



Participation, Leadership and Urban Sustainability

Final Research Report



FIFTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME



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PREFACE

This report has been prepared for the European Commission by the PLUS Coordination Team at the Cities Research Centre in the University of the West of England, Bristol in England. On behalf of all the partners in the project we would wish to thank not only the Commission for supporting the project, but also all our colleagues in the cities and universities of the participating countries as well as Eurocities and Quartiers en Crise. We would also wish to thank Jane Newton, Julie Triggle and Nadia Withers from the UWE research administration office in Bristol for their invaluable and unflagging support.

Murray Stewart
Laurence Carmichael
David Sweeting
Joanna Howard
Charissa de Zeuw

Cities Research Centre
University of the West of England, Bristol

FINAL RESEARCH REPORT

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THE PROJECT

The Participation, Leadership and Urban Sustainability (PLUS) project, funded by the European Commission from the European Union's Fifth Framework Programme, examines how leadership and community involvement can combine to lead to better policies for cities. The cross-national project has involved universities and cities from across Europe (with an associated project from New Zealand) in research in a range of different sized cities from nine countries. In each city, there have been two case studies of policy areas relevant to all cities - social inclusion and economic competitiveness.

Background

Quality of life in the towns and cities of Europe depends to a considerable extent on the quality of urban governance, and policy makers at all levels of government now understand the need for better sustainable approach to urban development. In 1998, the European Commission's framework document Sustainable Urban Development in the European Union, analysing the socio-economic and environmental challenges facing European urban areas, advocated both for improvement in urban governance with citizens' participation, and improvement in policies linked to the urban environment. As the effectiveness of urban governance is of key importance in the achievement of good urban living in Europe, city governments must develop institutional forms and styles of leadership that promote decisiveness, facilitate the use of local knowledge and enhance public support.

Some European cities have already made progress towards these objectives, achieving more sustainable urban policies by combining strong urban leadership with expanded involvement of citizens in local decision-making. But, not all cities are able to tackle new urban challenges, and the European Commission's 2000 Urban Audit unveiled considerable variation in the quality of urban life across Europe.

The Project

Set in that European context, the Participation, Leadership and Urban Sustainability (PLUS) project, funded by the European Commission, examined how leadership and community involvement could combine to lead to better policies for cities.

PLUS aimed to promote effective urban governance by identifying approaches to city leadership and community involvement that work well. This was achieved by analysing, comparing and contrasting alternative approaches to urban leadership and community involvement, promoting better urban leadership and more effective citizen involvement, studying urban governance in the fields of economic competitiveness and social inclusion, bringing together academics and policy-makers and producing practitioner-oriented outputs. Altogether, the comparative analysis demonstrates the significance of local action, the difficulties of, conditions for, and successes in sustainable urban governance.

The project has involved academic partners in the nine countries, together with two partner cities from each country. Eurocities and Quartiers en Crise have also been partners. There have been four Advisory Committee meetings during the project, in Athens, Heidelberg, Turin and Bristol, at which the city partners have commented on and contributed to, the progress made. We are grateful for their support and advice throughout.

THE PARTNERS



Country	Academic Partner	City Partners	
England	University of the West of England, Bristol	Bristol City Council	Stoke-on-Trent City Council
Germany	Technical University of Darmstadt	Landeshauptstadt Hannover	Heidelberg
Greece	Panteion University	Municipality of Athens Development Agency	Volos Municipal Enterprise
Italy	Politecnico di Milano	Commune di Cinisello Balsamo	Turin
Netherlands	University of Twente	Enschede	Roermond
New Zealand	Massey University	Christchurch	Waitekere City
Norway	Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research	City of Bergen	City of Oslo
Poland	University of Warsaw	City of Ostrow Wielkopolski	City of Poznan
Sweden	University of Göteborg	City of Göteborg	City of Stockholm

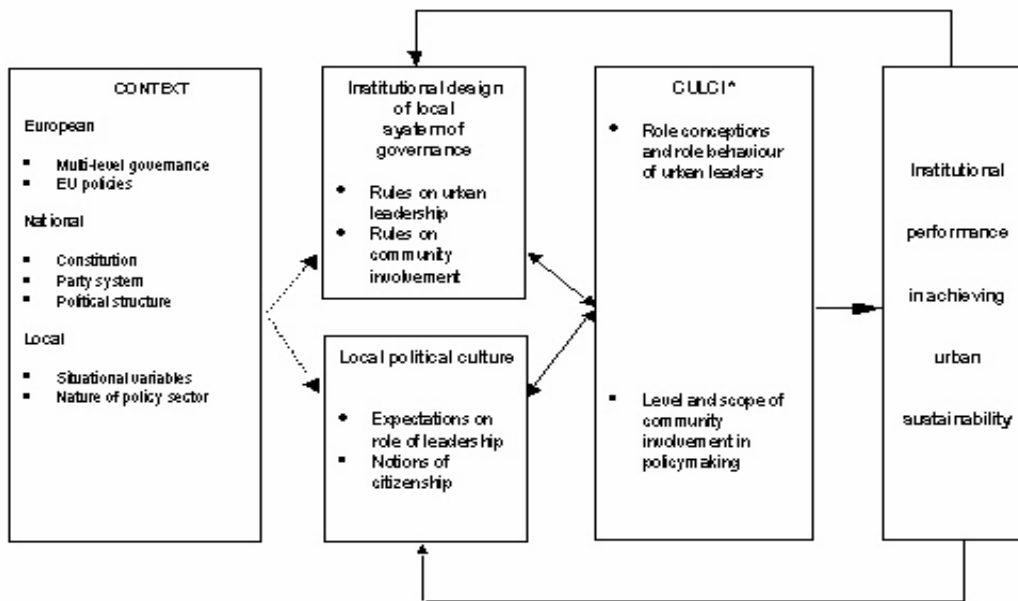
The consortium also included the international urban networks EUROCITIES and Quarters en Crise.

METHODOLOGY AND PROGRAMME OF WORK

Innovative Approach to Urban Management

PLUS was founded on the assumption that the achievement of effective urban governance and thus of sustainable policies is strongly dependent on the complementarity of urban leadership and community involvement - **CULCI**. This complementarity is in turn dependent on three variables – context, institutional design and political culture, all combined with the initiative and action of local actors. The figure below shows how the performance of city management stems from both contextual and local factors.

Analytical Framework for Understanding and Evaluating City Management



Empirically, the research programme in each country has followed a common design, with data collected through

- Development of a common theoretical framework within which to conduct the comparative research (with acknowledgements in particular to the work of Elinor Ostrom, Peter John, James Svava, and Poul Erik Mouritzen)
- National and local contextual papers establishing the role and function of local governance in each country as it affects the case study cities
- Analysis of the structures and policies of each of eighteen case-study cities
- Detailed fieldwork on thirty six initiatives using a framework of Institutional Analysis, which (following Ostrom) identifies the 'arenas' within which local action takes place and the presence of a set of 'rules' through which action may be analysed
- A survey of local opinion to establish perceptions of leadership, across both the eighteen cities and the thirty-six initiatives.
- Comparative analysis of the findings from the nine cities/eighteen initiatives.

The following pages provide a brief sketch of the thirty-six initiatives which have been the subject of the research, with the broad findings following at page 22 onwards.

THE NATIONAL CASE STUDIES

ENGLAND

Bristol

COMPETITIVENESS: Broadmead is Bristol's main shopping central area. In the face of severe out of town competition, major regeneration and expansion of the centre, discussion across public and private sectors has been underway for several years. This has resulted in a major development project, now starting implementation. Political, professional and business leadership has contributed to bringing together property owners, developers, and retail interests. The council has played several roles as planner and regulator, with leadership shifting between public and private sectors. The scheme has latterly generated concern from the local community with much criticism of the public consultation processes. Most recently, the leader of the city council, operating through the Local Strategic Partnership has begun to mediate between developer and community to ensure that the achievement of competitiveness can be also contribute to goals of inclusion and community benefit.

SOCIAL INCLUSION: The National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal requires Bristol, working through its Local Strategic Partnership to develop a local Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy. Bristol has targeted ten wards for the establishment of neighbourhood partnerships and action plans and for allocating Neighbourhood Renewal Fund and reshaping main programmes. In Lockleaze – not a part of the city which has received much attention in the past – the local community has been engaged in setting priorities for the area. Neighbourhood renewal is a major programme in Bristol and the case study examines the extent to which political and professional leadership has acted to support local communities in relation to inclusion and empowerment.

Stoke-on-Trent

COMPETITIVENESS: Chatterley Whitfield is the site of a former working colliery and has been identified as a key economic driver for the North Staffordshire area of the West Midlands, with major public and private investments planned over the next five years. The site, owned by the City Council is in a part of Stoke-on-Trent ranked amongst the 11% most disadvantaged wards in England. The communities surrounding the site face socio-economic difficulties, but benefit from European Union Objective 2 funding. Chatterley Whitfield is identified for major change with a focus on conservation-led regeneration. The initiative is being taken forward by a local partnership which involves the local authority, national and regional agencies and community interests.

SOCIAL INCLUSION: The 'Community Facilitation Service' (CFS) is a city-wide initiative of Stoke-on-Trent City Council to build partnerships between service providers and citizens in ten area-based decentralised forums across the city. The aims of the CFS are to generate and articulate a wide range of views, from citizens, community interests, and service providers and to use these views to inform the planning and delivery of local services, to co-ordinate the delivery of services, and ultimately to bend budgets across agencies to effectively target local priorities. The CFS involves the creation of ten decentralised forums designed to engage communities and 'join up' service provision at neighbourhood level for greater efficiency, and to co-ordinate multi-agency responses to cross-cutting issues such as drug abuse.

FINDINGS

Urban governance in England is strongly influenced by the requirements and constraints set by central government. The proliferation of local initiatives, the pressures of performance managing programmes, and the weight of bureaucracy, all allied to the demands of a local government modernisation agenda and a national neighbourhoods strategy, makes the process of local governance complex. The space for the exercise of autonomous local leadership is limited. Partnership working is widespread but increasingly institutionalised, with public, private, voluntary and community sector involvement a required condition of many governmental programmes. In both Stoke-on-Trent on Trent and Bristol, new Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs) have been established to bring together stakeholders and to have an oversight of the Community Strategy and the Neighbourhood Renewal strategy. LSPs represent a forum for the exercise of 'collective' leadership where facilitation and negotiating skills are helpful, but are seen both as an arena for the exercise of civic leadership and as a threat to traditional representative democracy.

The balance of influence and power in these local partnerships is a function of local historical, political, and cultural factors. In Bristol, business interests are seen to be more visible and more active in collaboration with local government than in Stoke-on-Trent, where community involvement seems more embedded in the local political culture. Strategic partnerships on the one hand, and neighbourhood partnerships on the other, emphasise the threat to traditional backbench or ward councillors. Given the limits to local autonomy, the complexity of partnership working, and the lack of trust from community, local leadership faces a difficult challenge. In the two case study cities leadership is very much in transition (to a shared administration in Bristol and to a mayor and city manager in Stoke-on-Trent). Both forms are still young, both leaders face an inheritance of weak leadership, both face tensions within local party politics.

The difficulties of building sustainable community involvement are often underestimated. The Bristol case (a neighbourhood initiative in an area with hitherto underdeveloped community capacity) shows that long-term sustainable community capacity can only be built from an existing base, at a slow pace, and with clear rules about the processes of engagement. By contrast Stoke-on-Trent illustrates the possibilities of, but also the challenge to, existing political and administrative structures of a citywide community facilitation service. Community involvement provides leaders with democratic legitimacy, with exposure to local concerns, conflicts and diversity of opinion, and with alternative forums for deliberation and debate.

Local government is not widely trusted; new partnership structures are ill understood and are often unaccountable. Greater understanding and trust between the various individuals representing their own institution in partnership working is essential, since there are likely to be very varying principles and values at stake. Trust building is essential in making urban leadership and community involvement complementary. The personality and dedication of intermediaries are crucial to success in terms of making processes work for everyone.

The competitiveness and inclusion agendas - often seen as competing - can in practice be complementary. In the competitiveness cases, in Stoke-on-Trent a long-standing community organisation was able to make its voice heard; in Bristol only recently has the leadership grasped the opportunity to link strategic economic development of the city centre to community interests. Thus in major economic and commercial development projects, resources need to be allocated to respond to the concerns and interests of communities. Leaders can play a major role in ensuring that such resources are allocated and the community interest represented.

Central government initiatives can focus attention on a few high profile localities with the remainder receiving lower levels and quality of support. The demands made by central government upon such high profile initiatives may detract local leadership attention from the (apparently) less important areas, and city wide initiatives, explicitly engaging all communities and all service providers, may be more inclusive and effective than a strategy which focuses attention on ad hoc special initiatives for specific areas.

THE NATIONAL CASE STUDIES

GERMANY

Heidelberg

COMPETITIVENESS: One important element in the Lady Mayor's reforms in local policy which were led by the aim to render the administration more client-oriented has been stimulation of the local economy. In addition to the better delivery of services to the business community (a one-stop-agency), there have been a broad range of forums in which actors from the local economy come together in order to discuss problems in, and find solutions for, the economic development of the city. Forums are organized by the Heidelberg Development Association, a limited company owned by the city and personally linked with the urban office which is officially responsible for improving local economy. The main concern the city of Heidelberg faced when it created these dialogues was not only the aim of confidence building as a precondition of collective action (creation of social capital), but also to support local economy in the realisation of their ideas concerning their future development. The PLUS research has investigated one of the dialogical tools introduced by the Heidelberg Development Association, focusing on network building in an old industrial area.

SOCIAL INCLUSION: One of the main innovations initiated by the Lady Mayor of Heidelberg has been the district framework planning (DDP), starting in the early nineties and still continuing. This is an attempt to decentralise and democratise urban planning by involving citizens, communities and organisations in the districts in a deliberative way. A special emphasis is put on the involvement of women. The aim of the DDP is a higher responsiveness towards the needs of the districts, and an increased identification and responsibility of the citizens for their district and the city as a whole. The processes of each DDP begin with a stocktaking and a discussion with the citizens concerning questions of spatial planning and the social structure of the district in question, followed by a phase in which the administration works out objectives and measures of development which finally have to be affirmed by the council.

Hannover

COMPETITIVENESS: The 'Hannover Impuls' initiative was originally designed to achieve economic competitiveness by involving major local companies in a new kind of local business development. The main aim of the initiative is the creation of 40,000 new jobs by 2013. This was to be achieved by concentrating the resources for business development onto those sectors of the local economy which are strong and which present possibilities for expansion. An innovative concept of participatory business development is being tested as an alternative traditional methods. Major local companies are participating in the project as partners, either by integrating themselves in the business plan developed by the initiative company 'Hannover-Impuls' or by handing over resources to the initiative. The Lord Mayor has been the initiator of the project as well as its most committed promoter.

SOCIAL INCLUSION: The social inclusion initiative in Hannover has been the planning and construction of a completely new city quarter on the Kronsberg hill due to a tightening housing market situation expected in-line with the EXPO 2000. The main goal was to prevent mistakes similar to those experienced in the development of new city quarters in the 1970s, when large social housing blocks were built in the city. These soon proved the focus for social problems with the apartments mainly rented to foreigners, social aid recipients and the unemployed. At Kronsberg these negative implications of social housing were prevented through citizen involvement during the construction (implementation) stage. The Kronsberg project was handled in a typical Hannoverian way of citizen involvement, defining best practice as the duty of city administration towards the city's inhabitants. Urban leadership was needed to initiate the whole project in the frame of the general EXPO application, which was extensively promoted by the Lord Mayor, who also played a crucial role in the policy development stage.

FINDINGS

The interplay of leadership and community involvement in Hannover and Heidelberg illustrate changes in the types of decision making structure from those described in German urban research in the seventies, both in terms of the differing forms of local government and also in terms of the relationship between politics and administration: In earlier analyses specific and differing forms of leadership were ascribed to municipalities with a city director on the one hand and those with an executive mayor on the other, the crucial difference being that one form united the functions of political and administrative leadership whereas the other separated them. The model of executive leadership puts emphasis on giving a strong political leader (the executive mayor) additional resources (administrative staff, direct legitimacy) by which he/she should be able to lead the administration. This meant a centralisation of administration in those Länder with executive mayors. Councils received only a single proposal from the administration, with alternatives having been decided upon within the administrative arena. Furthermore, the model of executive leadership stuck to the obsolete idea that implementation could be regarded as simple execution and was thus outside the political arena. Some suggested a “correlative model of leadership” which distinguished three functions of leadership: Conceptualising and initiating programmatic alternatives, selection among programmatic alternatives and control of implementation.

Whereas under the rule of executive leadership councillors were faced with only with the possibility of endorsing or rejecting the proposals made by the mayor and the administration controlled by him/her, in the municipalities with a city director they were included in a set of ‘pre-decision’ structures. Alternatives were negotiated in a policy network with (quasi full-time) party leaders, actors from the administration and from the private sector. The city director has meanwhile been replaced by a directly elected mayor – a shift towards what seems a more open and democratic structure than that which offers an influential role to council parties in an invisible structure of ‘pre-deciders’. The shift to a directly elected executive mayor does not solve all problems of leadership, however. *Community involvement* and a *new administrative culture* could be the keys in this context. At the stage of policy development and pre-decision formulation of options, the involvement of stakeholders and a more interactive role of administrative actors, can be regarded as a way to higher legitimacy. At the stage of policy implementation, both could meet the challenge of politicising implementation.

If increased community involvement is to be introduced, how can it be connected to the respective formal decision arenas? In Heidelberg’ this is achieved by involving the local community in the *formulation of the “one” alternative* that is offered to the councillors. In the case of economic policy questions these are simply “outsourced” to an organisation accountable to and empowered by the mayor as the urban leader.

Some scholars stress that the model of “correlative leadership” is unrealistic because it does not give incentives for council majorities to let the administration interact on equal foot with all political actors. Indeed, this barrier for the correlative model of leadership is relevant only in case there *is* a majority party in the council that has exclusive access to important actors in the administrative arena. As we have seen, this is not the case in Heidelberg.

It does not require exceptional imagination to come to the conclusion that such administrative-citizen forms of interactive governance are bound to fail in a setting where party coalitions feel legitimated to formulate a coherent program and to consequently implement the objectives agreed upon. Community involvement in the form of *quasi-direct democratic* elements can be a solution for such a regime if parties cannot agree on a major decision – as was the case for the EXPO. And community involvement in the form of interactive governance fits well when a negotiated policy should get the highest possible responsiveness towards its addressees in the implementation stage. A directly elected mayor can supplement this style of linking party coalitions with community involvement.

THE NATIONAL CASE STUDIES

GREECE

Athens

COMPETITIVENESS The Women's Micro-Enterprises Birth and Adoption (WEB) aimed to develop an innovative model of public-private partnership (PPP) between the local municipality and the local private sector aiming at increasing entrepreneurship of women within the Athenian local economy. The innovation of the project lies in the establishment of a public-private partnership. Developed through the Department for Gender Equality Issues of the Municipality of Athens, the project was facilitated by the strong clientelistic relations existing between the private sector and the urban political leaders. The local authority carried a dominant role as the WEB was conceived and promoted by local councilors and executives, resources were allocated upon local decision making, control was exercised by local councilors while the central government department was not really active despite being a partner. Embodying a local initiative, the WEB concept offered an added value in the partnership development, the co-ordination of programmes and, finally, the adoption of similar innovative local labour market actions at both local and central government policy-making.

SOCIAL COHESION The "*Forum for Social Intervention*" is an on-going social policy initiative stemming from the context of the EQUAL initiative in Greece and aiming at the promotion of innovative actions at the local level for combating racism and xenophobia. Its main idea is the establishment of a Developing Partnership between different societal actors with a significant focus on the active involvement of immigrants or their organisations in local policy-making. The initiative is funded under the EQUAL initiative, where the EU level funding is quite extensive whereas the national one is partial (a clear European influence is anticipated). It therefore reflects the coexistence and interplay of EU and national regulations and principles.

Volos

COMPETITIVENESS: The Territorial Employment Pact of Magnesia constitutes a policy initiative based on the idea of multi-level stakeholder partnership at the local level designed to tackle unemployment and to promote job creation. The Pact of Magnesia is totally financed by EU funding, in particular by the three structural funds [the European Social Fund (ESF), the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF) under the Regional Operational Program] and additional funds from the National Development Program of Local Government. As a result, the initiative adheres to the regulations and principles of the EU funding process, as well as the Pact principles, as these were defined by the European Commission. The Pact principles **were** not embedded in domestic policy and offer an added **value** in respect to partnership development, the co-ordination and rationalization of programs and, finally, the implementation of innovative local labour market actions.

SOCIAL COHESION: The handicraft workshops for handicapped persons constitutes a policy initiative based on the idea of promoting the users' involvement in the policy development and implementation and is designed to tackle problems of social and economic integration of handicapped persons through creating new employment opportunities for them. On the part of the voluntary organizations, this initiative contributes to the reinforcement of their presence and role in the local society and to the creation of a solid organization, while policymakers familiarize themselves with the problems and learn new practices of problem solving. Although the handicraft workshops are faced with a governance context characterized by relatively free space for social policies' interventions for handicapped persons, its innovative character regarding the users' involvement and the cooperation with the voluntary organizations pose problems on the ways in which this cooperation should be handled. However, the intervention of a strong leadership across all policy stages offers indispensable direction and coordination between partners securing a more operational and effective cooperation.

FINDINGS

Urban governance in Greece is strongly influenced by EU regulations “trickling down” from that supra-national level onto the national and local levels in the context of an intense and ongoing Europeanisation of procedures, institutions and practices. Such context dictates the imposition and/or adoption of regulations in local government policies promoting partnerships between several main stakeholders in local societies and the local authorities themselves; such practice has been realising directly or indirectly through the national and regional development programmes and community structural funds.

The establishment of collaborative practices and partnerships, as well as their internal power struggles depend on structural factors such as the political culture and the economic development of local authorities. In Greece, the development of an individualistic political culture and the economic dependence of local authorities onto the state often leads to the underestimation of community involvement, the limited representation of corporate interest in local politics, the overpowering dominance of mayors and, finally, the prioritisation on the part of local authorities of effectiveness whilst failing to address the existing democratic deficit and a public demand for more democratic practices.

In brief, the main lessons arising over the attainment of CULCI from the study of the four selected Greek policy initiatives are the following:

- ❖ Enabling factors promoting the emergence of the CULCI may be encountered in the institutional dynamic of the initiatives coupled with the personal commitment of executive administrators and the correspondence of the initiative objectives to the predominant needs and concerns of the local society;
- ❖ Obstructive factors preventing the emergence of CULCI in the selected Greek initiatives are, amongst others, the discontinuity of leaders and delegated leaders due to local elections – causing the initiative to lose its pioneers and/or supporters-, as well as the inability of the local voluntary organisations to establish the internal organization and autonomy in order to promote their agenda to the local government;
- ❖ Further disabling factors may be encountered in the prevailing mistrust between the actors involved in an initiative and the overall absence of prior collaborative culture and practices;
- ❖ Clear structures and procedures of operation between different partners are necessary for ensuring the success of the partnership. In addition, effective mechanisms of communication (formal- informal) could also invoke greater understanding and trust.
- ❖ Delegated leaders could play a crucial role to the establishment of Cupertino between municipal structures and local organisations or private actors, as they are not totally perceived as political actors representing a political party’s priorities.
- ❖ Municipal institutions and leaders engaged to the project constitute significant factors for the development of community involvement

THE NATIONAL CASE STUDIES

ITALY

Turin

COMPETITIVENESS: 'Torino Wireless' is the first Italian attempt to set up a technological cluster. The promoters of the initiative are a group of actors (firms, university and private research institutes, financial institutions and local and national authorities) committed to increase the Piedmont region's competitiveness. The first elements going towards the idea of setting up a high-tech cluster appeared during the works for the Strategic Plan, aimed at identifying strategies to foster the shift from a "company town" model to a diversified economy, in which ICT sector was considered as a key element. In 2002, the Torino Wireless Foundation was established with a leading role of actors coming from University and Business community, and with a supporting role exercised by the Municipality and the Regional Government.

SOCIAL INCLUSION: A co-ordinated project (the so-called "The Gate") to address the regeneration of the Porta Palazzo/Borgo Dora area (a neighbourhood with social and economic problems) has been funded by the EU initiative "Urban Pilot Projects" in 1997. The Porta Palazzo Project Committee (a non profit organisation) was established aimed at managing the initiative. After finalising the project, the PPPC was transformed into a Local Development Agency (LDA) with the task of developing further actions to regenerate the neighbourhood. The local community has played a limited decisional role in this initiative. During the project the types of leadership have changed, more "mayor-committee" oriented in the first stage, labelled as "city-manager" type in the second stage, thanks to the role played by the project co-ordinator.

Cinisello Balsamo

COMPETITIVENESS: The '4.6 development area' (named after its situation in the Cinisello Balsamo General Plan) is an area of 276,000 sq. m. on the North Eastern side of the town of Cinisello Balsamo. There have been many plans to develop the area over the years. The extremely central location of the area resulted in very strong demand to develop it and this in turn had the effect of paralysing decision-making for a long period of time, until the recent (2002) *Integrated Programme of Intervention*, that identifies in the area land uses including retailing (major outlets), management (offices, headquarters of major companies) and entertainment (multi-screen cinema, bowling, etc.), has been approved by the Municipality and the developer. The Mayor was the clear leader of the initiative and the real facilitator of the process. The Mayor took advantage of the favourable conditions that were created after the purchase of the entire area by a single property developer and entered into negotiations with that company to obtain a series of benefits for the administration with the grant of land and the payment of public works costs by the developer.

SOCIAL INCLUSION: The "Neighbourhood Pact" began when the municipality of Cinisello Balsamo decided to do something about the S. Eusebio neighbourhood, an area with poor urban quality and problems of social marginalisation. The Neighbourhood Pact is a program promoted by the Ministry of Public Works for funding public housing projects to deal with the problem of urban, building and social decay, using the mechanism of nation wide tendering. The initial proposal, signed in 1999 by all the local neighbourhood organisations, was rejected by the local residents which asked for substantial changes to the project. A process of community involvement started and a Neighbourhood Workshop was set up to allow the local community to formulate proposals concerning the project. The Mayor was the promoter and political leader of the project. In the first and middle stages of the process, she gave the project political legitimation, both with regard to the Ministry and at local level with local residents. The progressive organisation of the community involvement process allowed her to maintain a leading role, but at a distance and not "in direct contact" with citizens.

FINDINGS

The introduction of the direct election of mayors in 1993 helped to strengthen processes already in progress to build more legitimate relations between citizens and the municipality. The power of political parties to represent and channel social demand has waned considerably in recent years and mayors are now clearly visible as being responsible for the administration of cities. They are in direct contact with the demands of citizens, organised groups and those with specific interests, with no intermediate filtering by party organisations. The growing demand to broaden and amplify the opportunities for the involvement of local actors in urban policies also responds to the requirement for better ways of listening to, interpreting and processing the demands of citizens.

In relation to community involvement, a distinction should be made between public-private partnership (PPPs) and citizen participation, practices which are certainly different, sometimes contradictory. PPPs reflect structured relationships between well defined actors that involve given interests and problems, while the latter concerns open relations with local communities aimed at defining problems that concern them directly and finding solutions to them. Cinisello Balsamo illustrates this well. The competitiveness case features a public-private partnership involving an exchange of resources between public and private actors. The strategy for interaction consisted of negotiation based on a project presented by the private operator as the basis for bilateral negotiations, with the objective of reaching the best possible mutual agreement for the parties concerned. The leadership style was that of a city boss. The social inclusion case, however, involved collective definition of the problem, where the rules of the game had to be agreed with a willingness to listen and to learn, before a solution could be reached. The objective was to reach agreement on the definition of the problem; participation began therefore with an initial pre-decision-making stage which fuelled the whole of the rest of the process. The leadership style was 'visionary'.

Italian cases (and those of Turin particularly) show that effective leadership can be exercised through a combination of political legitimacy and technical support. In Torino Wireless the strategy to create an ICT district was developed by two non-elected leaders in the framework of the Strategic Plan, that is to say with the implicit and strong support of the Municipality and of the Mayor. In The Gate project the development of the initiative started inside the public administration, but the project itself was implemented through a Committee with a public-private status, headed by a non-elected leader directly appointed by the Municipality. On the other hand, when the leader starts to play a personal role (by negotiating the terms of the agreement directly with the property developer, as in the 4.6 development project) this situation reduces his/her ability to redefine his/her own strategies and take a broader view. A visionary style of leadership probably requires a certain critical distance from the infighting of the actual decision making, a greater freedom of manoeuvre and time to reflect on broader visions. But lack of community involvement reduces leadership to mere problem solving technique, and as the 4.6 project shows, brings out the least productive dimension of the mayor's leadership.

It is worth noting that new leaders can emerge. In S. Eusebio Neighbourhood Pact, those citizens who participated more actively in the Neighbourhood Workshop were able to generate broader resident involvement both in terms of a sense of ownership and of taking direct responsibility. In Torino Wireless, resourceful societal actors were able to mediate between the needs of the elected leaders and the needs of the economic-financial-research representatives.

Finally, the Italian case notes the emergence in the Neighbourhood Pact, Torino Wireless, and The Gate of some form of permanent institutional structure. It would seem important to point out that the three processes resulted in forms of institution building with the birth of a local development agency at Porta Palazzo, the transformation of the 'Neighbourhood Pact Office' into a specialist urban development office in Cinisello, and the establishment of a foundation for Torino Wireless. The management of complex processes seems to require organisational investment to build significant 'institutional capital' (an element of the institutional sustainability) which remains even after the initiative has ended or when implementation is complete.

THE NATIONAL CASE STUDIES

NETHERLANDS

Roermond

COMPETITIVENESS. The initiative of the municipality of Roermond to strengthen the regional economic structure is the economic competitiveness case. This case is closely linked with the social inclusion case. The obvious link between the two cases is the Delta Plan Work. The general objective of the DPW was a total and coherent approach of the problems concerning the supply and demand of labour force with all involved parties. During its formulation economic strengthening became part of the DWP itself. The economic competitiveness case is the focus on the development of a program for strengthening the economical structure on the regional level in order to create business for (sustainable) employment. One of the key regional development actions was the extension of the regional development company REO. Measures to stimulate economic development concerned the creation and revitalization of business areas in the region and the acquirement of new business and service industry in the region.

SOCIAL INCLUSION: In Roermond , the social inclusion case is the development and implementation of the so-called Delta Plan Work (DWR) to combat unemployment. The DWR was a policy initiative to work on the relative high number of long term unemployed in Roermond, linked with the regeneration of some deprived areas where most of them live. Main focus therefore was the job reintegration of this long-term unemployed. The project co-ordinated the procedures of all resource-controlling actors that have organisational goals concerning unemployed people or job vacancies and intensified some of these activities like individual learning and on job experience positions. It concerned activities in the field of unemployment benefits, labour handicap benefits, social benefits, employment-finding and job recruitment. The initiative was developed within the context of the so called Confidence pact Limburg, a result from the European pact Santer that called for a bottom-up approach to develop national, regional and local proposals to solve problems with employment and in labour markets.

Enschede

The case studies for Enschede are both part of the program for rebuilding Roombeek, the area that was destroyed by the fireworks explosion in 2000. They even have a common first phase, where a general first stage plan for the area was developed in close consultation with citizens, business and other participants from the start of 2001 to the end of 2001. The general plan resulted in many specific projects in which detailed design of the proposals was undertaken.

COMPETITIVENESS: The economic competitive case is a project to develop a plan for a business area in the north part of Roombeek (Roombekerveld). The size of the area is about 3 hectare. The business area is to be surrounded by a strip of houses in order to make it look less 'industrial'. Roombekerveld is located just outside the disaster area, but is added to the rebuilding project because there were already plans for its redevelopment prior to the explosion. The project is developed by a private company. Customers can choose from a variety of houses developed by different architects and have several options for business units.

SOCIAL INCLUSION: The social inclusion case is a project to develop a plan for a combination of buildings to host a number of facilities for 2 primary schools, a day-care centre for young children, a youth centre, a sports hall, a general service centre and a number of social citizen clubs (partly from ethnic minorities) that originated from the Roombeek area. Additionally there is a number of apartment houses included in the plan. The combination of these facilities is intended to bring about a lively centre where people from Roombeek will meet throughout the entire day, bringing back a social structure in the neighbourhood where old and new inhabitants from all nationalities will live together.

FINDINGS

In both Dutch cities the basic structure of the 'collective' form of leadership is moulded into one in which a single leader has more possibilities than might be expected. In Roermond the leader created a stronger position through using his informal network and creating alliances with resource-owning actors outside the municipality. In Enschede the leader's formal position as 'project alderman', gave him more room for initiative in relation to colleagues, public officials and community. These conditions seem conducive to a leadership style that combines a relatively high level of personal vision (enabled by the 'special position' of the leader) with a high level of consensus facilitation. Essential is the combination of the capability to listen to others and bring them together with the ability to convince other actors of the personal vision if necessary.

The combinations of leadership type and style described above fit well with the political culture in both cities. Expectations in both cities on leaders, citizens and business are basically the same and geared towards active participation and consensus building. In practice the actors in both cities lived up to these expectations to a large extent. The atmosphere in most cases is consensual and cooperative. Consensus is mostly a prerequisite for bringing the resources of different actors together that are needed to successfully implement policy actions. This is the essence of the concept of 'power to': the collective provision and use of resources that enable actors to achieve their goals. In the Roermond cases it is very clear that the resources of different participants are needed for their common task. In Enschede the financial resources are to a large extent provided by the national budget. Here it is the legitimacy of the process that makes participation of the citizens a necessary condition for success.

Comparing the Enschede cases we see the most clear examples of CULCI in the first stage of the policy process: the development of the general plan for rebuilding Roombeek. In this stage the community involvement was extensive and very successful in attracting participants from all relevant groups. This was enabled by a carefully designed institutional framework and supported by acts of leadership when they were called for. Both in terms of legitimacy and sustainability the process scores high. In the implementation stages the cases show a remarkable difference in community involvement. In the social inclusion case the participation is still very high for future users, but under pressure of limited space and budgets some of the actors were excluded from the process. However, in terms of output legitimation the process still scores relatively high and sustainability is expected to be moderately high. In the economic competitiveness case the community involvement was almost absent, which resulted in open conflict with some of the excluded participants and a low level of input legitimacy. Leadership could ameliorate this problem, but not solve it altogether. However, also in this case the goal achievement is expected to be high and sustainability moderately high.

Community participation in Roermond is largely limited to resource controlling organizations, often regionally organized, that represented their Roermond members or clients. Although the political leader introduced new citizens' participation forms, these were rare and symbolic attempts. In the social inclusion case in the policy development phase the affected persons, the unemployed, were not really involved although the labour union was more or less seen as their representative. Only at the end citizens played a limited role in public hearings. In the economic competitiveness case merely resource controlling actors and other government organisation played a role, except for some legal participation procedures on the location of business areas and business permits. In the implementation phases there was limited community involvement. In the social inclusion case a separate project organization was placed outside the municipal organization and in the economic competitiveness case the regional economic development company REO played a crucial role.

Nevertheless in both cases the participants expect a high level of goal achievement. Although there was weak citizen participation, strong leadership was necessary to bundle the interests of all resource controlling collective and corporate actors and use new institutions to let them voluntarily collaborate and contribute. Leadership made use of institutional and funding windows of opportunity to maximize the local initiatives impact.

THE NATIONAL CASE STUDIES

NEW ZEALAND

In the New Zealand cities, Christchurch and Waitakere, economic competitiveness and social inclusion policies were investigated in the context of a single initiative: the preparation of the new Long Term Council Community Plan (LTCCP). Both cities considered that this new initiative was an important focus for the PLUS research as it encompasses the economic competitiveness and social inclusion actions of local authorities. Selecting policy initiatives that focused separately on economic competitiveness and social inclusion was seen as risking the 'silo mentality' that contemporary public management in New Zealand is striving to avoid.

Prior to developing an LTCCP councils are required to facilitate a Community Outcomes process in which the community determines what it considers important for its current and future social, economic, environmental and cultural well being. Because the development of the LTCCP is a relatively recently activity, the research focused on leadership and community involvement in the policy development and decision-making stages, rather than policy implementation which is at an early stage.

Christchurch

In late 2002 the City Manager advised that Council begin the adjustment to the new long-term planning framework by embarking on a process of identifying community outcomes. The Mayor held workshops for councillors to develop a draft set of outcomes. These were then reviewed in the light of advice from staff. The draft outcomes were the focus of extensive stakeholder involvement. In early 2003 the Council undertook a major Community Mapping project that brought together a range of statutory and non-statutory organisations involved in the social sector. The extensive involvement of such groups and the considerable effort that went into collating and publishing data gathered about the trends and needs in this sector, meant that a high degree of input and throughput legitimacy characterised this aspect of the development of the draft LTCCP.

Waitakere

Like Christchurch, Waitakere City Council chose to respond proactively to the new Local Government Act that was passed in 2002. Following the 2001 local authority elections the new council engaged in a strategic planning exercise to set its policy direction for the coming term. Staff also took part in a 'blue skies' visioning process. The results of these fed into a Strategic Review. Public consultation was also carried out to ascertain whether the political direction was consistent with citizens' aspirations. The Strategic Review became the basis of the community outcomes that informed the Council's draft LTCCP. To an even greater extent than Christchurch, Waitakere City engaged citizens and stakeholders extensively in this exercise with the result that there was a high level of interest and a subsequent high level of consensus about the vision for the City. Waitakere City Council adopted its draft Long Term Council Community Plan in March 2003 for consultation. The consultation period closed in May 2003 with nearly 2000 submissions having been received. Submitters also had a statutory right to present their submissions orally and hearings were held in late May 2003. All submitters received a comprehensive response to their submission.

FINDINGS

Key actors (both council staff and elected members) in Christchurch City and Waitakere City recognised that a successful community outcomes process and an effective LTCCP required involvement of different sectors in the community. There was a high degree of awareness that community engagement should be designed in ways that are appropriate to the groups being targeted. This meant different approaches for engaging Maori communities and other ethnic groups, young people, the business sector, and the social sector. In Waitakere community boards were seen as very important mechanisms for engaging the geographical communities. Waitakere was able to draw on a decade of efforts to build collaborative partnerships with key social sector NGOs and with Maori and with Pacific Islands and other ethnic communities in the city. A collaborative approach was the hallmark of the Council's initiatives in environmental policy decision making as well. Community involvement was therefore broad-based, incorporating 'organised' actors and also citizens. The Council has strenuously sought to test its understanding of the community's desired outcomes so as to ensure consensus.

In Christchurch there was less extensive use of community boards in the development of the first LTCCP and it is expected that in future there will be a more broad-based involvement of citizens in different suburbs. A relatively small number of submissions was received on the draft LTCCP when it was released for formal public consultation reflecting less involvement of 'unorganised' actors. The reason for the apparent lack of interest is not clear although some concern was expressed about the 'overload' for citizens because the draft LTCCP was released at the same time as two other major consultative documents. A challenge for both councils is to ensure community involvement is sustainable and 'user-friendly', rather than being complex and cumbersome.

In the early stage of the preparation of the LTCCP the nature of community involvement in both cities has been deliberative in character. The challenge is to find ways of incorporating a more deliberative style into decision-making by elected representatives in order to achieve greater throughput and output legitimacy.

Both Waitakere and Christchurch have mayors who are recognised local leaders and have well-established patterns of interaction with stakeholders and the community as a whole. This is particularly so in the case of the Waitakere Mayor who was in his fourth term. The Christchurch Mayor was in his second term, though had been endorsed by his predecessor, Mayor Vicki Buck, who had served several terms and had been very popular.

It was widely acknowledged that the Mayor of Waitakere has outstanding communication skills and energy for engaging citizens and that the Council over many years had engaged communities in ways that were productive for those communities. As a result there was a high level of trust from citizens about the way in which the Council would listen and respond to citizen input. The Mayor of Christchurch was described as someone with drive, willingness to spend time and energy on the initiative and to be a 'champion' for the LTCCP. Both mayors have recognised abilities for building relationships with a wide range of stakeholders and also for articulating the need to balance social, economic, environmental and cultural well-being which is at the core of sustainable development. Their success lies also in the way they have developed a symbiotic relationship with the chief executive in particular and with other senior staff. In both cities the Mayors were seen as providing clear direction and supporting staff in their role of implementing that political direction.

THE NATIONAL CASE STUDIES

NORWAY

Oslo

COMPETITIVENESS: *The Programme for Regional Development for the City of Oslo and the County of Akershus* is a joint effort by the Municipality of Oslo, the County of Akershus, and different governmental institutions. The main objective of the programme is to stimulate regional development by promotion of entrepreneurship, innovation, building of new competence and international promotion of the area. The Confederation of Norwegian Business and Industry employers' organization and the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO) are represented in the working group of the programme, along with governmental representatives. The participants of the working group cooperate comprehensively with a broad range of actors in the private sector. In addition to being active partners in implementation, these external actors also provide considerable financial contributions to the projects – and are responsible for a major part of the total funding of the programme.

SOCIAL INCLUSION: *The Oslo Regeneration Programme for the Inner City Districts* is a ten year programme for urban development and improvement of living conditions in three of the east-central districts of Oslo. The programme was formally initiated by the Norwegian Parliament, and was a joint effort between the National Government and the City of Oslo, with an annual budget of € 12,2 million for the 10-year period 1997-2006. The programme represents an attempt to actively strengthen the scope, broadness and quality of services in the three Urban Districts, and thus achieve an improvement of the living conditions for the inhabitants. A wide variety of governmental organisations from various levels and sectors of public administration co-operate in the programme, in addition to some actors from the private sector. A large number of projects have been implemented.

Bergen

COMPETITIVENESS: The city of Bergen in 2000 initiated a process to develop a *Strategic Plan for Culture*. A broad range of actors from the cultural sector and the private business sector were invited to contribute to the development process of the strategic plan by attending working groups. The groups dealt with various aspects of the cultural sector, including such subjects as children, urban development, theatre, dance and music, new technology, museums and cultural institutions, city festivals, interaction between culture and business. The deliberations in the working groups provided input for the city department for culture as it drafted a proposal for strategic plan. The proposal for a strategic plan was passed by vote in the City Council in December 2002, and is currently in the early stages of implementation.

SOCIAL INCLUSION: In the mid 1990s a growing awareness of problematic living conditions, environmental issues, unemployment, and poor public health in the former working class area of Lovstakken led to the initiation of *The Program of Development for the area of Lovstakken*. The Urban District of Aarstad has been in charge of the program. The programme has involved local community actors on a broad scale. The programme has had a focus on improvement of the physical environment and of public housing, better conditions for upbringing, improvement in services for foreign language speaking parents and single parents, measures towards refugees, immigrants and integration, services for long-term welfare recipients and for substance and alcohol abusers.

FINDINGS

In Norway, the local government system is the main instrument for provision of the very extensive range of public services associated with the “welfare state”. Local government employs roughly a quarter of the work-force, and total running expenditures equal roughly 15% of GDP. Traditionally, values pertaining to local self-government have been regarded as fundamental. At the same time, national policies penetrate local government activities profoundly and in many ways. The bulk of local government activities are mandatory by law, and subject to extensive regulations. Rights-based legislation and regulations of minimum-threshold standards of services has introduced new impositions on local self-rule. Local governments also face considerable delimitations to their powers of discretion in the form of earmarked grants and financial strains.

Even in the face of these developments, urban governments are still in a position to draw on substantial resources and a relatively extensive scope of discretion. It has been noted, following this, that there is still much room for *government* in the traditional sense. Urban governments are set up to take on wide responsibilities for the welfare of its citizens, and they are as noted invested with extensive resources to carry out these responsibilities.

The often noted “shift to governance” is still, however, relevant in the Norwegian context, as the four policy initiatives studied in PLUS bears evidence of. Policies have been formulated and measures have been developed in a relationship between community actors and representatives of various branches and levels of public government that resemble key characteristics of *governance* more closely than traditional, hierarchical government. In Bergen, the Plan for Culture was based on an acknowledgement of the city’s limited ability to effectively promote economic competitiveness by means of traditional political-administrative measures. A broad consultation process served to elaborate and disseminate a political vision concerning the several functions of culture in the urban society, in terms of not only artistic quality but also related to economic competitiveness and quality of life. As for the Lovstakken plan, the involvement of the local community has served to elaborate on the understanding of the problems in the area, and as a source of specific proposals about how to address these problems.

The initiatives in Bergen apparently have involved less formalised and permanent networks than is the case in the Oslo initiatives. Also, community involvement has been more extensive by far in Bergen than in Oslo, in the sense that a much greater number of non-public actors have been involved. The contrast between the cities in terms of CULCI may accordingly be described as one between community involvement in broad, informal networks in Bergen and narrow, formalised networks in Oslo. It can however be noted that the broad, informal networks in the two Bergen cases to a much smaller extent than the more narrow and formalised networks in Oslo have involved the mobilization of resources, especially funding. Oslo, in contrast to Bergen, chose an approach to economic competitiveness characterised by low political visibility and a narrow range of involvement and consultation. The Programme for Regional Development has been a quite secluded item on the political agenda in Oslo. But this is not to say that the Programme will eventually turn out to be less effective in terms of enhancement of economic competitiveness. In Oslo, only resource controlling actors were invited to join.

Social inclusion in both cities seems to draw more heavily on the established system for service provision than is the case concerning economic competitiveness. The Oslo Regeneration Programme for the Inner City Districts had a strong focus on co-ordination between levels and sectors of government. By giving the Urban Districts a key role in the programme, it still became deeply embedded in the local community.

THE NATIONAL CASE STUDIES

POLAND

Poznań

COMPETITIVENESS: For several years now, city centres have been losing residents who move out to suburban areas. Centres are also being overtaken by big shopping malls located outside city limits. Aiming to reverse these trends the idea for the revitalisation of Półwiejska Street in the centre of Poznań, was conceived during a study visit by Poznań authorities and local businessmen to Nottinghamshire in 2000. City authorities agreed to coordinate and finance the modernisation of infrastructure as well as carry out the renovation of the streets' surface. Private house owners and local businessman were to invest in the renovation of the existing buildings and development of new ones. The tender was decided in December 2003 and the works is to be conducted in the spring and summer of 2004. The major private investment – Centre of Art and Business “Old Brewery” was opened to public in November 2003.

SOCIAL INCLUSION: The Centre for Quality of Life Research. The initiator of the programme was the city vice-mayor. The programme involves setting up a permanent research institution, independent of the city authorities and located in the local university, responsible for collecting and analysing various aspects of the city's functioning. The Centre is to obtain relevant information from other, similar establishments (the city, Central Bureau of Statistics, etc.) as well as to conduct its own research, particularly opinion polls. Its studies are to be a tool for prioritizing the city policies and for evaluating the performance of municipal services and the City Hall departments. The programme is an element of a broader set of actions aimed at improving the quality of the local administration's operations and the services provided by the city. In order to implement the programme.

Ostrow Wielkopolski

COMPETITIVENESS: In 1999 the city mayor signed an agreement with the LGPP programme funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). A group of experts from Krakow Economic Academy began work on the Preparation and implementation of the City Development Strategy. Following their suggestions, the mayor appointed the Economic Development Committee, which was a broad-base advisory group consisting of members of business committee, political parties, and NGOs and in June 2000 the strategy was formally adopted by the city council. In April 2001 the mayor created a new post within the city administration designed to monitor and implement the strategy and appointed the Steering Committee for Strategy Implementation. Formally, the strategy is still a binding document, but little activity relating to its implementation or modification took place until mid 2003.

SOCIAL INCLUSION: Restructuring of the municipal services has been a main priority since 1990 under a new elected city mayor who wished to separate the function of organising municipal services from the processes of service provision. In 1996, a public utility company, “Holdikom” was registered. It is a holding company of seven firms, which are responsible for delivering various services, such as water provision, central heating, etc. The city kept some of the company's shares, whereas the remaining part was sold off to private investors. In 1996, the City Council approved a scheme to transfer up to 49% of the shares into the ownership of associations, co-operatives or companies whose shareholders would be local citizens. In order to take part in the programme, 5 privatisation associations with about 2500 members were set up. The project's fundamental challenge was to activate and educate the local community. The programme's success depended totally on the interest of the Ostrów citizens as well as on their understanding of its complex objectives. In 1998, the city began an information campaign. At the same time, the project was being widely promoted outside the city. It attracted a great deal of interest among other local governments, parliamentary committees, experts and journalists. The city was given a number of awards for starting such an innovative scheme.

FINDINGS

Local politicians in Poland are interested and feel responsible for a general well-being of their communities, including the economic competitiveness of their cities. But the pressure of demands from under-invested local infrastructure services, the limited level of local government budgets and lack of external support for wider development initiatives make it impossible to spend enough time and resources on broader programmes such as those concerned with enhancing economic competitiveness. External influences are important, however, and the initial ideas for 3 out of 4 Polish cases came as a result of cities' international contacts. The studied projects were generally outward-oriented. Many activities aimed at securing partnership with outside actors were initiated.

In all Polish cases, leadership is clearly defined as mayor or vice-mayor. The mayors' specific organisational resources, unavailable to other actors, are their most essential assets, and it is unsurprising that all the researched projects were initiated by the mayors. Indeed in none of the Polish cases is it possible to identify a single actor with a decisive voice in local policy making who is outside the formal structures of representative democracy. The list of influential actors varies but the only figure present in all projects is the city mayor (or vice-mayor).

The change in the leadership type from 'collective' to 'strong-mayor' as a result of direct mayoral elections has led to changes in the leadership style as mayors have become more self-confident. The consensus facilitator style in case of Poznań was more efficient than city-boss and visionary style practised in Ostrów Wielkopolski. The different styles of leadership depend not only on the personal or psychological features. The main difference lies in the size of a big city such as Poznań as contrasted with the medium-size Ostrów Wielkopolski. In Poznań, despite his privileged position, the leader remains one of the many local actors. In the considerably smaller Ostrów, the mayor's strong personality can dominate the local political stage to an incomparably larger degree.

Completing the team of strong collaborators within city administration and effective task-delegation to them has been one of the main difficulties. In all cases, the role of the leader diminished considerably at the stage of implementation. At that point, the mayors tended to delegate control over the projects to lower ranking officials or other actors, but, with one exception, such delegation was hampered by the passive role of administration.

Local leaders were trying to empower or even create social partners. But co-operation was rarely based on real partnership; identified coalitions were uneven; the resources of non-government actors too weak to allow equal partnership with city government. The Półwiejska Street Revitalisation project in Poznań was close to the ideal model of *local governance*, but the businessmen's organisations and small-scale businessmen collaborating with the city did not have sufficient resources. Their position in relation to that of the local government was unequal and in some sense are more the city's clients than its partners.

Problems with implementation of CULCI in Polish cities have to a large extent resulted from the uneven resources of local actors. We can say that local leaders made a lot of efforts to manage in the style typical for *local governance* (as opposed to traditional *local government*). The success of these efforts was however very limited. The social partners were usually too weak to exercise a significant and positive impact on projects' implementation. There is little public acceptance allowing the few potential partners with sufficient resources to play a more serious role. The roots of these issues are twofold – first an illiberal approach to the role of conflicts and group interests in urban policy, secondly, the weakness so far of the Polish capitalism.

The vertical power relations between local government and central administration are almost totally absent in analysed projects, as is the impact of the EU institutions. Indeed, central administration is not interested in such schemes. It neither tries to influence their shape, nor it attempts to initiate similar projects. In particular, there is a lack of any kind of financial involvement of the state budget or European funds in the studied initiatives. This is in striking contrast to the initiatives studied within the framework of the PLUS programme in other countries.

THE NATIONAL CASE STUDIES

SWEDEN

Stockholm

COMPETITIVENESS: Stockholm has the highest concentration of IT- and Telecom companies in Scandinavia. In an international comparison the city ranks as one of the leading IT-capitals in the world. In an effort to consolidate Stockholm's leading position within the four industries, *telecommunications, IT, media* and *entertainment* an annual platform of events is organised, TIME.STOCKHOLM. The annual event is organised by the City of Stockholm. Stockholm offers the venue, however all participating companies bear their own costs for the event they host. Five events have been conducted since the initiation in 1999. The last one organised in October 2003 was the most successful one with about ninety events organised by sixty-five participating companies. TIME.STOCKHOLM is decided on annually, on the website of the project the city of Stockholm announce that a continuation of the project in the present form is not planned for, and an inquiry for a principal has been put forth.

SOCIAL INCLUSION: The Swedish government in 1998 launched the Metropolitan initiative and Stockholm joined in 1999 as the first municipality to enter the project. The aim is to twofold, to promote sustainable growth, and to stop discrimination and break up segregation. The Swedish government allocates funds on the condition that the municipalities undertake counter financing on a 50/50 % basis. The details of the agreement are regulated in "local development agreements that are revised on a yearly basis. Distressed areas in the outskirts of the metropolitan regions are the targets in this project and the research has focused on one – Tensta. In Tensta around 70 projects have been implemented within the scope of the initiative. Due to Stockholm's early start, most of the projects within the initiative have been concluded, however the metropolitan initiative together with a similar project called "the outer-city initiative" are to be combined into a new project called the outer-area renewal".

Göteborg

COMPETITIVENESS: Göteborg's position as a leading transport center in northern Europe and the increased demand in society about finding alternative fuel sources for ecological reasons were two important factors that led to the initiation of Biogas Väst. The overall aim is to achieve a better environment, a sustainable economy, and new job opportunities, while the more direct objective of the project is to create a functioning market for biogas as a vehicle fuel. The municipality of Göteborg, together with some private and public actors in the Västra Götalands region, initiated Biogas Väst in 2001. Initially the decision was made that the project would consist of two stages (1 march 2001- 30 June 2002), (1 July 2002- 31 Dec 2003). The project is still running since the evaluation of the project has been positive enough to allow for a continuation of the project.

SOCIAL INCLUSION: The Swedish government in 1998 launched the Metropolitan initiative and Göteborg joined in 2001. The aim is to twofold, to promote sustainable growth, and to stop discrimination and break up segregation. The Swedish government allocates funds on the condition that the municipalities undertake counter financing on a 50/50 % basis. The details of the agreement are regulated in "local development agreements that are revised on a yearly basis. The neighborhood that we have chosen to focus on, Gårdsten has had approximately 25 projects that have been initiated and conducted within the Metropolitan initiative. The project is due to end in June 2004.

FINDINGS

The source of the initiative differs between the two policy areas. While our cases in the economic competitiveness sector stem from the local level, the cases within the social inclusion field were initiated by the Swedish government. The choice to select the same project in both our cities within the policy area of social inclusion facilitates a comparative analysis. The similarities are in many respects obvious. The initiative stems from the same source and due to the heavy regulation from the central level, the objectives and the methods to achieve them are in large part fixed, even though room for local adaptation exists, this has been evident in the different ways chosen to involve the local community in the two cities.

Community involvement

Both economic competitiveness cases have been successful in mobilizing resource-controlling organizations. Those that can contribute to the project financially have been included. The local citizens have however been conspicuous by their absence. The success rate in activating the local business community has not been as high in the social inclusion case. Yet there is a slight difference between our cities in this case where the involvement of the local businessmen in the neighboring areas is something Tensta (in Stockholm) has managed to do quite well, as opposed to Gårdsten (in Göteborg). The social inclusion cases have on the other hand have been successful in activating the local citizens. The means to do so have however differed between our two cities. Tensta chose to have open meetings that have been well attended. To prevent that only those that usually turn up are included, specific meetings with by the neighborhood committee identified stakeholders have been arranged. Gårdsten has gone about it differently and appointed a reference group of selected residents from the area and included them in the decision-making process.

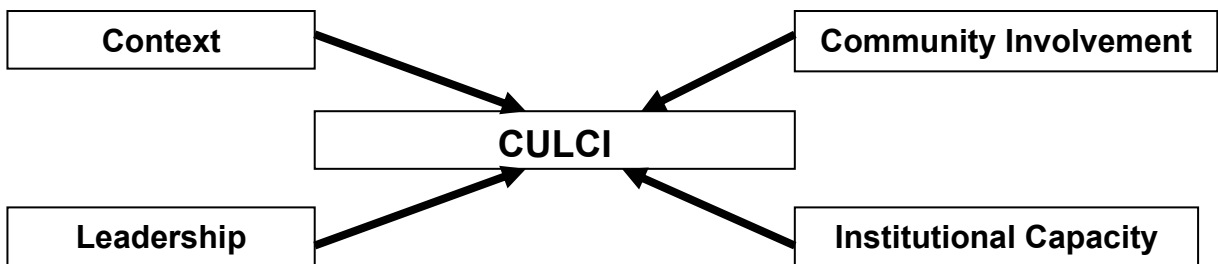
Political Leadership

The degree of discretion available at the local level is normally quite generous in the Swedish context. Our chosen project within the policy field of social inclusion in both our cities, The Metropolitan Initiative, differs in that sense. One could argue that the organizational resources are all at the power of the local level, which should give the municipalities an advantage. Yet this is of little use to the municipalities when the funds are given more or less conditioned. Despite this strong leadership was demonstrated by the political leader for the social inclusion cases in Göteborg, in the initial stage of the project. During the other phases, the leadership has been more or less absent. The political leadership within the social inclusion case in Stockholm has been absent.

Strong leadership has been demonstrated in both of our economic competitiveness cases, as opposed to our social inclusion cases. In both instances, i.e. TIME.STOCKHOLM and Biogas Väst, the political leader has functioned as a figurehead for the project.

CULCI – A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The nine country, eighteen city, thirty-six initiative case studies provide the basis for a comparative analysis and for the development of lessons for policy and practice. Underpinning this analysis are the two central themes of the project – **leadership** and **community involvement**. But in moving to an understanding of the ways in which these themes can complement each other and contribute to urban sustainability, this section highlights two further important influences. The first of these is **context** (the specific social and economic circumstances which determine local policies and programmes, the external European and national settings of local urban governance, and the local political cultures within which leadership operates. The second is **institutional capacity** (the structures and processes which support leaders and communities in working together).



The PLUS findings revolve around the interaction of context, institutional capacity, leadership and community involvement, and the following four sections of the report offer differing, but complementary and reinforcing, findings from the city case studies and initiatives.

CONTEXT

Socio-economic Circumstances

The relative **competitiveness** and economic circumstances of the eighteen cities vary widely. Some are relatively prosperous and operate as engines of their regional or sub-regional economies. Others have been affected by the decline of a traditional economic base and the struggle to capture global markets and regenerate the local economy. The need to sustain growth in a competitive global economy, together with the need to address disparities between richer and poorer neighbourhoods, presents the main substantive challenge confronting urban leadership. Thus many of the competitiveness initiatives seek to recreate the physical infrastructure necessary for growth (Enschede, Cinisello Balsamo, Stoke-on-Trent) or to regenerate the city centre (Bristol, Poznan). Others seek to build capacity in new sectors of the economy such as information technology, bio-products, or cultural industries (in Turin, Stockholm, Göteborg and Bergen), or to engage the corporate sector in strategic economic or labour market planning (Ostrow Wielkopolski, Oslo, Roermond, Hannover, Heidelberg). There is evidence that in some cities business engagement is expected to be high in relation to planning and decision-making for economic development, and in several cases that expectation is realised. A number of corporate stakeholders are engaged and there are also examples of the delegation of leadership to key corporate actors. At the same time local resident involvement in competitiveness issues is limited, and there is a lack of transparency in a number of the case studies, despite the active involvement of the city leader in supporting competitiveness initiatives. There is limited evidence - other than perhaps Athens and Stoke-on-Trent – of attempts to target disadvantaged groups or to engage local community networks.

The **social inclusion** case studies fall into three main types - those which are directed towards the improvement of living conditions in particular neighbourhoods (Bergen, Oslo, Göteborg, Stockholm, Bristol, Hannover, Cinisello Balsamo, Turin, Enschede), those which aim to support disadvantaged groups across the city (Roermond, Volos), and those which are concerned with inclusion in the broader sense, in the political processes or in the decisions about services across the whole city (Heidelberg, Stoke-on-Trent, Ostrow Wielkopolski). Although there is little

evidence of business involvement with social inclusion initiatives, the neighbourhood cases illustrate a range of mechanisms used to involve large numbers of residents in planning and decision-making about the area, thus fostering political inclusion. There are fewer illustrations of the inclusion of marginal groups - the disabled, long-term unemployed, the elderly, minority ethnic groups. The case studies were selected to illustrate positive leadership and active community involvement in general, but the findings suggest a more frequent engagement of leadership with communities of place than with communities of interest. Many of the social inclusion initiatives have involved the establishment of special purpose, short-life institutional arrangements to plan and deliver a project, which is often at least partly nationally funded. One important lesson for sustainability from these initiatives is the long-term need to sustain arrangements established to implement short-term programmes.

External Settings

In responding to both competitiveness and inclusion agendas city leaders are influenced by the wider context of political and administrative systems, and a number of cases – notably the Greek, English, Italian and Polish cases – reflect the strong impact of external forces. The relationship between the city and the spatial levels above it – region, nation, European Union - have an impact upon the autonomy of local governance and on the discretion open to local decision-makers. Urban autonomy is influenced by the constitutional position of upper level government, by the extent of fiscal independence of the city, and by the extent of decentralisation of state power. Where external influences dominate and/or where the city is dependent on external resources to drive change, the effectiveness and the legitimacy of city actors can be diminished. A number of social inclusion initiatives are instigated as part of a national programme to counter exclusion and are thus subject to central state control. Equally, the regional context is of importance in relation to a number of economic initiatives, and whilst many competitiveness initiatives are initiated in the locality, the assembly of the resources to implement them involved regional, national or European resource backing. The impact of multi-level governance deriving from the interaction of Commission, national/regional governments and local governance poses new problems for local leaders in terms of policies, resources and democratic legitimacy.

Local Political Culture

Against these powerful external forces, the expectations placed on local leaders are increasingly complex. Local panel surveys conducted during the study identified a preference for the 'facilitation' style of leadership in recognition of the range of interest likely to be expressed through new systems of governance, together with a preference for policies arrived at on the basis of consensus. This was preferable to the imposition of a vision offered either by charismatic or authoritarian personal leadership or by political rhetoric. Leaders were expected to be driven by the interests of the whole city rather than the interests of their own political party or even of the electorate that supported them, though elected leaders had a clearer mandate to implement majority decisions, whilst others were seen to have the obligation to look for compromise with minorities. Common was the feeling that ordinary citizens should be involved throughout the policy process. More ambivalent opinions were expressed about the involvement of business. Business involvement was generally seen as more appropriate in the policy implementation rather than the policy development phase - yet with the desire to access and use business resources – unlikely to be forthcoming should they only be involved in implementation.

LEADERSHIP

Leadership **styles** and **types** matter in the promotion of CULCI and urban sustainability. Such styles are not static or identical throughout all the stages of the development and implementation of policy initiatives, but are dynamic and responsive to the particular needs and challenges posed to leadership throughout the stages of development, decision-making and implementation. The PLUS case studies do not observe one single leadership style throughout, but rather several combinations of leadership style.

By *leadership style* we refer to the way those who hold a leadership position act out their roles. These styles depend on the leader's political values and on his or her perceptions of the political importance of particular social or economic challenges, as well as on the extent to which the leader has power to act. The way in which the leadership role is acted out depends in part on the personal way in which leaders envisage their role in relation to the use of power, in part on political culture, and in part on the capacity and strength of the institutional base upon which city governance depends. The PLUS research (following John and Cole) developed a categorisation of four leadership styles:

- The **visionary** leader, able to forge a powerful and effective coalition, bring together different sides, establishing innovative policies and effective co-ordination, strategic and long-term objectives, and combining elements of strong leadership with capacity generation.
- The weak **caretaker** leader, unable to manage the complex coalitions and networks that emerge in local governance, encountering difficulties in coping with policy changes and preferring to maintain the status quo.
- The more adaptable **consensual facilitator**, generating capacity through persuasion, and identifying the best in others; failing, however, to develop strong, coherent and strategic decision-making with local policy driven by the demands of powerful local actors and parties.
- The strong **city boss**, unwilling to adapt to the complexity of networks and the flexibility needed to cope with rapid policy change, relying less on the capacity of other local actors but bypassing conflicts and disagreements in political networks in pursuit of her/his policy.

The evidence from the cases is of course mixed, but in broad terms, the styles that can be empirically identified as particularly facilitating and promoting CULCI are those of the **visionary** and **consensus facilitating** leadership. A combination of these styles allows for:

- flexibility in responding to specific needs as well as changing situations,
- openness of policy-making towards particular forms of participation,
- generation of new capacity by empowering local actors,
- increased accountability, linking arenas of public deliberation with representative democracy.

Nevertheless, recognising that style can, and perhaps should, change during the different phases of policy development and implementation, it is further clear, that a **city boss** style can also be important at the time of policy and programme implementation.

Any particular city government leadership style depends in part upon the conditions within which the leader operates. Most important here is the nature, form and structure of the local government system, which can help to explain the leadership **type** which is to be observed across countries and across cities. By *leadership type* we refer to the way in which the position of political leaders is institutionalised within the context both of the city itself and of broader political systems. Leadership types in local government are affected by:

- ❖ **vertical relationships** - the relationship between city government and the higher regional, national and European levels (reflecting the extent of fiscal autonomy, financial independence from upper levels, centralisation or decentralisation of power between central and local state).

❖ **horizontal relationships** – the political and administrative relationships between the mayor (or other political leaders), the council, and the head(s) of the executive within city government, as well as the relationships with external stakeholders who contribute to the networks and coalitions of local governance. Four (ideal) types of municipal organisation illustrate the key aspects of horizontal structure within which different types of leadership can evolve. Following Mouritzen and Svava, four types emerge:

- The **strong-mayor** form - based on an elected mayor who controls the majority of the council and constitutes the central figure of the executive.
- The **committee-leader** form - based upon the sharing of the executive powers between a central actor, who is clearly the political leader of the municipality, and several standing committees.
- The **collective** form - based on the collective leadership by the executive committee of the council consisting of elected councillors and the mayor.
- The **council-manager** form – based on a city council and a city manager, the former with general authority over policy but with restricted involvement in administrative matters, the latter appointed by the city council with responsibility for all executive functions.

Legitimacy refers to the recognition, acceptance and support of a political system by those who are bound by its decisions, and legitimation to the manner and processes by which a political system receives that recognition, acceptance and support. Legitimation can be achieved partially through adherence to formal democratic procedure, but also through investment in the institutional frameworks necessary for any deliberative process to happen. Legitimacy is important throughout the policy process. Citizens need to participate in order to demonstrate consent (input legitimation), structures and processes of governance need to be transparent and accountable (throughput legitimation), and the activities of governance need to be effective and of benefit to citizens (output legitimation). The PLUS evidence confirms that *leadership type* influences the promotion of legitimation. More specifically, each type of leadership supports different types of legitimation. The 'strong mayor' type generates high output legitimation. He/she focuses more closely on the effectiveness of outcomes rather than on the emergence of institutional rules for citizen participation and on the transparency of process. The 'committee leader' type is characterised by a low legitimation at all stages of the policy process, while, by contrast, the 'collective' leader offers legitimation in policy making (policy development and policy decision-making). Although there is no clear link between the different styles of leadership and the 'strong mayor' and 'committee leader' type of municipal organisation, the evidence suggests that the 'collective' and 'council manager' types favour the emergence of 'consensus facilitating' and 'visionary leaders' who in turn enable an above average level of success in CULCI.

Furthermore, the *behaviour* of leaders matters in the promotion or failure of legitimation. The particular styles of the visionary and consensual facilitator leaders, and their mixtures are shown by the evidence to enhance the attainment of legitimation. These latter styles of leadership are clearly identifiable in almost all the cases studies either in the policy development or in the decision-making stages (in, out and throughput legitimation). The flexibility shown by such leaders to a shifting environment, their capacity to empowering other actors, and their openness towards particular forms of participation are amongst the most important features supporting the legitimation process. Finally leaders may promote the achievement of legitimation through their *practices*. They can do this by reinforcing accountability, by establishing clear procedural rules, and by guaranteeing transparency and openness. Leaders have a crucial role in framing the organisation and control of new institutions, in displaying commitment, dedication and visibility, in securing and holding together a diverse set of local actors, in building trust between stakeholders, and finally in managing internal relations in the municipal administration. Conversely the absence of positive leadership may inhibit the emergence of legitimation – failure to integrate the community into the project or to recognise its potential contribution, unwillingness to solicit support from resource-controlling actors, inability to recognize unequal relations between the involved actors, lack of clarity over who bears accountability, inadequate circulation of information and knowledge.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The case studies confirm that, like leadership, community involvement matters. A wide range of actors from local civil society are organised in and around local neighbourhood or interest group activities. In addition a broader range of actors also engage with local civic activity – businesses, agencies, universities, for example. Thus in PLUS a broad definition of ‘community’ has been taken, and it is through such a broad ‘collective’ community involvement that the effectiveness, as well as legitimacy, of the arrangements for local governance can be secured and enhanced. The case studies show how effective community involvement can:

- Ensure that policy making can more easily identify local needs and concerns and that these are taken seriously
- Contribute to the quality of decision making by identifying alternative possibilities for action which professionals or administrators might otherwise overlook
- Increase public awareness of policy issues and bring transparency to decision making
- Secure legitimacy for decisions and secure willingness to follow in the implementation process
- Mobilise the resources (including knowledge and commitment) necessary for implementing policy objectives

The PLUS initiatives show that there are a number of starting points for the emergence of community involvement – the local community itself which demands a voice, the policy initiative which requires a community input, the demands of agencies and business stakeholders for infrastructural investment, the commitment and/or vision of the political leader who needs community support, or the institutional rules applied by upper-level governments at regional, national or European level.

Whatever the starting point, the PLUS project confirms that community involvement is perceived by all sides of opinion as an important ingredient of legitimate governance, that political leaders recognise the significance and the contribution of community involvement to the policy process, and that there now exists widespread commitment to involving and engaging a widely based community. The various initiatives display a range of approaches to community involvement and to the engagement of a range of societal actors who can, and should, participate. Nevertheless this involvement was focussed unevenly across different parts of the policy development, decision-making, and implementation process. Whilst the cities displayed extensive involvement in the developmental and implementation stages, there was much less evidence of community involvement in the decision making stage.

In assessing who was involved, the PLUS analysis adopted a simple typology of community involvement which distinguished between inclusion which is *full* (everyone concerned having the opportunity to be included) or *selective* (only some interests involved on the basis of age, social group, business interest, geography and so on) on the one hand, and decision making which is *aggregative* or *deliberative* on the other. The hallmarks of aggregative involvement are that participants advance a particular point of view, that despite different points of view decisions must be made, that differing views are given equal weight, and that complex options have to be synthesised into a clear (voteable) proposition. Deliberative involvement involves participants communicating and interacting one with another, attempting to arrive at mutual adjustment and consensus, using reasoned argument and discussion.

		Inclusion	
		Full	Selective
Decision Making	Aggregative	A	B
	Deliberative	C	D

Some cities continue to display full inclusion combined with aggregative decision making (cell A) the practice traditionally associated with representative democratic government. The combination of selective inclusion with aggregative decision making was evident where specific interest groups gained access to policy making on issues of significance to them (B). The full/deliberative

combination (C) also appeared where there was an open invitation to participate and/or where all interests were invited to elect representatives. Most common, however, was mode D – the combination of selective inclusion with deliberative decision making. This captures the essence of the new local governance, with the selective engagement of particular actors and stakeholders whose access to the policy is managed through invitation or appointment. This select group can then engage in complex, and often long drawn out discussion over key issues, alternative approaches and routes to implementation. Widespread, if selective, community involvement engaging a range of stakeholders from different sectors was indeed evident in many of the PLUS cities, occurring at both policy development and implementation stages, though less so in decision making where the agenda is often returned to the formal processes of government.

The conclusions from this analysis are not so much that selective and deliberative modes are inappropriate – indeed they are often argued to produce better discussions of complex problems and to generate wider support for solutions. The lessons are rather that the processes of selecting those to engage with the deliberative process should include the less articulate as well as the articulate, peripheral as well as central actors, weak voices as well as loud ones. The selective/deliberative approach may be appropriate in many situations, in principle giving space for better discussion of policy issues. The lesson from PLUS, however, is that through selection, less audible voices may often get left out. In particular some case study cities illustrated that social actors are often absent from the policy process where issues of competitiveness are concerned (although conversely there is a lack of engagement of business interests in social inclusion issues).

With regard to the role of leadership in fostering community involvement, the case studies suggest that effectiveness, as well as legitimacy concerns can be secured or enhanced by leaders who:

- ◆ take community concerns seriously and respond to the demands of community
- ◆ invite publicity and transparency into policy making
- ◆ secure willingness to accept and endorse leadership decisions
- ◆ mobilise resources (including knowledge) relevant to defining and implementing policy objectives
- ◆ create or widen participation, especially regarding initially opposing (interest) groups,
- ◆ mobilise and activate (new) community leaders

An important link between leadership and community should lie in the role of the elected councillor. A number of the case study initiatives highlighted the shifting role of elected ‘backbench’ politicians, those who may not be selected for or appointed to the new institutional forms of partnership or coalition. Traditionally these elected councillors have represented the interests of communities through the formal governmental processes. Within a governance system that traditional role may be diluted and the legitimacy of representative democracy weakened. The legitimacy of a more participative democracy may be strengthened, and the research points to a number of ways in which residents, interest groups, businesses have – individually and collectively - gained access to policy making arenas. Nevertheless in some countries the relationship between the municipal council and the unelected stakeholders of the new governance needs clarification in the interests of accountability and transparency as the role and authority of the traditional elected councillor are challenged. One way forward – for councillors but also for community leaders and engaged business leaders - may be to offer the capacity to assist the formal leaders in building CULCI. In a number of PLUS cities there were examples of what was termed ‘delegated’ leadership, individuals who took on the role of leadership in making links with and exploiting the strengths and opportunities offered by community involvement.

INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY

A central feature of the research approach was to make use of Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Development framework which identifies 'rules' against which institutional performance can be analysed – rules relating to position, boundary, authority, information and so on. The thirty-six initiatives illustrate that in local *governance* the institutional arrangements are more fluid, more complex and more vulnerable to change than the arrangements typically seen in municipal *government*. Across all the rules, the case studies offer important evidence:

- **position rules** – there were varying practices about which interests – community, agencies, government, associations, businesses - should be represented in the institutional arrangements (and indeed who decides who should be represented)
- **boundary rules** – there were unclear rules about the conditions which govern the entry, continuity or exit of individual participants in an initiative
- **authority rules** – there were few clear protocols which specify which actions are assigned to which position or stage in the decision process
- **aggregation rules** – there were very different ways of moving from intentions, policies and plans, to implementation and actions which lead to desired outcomes
- **scope rules** – there were clear differences between the competitiveness and inclusion initiatives in terms of whether the initiatives are directed at short, medium or long-term outputs and outcomes.
- **information rules** – there were different levels of information available to different participants, and the finding that local communities often suffer from lack of information.
- **pay-off** – there were struggles over who gains and who loses and which actors can or should benefit from urban initiatives

In terms of position, political leaders and public officials were the actors most often present in the policy making arenas, followed by professional organisations. Access to institutional structures were often by selective invitation and/or appointment, with resources, expertise and authority amongst the main criteria for entry to policy arenas. Citizen organisations were more involved than individual citizens, with the latter playing a part only in social inclusion cases, as opposed to businesses which were more heavily engaged in competitiveness cases. The evidence is also of significant lack of formality in the processes other than at a formal (often mandatory or required stage of the procedures), with limited information being available to the public. Whilst retaining flexibility within and between the various stages of the policy process, this dilutes the transparency and legitimacy of the governance process. The common use of consensus rules as aggregative mechanisms reflects the essentially collaborative nature of the processes.

There were thus wide differences in the degree of institutionalisation of community involvement across the policy process in different countries and cities. The research revealed a variety of institutional mechanisms, stakeholders' constellations and degrees of institutional innovation in promoting community participation in the policy process. Despite these positive experiences of community involvement, however, the evidence was also of bottlenecks that arise in making community involvement and leadership fully complementary. The durability and sustainability of arrangements differed across the selected initiatives depending on the specific focus, timing and local circumstances of each. Nevertheless it was clear that institutional rules played a crucial part in determining the effectiveness of the interaction between leaders and communities. These institutional rules were often imposed through programmes established by upper-level governments – for example the partnership arrangements required both by European programmes and increasingly by national and regional levels. At the same time the precise application of such rules was often determined locally, and the case studies illustrate a number of ways in which locally determined rules and procedures – often sanctioned by leaders - can support (or sometimes hinder) effective community involvement. Where policymakers wish to avoid the concentration of power in a few major corporate stakeholders and to ensure that the benefits of major initiatives are spread more widely amongst communities, institutional arrangements can provide for transparency and legitimacy.

It was also clear that institutional arrangements can support or hinder the emergence of a complementarity between leadership and community. Such arrangements include:

- durable institutional arrangements, especially where contextual conditions (and personalities) are susceptible to change
- institutionalisation of developed forms of interactions and problem solving,
- clear protocols for the interaction of interest groups, and in particular for the engagement of communities with the least resources of expertise, resources and time
- increasing acceptance of community based interventions by those to whom policy initiatives are addressed
- structures which encourage and support policy learning and the development of a common understanding of problems and how to solve them,
- development of trust and personal relations between the involved actors and a search for collaborative advantage and mutual gain,
- publicity for the pros and cons of public choices, transparency of decision making, and accountability of the responsible actors.

At the same time there can be a number of less helpful institutional arrangements:

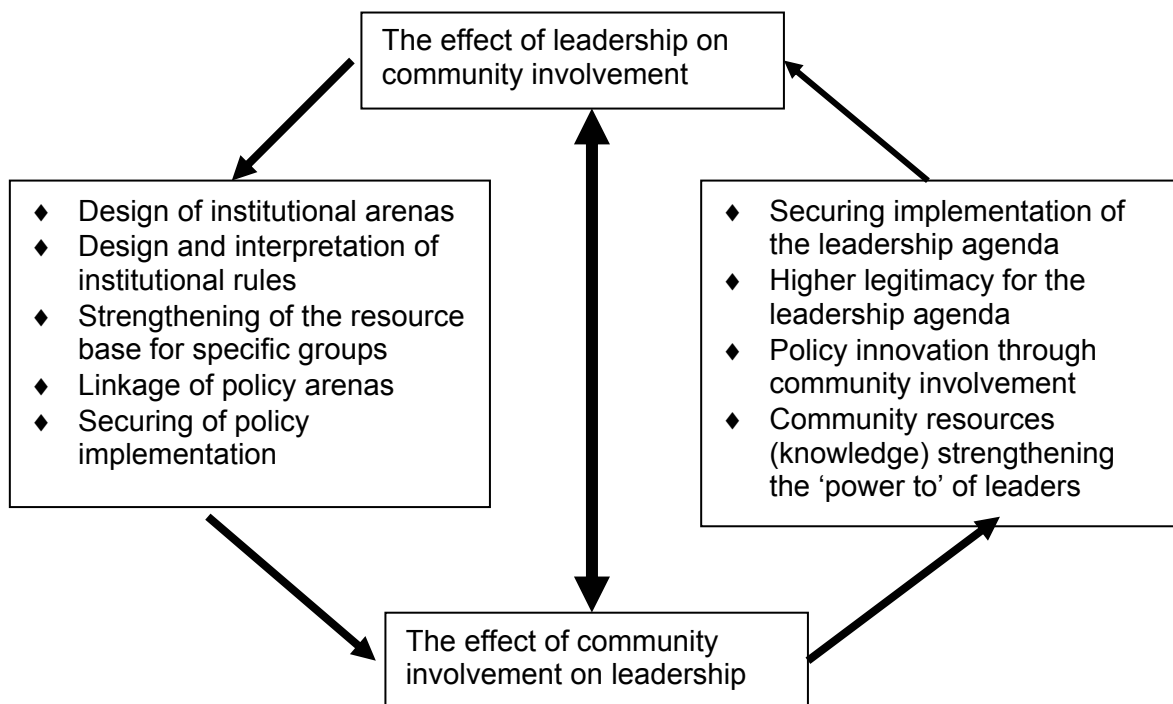
- closed interactions between stakeholders, and in particular a specific concentration on corporate actors,
- limited information about decision-making and implementation,
- unclear rules and structures of interaction,
- ad hoc solutions and discontinuities in process and action,
- an oppressive top-down approach in decision-making and implementation,
- restricted openness to, and limited reflections on, alternative options, thus blocking learning processes,
- opaque decision-making and a lack of accountability,
- mistrust, suspicion, self-interest and confrontation.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

The basic hypothesis of the PLUS research was that given the right conditions, the interplay between urban leadership and community involvement can contribute to overcoming government failure and leading to better urban governance. The central idea is of a *complementarity* between leadership and community involvement (CULCI). Leadership and community involvement can work together, with strong leadership compensating for weaker community involvement, or conversely with strong community involvement compensating for weak leadership. But additionally strong leadership in combination with effective community involvement creates the conditions for a more effective, inclusive and legitimate governance.

In relation to legitimacy, our findings suggest that whilst most local stakeholders feel that throughput legitimacy is a crucial factor (freedom of information, consistency of procedures, fairness of decision making, transparency of processes), it is also at this stage that there is least community involvement. Conversely in many of the cases there was strong community involvement at policy development and implementation stages, implying that throughput legitimation only occurs at the decision-making stage.

From the empirical base of city case studies, the research identified nine key positive factors likely to influence the complementarity of leadership and community involvement.



The research evaluated the thirty two initiatives against these considerations to judge the presence or absence of CULCI and to draw out what might be seen as 'success' factors. The 'findings' from this evaluation are, in brief, as follows:

GENERAL FINDINGS

- **Successful local governance relies on the collective engagement of a range of local interests and their involvement from an early stage in decision making about policies and programmes.**
- **Leadership style matters to success in building CULCI and in two thirds of the initiatives leaders with a consensus/facilitating and/or visionary style offered positive inputs to the different stages of the policy process.**
- **The most effective leadership style seems likely to be some combination of ‘collective/council manager’ types with ‘consensus facilitating/visionary’ styles.**
- **Conversely the leadership of ‘city boss/caretaker’ is less likely to generate complementarity between leaders and community (although the ‘city boss’ style may be useful for implementation).**
- **Leaders play an important role in bridging the gaps between policy initiatives and ensuring effective responses to cross-cutting issues.**
- **Community involvement matters in terms of improving the quality of decision making and the capacity of leaders to reflect and respond to locally generated demands.**
- **Effective community involvement brings legitimacy and authority to leadership decisions.**
- **The complementarity of leadership and community involvement varies across policy sectors and according to the specific circumstances of individual cities.**
- **In both competitiveness and social inclusion policy areas more extended and broader partnerships and coalitions of stakeholders appear more successful in generating CULCI than single actor led involvement.**
- **A major challenge for cities is to find policies which enhance economic efficiency and competitiveness whilst at the same time offering distributive justice to citizens.**
- **Successful institutional design – the creation of clear rules and protocols - can create the conditions for successful community involvement.**
- **Lasting community involvement depends on the creation of institutional structures which are more than temporary and are sustainable in the face of external political or economic change.**
- **Where leadership effort is concentrated on generating resource inputs for major development – whether this be from external sources or from private investors – community involvement is often weak or absent.**

- **In specific initiatives there may be an important role for ‘delegated’ leadership – to corporate leaders and to neighbourhood leaders.**
- **Urban leadership needs to recognise more clearly the contribution to be made by disadvantaged communities of interest – race, gender, and disability – as well as by residents in communities of place.**
- **The creation and maintenance of collaborative working (e.g. partnerships and coalitions) requires investment in time, energy and resources.**
- **The political and institutional learning gained from special initiatives needs to be incorporated into sustainable processes and procedures of government and the organisations of community.**
- **Legitimate and effective governance requires that external influences and constraints – especially those of national governments - leave room for the exercise of local autonomy.**
- **Cross-national exchange of ideas and good (as well as bad) practice provides a stimulus to leaders and can legitimise innovation and change.**

LESSONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

At the European level

- European structural programmes and initiatives must continue to emphasise the utility and importance of community involvement in urban programmes.
- International exchange-contacts are an effective source of innovation, and should be further supported (with special reference to new accession countries) but involving actors other than local government elected members or officials.
- External expertise can reinforce local capacity, bringing knowledge and skills, which offer technical support as well as legitimacy for new approaches. External experts should not, however, be allowed to overturn local community inputs.
- Cross-national training and development programmes with a specific focus on leadership and community involvement should be developed, piloted, and delivered through further cross-national exchange and capacity building action learning programmes.

At the national level

- Broadly based community involvement supports stabilisation of city policies and may help to avoid radical change in policies, even in case of leadership change. National policy changes which disrupt local governance should be avoided.
- Effective leaders must have local discretion to exercise their vision, drive and capacity-building skills. National policies should leave room for the expression of local autonomy.
- The combination of central and local resources may be necessary for the implementation of major projects in the fields of both competitiveness and inclusion, but central funding should not be an excuse for central control at the expense of community interest.
- National governments must recognise that community based capacity building for sustainable local governance takes time; new partnerships or coalitions require the building of trust and interpersonal relations; nationally driven initiatives cannot be delivered in haste.
- Where central governments initiate new programmes, more thought must be given to the design of appropriate local institutional and organisational arrangements.

At the city level

- Leaders should not assume that their policies and projects are self-explanatory. Effective communication is needed - not only talking and explaining, but also listening and responding. Innovative means of communication with communities must be well resourced.
- In building partnerships, care must be taken over the selection of members, the allocation of responsibilities, the scope and boundaries of collaboration, and the availability of information.
- Talking and listening are important ingredients of joint working but joint arrangements such as partnerships need clear structures, procedures and protocols of operation and accountability.
- Leaders represent the bridge between community and executive, and have the responsibility for ensuring that messages from the community are heard, accepted, and implemented.
- Local councillors represent an important bridge between communities and leaders, and the routes for elected local politicians to inform and support leaders need careful consideration.
- Quick wins may be necessary to maintain the commitment and trust of residents but sustainable community involvement requires long-term commitment from the council and other major stakeholders.
- Attention should be given to ensuring that the community impacts of economic development projects are fully assessed and that communities are involved in their early development.

DISSEMINATION

PUBLISHED BOOKS

In addition to a range of conference papers and journal articles, the primary outputs from the project are two major books. The first, edited by Michael Haus, Hubert Heinelt and Murray Stewart, and published by Routledge, will appear in late 2004. It presents a theoretical framework for understanding the relationship between leadership and community involvement and for assessing the capacity of local governance to deliver more effective as well as more legitimate policy outcomes. The book, involving authors from all the national research teams, provides an innovative conceptual framework which has been used to analyse the eighteen cities. The book explores and substantiates the argument that the complementarity between participation and leadership is a crucial question for increasing the quality of urban governance.

DEMOCRACY: LEADERSHIP AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

- Chapter 1. **Introduction** *Michael Haus, Hubert Heinelt and Murray Stewart*
- Chapter 2. **How to achieve Governability at the Local Level?** *Michael Haus and Hubert Heinelt*
- Chapter 3. **Urban leadership and community involvement : an institutional analysis** *Bas Denters and Pieter-Jan Klok*
- Chapter 4. **The institutional setting of local political leadership and community involvement** *Henry Bäck*
- Chapter 5. **Cities in Transition: from statism to democracy** *Pawel Swianiewicz*
- Chapter 6. **Cities in the Multi-level Governance of the European Union** *Laurence Carmichael*
- Chapter 7. **Collaboration in multi-actor Governance** *by Murray Stewart*
- Chapter 8. **Changes in urban political leadership: leadership types and styles in the era of urban governance** *Panagiotis Getimis and Despoina Grigoriadou*
- Chapter 9. **Leading localities – rethinking the agenda** *Robin Hambleton*
- Chapter 10. **Legitimacy and community involvement in local governance** *Jan Erling Klausen and David Sweeting*
- Chapter 11. **Participation and leadership in planning theory and practice** *Alessandro Balducci and Claudio Calvaresi*

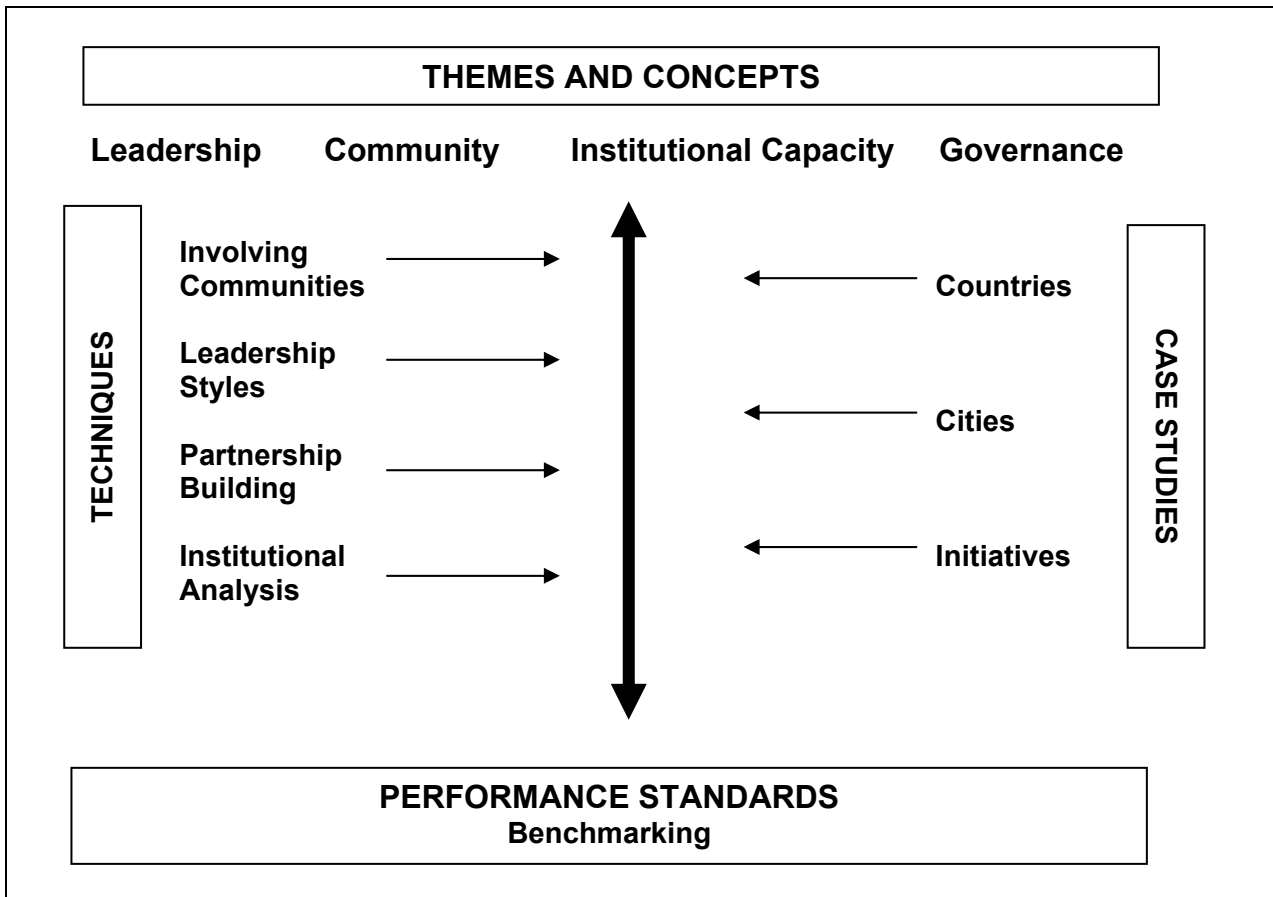
A second book, edited by Panagiotis Getimis, Hubert Heinelt and David Sweeting, is in preparation, and is expected to be published in late 2005.

LEADERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION Searching for Sustainability in European Cities

- Chapter 1 **Introduction** *by Panagiotis Getimis Hubert Heinelt and David Sweeting*
- Chapter 2 **Sustainability and Policy Challenge** *by Michael Haus and Hubert Heinelt*
- Chapter 3 **Measuring Institutional performance** *by Bas Denters and Pieter-Jan Klok*
- Chapters 4 – 11 Chapters on the eight individual countries covered by the study
- Chapter 12 **Political leadership and CULCI** *by Panagiotis Getimis and Despoina Grigoriadou*
- Chapter 13 **Community Involvement and CULCI** *by Joanna Howard, Jan Erling Klausen and David Sweeting*
- Chapter 14 **Local Leadership in Multi-level Governance in Europe** *by Laurence Carmichael*
- Chapter 15 **Restrictions, Opportunities and incentives for leadership and involvement** *by Henry Bäck*
- Chapter 16 **City Political Culture – What is expected from Policy Actors?** *by Pawel Swianiewicz*
- Chapter 17 **Institutional Conditions for CULCI: theory and practice** *by Bas Denters and Pieter-Jan Klok*
- Chapter 18 **The Role of Political Leadership in The Promotion of Legitimation in Urban Policy: Opportunities and Constraints** *by Panagiotis Getimis, Eleni Kyrou and Despoina Grigoriadou*

DISTANCE LEARNING MATERIALS

In order to support learning across the cities of the European Union, the project has developed a package of Distance Learning materials appropriate for use by political leaders, professionals, and communities in order to increase their capacity to participate in effective governance. The diagram below illustrates the structure within which this package is being developed.



THEMES AND CONCEPTS Introducing the key concepts underlying the cross-national PLUS research and helping all those involved in urban governance to understand the ideas and language of CULCI.

TECHNIQUES: Learning Units designed for use in urban settings explaining how to develop more effective approaches to linking leadership with community involvement.

CASE STUDIES: Presenting examples of good practice, drawing on the national, city, and initiative case studies researched by the team.

PERFORMANCE STANDARDS: A unit offering an introduction to benchmarking and its use in supporting effective leadership and community involvement.