia to procure these services from major national providers, in order to assure efficiency. However, they are often able to dictate the specification of these services within their own boundaries, so that they get the public services which they believe to be suitable to their area and their residents. In urban areas, the Neighbourhood Committees and Neighbourhood Councils can perform similar functions but may be more constrained by the public service decisions of the local authorities of which they form part. In the UK, much neighbourhood management has occurred as part of urban renewal and regeneration initiatives, where the decision- 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There are opportunities and needs to develop alternative service models at neighbourhood level which also included community co-production (e.g. citizens driving mini busses in rural areas to complement public transport) but this requires monitoring and evaluation at municipal/central government levels. Existing practice along these lines in Turkey, especially where it helps disadvantaged groups, should be disseminated so that it becomes adopted more widely. The French model may be valuable for many

Challenges in Turkey	International good (and bad) practice	Future options for Turkey
	<p>making at neighbourhood level has largely been about physical land-use planning issues, leisure and recreation, and small-scale, operational transport and environmental issues. These services, although relatively cheap in terms of public expenditure, are generally very visible and therefore are important to local people, which boosts the credibility of these neighbourhood initiatives. In some cities, such as Birmingham, neighbourhood offices have coordinated local authority activities in each neighbourhood, often across a quite broad range of public services and strategic issues, and in some cases the priorities for these budgets have been discussed (or even determined) by neighbourhood forums. While this raises the importance of their work, these broader and more strategic decisions are often of less interest to local residents and, in any case, local views on them are likely to be overturned or at least significantly modified by decisions at the overall local authority level.</p>	<p>communities in Turkey, whereby neighbourhoods come together in consortia to procure public services from major, efficient suppliers (e.g. nearby city councils or third sector organisations) but agree a set of service specifications which allow some variations in service delivery and quality (and some corresponding differences in cost) according to the requirements of their neighbourhood. These coalitions of neighbourhoods should be chaired by one of the mukhtars involved (or by a committee of the mukhtars).</p>
<p>Loss of status of former villages in 30 MMs and social/economic deprivation of rural neighbourhoods</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Germany, the Programme ‘Social City’ has been set up as a highly coordinated intergovernmental approach to help disadvantaged neighbourhoods to help themselves. • In France, the move to small communes joining in coalitions to arrange public service delivery does not appear to have reduced the sense of identity of local residents with them and there has so far not been a strong movement in France to amalgamate communes – only a thousand or so communes have disappeared in the last decade, leaving over 35,000 remaining. In rural areas, therefore, the current system of local governance appears to have some strengths, especially in the resources and capabilities of local people, in tackling the socioeconomic problems which it faces. However, successive waves of urban policy specifically targeted at the most disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods have not so far solved their social and economic problems – here, more injections of public spending appear to be necessary. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a need for a vertically and horizontally coordinated support programme which not only provides investment for disadvantaged rural areas but also strengthens community engagement and third sector organisations. • Again, the French model of neighbourhoods coming together in consortia to procure public services from major, efficient suppliers, with local specifications allowing differentiation between local areas, may be valuable for many communities in Turkey.

Challenges in Turkey	International good (and bad) practice	Future options for Turkey
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the UK, there is an increasing dependence of rural areas on services provided by the nearest large urban centres – this is especially the case for private services, since rural shops and other services have closed in large numbers of over recent decades and many rural people now travel long distances to urban centres to find work. However, it is also the case for many public services, especially those which are provided by major national public service providers (typically in the private sector). This has the advantage of providing cheap services in rural areas but, unlike the French system, means that local areas do not have the choice of a specification which suits their local requirements. This option of local differentiation of the overall contract is potentially very valuable. 	
<p>Unclear organisation of neighbourhood affairs at municipal level</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In Germany, many municipal administrations have set up a ‘neighbourhood department’ which coordinates neighbourhood managers working in specific neighbourhoods In France, there are Neighbourhood Committees and Neighbourhood Councils in many urban areas. This helps to give identity to the public sector at neighbourhood level – but it can be a complicated system and can give rise to tensions between the different neighbourhood governance bodies. This is much less of a problem in rural areas, where the small local communes offer accountability and preserve a strong sense of identity. In the UK, like Germany, many municipal administrations have set up a ‘neighbourhood department’ which coordinates neighbourhood managers working in specific neighbourhoods. This can provide clarity of responsibility to those who are active at neighbourhood level but it is typically rather invisible to most citizens in a neighbourhood, unless there is also a neighbourhood forum to coordinate residents’ views and actions, or a major controversial decision to be made. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is a need to establish an administrative unit, similar to but more powerful than the muhtarlık coordination units in metropolitan and district municipalities, which would coordinate the neighbourhood managers who are often based in specific neighbourhoods. These coordination units need to have the power to influence the mobilisation and activities of local staff in higher level local government units. This unit is likely to have more support from residents of the neighbourhood, and to be more able to call on residents’ resources, if it is matched by a neighbourhood forum which includes local residents, has some decision-making powers

Challenges in Turkey	International good (and bad) practice	Future options for Turkey
		and has at least a small budget.
Ineffective collaboration between mukhtars and MMs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Germany, in a number of cities such as Mannheim neighbourhood managers often benefit from direct access to the mayor but also report to a neighbourhood unit in the municipal administration. • In France, the Neighbourhood Committees are chaired by an elected politician from the local authority, who therefore is able to bring the issues arising from the neighbourhood into the decision-making process of the local authority – although, of course, this is subject to the normal power-mongering between politicians. • In the UK, membership of neighbourhood forums usually includes those local authority politicians who were elected to represent all or parts of that neighbourhood. As in France, this enables them to bring the issues arising from the neighbourhood into the decision-making process of the local authority – although, of course, this is subject to the normal power-mongering between politicians. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rather than streamlining one administrative structure there is a need to experiment and evaluate different forms of collaboration • There is a need for regular meetings between mukhtars, mayors and representatives of neighbourhood units and potentially other service units given the cross-sectoral nature of many neighbourhood issues • There is a need for the elected politicians in the municipality who represent a neighbourhood to take responsibility for some local activities, such as meeting regularly with the Mukhtars and attending meetings of the Boards of Elders, so that they are able to bring issues from neighbourhood level to the municipal decision-making process. This should be seen as part of the power-sharing strategy of mukhtars, whereby they can mobilise more stakeholders to help them to undertake their roles more effectively. This could be based on the French and Spanish systems, in which each municipal council elected member is given responsibility for liaison with citizens in a specific area of the city.

Challenges in Turkey	International good (and bad) practice	Future options for Turkey
Lack of monitoring/evaluation of changes at neighbourhood level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Germany, the programme ‘Social City’ has put a strong emphasis on evidence-based learning and continuous evaluation throughout the duration of neighbourhood investment programmes and social projects. • In France, although there is a very good national system of gathering and reporting relevant neighbourhood level statistics, there is a lack of systematic and rigorous monitoring and evaluation of the evidence which these data provide on the cost-effectiveness of urban and neighbourhood policy. • In the UK, there has traditionally been a strong system of evaluation of public initiatives (although it is much less resourced now than in the period up to 2010), many of whose elements have been influential in evaluation and performance management systems developed elsewhere in Europe and more widely – some elements of these systems could be valuable for Turkish neighbourhood management. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New digital technologies such as ‘Fix my Street’ enable citizens to voice problems directly to the municipality and also provides the municipality with information about systemic problems at neighbourhood level. This is a key element of customer service systems and is likely to allow significant cost savings in dealing with complaints and other citizen enquiries. It will also allow a much clearer picture to be established in each local area of problems and challenges and also to allow much more effective local responses to be undertaken. The information from such digital systems therefore ought to be available in real time and in easy-to-read formats to every mukhtar. • There is a need to develop a baseline of local needs at neighbourhood level but also to assess available resources such as community centres so that it is possible to make better use of available resources • In particular, there is a need to co-evaluate the effectiveness of support programmes for disadvantaged neighbourhoods with the participation of local stakeholders so that the evidence generated is used for learning and better decision-making

Challenges in Turkey	International good (and bad) practice	Future options for Turkey
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • These activities would be strengthened by the development of a national system of neighbourhood-level statistics, along the lines of the systems available in France and the UK. The absence of this means that current government and local government interventions are much less effective and efficient.
<p>Weakening sense of belonging to rural neighbourhoods, emergence of problems of alienation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Germany, the Programme 'Social City' has increased attention to social projects which promote social inclusion. The experience of Mannheim shows that local history projects can help residents to identify shared memories, improving identification with neighbourhoods • In France, in rural areas there is still a strong sense amongst citizens of identity and commitment to their locality, although increasing alienation from the 'metropolitan centre'. In the modern ('concrete') suburbs of many major urban areas, there has been a growing sense of alienation from society as a whole and from their city, changes to which have been the key purpose of the National Urban Renewal Programme (PNRU). However, this sense of alienation has proved hard to change. It is likely to get worse if more ways are not found to involve local people, particularly from the most alienated groups, in local decision making and actions aimed at improving their quality of life, so that they become co-producers, not just critics. • In the UK, many neighbourhood initiatives have found it difficult to change the socioeconomic experiences of their residents but have been able to bolster residents' pride in their own neighbourhood. For example, the initiative 'Pride of Place' in Bristol has enabled residents of a neighbourhood with a rather negative reputation to improve their neighbourhood and be proud of it. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Getting more local people, from across the spectrum of ages and social groups, involved in positive activities is valuable. Indeed, any process which allows local residents to get engaged and to contribute to positive neighbourhood activities is likely to lead to an improved 'pride in place' on the part of residents. • The PB process, in particular, could include a budget for social events which are co-planned and co-delivered with local residents. • Since young people and people without jobs are especially likely to feel alienated, giving them a role in neighbourhood activities is particularly important.

5.2. Experimentation processes for more effective neighbourhood management

Change in neighbourhood management in Turkey requires new processes of community engagement and partnership working as the evidence from the focus groups shows that the current neighbourhood management is not sufficiently effective. As the literature stresses, effective neighbourhood management requires strong horizontal and vertical coordination between different public agencies at different levels but also a strong community engagement through co-production.

These changes require social learning processes, based on experimentation and evaluation. In particular, the establishment of experimental 'innovation lab' approaches would allow learning from different approaches rather than using a 'one size fits all' approach. In particular, a 'Lab' setting would give stakeholders permission to make mistakes and to learn from them which is difficult to achieve in a public sector context.

Based on the academic literature on co-production and social innovation, the following action points are suggested:

- 1) *Experimentation with co-commissioning* of public outcomes: Service providers engage with service users and local communities at neighbourhood level to identify what they need most but also what they can offer to improve public outcomes.
- 2) *Experimentation with co-design* of improved pathways to outcomes: Service providers harness creative ideas of service users and communities to develop and test new solutions to achieve better outcomes. This can be done through 'ideas competitions' or digitally through hackathons.
- 3) *Experimentation with co-delivery* of improved outcomes: Service providers work (directly or indirectly) with citizens as asset- and skills-holders, role models, success factors and legitimators to achieve improved outcomes. This can be done by working with community groups as highlighted in a number of case studies.
- 4) *Experimentation with co-assessment* of public services, public governance, and public outcomes: Service providers engage with citizens as evaluators to identify what works and doesn't work and to gain ideas for improvement. This may involve surveys at neighbourhood level but also more informal citizen feedback at public events or through social media.
- 5) Identification of existing effective neighbourhood management approaches in Turkey, trigger ideas for new neighbourhood management approaches based on international good practice cases.
- 6) Prioritising of neighbourhood management approaches to be tested through experimentation based on the likelihood to achieve outcomes and political risk assessment
- 7) Experimentation with the prioritised neighbourhood management approaches in 'Labs' supported by universities in 100 days in order to mobilise small-scale action and quick learning.
- 8) Assessment of qualitative and quantitative improvements resulting from the first experimentation phase
- 9) Scaling of promising neighbourhood management through further experimentation in other neighbourhoods or metropolitan municipalities
- 10) Development of a network of 'neighbourhood management' champions and dissemination of good practice at central and local government levels using a variety of creative communication tools, including websites, flyers but also video clips and graphics to influence other stakeholders.

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