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Exploring Urban Futures in European Cities: A Social Cohesion-Based Approach

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of tables / illustrations and acronyms 2
Preface 3
Résumé en Français 5
Executive Summary 7

1. Introduction 14

1.1 Exploring urban futures for alternative policy options
1.2 Building the premise: Rethinking the 'local' for exploring urban futures
1.3 Exploring Urban Futures: the case for urban social cohesion
1.4 Structure of the report

2. Sketching the context: Emerging landscape of urban development in Europe 21

2.1 Main Urban threats and challenges
2.2 Key Policy trends

3. Methodological framework for Urban Social Cohesion 35

3.1 Core dimensions for exploring social cohesion in the city – Challenges and opportunities
3.2 Transversal connections / normative reflections
3.3 Building Social cohesion in the city as a 'problématique'

4. Urban futures: the Socially cohesive city as a European urban model 47

4.1 Defining a 'socially cohesive city' model
4.2 Challenges and opportunities for socially cohesive urban futures
4.3 Imagining a collective utopia: a 'Socially cohesive city' as a European urban model

5. Socially Cohesive Urban Development: Mainstreaming the urban dimension of European cohesion policy 60

5.1 Grand problems in policy making
5.2 The potential of mainstreaming the urban dimension of European cohesion policy
5.3 Social innovation as a contemporary bottom-linked approach to social cohesion

6. Policy Recommendations 72
6.1 Re-orienting urban design and planning
6.2 Working towards democratic, efficient and multi-level Governance
6.3 Working towards the Ecological city
6.4 Working towards the Educational and Participatory City

Bibliography 82

Annex-1: Background paper and the questionnaire
Annex-2: List of experts in 'Prospective Urbaine / Exploring urban futures' Workshop, Nov. 9, 2010.

List of tables / illustrations

Table 2.1: Annual percent change in GDP (constant prices).
Table 2.2: Unemployment rate 2007-2010.
Table 3.1: Transversal connections and normative reflections.
Table 3.2: Core dimensions, relationships to urban social cohesion and transversal / normative reflections.
Table 5.1: Social innovation and problematising social cohesion.
Table 5.2: An overview of social innovation as process and collective action.
Table 6.1: Multi-level governance system based on fostering 'local' dynamics, avoiding 'localism' trap.
Illustration 6.2: Dynamics of social innovation.

List of acronyms

ABI: Area Based Initiatives
CBOs: Community-Based Organisations
CEC: Communication of the European Commission
COE: The Council of Europe
EC: European Commission
ECP: European Cohesion Policy
EGBC: European Green Building Council
EOSMS: European Observatory on SMS cities
ERDF: European Regional Development Fund
ESDF: European Structural Development Fund
ESIN: European Social Innovation Network
EUF: Exploring Urban Futures
GPTC: Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion
IAD: Integrated Area Development
IPSUD: Integrated, Participated and Sustainable Urban Development
NC: Neighbourhood Contracts [starting in 1998]
NGOs: Non-Governmental Organisations
PRIU: Urban Renewal programmes [1994].
PRU: Urban Reclaiming Programmes [1994].
PU: Prospective Urbaine
PUCA: Plan Urbanisme Construction Architecture, French Ministry of public works
R&D: Research and Development
SC: Social Cohesion
SMS: Small and Medium Size Cities
TC: Territorial Cohesion
SI: Social Innovation
UF: Urban Futures
UN: United Nations
WB: World Bank
WCED: World Commission on Environment and Development

Preface

The authors have prepared this report on 'Exploring Urban Futures' [EUF] – Prospective Urbaine with support from URBAN-NET/PUCA [Paris] and active participation of experts from SOCIAL POLIS, URBAN-NET and URBACT. Behind the conception of the EUF project, our intention was to develop a common methodological framework for exploring urban futures and unfolding options for future urban [cohesion] policy in Europe. The shaping of this intention owes greatly to a shared concern with 'Urban Social Cohesion' that has emerged as a priority research area from SINGOCOM, DEMOLOGOS, KATARSIS [FP-6] and SOCIAL POLIS [FP-7] research projects and platforms.

In the materialisation of this support, we would like to particularly acknowledge the efforts and cooperation of Anne Querrien [Interlocutor, PUCA, Paris / URBAN-NET].

The objective of the EUF project was to develop a methodological framework for Exploring Urban Futures as a way of mainstreaming the urban dimension of European Cohesion Policy. To this objective, we invited specialists of urban development and policy in Europe [from academia, government, NGOs, and the European Commission] together with URBAN-NET and SOCIAL POLIS representatives for sharing their knowledge and expressing their opinion on ways of exploring urban futures in Europe. This implies quantitative and qualitative analyses as well as sharing of interesting experiences and scenarios of urban development in Europe. In order to facilitate the working of EUF project, we wrote a background paper together with a questionnaire [see Annex-1] and organized a workshop at KU Leuven.

We would like to acknowledge the useful comments on the background paper from Annette Kuhk and Loris Servillo of Planning and Development research group [K U Leuven] and the contributions of Davide Cassinari [SOCIAL POLIS] in organising the workshop.

The purpose of the background paper was to provide a premise, as a starting point, for soliciting expert opinion on ways of EUF. The questionnaire then was designed to facilitate the experts in sharing their knowledge and opinions on a diversity of aspects of EUF. In this way they could identify current trends of urban development in Europe and limitations of the available data, as well as reflect on the *core dimensions*[1] of urban growth and change through quantitative and qualitative analysis of interesting *Experiences, Case Studies*, and *Scenarios* within particular member states as well as at the European level.

The completed questionnaires received from experts provided a wealth of material for EUF. In this regard, we are particularly thankful to the valuable contributions of Abid Mehmood [Cardiff University, UK/ Social Polis], Andreas Novy [Vienna University, AT /Social Polis], Anne Querrien [PUCA, FR / URBAN-NET], Bernard Decleve [UCLouvain, BE], Elie Faroult [DG-RTD, EC], Jean-Loup Drubigny [URBACT], Joao Ferrao [Lisbon University and Spatial Planning Ministry, PT], Konrad Miciukiewicz [Newcastle University, UK/Social Polis], Loris Servillo [KULeuven, BE], Marco Cremaschi [Rome University, IT], Marisol Garcia [Barcelona University, ES/Social Polis], Rob Atkinson [West England University, UK], Serena Vicari [Bicocca University, IT/Social Polis], Stephen Graham [Newcastle University, UK] and Eduardo de Santiago [Housing & Spatial Planning Ministry, ES and URBAN-NET].

The objective of the workshop was to prepare recommendations for future urban [cohesion] policy in Europe. Thematic screenings of the returned questionnaires were presented as syntheses soliciting the reaction of the experts. These presentations and reactions were followed by questions from the Rapporteurs and open discussions. Completed

[1] The core dimensions reflect a synthesis of policy and public action imperatives and the local assets of urban reality. They were based on a thematic review of urban development literature, and correspond to the 'existential fields' identified in 'SOCIAL POLIS' [FP-7], and 'KATARSIS' [FP-6] research [Moulaert et al., 2012].

questionnaires, proceedings of the workshop and session reports served as the direct inputs for this final report.

Thanks are due to all of the above-mentioned experts [see also Annex-2] for their active participation in generating intense debate over the diversity of aspects of EUF during the course of the workshop. Their valuable inputs provided the basis for charting out the way towards a social cohesion based approach. We would also like to acknowledge the active participation of Corinne Hermant and Christian Svanfeldt [DG-Regions, EC] in voicing their concerns while representing the EC in the workshop. In particular, we are thankful to Andreas Novy, Marisol Garcia and Serena Vicari for moderating the three sessions of the workshop as well as preparing their respective session reports.

Structuring the inputs from completed questionnaires, workshop proceedings and session reports was the major post-workshop task. Several deliberations have led to a preliminary table of content, which was circulated among the experts for feedback and comments. In this regard, valuable comments and contributions were received from Joao Ferrao, Jan Schreurs, Marisol Garcia, Konrad Miciukiewicz, Rob Atkinson and Serena Vicari.

The report has greatly benefited from the following survey papers commissioned by SOCIAL POLIS on 'urban social cohesion' and IAD scholarship:

- *Social cohesion – conceptual and political clarifications* by Andreas Novy, Frank Moulaert, Daniela Coimbra de Souza and Barbara Beinstein.
- *Epistemological challenges to urban social cohesion research: The role of transdisciplinarity* by Andreas Novy, Daniela Coimbra de Souza and Frank Moulaert.
- *Inter and transdisciplinarity in social cohesion research: An urban perspective* by Andreas Novy, Daniela Coimbra and Frank Moulaert.
- *Integrated Area Development in European Cities (Frank Moulaert, 2000, 2002, Oxford University Press).*

Some of the salient features and milestones reached during the course of the EUF project include:

- *Research and policy interaction through participation and shared problematizing*: High-level experts on urban development and urban policy from across Europe [academia, government, NGOs] became involved with or increased their participation in the EUF project.
- *Transdisciplinarity*: Academic research groups from different universities and the actors from different EU policy communities who participated in the workshop could contribute their perspectives on EUF collaborated in a transdisciplinary setting. An important dimension of transdisciplinary collaboration in networking, in this case between policy makers, external experts and SOCIAL POLIS, URBAN-NET and URBACT partners.
- *Dissemination*: The final report draws together a Social Cohesion-based approach for EUF in European Cities and contributes to the dissemination of the SOCIAL POLIS achievements.

Résumé en Français

Prospective Urbaine pour les Villes Européennes: une approche basée sur la cohésion sociale

Ce rapport présente des recommandations pour l'intégration de la dimension urbaine à la Politique Européenne de Cohésion. Ces recommandations ont été développées à partir du projet de Prospective Urbaine "Exploring Urban Futures" (EUF). L'objectif du projet était la mise en place d'une méthodologie partagée pour l'exploration de l'avenir urbain de l'Europe, de souligner les défis principaux et de formuler des options pour la politique [de cohésion] urbaine future. La méthodologie partagée est fondée sur l'approche de la problématisation partagée. La problématisation des futurs urbains est inspirée par les prémisses suivantes : (i) les effets de la crise financière pour l'avenir urbain sont complexes et inégaux ; (ii) le local urbain doit être problématisé comme faisant partie d'une réalité spatiale multiscalaire.

Le rapport EUF prépare le cadre pour le développement d'une méthodologie partagée en esquissant le paysage de développement urbain en Europe, en identifiant les principaux menaces et défis et en analysant les tendances dominantes de la politique et dans le monde politique. Ce paysage qui se trouve en pleine transformation attribue une place centrale aux villes, non seulement pour la poursuite des objectifs de compétitivité (croissance, emploi, etc.) mais aussi dans la lutte pour la cohésion sociale, la durabilité environnementale et la gouvernance démocratique. Dans l'analyse EUF des tendances de la politique publique, nous présentons des visions variées du rôle des villes dans la politique européenne et examinons les initiatives européennes principales (Projets Pilotes Urbains, URBAN et URBACT, Article-8, 'Acquis Urbain', etc.). Nous analysons également l'émergence de la dite 'méthodologie européenne partagée pour le développement durable' de pair avec la 'nouvelle approche' qui vise à combiner cohésion économique et sociale à travers une démarche territoriale. Cette nouvelle approche se focalise sur un agenda urbain réservant des responsabilités plus importantes aux collectivités locales et à la société civile. Elle donne aussi un rôle plus important aux villes dans la réalisation des politiques régionales et urbaines en matières d'emploi, prévention de la pauvreté auprès des enfants, culture et développement social. Pourtant, la participation des villes dans la réalisation de ces politiques doit faire face à des défis significatifs. La crise financière, les flux de migration croissants, l'exclusion sociale de plus en plus aigue et la décentralisation administrative génèrent un écart entre les nouvelles responsabilités des villes et les ressources en déclin. Et quand il s'agit de l'intégration de politiques publiques et leur réalisation il s'avère que les villes et les gouvernements nationaux/régionaux se font souvent inspirer par des perceptions différentes de intérêts impliqués. Bref : le paysage de politiques courantes est si divers, les défis politiques sont tellement multidimensionnels et spatialement complexes (spécificité locale, articulation entre échelles spatiales, etc.) qu'une méthodologie européenne partagée devient essentielle pour préparer les terrains d'intervention.

Les analystes convergent vers un consensus sur les temporalités de la crise financière et estiment que ses effets territoriaux seront les plus sensibles dans 10-15 ans. Le nouveau rapport entre compétences nationales/régionales et locales a comme effet que les villes en seront les premières victimes: ressources locales diminuées pour prendre en charge des coûts d'inclusion sociale plus élevés. Ceci fragilisera significativement la capacité des communautés locales à prendre des initiatives pour surmonter la fragmentation sociale, le soutien à la capacitation des communautés locales, la promotion de l'inclusion sociale et l'amélioration du milieu urbain. Cette fragilisation contient une menace directe à la cohésion sociale, la bonne gouvernance et l'environnement durable de l'Europe dans son ensemble.

C'est pourquoi dans notre approche EUF nous avons souligné la dimension locale de la réalité urbaine, non pas pour privilégier l'action collective 'localiste', mais pour accentuer le rôle essentiel des villes petites et moyennes, des quartiers des grandes villes, comme lieux où pourraient se réaliser des initiatives 'par le bas' soutenues par les politiques 'par le haut'

('bottom-linked initiatives'). Ainsi pourraient se développer des cadres institutionnels multi-scalaires offrant de l'oxygène aux villes menacées par cette « décentralisation de la pénurie collective ».

La problématisation partagée des défis et des possibilités permet d'explorer des options alternatives pour la politique et l'action collective. Par une analyse scientifique transdisciplinaire, consciente de la 'sensibilité scalaire' de la réalité urbaine, la problématisation partagée privilégie quatre perspectives, c'est-à-dire celles de la socio-économie, la culture, l'écologie et le politique. Ainsi les défis et les possibilités pour des futurs urbains socialement cohésifs ont été analysés autour de quatre tensions :

- Solidarité versus Exclusion Sociale ;
- Valeurs communes et construction d'identités partagées versus cultures conflictuelles ;
- Durabilité et justice écologique versus consumérisme et épuisement des ressources naturelles ;
- Citoyenneté et gouvernance démocratique versus autocratie et néolibéralisme.

Les tensions entre défis et possibilités nourrissent la construction des utopies collectives et servent de sources pour la définition et la construction d'une ville socialement cohésive, image forte d'un modèle urbain futur pour l'Europe.

La production d'utopies collectives exige des actions innovatrices permettant de réaliser une cohésion sociale surmontant les défis en mobilisant les possibilités signalées ci-dessus. Ces actions devraient combiner les préoccupations suivantes :

- Des démarches de développement local communautaire ;
- Des initiatives locales 'bottom-linked' ;
- La construction d'une ville de diversité et d'égalité ;
- La construction d'une ville de convivialité humaine ;
- La construction d'une ville de démocratie participative.

L'utopie de villes socialement cohésives envisage donc une ville qui crée des chances de 'bonne vie' pour tous ses habitants, leur permettant d'être divers en vivant ensemble ; créant de l'espace pour la politisation des solutions à la désintégration sociale. De plus, une utopie concrète de villes socialement cohésives au sein de régions cohésives inclut un cadre régulateur qui devrait faciliter la réalisation des actions citées.

Les recommandations pour la politique publique et l'action collective menant vers une Europe urbaine cohésive sont formulées en termes d'une initiative européenne pour la « Cohésion Urbaine Sociale » soutenue par deux organisations à créer : le réseau « European Social Innovation Network [ESIN] et l'observatoire « European Observatory on SMS Cities » (EOSMS). Les recommandations pour la politique publique et l'action collective se résument sous quatre titres :

1) La réorientation de l'urbanisme et de l'aménagement vers le développement durable ;
2) Avancer vers une gouvernance démocratique, efficiente et multi-scalaire qui respecte la diversité ;
3) Réaliser la ville écologique ;
4) Réaliser la ville éducative et participative.

Executive Summary

This report presents policy recommendations for mainstreaming the urban dimension of European Cohesion Policy [ECP] as an input for its future reform. They are unfolded through the Exploring Urban Futures project [EUF]. The objective of the project was to develop a common methodological framework for EUF in European cities and unfolding options for future urban [cohesion] policy in Europe. The common methodological framework is developed through shared problematizing of urban futures, which lead to a Social Cohesion Based Approach [SCBA]. Behind the gradual evolution of SCBA as a common European methodology presented in this report, the premise formulated for the EUF and two main hypotheses have been at work. The premise for the EUF project argues that the analyses of the multi-dimensional effects of the ongoing global financial crisis and a multi-scalar rethinking of the local are crucial for imagining alternative urban futures. The two main hypotheses are: i] *A dynamic interaction between EUF and observing and analyzing trends of urban development is the key for unfolding alternative policy options*; ii] *A common methodological framework for mainstreaming the urban dimension of European cohesion policy can be developed through shared problematizing of urban social cohesion*.

The need for a common European methodology for mainstreaming the urban dimension of ECP is widely recognised. The lack of conceptual coherence in the debate on mainstreaming the urban dimension of European cohesion policy has fed the need for a common European methodology. The metaphor of the tropical forest characterizes well the debate on mainstreaming the urban dimension of cohesion policy. In this debate conceptual foundations are blurred and several misconceptions have arisen. There is also an awareness that the present sectoral approach to policy-making cannot deal with the diversity of European urban reality and its multi-faceted challenges of social cohesion, governance and environment.

This report presents a two-fold analysis in support of developing a common European methodology: 1] Why cities / urban Europe matter? Or: What is the role of mainstreaming the urban dimension in future reform of the Cohesion policy? 2] Why a common European methodology should be based on an urban social cohesion based approach?

Cities are engines of economic growth for Europe. Their role is central in achieving the Lisbon Agenda's aims of creating growth and jobs, as well as in unfolding sustainable development and cohesion of the European territory. They are the nodes of global capital flows, where benefits and opportunities of globalization unfold. Despite their small manufacturing base, they are the largest source of employment, services, knowledge and culture. However, the global economic free-fall beginning in 2008 – characterized by the collapse of credit markets, soaring unemployment, shrinkage of discretionary income and budgetary crisis of local governments – has undermined the economic base of large metropolises. In particular, the global capital flows have dried up, costs of borrowing for cities and national government have spiralled, budgetary deficits have widened, inflationary pressures are looming, economic activities are stagnating, widening of national debt crisis [Greece, Ireland and Portugal] across Europe [Spain, Belgium, etc.], and so on.

These trends necessitate the inevitability of austerity measures and budget cuts, which will obviously hit-hard the capacity of the city authorities for local actions, development and welfare. Moreover, the prospects of 83% of European population living in cities by 2050 brings enormous pressure on cities that already have to face challenges of globalization, demographic change, migration, inner city decay, disparities among and within cities, and so on.

Cities are also the arenas for increasing energy efficiency, reducing the ecological foot-print, tackling climate change and combating sprawl. These challenges have a cumulative effect on deepening social exclusion, social polarization and spatial segmentation that are manifest across urban Europe. Their deepening is fuelling the crises of political representation and

legitimacy, disharmony and lack of hope in the future of the Union. Yet there is no comparable collective response to these urban issues at the European level. Although there is no legal basis for urban policy in the treaties establishing the European Union (EU) and the European Communities [EC], the EU has been active in the field of urban development policy and has taken on a major role in supporting cities and regions in their quest for competitiveness and cohesion.

Over the last two decades, the EU has produced a number of major policy documents, community initiatives and programs to support urban development. With the proliferation of urban initiatives and programs, the lack of coherence in them has arisen, which in turn has intensified the need for a common European approach towards urban policy. However, this need remains contested due to conflicting views. For instance, some argue that we should not have a EU urban policy, as it is the prerogative of national governments [albeit usually divided / fragmented in different ministries]. Others share the view that urban, as the most complex problems, are the least invested in [compared to agriculture, infrastructure, etc.]. And that European policy on urban issues [financed and linked with the ones of national states] may give legitimacy to the demand for participatory governance and facilitate building the legitimacy of politics in the city.

The report sets the stage for developing the common methodological framework by sketching the emerging landscape of urban development in Europe, identifying the main urban threats and challenges, and analyzing the key policy trends. In this emerging landscape, there is not only the wide recognition of the central role of cities in meeting the 'competitiveness' oriented objectives [growth, jobs, etc.] but also the fact that they are seen as the frontline in the battle for social cohesion, environmental sustainability and democratic governance.

In our analysis of the key policy trends, we present the evolution of these views of the role of cities in European policy-making and also examine the major initiatives [Urban Pilot Projects, URBAN & URBACT programs, Article-8, 'Acquis Urbain', etc], as well as the emergence of the so-called 'common European methodology for sustainable urban development' and the 'new approach' that aims at combining 'economic and social cohesion' through place-based and territorial approach. This new approach seems to offer an urban agenda that gives greater responsibility to local governments and civil society, and involve city administrations in national and regional policies relating to employment, child poverty prevention, culture and social development.

The participation of cities in policy implementation, however, faces serious challenges; financial crisis, increasing flows of migration, deepening social exclusion, budgetary limitations and administrative decentralization are unfolding a mismatch between the new responsibilities of cities and the resources made available to them, which is causing fiscal stress that undermines the capacity for local action. This situation is further exasperated by problems at the policy and institutional level, such as fragmentation of efforts at different levels of government, sectoral interventions in different policy fields that render responses ineffective, uncoordinated interventions in different geographic areas, and inertia in institutional local structures. For instance, when it comes to integration policies and their implementation, the city and national governments have different interests – or at least different perception of interests – that increases the chances of social conflict in cities. In short, the landscape of current policies is diverse, and the policy challenges are multi-layered and multi-dimensional, which demonstrates the need for and the usefulness of a common European methodology.

Developing a common methodology through urban social cohesion based approach – the main argument of this report – is supported by convincing analysis that argue in favour of policy shifts: from individual sector towards wider integration within the local or regional economy, from government to multi-level governance, from universal policies to focused / area-based policies with particular attention to participation and empowerment of inhabitants

of cities and neighbourhoods as in the Integrated Area Development Model, and from the mode of 'bridging' policy and academic research to facilitating 'connections' and 'interactions' between them through 'transdisciplinarity', and so on. Urban social cohesion as an approach for unfolding alternative policy options is also supported by insights from different quarters of European research community, which indicate several trends, such as:

- The effects of the alarming rates of migration [net migration already more than natural births], globalization [increased mobility flows] and settlement patterns [increased space consumption and social polarization] are unfolding *super diversity* as a major challenge for social cohesion in European cities.
- The rates of unemployment, poverty and other social indicators [exclusion, welfare, etc.] are higher in cities than the national averages of their countries, which make *cities as places where the struggle for a more cohesive society should start*.
- There is the proliferation of new forms of poverty [infrastructure-poverty, feminization, among new migrants, young and vulnerable elderly], exclusion [economic, social, cultural] and diversity [its image as deprivation, polarization and poverty] in European cities.

Urban social cohesion faces severe repercussions due to the onset of current global financial meltdown and its multi-dimensional effects. Hardly any sector of the society seems to have escaped the crisis, which has caused manifold increase in social disruptions worldwide. With devastating effects in south Europe [Greece, Portugal and Spain], the crisis is stronger at the moment in Ireland, UK and Baltic, and there are increasing signs of its strengthening in the rest of the European countries. Besides badly coordinated effects and misunderstood subsidiarities, the crisis is profoundly linked to the unfolding of fiscal austerity and radical cutting of welfare and public services, radical collapse of public sector employment, the rise of far-right anti-urban/anti-cosmopolitan politics and their ability to exploit the crisis. Across EU-27, there is a consistent decline of annual percent change in GDP, rise in unemployment rates, decline in building activity, shrinking of capital inflows and trade, etc. There is emerging evidence that these trends are deepening the budgetary deficit and generating fiscal stress, which is reducing the capacity of the city authorities to deal with social risks [shrinking income, employment, social security, welfare, etc.].

There is also an emerging consensus that the territorial effects of the financial crisis will probably become visible within 10-15 years. In particular, a new configuration of the relationship between central and local government has emerged, one in which the transfer of competencies from central to local so that cities are in charge of social cohesion in a framework of drastically decreased local resources. This will seriously undermine local authorities' capacity for local initiatives and actions to promote social inclusion, overcome spatial fragmentation, support capabilities' acquisition, and ameliorate the urban environment. Obviously, this scenario presents serious threats to social cohesion, good governance and sustainable environment looming over European urban future. This is why we stressed in our premise to focus on the local dimension of European urban reality - the constellation of SMS cities and lower scale concepts of larger cities – for generating perspectives on the integration of bottom-up initiatives with top-down actions, so that alternative policy options can be formulated for urban social cohesion.

Social cohesion and social inclusion are quite often interchangeably presented as *foundations for sustainable urban development*, which will make *cities just and competitive* [Bristol accord]. The position defended in the report on this problematic interchange-ability is that the former offers a broader approach than the later. Social cohesion permits a stronger set of references to the functioning of democracy and the healthiness of society. Moreover, social inclusion focuses on 'specialised', 'sectoral' policies and actions, whereas the concept of social cohesion seeks a broader, more civic and societal responsibility.

The analyses presented in this report show that it is hard to decide if we are moving towards a socially cohesive Europe at the urban level. There are some indications of cohesion, but

increasing signs of exclusion: long-term unemployment, poorly skilled people, people with psychological problems, integration of migrants and ethnic minorities, problems in access to social welfare, housing, education [increasingly expensive, elitist, technology oriented, etc.], labour market, etc. are indications of moving away from the opportunities of social cohesion. Moreover, the report acknowledges that it is hard to define urban social cohesion in a way that takes account of the diversity of European urban reality. Furthermore, there are significant differences in the conceptual and theoretical use of the term. Even confusion about its meaning as a term, a situation, or a desire, etc. is paramount, besides the difficulty in operationalising and measuring it in the variety of European contexts.

Regarding the confusion about the meaning of social cohesion, the policy debate on territorial cohesion in Europe and within EC circles bears some responsibility in this as it hosts a diversity of interpretations. Therefore, we present social cohesion in this report as a human 'problématique' - the *transdisciplinary* problematizing of a multidimensional problem - that can only be solved *collectively* and that has a *particular* (but not exclusively) urban character. Both the collective approach and the particular focus refer to diversity-within-cooperation.

In this report, building social cohesion in the city as a problématique through shared problematizing of urban social cohesion is presented as a methodological framework for working towards a socially cohesive city / urban Europe. The starting point is that social cohesion is a challenge to cities. It is essentially a desire for collective improvement of relations between people, social groups within their different spheres of existence and interaction. Social cohesion is a challenge for cities for many reasons:

- Cities agglomerate all the complexities of social life on a concentrated territory;
- On a daily basis, cities 'import' and 'export' factors of cohesion and fragmentation of their own system [e.g. through migration movements cities become multi-scalar spatial story of human existence];
- The views of how social fragmentation and cohesion should be addressed vary significantly among groups and people, but also among different types of actors within cities.

Secondly, social cohesion approached as a problématique starts from accepting that recognising and defining the problem of social cohesion in the city is no simple, value-free decision. It implies asking the right questions and obtaining deep insights into the life world of urban inhabitants. It also requires systematically organised knowledge about causalities, contexts, historical factors and geographical patterns that have produced cohesion as well as fragmentation and exclusion. Thirdly, the different readings (by our experts) of the 'core dimensions' [of exploring urban social cohesion] in terms of challenges and opportunities and 'transversal connections' are introduced as dimensions of the problématique, i.e. *building social cohesion in the city*.

The methodological framework uses the shared problematizing of the challenges and opportunities to unfold alternative options for policy and collective action. The report outlines the three aspects (dialectical moments) of this methodological framework, namely scientific analysis, transdisciplinarity and scale sensitivity; collective action and partnerships; and the four perspectives of the 'problématique' [Socio-economy, Culture, Ecology and Politics].

Challenges and opportunities for socially cohesive urban futures have been synthesised as:

- Solidarity versus Social Exclusion;
- Common Values and Identity building versus clashing cultures;
- Sustainability and ecological justice versus consumerism and resource depletion;
- Citizenship and democratic governance versus autocracy and neo-liberalism.

These challenges and opportunities serve as a basis for imagining a collective utopia for defining and constructing the socially cohesive city as a future *European urban model*. Imagining a collective utopia is a creative response to the need for a convincing vision for future development of European cities, which are faced with increasing overall socio-economic and cultural-political cleavages. Demographic changes, migration and particularly the 'neo-liberal' policies and current economic crisis are aggravating these disruptive processes. Imagining a collective utopia of socially cohesive cities implies innovative answers to achieve social cohesion in a reaction to the world economic crisis, the increasing social disruption and global ecological challenges, which have severe repercussions for urban social cohesion. The following priorities are considered the building blocks in constructing the utopia of socially cohesive cities:

- Community-centred localism
- Bottom-linked local initiatives
- Constructing the city of diversity and equality
- Developing the city of human conviviality
- Achieving the city of participatory democracy

The utopia of socially cohesive cities implies a city that offers a good life for all its inhabitants allowing them to be different and yet able to live together, thereby politicising the problem of social disintegration. A concrete utopia of socially cohesive cities within territorially cohesive macro-regions has to elaborate a regulatory setting, which accommodates freedom, equality and solidarity. Using the methodological framework in this regard, the following perspectives are formulated:

- *Culturally*, the challenge of social cohesion implies cultural change overcoming adherence to a single-language, mono-ethnic norm, and accommodating diversity, equality as well as multi-identity exchange. Within this context, cities can become places of belonging and territories that accommodate place-based specificities with equal opportunities for quality of life.
- *Socio-economically*, social cohesion would be fostered if the European economic treaties abandon inherent market fundamentalism and return to a mixed economic order which experiments with a constructive synergising between markets, regulation and planning as well as with private, communal and public ownership. This would enable cities to consolidate a plural economy based on a mix of paid and voluntary work, and an export as well as caring economy.
- *Politically*, the challenge consists in advancing from an essentialist and exclusionary concept of national citizenship that creates "outsiders", toward a scale-sensitive and inhabitant-centred conception of citizenship. This would allow establishing a societal citizenship guaranteeing rights for everybody.
- *Ecologically*, the challenge of social cohesion implies ecological justice in the socio-ecological transition of the modes of production and consumption (including the ´post-carbon` energy paradigm), and dealing with issues of ecological resilience, biodiversity and food security. This requires a move towards a socio-ecological accumulation strategy with a scale-sensitive public investment in public transport, socio-ecological housing and energy self-sufficiency as key elements. This type of socio-ecological accumulation strategy would give incentives to a new civilizational mode of living and working in the urban agglomeration that fosters social cohesion.

Socially cohesive urban development policy concerns form the basis for mainstreaming the urban dimension of European cohesion policy. In this regard, the conclusions on the analysis of urban development policy trends over the last two decades are drawn. They are presented under the following headings:

- Neglect / abandoning of the 'local' to the benefit of the urban region;
- The need for a democratic, efficient and multi-level governance system;
- Sectoral fragmentation of policies;

- Neglect of crucial elements for building social cohesion;
- The consequences of the financial crisis for public policy;
- The challenges of environmental sustainability and ecological justice.

Our conclusions on the so-called 'new (European) approach' - linking competitiveness and social cohesion through place-based and territorial development – for mainstreaming the urban dimension can be summarised as follows: this approach remains embedded in the 'competitiveness' oriented hegemonic policy discourse, where non-economic aspects are of interest primarily because of their economic functionality. Conceptually, it balances solidarity with market-performance, but in practice it is strongly linked and subordinated to the competitiveness discourse.

While formulating the basis for mainstreaming the urban dimension of European cohesion policy, the report de-links the subordinated role of social cohesion in the policy discourse by addressing social cohesion as a specific concern and a specific perspective to look at social issues in the city. In this regard, the prospects for *deviant mainstreaming* and *transdisciplinarity* are elaborated as a way of transcending the discourse of competitiveness. Building on the methodological framework and to address the grand problems in policy making and to formulate a democratic basis for mainstreaming the urban dimension of European cohesion policy, *social innovation* as a contemporary bottom-linked approach to social cohesion is presented. This implies social innovation as collective problematization and collective cohesion-seeking action. In this regard, three interconnected dimensions of social innovation are elaborated: i] Satisfaction of needs (agendas and initiatives for) ; ii] Innovation in social relations ; and iii] Empowerment of communities and their members. They involve agenda setting, social economy building, participation and shared decision-making etc. with a central place for the involved populations. Moreover, the significance of social innovation to the four perspectives of problematizing urban social cohesion, as well as the scale-sensitivity of social innovation as a process and collective action are illustrated. Furthermore, key arguments for social innovation as a basis for sustainable development and reforming European cohesion policy are presented as well as its role in governance, transferability of good practices and Integrated Area Development [IAD].

The policy and collective action recommendations for a socially cohesive urban Europe are formulated as a framework for launching a European initiative for '**Urban Social Cohesion**', supported by establishing a '**European Social Innovation Network**' [ESIN] and a '**European Observatory on SMS cities**' [EOSMS]. In this regard, the policy and collective action recommendations are organized under four flags and over two time horizons: short-term 5-10 years, and long term 20-30 years. They are based on a synthesis of our analysis of the challenges and opportunities for socially cohesive urban futures and the grand problems in policy-making.

- **Re-orienting urban design and planning toward sustainable development:** Urban social cohesion requires reorientation of the current modes [both academic / curricula and practice] of urban design and planning towards 'socio-spatial cohesion' and 'environmental sustainability' at multiple scale levels.

- **Working towards democratic, efficient and multi-level Governance:** The complex multilevel nature of EU, National and sub-national governance structures is a 'structural problem' that affects all policy fields seeking to develop an integrated approach towards social cohesion. In working towards a democratic, efficient and multi-level governance system, the recommendations formulated refer to new modes of governance, new forms of institutions and welfare, new citizenships and political rights and participation. Together they seek to re-establish the role of the local through social innovation and integrated area development.

- **Working towards the Ecological city:** This implies the transformation of the social-natural-technological assemblages of urban life in ways that help build socio-environmental justice whilst reducing the risks of biodiversity collapse, neo-liberal globalisation and climate change. The recommendations propose combining sustainable urbanism together with a move towards a socio-ecological accumulation strategy and scale-sensitive public investment for unfolding socially cohesive and sustainable urban development as a new economic base.

- **Working towards the Educational and Participatory City:** Free and fair accessibility to quality education, socio-ethnic sensitivity in the location of schools and modes of education that promote life long learning for all are critical factors in working towards the educational city.

1. Introduction

1.1 Exploring urban futures for alternative policy options

Social exclusion, social polarization and spatial segmentation are manifest all across urban Europe. The global financial meltdown, increasing migration flows - which are hitting hard in particular the urban areas [CEC, 2009; CEC, 2010b] – and the continuing neo-liberal urban development policies are deepening these trends. Their deepening is fuelling the crises of political representation and legitimacy, disharmony and lack of hope in the future of the Union. Yet there is no comparable collective response to these urban issues at the European level. Although, there is a naïve realisation of the Europeanization of urban issues due to the opening of the borders, single currency and other European regulatory measures. This realisation is discernable from the attempts at mainstreaming the urban dimension of European cohesion policy [CEC, 2006, 2009, 2010a, and 2010b; ECORYS, 2010]. Despite opening up the debate, however, these attempts remain contested due to conflicting views.

The main questions driving the debate can be summed up as: Is it possible or realistic to think of a European urban policy? How can we introduce urban issues at the EU level in a way that avoids the fragmentation produced by the proliferation of European urban initiatives and programs? What is the role of a common European methodology approach in this regard? What should be the focus in mainstreaming the urban dimension of future cohesion policy? Some argue that we will not have a EU urban policy, as it is the prerogative of national governments [albeit usually divided / fragmented in different ministries]. Others share the view that urban, as the most complex problems, are the least invested in [as compared to agriculture, infrastructure, etc.]. And that European policy on urban issues [financed and linked with the ones of national states] may give legitimacy to the demand for participatory governance, and facilitate building the legitimacy of politics in the city.

Some acknowledge the decisive role of cities in creating jobs and growth, but argue that fully integrated strategies for urban development are not possible at the city level [CEC, 2006]. They argue in favour of a regional approach to urban issues and advocate the future reform of regional policy through mainstreaming its urban dimension. Others see problems in that: ERDF [European Regional Development Fund] is overwhelmingly focused on physical infrastructure and strengthening cities as motors of regional development rather than the objective of internal cohesion within cities,[2] and that mainstreaming the urban dimension within ERDF comes down to branding the cities ['attractive', 'knowledge' and 'culture' cities, etc.] to attract investments [neo-liberal trend] as a way of dealing with their problems [CEC, 2006, and 2009; ECORYS, 2010]. Within the regional debate, some point to the tension between reinforcing ongoing 'local development' methodologies, 'flagship projects 2020' focused on deprived neighbourhoods, and creating 'platforms' – cooperation between cities. Others argue for an integrated approach, building up on the past and ongoing initiatives.[3]

In reference to the proliferation of several urban charters [Bristol, Aalborg, Slow-cities, Acquis Urbain, Leipzig], some argue that a convincing vision for the urban future of Europe has yet to emerge. They point towards the need for a common European methodology for sustainable urban development [CEC, 2009]. In the competitiveness versus cohesion line of the debate, some defend continuing the focus on employment generation and competitiveness of cities as central for any future policy reforms. Others highlight the importance of environmental issues [Climate change, GHG emissions, and urban heat islands, etc.] in urban areas. Some point to the embedded-ness of urban issues in several parallel narratives and debates concerning future reforms of the cohesion policy, making it more 'place-based' and stressing 'territorial cohesion', etc. Others look at it as the need for

[2] The scale of social action supported within ERDF remains limited, see, ECORYS, 2010.

[3] Such as, Urban pilot projects [1989-1999], URBAN-I (1994-99) & URBAN-II (2000-06), Urban Audit and JESSICA, see, CEC, 2009 and 2010a.

avoiding dispersion and highlight the challenge for future cohesion policy to merge these agendas. In short, such a diversity of views in the debate on mainstreaming the urban dimension of European cohesion policy presents nothing less than a 'tropical forest' - a view shared by most of our experts.[4]

The metaphor of the tropical forest characterizes well the debate on mainstreaming the urban dimension of cohesion policy, where conceptual foundations are blurred, several misconceptions have arisen and no common grounds exist for a useful debate to take place. It is in response to such a situation that we developed our "exploring urban futures" project. The project was conceived as a way of unfolding alternative policy options for mainstreaming the urban dimension and reform of the European cohesion policy, which evolved into the social cohesion based approach presented in this report. Behind the conception and gradual evolution of this "exploring urban futures" project, two main hypotheses have been at work: i] *A dynamic interaction between exploring urban futures and observing and analyzing trends of urban development is the key for unfolding alternative policy options*; ii] *A common methodological framework for mainstreaming the urban dimension of European cohesion policy can be developed through shared problematizing of urban social cohesion*.

1.1.1 Urban futures and urban development: A dynamic interaction

We posit that exploring urban futures is about collectively imagining a path of development. In this process of reflection on the urban, its re-conceptualization and reformulation unfolds, which is necessary to overcome the gap between vision and reality. This necessity is the basis for future studies in general, which produce the blend that carries an ambiguous relation between analytic and normative aspects. Exploring and imagining futures, thus, helps us in a pragmatic way overruling the present crisis through unfolding alternative policy options. Its legitimacy draws from several arguments, such as: 83% of European population will be urban by 2050; greater understanding of dynamics of urban societies is required if instability and risks within cities are to be identified and managed, and so on [CEC, 2009 and 2010b]. Exploring urban futures in this sense implies understanding the dynamics of change in cities and towns, understanding their challenges and opportunities, analyzing the impact of current policies and generating perspectives on the trajectory of their future development. These ways of understanding and analysing cities with a concern for generating perspectives on their futures represent the dynamic links between urban futures and urban development, and their synthesis is necessary for unfolding alternative policy options. The task of establishing and defining the content of these dynamic links and the ways of approaching the synthesis is a methodological challenge that we approached via shared problematizing.

1.1.2 Shared Problematizing

Behind shared problematizing, our intention was to develop a common methodological framework for exploring urban futures and unfolding options for future urban [cohesion] policy in Europe. To this intention, we invited specialists of urban development and policy in Europe together with URBAN-NET and SOCIAL POLIS representatives for sharing their knowledge and expressing their opinion on ways of exploring urban futures in Europe. In order to facilitate the working of this process, we wrote a background paper together with a questionnaire [see Annex-1] and organized a workshop.

1.1.2.1 Background paper, the questionnaire, the workshop and the role of the experts

The purpose of the background paper was to provide a premise, as a starting point, for soliciting expert opinion on ways of exploring urban futures. The premise, and its underlying principles, was built through analyzing the ways of seeing the role of cities - their challenges and opportunities and the modalities of urban change - in concepts, future visions and

[4] See 1.1.2.1 and list of participating expert [Annex-2] in the workshop for exploring urban futures held in Leuven [Belgium] on 9th of November 2010.

scenarios underlying current territorial development and collective strategies including regional public policy. In these ways of seeing, we identified consensuses, such as, the role of cities in *cohesion* and *sustainable development* of the European territory as a referential for exploring **U**rban **F**utures [**UF**], and the role of *ecological sustainability, social cohesion*, and *democratic governance* as new imperatives for urban policy and collective action. In particular, we presented the focus on a multi-scalar rethinking of the 'local' dimension of European urban reality as the premise - generating bottom-up perspectives on top-down policies and actions - for exploring and imagining socially cohesive and sustainable urban futures.

In order to facilitate our experts in sharing their knowledge and opinions on a diversity of aspects of exploring urban futures, a questionnaire was formulated and organized in two main sections. The objective of the first section – defining the focus - was to clarify and enhance the premise and develop the focus by identifying current trends of urban development in Europe, and limitations of the available data. While complementing the first section, the second section aimed at elaborating the *core dimensions* of urban growth and change through quantitative and qualitative analysis of interesting *Experiences, Case Studies*, and *Scenarios*. The core dimensions reflect a synthesis of policy and public action imperatives [ecological sustainability, social cohesion, and democratic governance] and the local assets of urban reality [human, social, cultural, intellectual, natural, environmental, and infrastructural]. They were based on a thematic review of urban development literature, and correspond to the 'existential fields' identified in 'SOCIAL POLIS' [FP-7], and 'KATARSIS' [FP-6] research [Moulaert et al., 2011]. The next step following the questionnaire was the organization of the workshop, where the objective was to prepare recommendations for future urban [cohesion] policy in Europe. Thematic screenings of the returned questionnaires were presented as a synthesis for the reaction of the experts. Their reactions and presentations in the sessions were followed by questions from the reporters and open discussions. Completed questionnaires, proceedings of the workshop and session reports served as the direct inputs for this final report.

1.2 Building the premise: Rethinking the 'local' for exploring urban futures

The premise and its underlying principles were developed through the analysis of the ways of identifying the challenges and opportunities for exploring UF. In this regard, we highlighted the problems of the *global-metropolitan focus* dominating the academic and policy debates. While acknowledging the cohesion and sustainable development of the European territory as the over-arching ambition, we built the case for a shift from a *global-metropolitan focus to a* focus on the '*local*' dimension of European urban reality for rethinking the challenges and opportunities involved in exploring urban futures.

1.2.1 The hegemonic role of the global-metropolitan focus

The hegemonic role of the global-metropolitan focus in urban analysis owes to seeing the global economy as an unhindered space organized and regulated by the capital flows through the network of global cities and large metropolitan areas. Such a focus underpins the European territorial and regional policy debates due to their perceived role in the 'competitiveness' of the European territory.[5] Yielding significant initiatives and concepts,[6] the

[5] Ascribing such a role to cities matches the Lisbon Agenda [2000-10], and is also acknowledged in EU Cohesion Policy documents [2007-13]. In particular, promoting the potential of cities is central in declarations, such as the LEIPZIG CHARTER on sustainable European cities [2007].

[6] The inevitable globalization bias and metropolitan focus is discernable in the discourse on territorial cohesion and development since the early 1990s till the formulation of the territorial agenda [CEC, 2007]. They unfolded initiatives such as, INTERREG, ESDP, ESPON, etc. Concepts include 'Polycentricity', 'Metropolisation', 'Multi-level Governance', etc. and ESPON projects, such as: 'Future Orientation for Cities' – [FOCI, 2008-10] that focuses on LUZ - Large urban zones; 'Cross-Border metropolitan regions' - METROBORDER 2009-10, etc.

global-metropolitan focus continues to define the challenges - the effects of globalization, demographic and climate change, energy and social risks, etc. - and opportunities – growth, innovation and higher GDP - for exploring UF. [7] Such challenges and opportunities disguise the faith in neo-liberal globalization and direct cities toward global investment competition and mega projects as the way forward to boost growth and increase GDP [Moulaert, 2000; Moulaert, 2005], while little attention is paid to the emerging challenge(s) posed by the worst financial crisis since the great depression of the 1930s that has pushed millions of Europeans underneath the poverty threshold. The global economic free-fall beginning in 2008 has undermined the economic base of large metropolises, and necessitates the countering of these top-down crises with bottom-up strategies, strengths and solutions [Fainstein, 2010, p.180]. Thus, the main argument in building up the premise was that analyzing the multi-dimensional and multi-scalar effects of the unfolding crisis on European metropolitan areas and cities will shed a new light on their challenges and opportunities, crucial for imagining their UF. In these times, logically speaking then, focusing on the **local** stories of adaptation, innovation, and renewal, and a "solid foundation for a long-lasting development *from within"* [Friedmann, 2007, p. 15] seems more appropriate than ever before.

1.2.2 The diversity of the European urban reality as a vital asset

Focusing on the 'Local' dimension acknowledges the diversity of European urban reality as a vital asset. Such an acknowledgement is discernable from the renewed relevance of the 'local' in the territorial cohesion and sustainability debates, and in broadening the base of future regional and urban policy.[8] For instance, in the 'Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion' [GPTC, 2008] and the 'place-based development' strategy [Barca, 2009], the 'local' can be seen as the logic of (re)centring the debate on diversity and cohesion.[9] In particular, the Green paper highlights a significant aspect of the diversity of European urban reality; 5000 towns & 1000 cities with only 7% population in cities of over 5 million [compared to the USA, where it is 25%] i.e. European urban life is less concentrated, multi-nodal and organized in a multi-scalar way [Faludi, 2008, p. 10]. This particular local dimension of the European urban reality turns the logic of the global-metropolitan focus in imagining UF on its head. It leads us to the next step in building the premise: shifting the conceptual and analytical apparatus associated with the term "Local" from the shadow of global-metropolitan focus to **S**mall and **M**edium **S**ize (**SMS**) cities and to 'lower scale' concepts of larger cities.

1.2.3 The pivotal role of SMS cities and of 'lower scale' concepts of larger cities

The importance of SMS is greater than their size might suggest; they house more than 70% of the European population, count for 90% of the municipalities, provide infrastructure and services that are key to avoiding rural depopulation and urban drift, and lend character and distinctiveness to their regional landscapes [SMESTO, 2006; GPTC, 2008, p.4; Knox, et al. 2009, p. 9]. [10] Often playing a pivotal role within regional economies, they are the building blocks of urban regions and the linchpin of the European urban system, which is critically important for European urbanity and identity. Their growth and structure are considered as the base that constitutes the most balanced urban system in the world [Sassen, 2000;

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[7] Demographic trends [DEMIFER 2008-10], climate change [ESPON CLIMATE 2009-11], etc., and even the 'EU-Regions 2020' [2009] is based on these challenges and opportunities, and takes little account of the financial crisis, on which only a note is added as an annex.

[8] For example, the GPTC [2008] asserts "territorial diversity as a vital asset that can contribute to sustainable development of the EU as a whole", calls for "new themes for viewing cohesion", values "partnerships with strong local dimension", stresses on "local knowledge", and that policy needs to be "adapted at local level to work well", mimicking the shift of UN Agenda 21 to Local Agenda 21.

[9] Significance of 'Diversity and cohesion' can be gauged from the fact that official motto of EU is "united in diversity".

[10] 72 % of European population lives in towns & cities of 5,000 – 100,000 inhabitants. 8,500 municipalities have less than 100,000 inhabitants out of roughly 9,000 municiaplities with > 10,000 inhabitants. SMESTO 2006, p. 30

SMESTO, 2006, p.93]. Sustaining the constellation of SMS cities (the diversity of their settlement structure and relatively endogenous system that underpins and anchors both city-regions and deep rural areas) is indispensable for balanced regional development, cohesion and sustainability of the European territory [GPTC, 2008, p.4; Knox, et al. 2009, p. 177]. Thus, the focus on SMS cities together with the 'lower scale' concepts of larger metropolitan areas and urban zones - and always connected to wider-area networks, systems, and initiatives at higher spatial scales – is crucial for rethinking the local as a way of exploring alternative UF and forms of development.

Obviously, the shift towards a focus on the local in SMS cities and large urban areas for exploring UF should not lead to a plea in favour of autonomous local initiatives only [for a warning against the 'localism trap', see Moulaert, 2000; 2002], but to an articulation among them [local initiatives] as well as to initiatives taken at higher spatial scales to coordinate them, which implies a *multi-scalar rethinking of the local*. Dynamics of change at the local level – neighbourhoods and local communities – is an integral and vital part of wider urban dynamics [Moulaert 2010, p. 49]. Thus, a multi-scalar rethinking of the local is indispensable for comprehending the 'local dimension of urban reality' such as the locally embedded qualities and assets of urban life, including neighbourhoods, functional areas, business parks, knowledge campuses, infrastructure, nodes, and open spaces, etc.[11] The multi-scalar rethinking implies that the local dimensionality of these assets needs to be connected to higher scales, not only through transportation and logistics networks, but also by initiatives from local actors, design of inter-local communication channels, and the elaboration of coherent two-to-three scale democratic governance system involving e.g. neighbourhoods, districts, and urban regions. This also implies that we have to look at different functions and meanings of the local, e.g. urban region, prototypical factor of cohesion, a strategic node in a wider spatial network, host to inter-place communications, and so on.

1.2.4 The 'local' as the locus of change and imagining urban futures

Focusing on the '**local**' dimension of the European urban reality – in SMS cities, metropolitan and even megalopolitan areas – is an appropriate entry point for exploring UF. The local configuration of spatial form is the pivotal scale through which urban change ought to be understood, although in a multi-scalar way [Moulaert, 2000, p. 26; and 2005, p. 2]. The local level is where community sovereignty, autonomy, and solidarity receive their full meaning [Moulaert 2000, p. 65]. It is the Locus of everyday life - of perception and mobilization about local issues – that produces locality; where scales, collective identity, and sense of place are socially constructed, and liveability defined [Moulaert 2000, p. 65; Swyngedouw 1997; Knox, et al. 2009, pp. 67-76]. The local and urban neighbourhood levels have not only been rediscovered as a relevant spatial scale for analysis and policy making [Rodriguez, 2009, p. 5; Atkinson 2007], but are also **historically** recognized as factors of territorial cohesion.[12] The local scale can be more 'tangible', or a 'better', or more 'just' and 'democratic' level at which to analyse, organize, and imagine change, i.e. futures [Moulaert, 2010, p. 49]. Thus, the local can be seen as a privileged and empirical entry point for understanding the modalities of social cohesion through social innovation, social learning processes, spatial change, new policy initiatives, or collective action.

Based on the foregoing propositions, we built-up the *premise that linking the analyses of the effects of on-going financial crises with focus on the 'local' dimension of SMS cities and*

[11] Local assets of urban life include human, social, cultural, intellectual, natural, environmental, and mobility [Friedmann, 2007].

[12] In the French regional analysis, this is expressed in the notion of the 'pays': "... national space is historically built from a weft of small territorial units: the 'pays'.....a kind of indestructible weft, hardly denser today than twenty centuries ago" [Ohnet 1996, cited in Moulaert, 2000, p. 66]. More importantly, the pays were recognized by the spatial planning and development law [1995, and 1999], not as a territorial unit for public administration, but as a 'space of social cohesion' [Moulaert, 2000, p. 66]. For a detailed review of the laws concerning the "pays", see Parra, C. (2010).

metropolitan areas in a multi-scalar way is crucial. It is required to enhance our understanding of the challenges and development opportunities of the diversity of European urban reality, and thereby, crucial for exploring and imagining alternative urban futures.

1.3 Exploring Urban Futures: the case for urban social cohesion

The need for a common European methodology for sustainable urban development is being increasingly acknowledged [CEC, 2009]. Such acknowledgement is based on recognizing the variety and scale of challenges for future development of European cities. There is also an awareness that the present sectoral approach to policy-making cannot deal with the diversity of European urban reality and its multi-faceted challenges of social cohesion, governance and environment. The prospects of 83% of European population living in cities by 2050 brings enormous pressure on cities that already have to face challenges of globalization, demographic change, migration, inner city decay, disparities among and within cities, and so on. Cities are also the arenas for increasing energy efficiency, reducing the ecological foot-print, tackling climate change and combating sprawl, which together demand an integrated approach to overcoming this cocktail of challenges. In dealing with these challenges, the narrative of 'transforming diversity into an asset' argues in favour of policy shifts: from individual sector towards wider integration within the local or regional economy, from government to multi-level governance, from universal policies to focused / area-based policies with particular attention to participation and empowerment of inhabitants of cities and neighbourhoods, and from the mode of 'bridging' policy and academic research to facilitating 'connections' and 'interactions' between them through 'transdisciplinarity', and so on. In this regard, we evolved our second hypothesis that *a common methodological framework for mainstreaming the urban dimension of European cohesion policy that is responsive to these shifts can be developed through shared problematizing of urban social cohesion* [see p. 2].

The search for urban social cohesion as an approach for exploring urban futures and unfolding alternative policy options is based on convincing analysis in the SOCIAL POLIS [FP-7; Moulaert et al. 2012] project and supported by insights from different quarters of European research community. Insights from European research [CEC, 2010b] indicate the effects of the alarming rates of migration [net migration already more than natural births], globalization [increased mobility flows] and settlement patterns [increased space consumption and social polarization] unfolding *super diversity* as a major challenge for social cohesion in European cities. The rates of unemployment, poverty and other social indicators [exclusion, welfare, etc.] are higher in cities than the national averages of their countries, which make *cities as places where the struggle for a more cohesive society should start*. There is also indication of the proliferation of new forms of poverty [infrastructure-poverty, feminization, among new migrants, young and vulnerable elderly], exclusion [economic, social, cultural] and diversity [its image as deprivation, polarization and poverty] in European cities. In response to these trends, *social inclusion and social cohesion* are presented as *foundations for sustainable urban development*, which will make *cities just and competitive* [Bristol accord - CEC, 2006; CEC, 2010b]. At this point, we would like to state our position on the problematic interchange-ability of *social inclusion* and *social cohesion* in the academic and policy discourse. We are of the view that *social cohesion* offers a broader approach than *social inclusion*, as the former permits a "stronger set of references to the functioning of democracy and the healthiness of society. Moreover, social inclusion focuses on 'specialised', 'sectoral' policies and actions whereas the concept of social cohesion seeks a broader, more civic and societal responsibility" (CoE, 2007, p. §6, pp3, see Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012).

Urban social cohesion acquires particular significance in the environment of deepening global financial crisis: although, its effects are unfolding differently in different European countries. However, across EU-27, there is a consistent decline of annual percent change in GDP [see table 2.1], rise in unemployment rates [see table 2.2], decline in building activity,

shrinking of capital inflows and trade, etc. (Watch time horizons: mortgages, utlities, poverty). There is emerging evidence that these trends are deepening the budgetary deficit and generating fiscal stress, which is reducing the capacity of the city authorities to deal with social risks [shrinking income, employment, social security, welfare, etc.] [EU-Regions, 2020]. There is also an emerging consensus that the territorial effects of the financial crisis will probably become visible within 10-15 years [FOCI, 2009, p.21]. In particular, a new configuration of the relationship between central and local government has emerged, one in which the transfer of competencies from central to local so that cities are in charge of social cohesion in a framework of drastically decreased local resources. This will seriously undermine local authorities' capacity for local initiatives and actions to promote social inclusion, overcome spatial fragmentation, support capabilities' acquisition, and ameliorate the urban environment. Obviously, this scenario presents serious threats to social cohesion, good governance and sustainable environment looming over European urban future. This is why we stressed in our premise to focus on the local dimension of European urban reality - the constellation of SMS cities and lower scale concepts of larger cities – for generating perspectives on the integration of bottom-up initiatives with top-down actions, so that alternative policy options can be formulated for urban social cohesion.

From the foregoing, and in the analysis based on KATARSIS [FP-6], SCIAL POLIS [FP-7], other projects, EC observations and the diversity of views presented in the workshop by our experts, we have observed that it is hard to decide if we are moving towards a socially cohesive Europe at the urban level. In the analysis of the core dimensions [see 3.1], there are some indications of cohesion, but increasing signs of exclusion: poorly skilled people, people with psychological problems, integration of migrants and ethnic minorities, problems in access to social welfare, housing, education [increasingly expensive, elitist, technology oriented, etc.], labour market, etc. are indications of moving away from the opportunities of social cohesion. Moreover, we have also observed that it is hard to define urban social cohesion in a way that takes account of the diversity of European urban reality. Furthermore, there are significant differences in the conceptual and theoretical use of the term, and even confusion about its meaning as a term, a situation, or a desire, etc. is paramount, besides the difficulty in operationalising and measuring it in the variety of European contexts. Therefore, we present social cohesion in this report as a human 'problématique' - the *transdisciplinary* problematizing of a multidimensional problem - that can only be solved *collectively* and that has a *particular* (but not exclusively) urban character. In this report, we present the shared problematizing of urban social cohesion as a methodological framework for working towards a socially cohesive city / urban Europe; indicating the challenges and opportunities as observed by our experts, identifying the potential / grain of change for the future and formulating recommendations for alternative policy options.

1.4 Structure of the report

The next chapter sets the stage for analysis and policy-recommendations by sketching the emerging landscape of urban development in Europe, identifying the main urban threats and challenges, and analyzing the key policy trends. In the third chapter, the different readings (by our experts) of the 'core dimensions' [of exploring urban social cohesion] in terms of challenges and opportunities and 'transversal connections' are introduced as dimensions of the problématique, i.e. *building social cohesion in the city*. The fourth chapter elaborates on imagining, defining and constructing the socially cohesive city as a future European urban model. Socially cohesive urban development policy concerns are dealt with in the fifth chapter and form the basis for mainstreaming the urban dimension of European cohesion policy. The last chapter presents the policy and collective action recommendations that are organized under four flags in two time horizons: short-term 5-10 years, and long term 20-30 years.

2. Sketching the context: Emerging landscape of urban development in Europe

The purpose of this chapter is to set the stage for the methodology by sketching the emerging urban development context in Europe. This implies identifying the main urban threats and challenges for urban development and outlining the key policy trends to address them.

2.1 Main Urban threats and challenges

The present and future of European urban reality are diverse and complex, posing many great threats and challenges. Currently over 70% of Europeans live in urban areas. Most of the EU's population, just over 60%, live in medium-sized cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants. There are around 6,000 towns or cities with over 5,000 people and almost 1,000 cities with over 50,000 people in the EU, in which economic, social and cultural activity is concentrated. However, only 7% of the EU-27 population lives in metropolises of over five million (against 25% in the US) [CEC, 2009]. In the future, some 83 % of the population – nearly 557 million – is expected to live in cities by 2050 [UNUP 2007]. While in seven European countries the proportion will be 90% or more already by 2020 [CEC, 2009]. In this regard, there are several indicators – demographic, economic, environmental and social – of accompanying great many challenges, such as urban sprawl, ageing population, migration, environmental degradation, unemployment, financial crisis, economic decline, social exclusion, reduced social welfare and services provision and so on.

2.1.1 Urban Sprawl

Since 2004, the European Commission has identified in its policy documents urban sprawl as the most urgent of urban planning and design issues [CEC, 2004]. Urban sprawl can be defined as the low-density expansion or leapfrog development of large urban areas into the surrounding rural land [CEC, 2010b]. The development is patchy, scattered and strung out, with a tendency for discontinuity. This ad-hoc type of development is wasteful in both environmental and social terms. It requires high energy use for space heating in dispersed individual houses, expensive utility connections and significant use of energy due to frequent commuting – since in a 'sprawled' settlement system work, services and living accommodation tend to be far apart. Such a type of development entails lack of urbanity, sociability and reduced family time due to commuting. Following are some of the indicators with respect to urban sprawl:

- More than a quarter of the EU's territory has now been directly affected by urban land use, and this trend is continuing to rise particularly in land around and between cities [CEC, 2009].
- There has been an 11% increase in the built-up area for just a 2.5% increase in population over the last 20 years [EEA, 2004].
- During the 10-year period from 1990 to 2000, the growth of urban areas and associated infrastructure in Europe consumed more than 8 000 km2 of land, equivalent to the entire territory of Luxembourg, or 0.25 % of all agricultural, forest and natural land in Europe [CEC, 2010b].
- Urban areas expand faster than the population growth due to the increased consumption of urban space resulting in the loss of compactness of European cities. Since the mid-1950s, European cities have expanded on average by 78 %, whereas the population has grown by just 33 % [CEC, 2006b].
- Urban sprawl is happening in densely populated regions [e.g. Randstad in the Netherlands] as well as in regions where population is decreasing [notably in Spain, Portugal, Italy and eastern Germany] [CEC, 2010b].
- Dispersed settlements have a bigger impact on natural habitats and use more

resources (e.g. greater energy use to transport goods over longer distances) generating more pollution. They can establish a dependency on the private car, excluding people without access to one [CEC, 2006].

2.1.2 Urban Demographic trends

The diversity of demographic change[13] across and within European cities is one of the major critical trends challenging urban development. The magnitude and rhythm of population trends vary significantly from country to country and from region to region [CEC, 2006a]. Demographic change has disparate implications in different cities, since the consequences tend to become apparent or even open-ended more and more rapidly, and require a strong and confident local political answer. Four main thematic strands of challenges can be identified in terms of urban demographic trends.

2.1.2.1 Urbanization, densification & sub-urbanization: The many faces of urban [de]concentration

Simultaneity of urbanization, densification and sub-urbanization across Europe unfolds different patterns of urban [de]concentration. This owes to several factors and spatial forces operating at multiple scales, such as global economic restructuring, capital and migration [in and out] flows, European and national regional and urban policies, increased consumption of urban space due to affluence, dynamics of urban land market, urban sprawl, etc. The simultaneous urbanization, densification and sub-urbanization represent many faces of urban [de]concentration with multiple effects that are difficult to comprehend within a single framework. Following are a few indicators:

- Half of the European countries concentrate between 12% and 50% of the total population in the national capital. This is not the case, e.g. in Italy, where the two largest cities (the capital Rome and Milan) combined are needed to reach that level of concentration [Cremaschi, 2010; Urban Audit 2004].
- The SMS cities in general are extremely important in Italy and in Germany due to their economic performance, more than in countries where they have become target of national policy (like Britain and France) [Cremaschi, 2010].
- High-level job positions (R&D, professional and entrepreneurial activities, media etc.) – that are considered to influence the creative turn of the economy - are expected to concentrate in major urban centres, but their level of concentration differs significantly from region to region and country to country.[14] However, they aspire a generic trend of cities in building million of new flats, attracting new young and professional people, across Europe.
- Many European cities face problems related to inner-city decay. This is the result of development during which the historical core of the city gradually lost its traditional role and where both economic activity and many original inhabitants moved towards more outer-lying areas causing sub-urbanisation and sprawl. Such a situation is exacerbated by weak urban planning mechanisms [CEC, 2007, 2009].
- In some European cities, the policies aimed at dealing with inner-city decay by encouraging people to stay or return to the city centre to live, work and invest through brown-field regeneration, revitalisation of the city-centre and the neo-liberal lead urban projects has unfolded the densification of cities. However, such densification quite often brings social exclusion, deprivation and eviction of local communities [CEC, 2006b].

[13] Demographic change consists of modifications to the size and structure of a population brought about by changes in fertility, life expectancy and migration. Demographic change generates benefits and costs, increasing or reducing economic, social and environmental disparities. see, EU-Regions 2020, [Nov, 2009].

[14] For example, in Italy, though on the increase, they concentrate at the maximum by 30% in the local system of Milan, while analogous indicators show a far higher share abroad. Datar, *Pour un rayonnement européen des métropoles françaises. Éléments de diagnostic et orientations, CIADT du 18 décembre* 2003.

2.1.2.2 The blurred landscape of urban growth and decline

European urban landscape is characterized by growth, stagnation and decline. On one side, urban growth that results from economic boom is often accompanied by congestion and pollution, pressures on the housing market and a lack of affordable housing – which can push families into suburban areas because of cheaper land prices. On the other side, urban stagnation or decline implying shrinking cities and population loss poses questions concerning the maintenance and provision of infrastructure and the cost of providing quality public services for a declining numbers of users [CEC, 2009]. There are also some regions that experience both the urban growth and shrinking cities phenomenon [e.g. Leipzig-Halle regions, CEC 2010b]. The forces behind the emergence of such a blurred landscape are beyond the scope of a single city authority or even a country, thus demanding an integrated approach at the European level. Some of the trends contributing to such a landscape are the following [CEC, 2007, and 2009]:

- From 1996-2001, a third of cities grew at a rate in excess of 0.2% per year; a third remain stable (rates of population changing between -0.2 and 0.2%), and a third experienced a notable decline in population. More recently, two third of the EU cities have started to grow (the average on 242 cities). Whereas, two thirds of Italian cities are declining in population (among them, all cities with more than 250 th. inhab.). Most of them are still loosing population, and the loss would have been larger if the new immigrants did not flow to the major urban centres [Urban audit, 2004].
- Highly qualified people are over-represented in cities, as are those with very low-level skills and qualifications. Cities offer exceptional possibilities for economic development, social inclusion and well-being and have unique cultural and architectural sites. At the same time, pockets of multiple deprivation (i.e. social exclusion, poverty and crime) are still apparent. The disparities within cities are often much larger than the regional or national average performance may suggest [CEC, 2009].
- As we saw, urban growth tends to result in suburbanisation, increasing land use, rising house prices, social segregation and growing traffic and congestion [CEC, 2009].
- In shrinking cities, services provision is becoming increasingly difficult – not only for elderly and disabled people but also for young people and families (care, health and transport services, housing, education and training infrastructure, leisure facilities and cultural events). [CEC, 2009].
- Cities in some countries tend to struggle more in retaining their population compared to the European average. In most cases, cities loose *citizens* because they become increasingly expensive and un-livable [Cremaschi, 2010].

2.1.2.3 Aging population

The rise in life expectancy, combined with a long-term fall in the birth rate across Europe, is unfolding an ageing society. This is already, and will continue to cause the rise in the level of dependence of elderly people, and the (financial) requirements for pensions, social security services and health care systems:

- The share of elderly people is more than 16% on the total population in Europe and will double before 2060 (Eurostat). They tend to be numerous in cities that have been hubs of industrial production in the past. However, their residential choices will influence dramatically both lifestyles and demands on the welfare system in the next future.
- The ratio of retired people compared to those of working age will double by 2050. There may also be 48 million fewer people aged between15 and 64, and 58 million more people over 65 [CEC, 2009].
- From 2017 a shrinking workforce will also have negative economic repercussions and reduce overall employment [CEC, 2008].

2.1.2.4 Migration: A multi-scalar flow system

Migration and immigration are very complex phenomena. They are a multi-scalar flow system characterized by a new geography of 'super-diversity',[15] 'fluidity' and 'transnationalism',[16] which present tremendous challenges particularly for European cities and metropolitan areas because they are at the receiving end. These challenges range from the integration of migrants into the labour force and society, adaptation of infrastructure, social disparities and social polarization, to increased ecological pressures and environmental problems in certain areas, a reinforcement of regional disparities in the economic growth potential, and so on [CEC, 2009]:

- European cities and metropolitan regions will gain population due to a high inward migration of working age population, and Europe will remain the leading destination for international migration in general [CEC, 2006a].
- Studies reveal that in order to offset the population decline, immigration to Europe should double in the coming years, i.e. 1.8 million per year to 2050, rather than the 950,000 per year recorded from 1995 to 2000. Moreover, it is estimated that in order to compensate for the reduction of the population of working age, the current flow of immigrants will need to be tripled within the next four decades (UN, 2001).
- The population of non-EU residents in cities is already as high as 23% in France and 16% in Germany. The average non-national population in the EU Member States is about 5.5% of the total population [Urban Audit, 2004].
- The share of 'newcomers' in European cities (i.e. people that have moved to the city in the previous two years) varies widely across Europe. A high proportion of newcomers (5% or more) can be observed in cities in for example Ireland, France, Denmark and Germany [CEC, 2009].
- Immigrant workers bring a wide variety of skills and experience to their new country and there are often new market opportunities for them to exploit within their local community. However, there are greater hurdles for immigrants in entering the labour market, due to language and culture differences [EU-Regions, 2020; CEC, 2009].
- In primary schools, the proportion of children from families with a migration background is far higher than 50% in many European cities and especially in many deprived urban neighbourhoods [CEC, 2009].
- The European Union has lent its own dynamic to international mobility and migration. While EU citizens and residents have the right to move and settle anywhere within the EU area, Member States have developed restrictive and defensive immigration policies towards migrants from non-EU countries. The trend towards "free movement" within the EU has been matched by increasing closure to those from outside [Martiniello, 2006].

2.1.3 Urban economic and environmental trends

In virtually all EU Member States, urban areas are the drivers of competitiveness and chief producers of knowledge and innovation. They benefit from the opportunities of globalization, global capital and migration flows, and concentrate economic added value. They are the platforms of technological innovation and multinational activities, ranging from primary research at universities to cutting-edge research for high-tech businesses. However, globalization and concentration of economic activities quite often unfold negative effects

[15] The new geography of migration is characterized by expatriates and skilled workers working for multinational companies and international organisations; doctors and nurses from the Philippines; refugees and asylum seekers from African, Near Eastern and Asian countries, as well as Balkan and former Soviet Union countries; students from China and undocumented workers from African countries, to name but the largest groups. Such a situation is described as "super-diversity". [EC, 2010b].

[16] Recent migration is more fluid, thanks to improved transport and communication networks. Migrants today may make consecutive stays in different countries, or alternate residence between countries. This results in new patterns of residence, integration and community formation, which researchers are studying under the heading of transnationalism. [EC, 2010b].

such as congestion, urban sprawl and the pressure on natural resources and the ecosystem [CEC, 2009]. Moreover, the ongoing global financial crisis presents tremendous challenges to the urban economic base, whose multiple effects are yet to be comprehended.

2.1.3.1 Capital flows, financial crisis and the urban economic base

Cities are engines of economic growth for Europe. They are the nodes of global capital flows, where benefits and opportunities of globalization unfold. Despite their small manufacturing base, they are the largest source of employment, services, knowledge and culture. However, the global economic free-fall beginning in 2008 – characterized by the collapse of credit markets, soaring unemployment, shrinkage of discretionary income and budgetary crisis of local governments – has undermined the economic base of large metropolises. In particular, the global capital flows have dried up, costs of borrowing for cities and national government have spiralled, budgetary deficits have widened, inflationary pressures are looming, economic activities are stagnating, widening of national debt crisis [Greece, Ireland and Portugal] across Europe [Spain, Belgium, etc.], and so on. These trends necessitate the inevitability of austerity measures and budget cuts, which will obviously hit-hard the capacity of the city authorities for local actions, development and welfare.

- Cities with more than one million inhabitants generate 25% more GDP than the EU average, as well as a 40% higher GDP than their home nation's national average [CEC, 2009].
- The service sector is the most important source of employment in European urban economies. For example, in London, Paris, Berlin, Madrid and Rome the service sector accounts for between 80% and 90% of total employment [ibid.].
- Unemployment rates tend to be higher in cities, although the concentration of jobs in cities is even stronger than that of residents and many of Europe's main employment centres are within cities. However, within cities, between city districts, very large differences in unemployment rates remain visible. Moreover, relations between places of employment and residence in terms of travel to work areas become larger [CEC, 2007, 2009].
- Across EU-27, the effects of the global financial crisis can be discerned from the consistent decline of annual percent change in GDP, rise in unemployment rates, decline in building activity, shrinking of capital inflows and trade, etc. [EU-Regions 2020]. There is an emerging consensus that the territorial effects of the financial crisis will probably become visible within 10-15 years [FOCI, 2009, p.21].

Table 2.1: **Annual percent change in GDP** (constant prices)

	2007	2008	2009	2010
EU27	**3.1**	**1.1**	**-0.4**	**-0.3**
Germany	**2.5**	**1.3**	**-5.6**	**-1.0**
France	**2.1**	**0.7**	**-3.0**	**0.4**
United Kingdom	**3.0**	**0.7**	**-4.1**	**-0.4**
Spain	**3.7**	**1.2**	**-3.0**	**-0.7**
Italy	**1.6**	**-1.0**	**-4.5**	**-0.4**
Greece	**4.0**	**2.9**	**-0.1**	**-0.6**
Portugal	**1.9**	**0,0**	**-4.1**	**-0.5**
Romania	**6.2**	**7.1**	**-4.1**	**0.0**
Poland	**6.7**	**4.8**	**-0.7**	**1.3**
Czech Republic	**6.0**	**3.2**	**-3.5**	**0.1**

Source: EU-Regions 2020

Table 2.2: **Unemployment rate 2007-2010 relevant over longer time horizon**

	2007	2008	2009	2010
EU27	**7.1**	**7.0**	**9.4**	**10.9**
Germany	**8.4**	**7.3**	**8.6**	**10.4**
France	**8.3**	**7.8**	**9.6**	**10.7**
United Kingdom	**5.3**	**5.6**	**8.2**	**9.4**
Spain	**8.3**	**11.3**	**17.3**	**20.5**

Italy	**6.1**	**6.8**	**8.8**	**9.4**
Greece	**8.3**	**7.7**	**9.1**	**9.7**
Portugal	**8.1**	**7.7**	**9.1**	**9.7**
Romania	**6.4**	**5.8**	**8.0**	**7.7**
Poland	**9.6**	**7.1**	**9.9**	**12.1**
Czech Republic	**5.3**	**4.4**	**6.1**	**7.4**

Source: EU-Regions 2020

2.1.3.2 Energy, climate change, mobility and the urban environment

Most European cities are confronted with environmental challenges related to energy, climate change and mobility, such as wasteful energy use and resources consumption, greenhouse gas emissions, air and noise pollution, high levels of traffic and congestion, poor-quality built environment, derelict land, and the treatment of waste and waste-water [CEC 2006c]. These problems with the quality of the urban environment are closely linked with economic factors (specifically, the nature of production and distribution system), as well as- with resource intensive lifestyles, poverty and socio-economic conditions [CEC 2009]. Both their causes and effects are global [climate change], which demands cooperation of World, European, national and regional level in supporting local actions for reducing environmental impact, mitigation (slowing down the effects of climate change) and adaptation (protecting ourselves against the effects). Thus, cities should be at the forefront of global environmental protection and climate-change policies [CEC, 2009]:

- Urban areas are major sources of greenhouse gas emissions, rising volumes of waste and increasing water consumption [CEC, 2009].
- There is a general correlation between energy consumption and urban density; the lower the density the higher the energy consumption and vice versa [CEC, 2010b].
- Urban areas are vulnerable to the consequences of climate change, such as extreme weather conditions, flooding, heat-waves, drought, soil damage and erosion, more frequent and severe water shortages, and severe structural damage [CEC, 2009].
- Urban expansion will continue at a rate of 0.4 - 0.7 % per year, more than 10 times higher than the growth of any other land-use, such as cropland, grassland or forest [CEC, 2010b].
- The costs attributable to traffic congestion will increase to 1% of EU GDP by 2010 [CEC, 2001].
- Climate change can have a direct impact on the health and well-being of citizens [CEC, 2009]. Moreover, particulate pollution, partly from road transport, is estimated to cause approximately 350,000 premature deaths per year in Europe, most of which will occur in urban areas where exposure to air pollution is highest [CEC, 2005].
- The fight against climate change may lead to new economic opportunities and investments through eco-innovation, promoting environmentally friendly industries, technologies and products [CEC, 2009].
- A shift to a post-carbon society requires a certain reorganisation of production and consumption models, as well as different mixes of “fast” and “slow” activities [CEC, 2010b; PACT].
- Re-orienting and better coordination between urban design, transport planning, architecture and construction towards sustainability is critical for reducing environmental impacts and increasing energy efficiency at the local level [CEC, 2009, and 2006c].

2.1.4 The urban context of social conflict

The urban is fast and once more in history emerging as a context for social conflict; the trends of demographic change, migration, global financial crisis and the rise of the far right are deepening social inequalities and reducing social mobility. Each of these factors has multiple implications in the urban context. For instance, immigration has broad implications in terms of the environment, use of resources and the social and political order [CEC, 2010b]. However, the local and national governments have different interests – or at least different perceived interests – when it comes to integration policies and their implementation.

Cities observe the day-to-day impact of immigration, as well as the impact of policies, and their migrant communities experience these directly [CEC, 2010b]. Migrants are much needed for reversing the negative growth and ageing of urban population, but disadvantaged in their access to employment due to migration status, unequal form of citizenship, lack of language skills and knowledge about working practices in the host country, as well as prejudice and discrimination [CEC, 2006; CEC, 2010b]. As indicated in the State of the World's Cities Report (2010), an individual who is economically excluded will very often be socially and culturally excluded, too. Thus, given the rising number of migrants in European urban areas [in some cities they will become majority within 5 years, e.g. Amsterdam. Rotterdam, Brussels, etc.], one can well imagine the consequences of them being economically, socially and culturally excluded. The situation becomes even worse when other paradoxes in the urban context are taken into account. For example, the presence of over-represented highly qualified people and working poor with low skills and qualifications as well as whole sectors of the informal economy that characterise most of the European urban areas. Moreover, every third job in European cities goes to a commuter but high unemployment and activity rate remain below that of the country as a whole, and the paradoxes of the privatization of social security and reduced social mobility, and so on [CEC, 2006]. The main opportunity here is to build a new 'cosmo-politics' of the European imperative based on the irrefutable argument that, without building socially cohesive, dynamic and cosmopolitan cities, Europe as a whole will be doomed to demographic and economic collapse caused by exclusionary practices and demographic ageing [Graham, 2010]. Full inclusion will not only make cities more just, but more competitive, and in a long-term, communities will be more harmonious and the standards of living will improve for everyone [CEC, 2010b, p. 19].

2.1.4.1 Urban social cohesion in the face of migration and the global financial crisis

The new geography of migration [super-diversity, transnationalism] in the environment of a deepening financial crisis presents a complex set of challenges for urban social cohesion. New immigrants tend to flock to urban areas, altering the ethnic composition of large cities [with new patterns of residence, integration and community formation], and local authorities have to cope with the consequences [CEC, 2010b]. They generate the need for cities to cope with pressures on housing (segregation and degeneration of neighbourhoods), jobs (disproportionate unemployment, high social security costs), education (concentrations of ethnic minority pupils in certain areas and sectors), and public order (racial harassment, crime, inter-group tensions) in a context of drastically reduced resources from the regional and national levels [CEC, 2010b]. Moreover, the newcomers are distributed unevenly over the city's districts and wards, concentrated more in some areas than others, besides acquiring a growing population of transient people (tourists, students, commuters, city users, etc.) [Cremaschi, 2010; CEC, 2010b]. At the same time, poor immigrants and poor elderly people are relegated to the no-end inner cities. In a way, old citizens escape while newcomers will never be citizens, or never be accepted as citizens. This implies an incumbent crisis of democracy, which is hard to address, and has not yet been conceptualized adequately [Cremaschi, 2010]. In addition, the increasing perception of migrants as a problem and a threat, which has climbed to the top of political agenda in many countries, might unfold grave consequences for social cohesion in the cities.

- International migrants worldwide doubled in 40 years [1965 to 2005], whereas in Europe, the doubling took just 15 years [1985 to 2000], from an estimated 23 million to over 56 million, to represent 7.7 % of the total European population [IOM, 2008].
- Net migration will prevent an absolute decrease in the EU population up until 2025, while cities across EU-27 are experiencing a combination of varying patterns of emigration, transit migration and immigration [CEC, 2010b].
- Foreign populations of non-EU nationality are 14%, 16%, 17% and 23% respectively in Austrian, German, Spanish and French cities covered by the Urban Audit. In the Netherlands, more than 60 % of all immigrants live in the Randstad urban region; in Amsterdam nearly half the population is of immigrant origin, and it is expected that the first and second generation immigrants will be in the majority in Amsterdam,

Rotterdam and The Hague within five years. In Brussels, almost 50% of the population have roots in foreign countries. The situation is similar in other large European cities [Urban Audit, 2004; CEC, 2006; CEC, 2010b].

- Factors such as a person's migration status, as well as lack of language skills and knowledge about working practices in the host country, can be significant barriers in addition to prejudice and discrimination [CEC, 2006].
- While immigration policies remain a national competence, the task of supporting immigrants on their arrival, settlement and integration (including language courses, education, housing and other support services) usually falls upon local authorities, often without sufficient resources being attributed to these tasks [ibid.].
- Global financial crisis is deepening the public deficit and generating fiscal stress, which will reduce the capacity of the city authorities to deal with social risks [shrinking income, employment, social security, welfare, etc.] [EU-Regions 2020].
- The shift from earlier view of integration policies, which focused on the position of newcomers in society, to one that considers overall social cohesion and how to achieve this, has prompted discussions about the fundamental identity of societies (as modern, liberal, democratic, secular, equal and enlightened, among other things) [CEC, 2010b].[17]
- A significant proportion of European cities are increasingly aware that they need long-term, consistent integration policies in order to preserve both their viability as communities and their residents' quality of life. Many have realized that the continued absence of such policies is a recipe for disaster [CEC, 2010b].

2.1.4.2 Urban social cohesion in the face of the rise of the far-right

A resurgent far right across Europe presents immense challenges for urban social cohesion, especially their ability in exploiting the financial crises to demonise non-indigenous urban groups and communities. The undermining of the pro-cosmopolitan politics of identity by ethno-nationalist, far-white and profoundly anti-urban rhetoric, is accompanied by the crucial legal standpoint of citizenship: in all too many European countries non-white immigrants and their children remain excluded from obtaining full national citizenship for absurd amounts of time [Graham, 2010]. Moreover, the broader tensions between imaginations of political community at national ['nation'] and and urban levels ['city'] adds yet another critical dimension: usually far-right movements demonise cities (or at least ethnically mixed parts of cities) as being not authentically national or as 'pure' or 'Christian; as rural spaces. Conversely, many cosmopolitan and globally oriented urban cultures are profoundly uncomfortable with the rise of nationalist discourses ('homeland etc') with their anti-urban associations and implications [Graham, 2010; Garcia, 2010]:

- The rise of the far right, and mainstreaming of racism in politics and policy-making at different scales, challenges urban social cohesion immensely [Miciukiewicz, 2010].
- The new role played by nationalism and the romanticization of the national past, especially when it is used to deal with current insecurity, is a threat for urban social cohesion. [Atkinson, 2010; Garcia, 2010a].
- There is ambiguity on the definition of a migrant [diverse definitions operating in the EU Member States], the role of the citizen, and often confusion between "tolerance" and "indifference" taking the first as an example, when in fact it is the second that prevails. Moreover, there is a lack of a serious debate on integration and for the extension of democracy with a clear definition on the liberties of immigrants. [Drubigny, 2010; Graham, 2010; Garcia, 2010a]
- The perception of migration as a problem and a threat has climbed to the top of the political agenda in many countries. This owes to immigration becoming increasingly criminalized [tougher controls on asylum and family migration leading to greater illegal activity, such as smuggling and trafficking], while international political terrorism has added a security focus to the migrant question [CEC, 2010b].

[17] Some observers have called the recent policies in countries like Denmark and the Netherlands "neo-assimilationist". EC, 2010b.

2.1.4.3 Increasing social exclusion and inequalities – the role of reduced social mobility

Social exclusion and inequalities coupled with reduced social mobility persist across urban Europe.[18] Unemployment rates, poverty and other social indicators have higher rates than their respective national averages [CEC, 2010b]. Moreover, other problems, such as access to housing, transport and energy, are also concentrated in cities and more often in certain urban areas in particular. In addition, the polarization of wealth and deprivation in large cities is criss-crossed by migrant communities, many of which have links to a specific neighbourhood within the city [Moulaert, 2002]. Thus, no doubt it is in cities where the fight for a more cohesive society should start [CEC, 2010b]. Social exclusion and reduced social mobility have many consequences: on local business (less customers), on the living environment (less security, vandalism), on the inhabitants (lack of 'positive thinking', creativity and enthusiasm at work) and on the growth potential of the city (which is less attractive) [CEC, 2006]. They are caused at a number of different levels (Moulaert, 1996), with different determinants and interrelations / interactions at each level, and across Europe, at European, national and city levels there has been a continued concern with how to address these problems [Atkinson, 2010]. It is no longer proclaimed that the benefits of economic growth will inevitably 'trickle down' to the socially excluded. However, despite the proliferation of 'urban policies' and 'Area based initiatives' explicitly focused on social cohesion and social exclusion, yet the evidence on their success remains open to question (Atkinson, 2000, 2008 and 2010):

- Urban poverty affects almost one-fifth [17 families out of 100 in 2007] of the urban population in Europe. This proportion varies from just under 10 percent in Norway and Finland to less than 20 percent in Germany and Lithuania, to a high 28 percent in Estonia in 2002 [Urban Audit 1999-2002; EUROSTAT, 2010].
- Disparities within cities: cities where unemployment is at a level of 10% or higher, have certain areas within which unemployment rates are at least double the city average. In some cases, unemployment rates reach up to 60%. Within such deprived neighbourhoods, high unemployment is compounded by multiple deprivations in terms of poor housing, poor environment, poor health, poor education, few job opportunities and high crime rates [Urban Audit, 2004; CEC, 2006].
- Social polarization has different manifestations in spatial terms: in France e.g., wealthy people in centres and poor in periphery, whereas in Italy, poor immigrants are relegated to inner cities, still often mixed with middle class families (as in Naples' city centre e.g.). Even in peripheries, there is fragmentation between knowledge campuses, business parks and areas of logistics, and poor housing. Public policies have reinforced these trends, e.g. through the location of social housing complexes and the abolishing of housing subsidies [Querrien, 2010; Cremaschi, 2010].
- Inner city regeneration and urban sprawl remain unbalanced. Heliotropism as a permanent trend and gated areas are increasing the social gap [Drubigny, 2010].
- In countries with strong welfare systems, significant variation exists in the levels of social exclusion, as well as, countries with weak welfare system but that does not necessarily mean that they experience higher levels of social exclusion [Atkinson, 2010].
- The problem with many of the studies on social exclusion is that they give us snapshots of the situation in isolated case studies rather than providing a coherent national or European picture [Atkinson, 2010]. Moreover, the World Bank study found that most poverty analyses fail to differentiate among urban settlement types, and as

[18] Social exclusion and inequalities refer to the relative deprivation and lack of participation in the common-life style of society, including attachment to various institutional, social, cultural and political ties within the society [Muffels, et al. 2004]. Whereas, social mobility within a society, or forms of citizenship, is defined in terms of access to a good job with satisfactory income, decent housing, good health, sufficient education, satisfactory social networks, access to opportunities and freedoms [Sabine et al. 2009].

a result, “the better off capital cities conceal the degree of poverty in secondary cities” [World Bank, 2006].

2.2 Key Policy trends

Although there is no legal basis for urban policy in the treaties establishing the European Union (EU) and the European Communities [EC], the EU has been active in the field of urban development policy and has taken on a major role in supporting cities and regions in their quest for competitiveness and cohesion. Over the last two decades, the EU has produced a number of major policy documents, community initiatives and programs to support urban development [CEC, 1997, 1998, 2006 and 2008].[19] With the proliferation of urban initiatives and programs, the lack of coherence in them has arisen, which in turn has intensified the need for a common European approach towards urban policy.

The current policy trends, discernable from the ongoing urban initiatives and programmes, seem to reconcile *competitiveness* and *cohesion* through an urban agenda that gives greater responsibility to local governments and civil society, and involve city administrations in national and regional policies relating to employment, child poverty prevention, culture and social development. However, the participation of cities in policy implementation faces serious challenges; financial crisis, increasing flows of migration, deepening social exclusion, budgetary limitations and administrative decentralization are unfolding a mismatch between the new responsibilities of cities and the resources made available to them, which is causing fiscal stress that undermines the capacity for local action [CEC, 2010b]. This situation is further exasperated by some of the additional problems at the policy and institutional level, such as fragmentation of efforts at different levels of government, sectoral interventions in different policy fields that render responses ineffective, uncoordinated interventions in different geographic areas, and inertia in institutional local structures [CEC, 2010b].

Some European cities have weak economic systems and less generous welfare provisions. Others have poor management of their changing spatial structure that affects in different manners the quality of life of different social groups. Moreover, some cities do not exhibit the capacity to reduce exclusionary dynamics at work in their own situations. When it comes to integration policies and their implementation for instance, the city and national governments have different interests – or at least different perception of interests – that increases the chances of social conflict in cities [CEC, 2010b]. In countries with a longer history of integration policies [e.g. Sweden and the Netherlands], cities have joined forces to demand more executive power and greater resources from their national governments in order to cope with pressures on housing, jobs, education, and public order [ibid.]. In countries that have stuck to ad-hoc adaptive measures [e.g. Switzerland, Germany and Austria], the task of managing integration is left to civil society groups such as trade unions, churches and welfare organizations in the cities that have initiated policies and decisions at a local level [e.g. Zurich, Bern and Basel, Berlin, Frankfurt and Vienna] [CEC, 2010b]. In short, the landscape of current policies is diverse, and the policy challenges are multi-layered and multi-dimensional, which demonstrates the need for and the usefulness of a common European methodology for sustainable and integrated urban development [CEC, 2009].

2.2.1 Reconciling competitiveness & cohesion

[19] 1. The Urban Pilot Projects 1989-1999; 2. The URBAN Community Initiative 1994-2006 with URBAN I [1994-1999] and URBAN II [2000-06]; 3. The ‘URBAN mainstreaming’ of 2007-2013; 4. The URBACT Programme 2002-2013 with URBACT I [2002-06] and URBACT II [2007-13]; 5. The Regions for Economic Change Initiative [2006-13] with URBACT II Fast Track Networks; 6. The Urban Audit [1998, 2003, 2006-07, and upcoming urban atlas 2010]. For a description of each of these initiatives and programs, See CEC, 2009, pp. 9-15.

Over the last two decades, the overwhelming emphasis in urban policy has been on economic development through enhancing competitiveness. Cities have increasingly been described as the 'motors of economic development', 'drivers of European competitiveness' or as central to the 'knowledge economy'. At the European level the first evidence of this 'turn to the cities' could be seen in the publication of two Urban Communications by the Commission: *Towards an Urban Agenda in the European Union* (1997) and *Sustainable Urban Development in the European Union* (1998). This represented both a reflection of wider developments and helped initiate a renewed confidence in the future of cities. Today we can see this continued through the role assigned to cities in the Lisbon-Gothenburg Agenda (CEC, 2006).

It does seem that cities are primarily viewed through the `lens' of 'urban competitiveness'; they are assigned a central position in the 'knowledge economy' (Florida, 2000 and 2002), viewed as the 'engines' of regional development and allocated a key role within the European economy and enhancing its competitiveness in the global economy. At the same time, sometimes linked to these developments and sometimes in parallel to them, we have seen initiatives such as the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP), which has sought to develop a spatial perspective for the EU (ESDP, 1999). The ESDP identifies three basic goals: "…economic and social cohesion; sustainable development; balanced competitiveness of the European territory…" (ESDP, 1999, p10) which are to be "...pursued in combination, with attention also being paid to how they interact." (ibid., p11). In these initiatives, we see the attempt to reconcile competitiveness and cohesion.

2.2.1.1 Shift from exogenous to endogenous growth models: the rise of territorial and culture-led planning

The attempts at reconciling competitiveness and cohesion are discernable in the wider shifts from exogenous to endogenous growth models. These shifts refers to the change in our understanding of key issues, such as: how cities and towns are inserted into the wider European space, and what are the key dynamics determining their development in terms of promoting sustainable development and social cohesion [Atkinson, 2010]. During the 1990s, there was a great deal of emphasis on attracting inward investment (*exogenous growth*) which involved cities competing with one another for investment; key elements in the strategies developed included city marketing, branding, providing suitable facilities and infrastructure, etc. In the last decade, the pendulum appears to have swung towards encouraging development based on identifying and enhancing the existing potentials/strengths of cities while simultaneously addressing weaknesses (*endogenous growth*). At least rhetorically there has also been considerable discussion on how, within a polycentric regional (or metropolitan regional) framework, cities and towns can work together, complimenting one another's strengths and weaknesses. The keywords of this endogenous shift, within a framework of *territorial* cohesion, are *balance, harmony* and *integrated development* [ibid]. However, one should not forget that these attributes associated with endogenous growth have been the credo for regional development as of the mid 1980s.

The territorial dimension of EU policies can be traced back to the regional development models and policies of the 1990s, and within that, to two main families of programs: those of urban renewal (PRU - Urban Reclaiming Programmes and PRIU- Urban Renewal programmes since 1994, ABI - Area Based Initiatives and Local Action since 1990s, and Neighbourhood Contracts that started in 1998) and those of economic development (Territorial Pacts, Area Contracts, and LEADER or INTERREG stemming from an EU impulse). Progressive consolidation of different kinds of territorial economic programming is under way especially regarding the process of implementing specific programs fostered by the European Structural Development Fund [Territorial Agenda, 2007]. The territorial element suggests that the elements for identifying an idea for development are to be sought in the territory's network of local actors. In other words, there is certain "circularity" between the development model and the territory, which chooses each other, so to speak, rather than

being defined in a linear fashion (as for instance in France, by the central government).[20] Indeed, it can be stressed that the common reference to territory in programs otherwise differing greatly in their goals, background and promoters influences this process of coming closer together [Cremaschi, 2010].

The reconciling or the process of coming together is also influenced by culture-led planning and regeneration (targeting tourism, inward investment, transformative place marketing), sometimes linked successfully to grassroots level socio-cultural programmes aimed at endogenous transformations [Graham, 2010]. In this regard, several policy assumptions are at work, such as: social enterprise and innovation planning can helpfully address dangers of climate change as well as broadening the definition of the 'social economy' to address structural transformations; Coordinated 'transformation' planning can help to shift the socio-ecological processes underpinning city life in ways that reduce carbon footprints, exploit new 'green' technologies, and build new industrial sectors; Major successes surrounding 'cycling urbanism' can have positive knock-on effects in terms of street life, neighbourhood cultures, and releasing infrastructural spaces for new projects [ibid].

2.2.1.2 Is reconciling competitiveness and cohesion unfolding a new urban development model?

Regardless of the [somewhat manipulated] evidence, a 'conventional wisdom' does appear to have developed across Europe (especially in Western Europe) that ABIs [Area based initiatives], 'local action', 'people' and 'place' based approaches are effective vehicles for addressing the problems of urban development [Atkinson, 2010]. In this regard, the "new" (going back to the early 1990s) key phrase is '*integrated and sustainable urban development*'. This has been the argument at the European level that: '*A common methodology for sustainable urban development has begun to take shape over the last decade and has been generated following the emergence of a European 'Acquis Urbain', which builds on the experience gained while supporting integrated and sustainable urban development*' [DG Regio, EC, 2009, p25].

The essence of this common methodology seems to be what in English is referred to as a 'joined-up approach', i.e. integration of thinking, policy and action. Emerging from the Urban Pilot projects [1989-1999], 'Quartiers en Crise' and URBAN Community Initiatives [1994-2006], the 'Acquis Urbain' [2004-05],[21] the Bristol Accord [2005],[22] the Article - 8 [2006][23] and

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[20] However the logic of spatial effects is sometimes vague. In the last years, about 1,600 actions have been laid down–of different dimension and scope- promising a huge investment of public resources (about 80 billion euros). The number of actions does indeed matter. An inflated style of programming raises a double issue: an excess of technicalities in the targeting of areas; a lack of capacity by agencies to gradually adjust to areas and actions. Cremaschi: *Progetti di sviluppo territoriale, azioni integrate in Italia e in Europa*, Sole24ore, Milano, 2003; and "Innovazione e competitività urbana nel Centro Nord", in *Urbanistica*, 130, 2006 (summary in English).

[21] The 'Acquis Urbain' is based on the following key principles of sustainable urban development: i] The development of city-wide visions that go beyond each project and are embedded in the city-regional context; ii] The integrated and cross-sectoral approach (horizontal and vertical coordination); iii] The new instruments of urban governance, administration and management, including increased local responsibilities and strong local and regional partnerships; iv] A targeted selection of towns, cities and eligible areas and the concentration of funding; v] Networking, benchmarking and the exchange of knowledge and know-how, building on the positive experience and results of the URBACT I Programme; vi] Monitoring the progress (ex-ante, mid-term and ex-post evaluations, set of criteria and indicators). See, EC, 2009, p. 25 and 53.

[22] The "Bristol Accord", sets out (i) eight characteristics of a sustainable community; and (ii) contains an agreement to compile good practice case studies that demonstrate sustainable communities' characteristics to an agreed template. See, http://www.rfsustainablecities.eu/IMG/pdf/Bristol_accord_cle55c32d.pdf

[23] The Art.8 [2006] of EC regulations [nr1083/2006] says, "In the case of action involving sustainable urban development (…), the ERDF may, where appropriate, support the development of **participative**, **integrated and sustainable** strategies to

the Leipzig Charter [2007][24] are the significant stepping-stones in the development of this 'common methodology'. The common methodology should facilitate the pursuit of European political goals of both the Lisbon and the Sustainable Development Strategy, and emphasise genuine partnership, cooperation, governance and networking on the level of regions and cities. The French Presidency further developed this approach and added the issue of climate change and cities in recognition of its rising importance [Marseille Statement, 2008]. The Toledo declaration [Spain, 2010] further affirmed the suitability of the integrated approach to urban development policies in order to achieve smarter, more sustainable and socially inclusive urban development. However, one needs to constantly bear in mind that these are statements of intent (or perhaps good intentions) that have not and will not necessarily lead to action on a scale commensurate with the problem [Atkinson, 2010].

The 'new' approach has involved an emphasis on human and social capital (enhancing them as deemed necessary), 'good governance', quality of place/life – what might be termed 'softer' factors, often subsumed under the heading of *territorial capital* (e.g. Campagni, 2002 and 2008). Such an approach appears to be seeking to go beyond the juxtaposition of exogenous and endogenous strategies of development and successful cities are assumed to combine them [Atkinson, 2010]. This is often described as a targeted approach that develops the potentials of cities through greater horizontal policy integration (e.g. Barca, 2009). In fact, the new approach is a mix of narratives, resulting in a patchwork of political goals. While neither defendable nor useful from a scientific point of view, these piecemeal combinations of theory and values might result a practical ruse in a moment of political uncertainty [Cremaschi, 2010]. However, one remarkable point of combination of the different and sometimes competing narratives insists upon the 'liveability' (or habitability, which directs to more concrete dimensions) of cities [ibid]. Originally in Jane Jacobs's critique, the concept has been widely adopted as a tactical (in the de Certeau's terms) definition of the locale's quality, which is commonly accepted as the precondition of economic development. Well-administered cities produce places with environmental, "liveable", civic qualities that make them appealing and eventually more "intelligent", tolerant and creative in relation to the challenges of globalization. In this respect, competition, cohesion and sustainability are less at odds with one another than they might appear. Liveability, albeit with different nuances and roles, is now behind the strategies adopted by the plans of London, Milan and Bologna [Cremaschi, 2010]. The concept insists on the spaces and techniques of the everyday life, to which both economic development and social cohesion seems to relate.

The evidence regarding the degree to which a new 'urban development model' has emerged that has managed to reconcile competitiveness and cohesion, remains open to questions. This can be seen in the problems increasingly besetting the so-called 'Barcelona model', which for over decade has been widely viewed as an approach to be emulated as it was assumed to have achieved this reconciliation [Atkinson, 2010]. Moreover, not much is available in terms of evidence for the 'liveability' concept, which is at its embryonic stage and yet to yield results. In addition, despite acknowledging the need for and added value of a common methodology, and generating a significant drive, there is some emerging evidence as to the approach adopted towards this common European methodology has added to

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tackle the high concentration of economic, environmental and social problems affecting urban areas. These strategies shall promote sustainable urban development through activities such as: strengthening economic growth, the rehabilitation of the physical environment, brown-field redevelopment, the preservation and development of natural and cultural heritage, the promotion of entrepreneurship, local employment and community development, and the provision of services to the population taking account of changing demographic structures". See EC, 2010a, p. 29.

[24] The Leipzig Charter [2007] on Sustainable European Cities defines two key objectives: integrated urban development should be applied throughout Europe and deprived urban neighbourhoods must receive more attention within an integrated urban development policy. See, EC, 2009, p. 20; and *The Leipzig Charter* [2007].

fragmentation of policy concepts [CEC, 2009, p. 23]. For example, according to the study *Sustainable Urban Development: Implementation praxis of Art 8* [CEC, 2010a], the definition of 'sustainable integrated (participative) urban development' [Article 8] is significantly loaded and open to different interpretations. The study reveals conflicting understandings of each of the four terms - sustainable, integrated, participative, and urban - differently assumed by policy-makers. Besides a multiplicity in their definitions, there is also a marked hiatus observed between theory, policy making and practice [CEC, 2010a, p.1]. It is also acknowledged that the 'Acquis Urbain' is yet to be consolidated and the key elements of a common European methodology for sustainable urban development are yet to be defined [CEC, 2009, p.51]. At the same time, the problems of social exclusion, spatial segmentation and fragmentation within cities have not gone away and across Europe, at European, national and city levels, there has been a continued concern with how to address these problems.[25]

[25] At present, the figure of European population experiencing social exclusion stands at 17% or 80 million people [EUROSTAT 2010].

3. Methodological framework for Urban Social Cohesion

This chapter develops the methodological framework for building urban social cohesion as an approach towards a common European methodology for sustainable urban development. In this regard, the analysis of the 'core dimensions' of urban growth and change plays the foundational role. The core dimensions reflect a synthesis of policy and public action imperatives [ecological sustainability, social cohesion and democratic governance] and the local assets of urban reality [human, social, cultural, intellectual, natural, environmental and infrastructural]. They are based on a thematic review of the sustainable urban development literature, and correspond to the 'existential fields' as delimited in 'Social Polis' [FP-7], and 'KATARSIS' [FP-6] research [Moulaert et al., 2011]. While summarizing the analysis and different readings of the challenges and opportunities of the 'core dimensions' and 'transversal connections', our intention is to present their interconnections as a way of working towards a socially cohesive city as a whole. We will do so through building social cohesion in the city as a *'problematique'.*

3.1 Core dimensions for exploring social cohesion in the city – Challenges and opportunities

In the analysis of the first core dimension – **welfare and social services** – two aspects of challenges and opportunities are identified: the 'emergency' measures [financial crisis] and widespread privatisations; and lack of 'financial sustainability' and the 'rationalisation' of both the welfare system and social services. The emergency measures leading to very heavy cuts need to be seen as the latest in a long line of attempts to systematically re-engineer the state welfare system [Graham, 2010]. They are not being linked to analyses of the urban transformations, e.g. ageing population, cultural and ethnic cosmopolitanisation and the major socio-ecological challenges of 'sustainability' [ibid.]. Moreover, diminution of allowances and social services leads to privatisation but not always in a direct way; privatisation is transfer to private actors [profit] but also to family or local solidarity [Querrien, 2010]. Besides, no sufficient information is available on the emerging landscape of privatisation of social services: a lot of initiatives are registered but not evaluated, and some remain invisible and not understandable [ibid.].

The second aspect of the 'rationalisation' process comprises of the closure of smaller service provision units and the concentration of larger ones unfolding a functional rearrangement (towards a more specialised service provision), decentralisation to the local authorities of new responsibilities and competencies, and externalisation of service provision to private entities or the third sector [Ferrao, 2010]. The main consequences of this process include: State - partial withdrawal as direct provider unfolding the degradation of the public image as compared to the private sector; Market - profitability motive increasing unevenness of access; Third sector - growing importance in proximity services; Local authorities - reinforcement of their interventions, and increase in their dependency and vulnerability; Informal networks - growing importance in the provision of specific needs for specific social groups [ibid.]. The positive effects of the rationalisation process at the urban level include greater flexibility and focus, whereas the negative ones are lower overall coherence, greater vulnerability, increase in the disparities of access & neighbourhoods [ibid.].

Exploring social cohesion in the city in terms of '**education and training**' – the second core dimension – reveals three aspects of challenges and opportunities. The first is about education as a part of life-long learning for all and not a fulltime activity for some [Querrien, 2010]. This implies democratization of access through public or community spaces at the local level in which mutual learning is rather easy to establish and makes the knowledge economy accessible for all instead of the reinforcement of domination. Beside, enrolling the competencies and skills in new schemes of learning and teaching all life-long should be considered [ibid.]. The second aspect refers to the limitation of local authorities that can only identify gaps between labour market and education and training, because the mainframe

and definition of the educational programmes are state responsibility with local authorities in charge of handling mainly the infrastructures [Faroult, 2010]. The opportunities here include: social innovation research could identify a whole set of skills and experimentations in the area of training; informal education may fill the gaps in areas, e.g. sustainable energy technologies, elderly care; and shorter curricula linked to potential local jobs could smooth the labour and market integration.

The third area is about the needed inter-related shifts for the overall transformation of learning process, and new roles to be assigned to the Local [Ferrao, 2010]. This implies four complimentary shifts: i) Educational and training institutions; ii) Contemporary transmission-acquisition approach to information and knowledge should shift towards a supply of learning opportunities that springs from existing social and labour needs; iii) Work/Learning - to shift the life-long discontinuous formation logic towards a global learning rationale of permanent personal, civic, social and professional development; iv) Policy-learning - to shift the current rationalistic and technocratic logic to a logic of learning and social innovation, which involves different learning communities, modes, types & sources of knowledge; and Learning in and from the city - a shift towards creative social learning practices that aggregate, around a specific theme or area-based platform and the different life 'experiences' of the city [ibid.].

Four aspects are identified pertaining to '**Diversity and Identity**' in exploring urban social cohesion. The first is about the fragmentary drive of urban cultural development that represents a challenge to the model of urbanity of European cities [Cremaschi, 2010]. This is based on the observations that changes in demography rapidly affect lifestyles and potentially the culture of a city, and that the cultural integration and disintegration processes might easily proceed contradictorily, amplifying some aspects while deflating other components. The challenges here are the lack of institutional capacity and cultural policies addressing the difficult process of 'living together', and adaptation of local cultures to the global influences [ibid.].

The second area is about the need to build a new 'COSMOPOLITICS' of the European imperative based on the irrefutable argument that, without building dynamic, cosmopolitan and growing cities, Europe as a whole will be doomed to demographic and economic collapse [Graham, 2010]. The challenges here are the ability of a resurgent far-right across Europe in exploiting the financial crises to demonise non-indigenous urban groups and communities, the tension between [imagined] political community at 'national' and 'city' levels, and the legal standpoint of 'citizenship' and 'heritage' as crucial in building pro-cosmopolitan identity [ibid.].

The third aspect is about economic opportunities, public services and education as key factors in the integration of ethnic / cultural minorities [Santiago, 2010]. This is based on the observation that spatial segregation is increasing due to fragmentation of society, privatisation of welfare and the rise of individualism, which increases the risk of social fracture [e.g USA, and Latin American cities, ibid.]. The fourth aspect is about the opportunities in using heritage as means to enhance socio-economic development in a way that quality of life, attractiveness and inhabitability [diverse social groups] are extended to all the fabrics of the city. However, caution should be taken against an increasing trend of 'open shopping centres' or 'festival market places' that risks cities becoming dead 'cultural theme parks', 'amusement parks', etc. [e.g. Venice].

Three aspects of '**Creativity and Innovation**' are identified in relation to urban social cohesion. The first is about the celebrated return to the neighbourhood/city in the attempt to define 'sustainable living' & the 'creative city', which is giving distinctive impulses to social innovation and the knowledge economy [Cremaschi, 2010]. The challenges here are in the unfolding of inherently ambiguous ways: historical centres are re-tuned by the tourism and entertainment industry; gentrified working class neighbourhoods have become cultural districts; and reverted industrial areas host universities and research centres. The key elements of the creative city are neighbourhoods that address the issue of liveability,

creating efficient, serviced, and diverse areas of mix use, cultural institutions, affordable and variety of housing. In the same vein, it is critically important to understand that innovation is a far larger process than technical improvements: it requires a change in people's attitudes and relations. While bearing in mind that most of the rehabilitation processes aimed at city centres, brown-fields or derelict lands are instrumental to strategies of economic development, it would be pragmatic if knowledge districts providing innovation coincide with technological districts.

The second aspect is about the cultural, social and historical capital, and heritage of the city as crucial for Creativity and innovation [Faroult, 2010]. This implies that there is a need to establish equilibrium between innovation and tradition in improving the image and attractiveness of city centres. The fourth aspect is about social innovation that can only come from the grassroots and socially autonomous experimentation initiatives at a very local scale [Santiago, 2010]. In this regard, a process of bottom-up articulation of socializing frameworks can only be built through networking and synergy creation, starting either from a radical democratization of decision-making from above or from the self-organization of pure grass-root initiatives or a combination of the two.

In terms of the relationship between the fifth core dimension of '**Economic development and Labour market**' and urban social cohesion, three aspects are identified. The first is about the challenges of the financial crisis, which has hit hard the labour market and services in both the SMS cities and large agglomerations [Faroult, 2010]. The SMS cities are facing the delocalisation of production activities and services, whereas the impact in agglomerations is huge and there is no alternative activity replacing thousands of jobs in the service sector. The second is about the financial crisis as giving an opportunity to catalyse on the initiatives at the local level, to mobilise and develop new socio-ecologic modes of production and consumption that contribute towards a sustainable and inclusive local economic development [Ferrao, 2010]. In particular, SMS cities can develop building on projects and partnerships, e.g. territorial ones in areas such as tourism, management of waste sharing of local transportation [Faroult, 2010]. The third aspect is about capitalising on being 'small' and 'local' in order to make the most of the potential 'place-based' systems. To capitalise on being small implies transforming time availability and geographical proximity into positive critical assets.[26] Whereas to capitalise on being local implies producing socio-economic added value to mainstream economic development through place-based approaches with a focus on socially meaningful places.[27]

In the relationships between '**Urban Ecology and Environment**' and urban social cohesion, four aspects are identified. The first one is about the conceptual problems of ecological urbanism. It is suggested that a truly ecological urbanism would draw on the latest thinking of political ecology and critical human geography on the social production of nature and the ways in which multi-scale flows necessarily blend the natural, the social and the technological into inseparable 'urban' assemblages [Graham, 2010]. In this vein, ecological urbanism is not about some mythic 'return to nature', rather about transforming the social-natural-technological assemblages of urban life in ways that help build socio-environmental justice whilst reducing the risks of biodiversity collapse, neo-liberal globalisation and climate change.

The problems of ecological urbanism also relate to the way the discourse of 'nature'

[26] In terms of **time availability**, the idea is to stress the potential of less materialistic and 'slow` everyday living, liveability, quality of life, individual and social wellbeing as preconditions for a new generation of social entrepreneurship. Whereas **geographical proximity** implies valuing it as a factor that stimulates better tailored economic and social answers to local needs based on interactive processes of learning and social innovation [Ferrao, 2010].

[27] For example, **Collaborative potential** of iconic 'local' places and **territorial identities** in mobilizing citizens and institutions for stimulating grassroots politics and promoting alternative 'local' development models. They together allow the formation of **Resilient communities** [Ferrao, 2010].

dominates and structures the projects of spatial planning, which contributes to redefinition of the 'urban' with several variations, such as a progressive variant [green-washing of the myths of growth and progress], a naturalist variant [separating and protecting nature from the city] and a culturalist variant [stabilizing territorial ecosystems], etc. [Decleve, 2010]. The second aspect is about the gap between theory & practice on the one hand, and on the other hand the risk in believing that environmental sustainability could be achieved by technological change without major changes in our behaviour and economy [Santiago, 2010]. This is based on the observation that the urban use of the environment for metabolic purposes and as a means of handling its ecological impacts has changed in complexity [climate change] in both quantitative and qualitative ways, which demands: a 'glocal' approach, eco and energy efficiency of the built environment and increased awareness and participation at the local level.[28] The fourth aspect is about too much focus on the [re]orientation of ecological building and urbanism mainly against C02 emissions, and not so much on building quality of life that demands social participation and public debate for the metropolitan challenges in this regard [Querrien, 2010]. The suggestions here include: socio-environmental inequalities are not all avoidable, and compensations must be found and explained in local debates; local authorities should have a strong rationale for ecological development in which there must be place for local initiatives and desires; and that greening and biodiversity care are becoming hobbies, which must be publicly supported.

Four aspects are identified in the relationship between '**Mobility, telecommunication and security**' and urban social cohesion. The first is about the major challenges in the tension between the spatial requirements of the capital [global] for developing infrastructure [flows of energy, resources, labour force through aerial hubs, HS trains, highways] and local visions focusing on territorial cohesion and people's accessibility [permeability, proximity] [Santiago, 2010]. In this regard, promoting sustainable mobility ['walk-able', 'cycl-able' cities, affordable and efficient public transport] and reducing automobile traffic in conjunction with sustainable land-use are extremely important from an environmental perspective.

The second aspect is about the transformation of urban life through pervasive diffusion of digitally connected and often mobile sensors, portals and devices, which demands 'remediation' [Graham, 2010]. This is based on the observations that urban life is increasingly enacted in flexible and mobile ways, bringing new relations between bodies, streets, physical movements and communications technologies, which results in a world of social networking, digitally organised movement, mobility, work, consumption and entertainment. The challenge here is that the politics of these transformations involve arcane and opaque shifts whereby software increasingly mediates the right to the city. Whereas, the opportunities lie in making these opaque processes more transparent and visible through Public data scrutiny and regulation, art and social movement practices, etc.

The third aspect pertains to the measures stressing identity and raising the fear of others; these measures do not necessarily build security [Querrien, 2010]. In this regard, a space easy to read with appropriate lighting and information on directions needs to be promoted; European guidelines in space planning and management could be useful for such a change. The fourth aspect is the role of new technologies in creating both a great hope as well as and a great threat. Hope in the sense of opening and connecting the world, allowing new services and ways of life, diversity and cohesion, as well as bypassing social control, to fraud, to oppose resistance. Whereas, the role of new technologies in creating threat refers

[28] A **'glocal' approach** to reduce quantitative impacts, improve quality of life & environment, and resolve problem of urban metabolism at local level avoiding the collateral impacts on other territories; **energy efficiency in the performance** of new and existing building stock, transport and urban mobility, water and waste cycles, etc.; new ways of studying **urban morphology** for the promotion of a more compact and polycentric city model with mixed-use and optimisation of public transport; and **eco-efficiency** in developing new 'neighbourhoods', but more importantly in the retrofitting of the old ones, because 'the core battle for urban sustainability will lie in achieving the maximum possible eco-efficiency in the existing urban fabrics of cities [Toledo declaration, 2010] [Santiago, 2010].

to privacy, interconnection of data bases, growing daily solitude, nearing the end of fossil energy, the decrease of physical mobility, impact on urban sprawl etc. [Drubigny, 2010].

The relationship between urban social cohesion and the '**Built-environment, Housing, Public space and Neighbourhoods**' can be seen in five aspects. The first is about the challenges for social housing and services posed by the cuts [financial crisis] in public expenditure and reductions in resources for local authorities, welfare programs, NGOs and CBOs that rely on state funding [Atkinson, 2010; Querrien, 2010]. Their implications include: reductions in housing benefits will raise serious implications for social cohesion; social housing is likely to become more stigmatised, and insecurity and homelessness will increase; social housing is built in places were it is not needed, and not in the ones where it is needed; at the regional scale [in UK], the North-South divide will be intensified; and pressures on public authorities are likely to lead to a greater reliance on replicating the cost saving private sector models, while reducing delivery of services to a minimum.

The second aspect is about social segregation / gentrification and liveability with challenges and opportunities such as: white / medium and upper classes' flight from the city centres implies the spontaneous re-organization in space of those who can afford it; gentrification of the core of cities is growing fast and has been encouraged by an urban renovation trying to base urban life on home ownership; unfolding of the non desirable forms of gentrification, e.g. original inhabitants expulsion and their replacement by 'gentry' and replacement of local services by 'global' or 'generic' brands; and that liveability comes in a capacity to speak together, more than in built facts and other marks of identity [Querrien, 2010, Santiago, 2010].

The third aspect is about large urban projects as the local epiphany of the 'single thought' that lies behind neo-liberal urban redevelopments, and which show a consistent process of mediation and multiple influences, and where consumers, visitors, tourists and investors might seem to be the only actors included in the [neo-liberal] agenda [Cremaschi, 2010]. This leads to the fourth aspect about the erosion of public space caused by such developments [neo-liberal] that tend to emphasize private wellbeing over public goods. Particularly, in such developments, the civic and educational role of the public space might simply be inconsistent with the organization of daily life in contemporary cities.

The fifth aspect is about the missing of the explicit focus on social cohesion in neighbourhood regeneration strategies, which quite often focus more on integration particularly of migrants from outside Europe [Atkinson, 2010]. Although limited, neighbourhood councils [France] as a form of local democracy have created a large set of local activities in culture and solidarity with varying results [Querrien, 2010]. For socially cohesive public space and neighbourhood strategies, fundamental restructuring is required in services delivery, more resources and integration of local intentions with wider policies on economy, employment, welfare and education for lasting change, and that policies should be directed at both people and places that work together to tackle social exclusion.

Four aspects are identified in the relationship between '**Governance and Civil society**' and urban social cohesion. The first is about the need for a shift from government to governance that is multi-level, and where new types of partnerships and participative democracy are the key words for new forms of governance [Ferrao, 2010; Faroult, 2010]. Multi level governance implies the integration of knowledge, agenda setting, public policies, and collective action at all scale levels, which produces complex interplay involving multiple factors, actors and scales aiming at fostering 'local' dynamics, while avoiding the 'localism trap' [Ferrao, 2010].

The second aspect is about the modes of governance, which involve some (unpredictable) combination of markets, hierarchies and networks in association with the use of formal and informal negotiations; however not all interests are included in governance arrangements and the networks that underlie them [Atkinson, 2010]. The challenges and opportunities here include: networks and exclusion - networks can ensure smooth running as mechanisms for

integrating partners. However, they can also act as mechanisms of exclusion and maintain the status quo; complexity and uncertainty - increasing complexity and uncertainty at all levels and between levels, actions of a range of governmental and non-governmental actors need to be coordinated vertically (i.e. between different levels – or multilevel governance), horizontally (at the same level) and territorially; governance and sustainability - an equally problematic relationship, because of the un-settling, complex, multi-dimensional and essentially contested nature of the concept of sustainability that requires comprehensiveness - a mode in which consistency and aggregation suffers; and hierarchy as the dominant mode in governance arrangements - the need to acknowledge that hierarchy, as a governance mode, represents a much more varied mode of governance than is often recognised and that it can be surprisingly flexible.

The third aspect is about consolidating the role of SMS cities in mediating rural space and big cities [Faroult, 2010]. This represents one of the main conditions for a positive future evolution and development of the cities, which provides also a better global equilibrium at territorial and regional level.

3.2 Transversal connections / normative reflections

Behind the analysis of the core dimensions, our intention was to address social cohesion, exclusion and inclusion processes and agencies (collective strategies, public policies) within the spatially embedded city. Each of the core dimensions reflects a relatively autonomous dynamics of reproduction of fragmentation and cohesion, exclusion and inclusion as well as their processes, institutions and main agencies within cities, their neighbourhoods as well as the higher-up scale spatial settings that embed them. The shared problematizing of the core dimensions – the analysis and responses of our experts – resulted in different readings, which are summarized in the previous section as 'aspects'. The diversity of these aspects unfolds several transversal connections, which are based on the normative reflections in response to the challenges and opportunities for each of the core dimensions as offered by our experts. After presenting their brief description [table 3.1], an attempt is made to link them to core dimensions and their relationships to urban social cohesion [table 3.2] as a way of working towards social cohesion and the city as a whole.

Table 3.1: **Transversal connections and normative reflections**

Transversal connection	Normative reflection in relation to urban social cohesion
1. Social innovation	Holistically approaching social cohesion in the city through satisfaction of human needs (agendas and initiatives for), innovation in social relations and empowerment of communities and their members – working toward more democratic and effective forms of governance (see also 5).
2. Cosmopolitanism	Building pro-cosmopolitan politics of identity in cities undermined by ethno-nationalist, far-white and profoundly anti-urban rhetoric
3. Solidarity	Developing a feeling of belonging to a group as a form of integration of the relational and cultural dimension of social cohesion that implies the social expression of cultural patterns, social networks and supportive behaviour
4. Liveability	Representing quality of life to attract and retain skills, liveability is a combination of competing narratives, where competitiveness, cohesion and sustainability are less at odds with one another than they might appear
5. Multi-level	Integrating knowledge, agenda setting, public policies and collective

governance	action at all relevant scale levels, which produces complex interplay involving multiple factors, actors and scales aiming at fostering 'local' dynamics, while avoiding the 'localism trap'
6. Self-management	Openness to self management of spaces, particularly the interstitial ones, of care, civic engagement and participation
7. Education & mutual learning process	Development of mutual and multi-generational learning places and education as a life long process for all and not a full time activity for some
9. Ecological urbanism	Inspiring social inclusiveness and sensitivity to the environment, ecological urbanism implies an energy and resource efficient urban model for re-organising the existing urban and social fabrics towards sustainability
10. Comprehensiveness & integrated area development	Implementing policy and collective action from the top, combined with autonomous, self-organised articulations from the bottom, while reinforcing the circle of synergies, participation and shared decision-making with a central place for the involved populations, overcoming the divorce between theory and practice and the predominance of short-term interest over long-term goals

Source: Exploring urban futures workshop, 2010.

Table 3.2: **Core dimensions, relationship to urban social cohesion and transversal / normative reflections**

Core dimension	Relationship to urban social cohesion	Transversal / normative reflections
1. Welfare and social services	• Welfare and service regimes as crucial aspects of city governance, with strong implications for inclusion and exclusion, both socially and spatially at multiple scales. • The major impacts of welfare and service privatization on patterns of social exclusion. • Grassroots and policy responses to welfare and social services provision	**Social innovation, Cosmopolitanism, Solidarity, Multi-level governance**
2. Education and training	• Access to education and training as a key aspect of social inclusion. • Potential of education and training to reproduce inequalities and create opportunities for inclusion. • Grassroots and policy responses to lacunae in the educational systems. • Contextualised social learning: linking work and learning (community schools), linking politics and learning, priority urban areas for educational initiatives.	**Social innovation, Education & mutual learning process, Solidarity, Multi-level governance**
3. Diversity and identity	• Exclusionary/inclusionary dynamics related to ethnicity, language and faith (and discourse on), gender and age. • The meaning of 'identity' and community building in an environment of diversity. • Expressions of cultural, linguistic and social diversity in the city. • Relationships between spatial and social identity. • Culture and heritage as means of social promotion and/or economic development.	**Social innovation, Cosmopolitanism, Solidarity, Education & mutual learning process, Self-management, Multi-level governance**
4. Creativity and innovation	• Socially creative strategies to enhance social cohesion within and between various types of urban communities. • Creation or renewal of social and economic partnerships, governance relations etc. supporting such strategies • Expression of social relationships to place. • Enabling/disabling factors for creativity and innovation (cultural dynamics, policy initiatives)	**Social innovation, Cosmopolitanism, Solidarity, Education & mutual learning process, Self-management, Multi-level governance**

5. Economic development and labour market	• Structural unemployment, changing city economies & spatial impacts on (un)employment also at neighbourhood levels. • Cities as regional/national economic & employment drivers, with implications for interregional and international cohesion. • Grass-roots (social & informal economy) & policy responses.	**social innovation, liveability, Multi-level governance, Education & mutual learning process**
6. Urban ecology and environment	• Addressing dualisms between people and natural ecology, people interact with nature in profound ways in cities as elsewhere. • Local/regional agencies and initiatives addressing global environmental issues (specifically climate change and biodiversity issues) • … and social/governance responses to these at neighbourhood and city spatial scales.	**social innovation, liveability, Ecological urbanism, Multi-level governance**
7. Mobility, telecommunications and security	• Infrastructure and technology as crucial aspects of inclusive and/or exclusive urban environments, enabling and/or disabling access, communications, security and privacy. • They have explicit and significant socio-spatial effects. • Grassroots and policy responses.	**Social innovation, Cosmopolitanism, Liveability, Ecological urbanism, Multi-level governance**
8. Built-environment, housing, public space & neighbourhoods	• Exclusion from and through housing, and reduction and/or privatization of social housing throughout cities. • Urban regeneration and gentrification dynamics. • Neighbourhood environments and well-being – physical activity, pollution, local aesthetics. • Grass-roots and policy initiatives for improving residential environments. • Housing systems and their governance.	**Social innovation, Cosmopolitanism, Solidarity, liveability, Multi-level governance, Ecological urbanism.**
9. Governance & Civil society	• Political, legal and regulatory forces of exclusion and inclusion. • Multi- and inter-scalar governance dynamics, and their role in fostering enhanced democracy and social inclusion. • The new roles of civil society in social cohesion initiatives governance. • Social innovation in urban governance.	**Social innovation, Multi-level governance, Self-management, Cosmopolitanism, Solidarity.**
10. Urban social cohesion as a whole	• An open system approach covering the interactions of and the synergies between a diversity of processes affecting social cohesion, including integration and exclusion. • A confrontation of urban imaginaries and change visions. • A confrontation of different urban problematics • Milestones for furthering research on social cohesion within cities and their broader spatial systems	**Social innovation, Cosmopolitanism, Solidarity, Liveability, Multi-level governance, Self-management, Education & mutual learning process, Ecological urbanism, Comprehensiveness & integrated area development.**

Source: Moulaert, et al. [2012], and *Exploring urban futures* workshop, 2010.

3.3 Building Social cohesion in the city as a 'problématique'

We approach the building of social cohesion in the city as a problematique by first briefly explaining: What is social cohesion? Why is social cohesion a challenge to cities? What do we mean by social cohesion in the city as a problematique? Secondly, we elaborate on what the SOCIAL POLIS partnership believes to be the four perspectives from which Social Cohesion in the City should be problematised.

Social cohesion is a human 'problematique'. However, the confusion about the meaning of social cohesion as a term, a situation, a desire, etc. is paramount. The policy debate on territorial cohesion in Europe and within EC circles bears some responsibility in this as it hosts a diversity of interpretations. In the FP projects SOCIAL POLIS and KATARSIS, we have done significant survey work on the meaning of social cohesion. Social cohesion is not a clear concept but a human 'problématique' that can only be solved collectively and that has a particular (but not exclusively) urban character. Both the collective approach and the particular focus refer to diversity-within-cooperation.

Social cohesion is a challenge to cities. It is essentially a desire for collective improvement of relations between people, social groups within their different spheres of existence and interaction. Social cohesion is a challenge for cities for many reasons: a) Cities agglomerate all the complexities of social life on a concentrated territory ; b) On a daily basis, cities 'import' and 'export' factors of cohesion and fragmentation of their own system [e.g. apply to migration movements, cities are a multi-scalar spatial story] ; c) The views of how social fragmentation and cohesion should be addressed vary significantly among groups and people, but also among different types of actors within cities ; d) We all wish the 'best' for whom and how? And 'who' are 'we'?

Social cohesion approached as a problématique starts from accepting that recognising and defining the problem of social cohesion in the city is no simple, value-free decision. It implies asking the right questions and obtaining deep insights into the life world of urban inhabitants. It also requires systematically organised knowledge about causalities, contexts, historical factors and geographical patterns that have produced cohesion as well as fragmentation and exclusion.

Therefore, our methodological framework is based on building social cohesion in the city as a problematique for shared problematizing of the challenges and opportunities, so that alternative options for policy and collective action can be unfolded. In the following, we outline the three aspects (dialectical moments) of this methodological framework, namely scientific analysis, transdisciplinarity and scale sensitivity ; collective action and partnerships ; and the four perspectives of the 'problématique'.

3.3.1 Scientific analysis, transdisciplinarity and scale-sensitivity

Scientific analysis, transdisciplinarity and scale-sensitivity are crucial for exploring the core dimensions [see 3.1] of urban social cohesion collectively. They involve setting the research agenda through transdisciplinary research methods [involving all concerned stakeholders in social cohesion research] that are scientific and scale-sensitive. In a more practical sense, they refer to a shared way of identifying and problematizing challenges and opportunities in urban social cohesion, social learning processes and institution building.

In a scientific and scale-sensitive way, transdisciplinary addressing of social cohesion in the city implies problematizing social cohesion as an active process [see Novy, et al. 2012a]. A process that involves different types of stakeholders with different aspirations for, and roles in urban life, also using a diversity of concepts and discourses, and influenced by different value systems and analytical perspectives. We understand that a problematique cannot be built without a positioning vis-a-vis the genesis of a city, its social structure, the building of its social institutions and the way in which its different groups of inhabitants and actors should have a voice in the making of the good city of the future. Such a positioning cannot be based on a predefined consensus but concerns the gradual sharing of views of how the city works and how it should work in the future. For this purpose we adopt a progressive neo-structuralist approach [Moulaert, 1996] to social cohesion, which not only refers to the integration or the inclusion of particular social groups – or their negation – but addresses the generic forces that create cohesive interdependencies and stir agency via options of choice expressed in a gradually shared ethics [Sen, 2001]. A progressive neo-structuralist understanding of society [Alcock, 2006] links different dimensions, levels and scales [Byrne, 2005] in a context-sensitive integrative collective action and policy-making.

3.3.2 Collective action and partnership

In order to make both research and collective action relevant again, social cohesion research and collective action need to be connected [Moulaert, 2010b]. Most of the transversal connections and normative reflections [see table 3.1] point to the significant role of collective action and partnership in building social cohesion in the city. They refer to collective agenda building, participatory strategic planning and connecting capability building to socio-political mobilization. In this regard, the role of civil society and new forms of

partnerships, as well as, addressing the tension between integration and disintegration of policy fields and collective action, are crucial in building social in the city.

In building social cohesion in the city as a problematique through collective action and new forms of partnerships, we acknowledge that a problématique is more than a problem statement and an analysis of the different aspects of the problem. It involves a process of collective research, problem solving and collective action with a diversity of actors and stakeholders. This process is partly purposefully coordinated and partly spontaneous [Moulaert, 2010b]. Moreover, it should allow to place stakeholders according to their actual positions in existing social relations, but also to explore their potential as actors working towards the good city. Several existing theoretical perspectives can help us here to understand the positions and relations between actors, the ways their views and agendas weigh on urban development, etc..[29]

3.3.3 Four perspectives of the 'problématique'

There is broad agreement on the multidimensionality of social cohesion in academic literature, which supports the case for approaching social cohesion as a *problématique* [Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012; and 2012a]. Moreover, efforts to foster solidarity in capitalist societies driven by the tension between cooperation and competition have to dwell on these contradictory dynamics but will not be able to solve them once and for all, as there is never only one solution, recipe or strategy available. Cities are privileged places where multiple dynamics of the inherently contradictory problématique of social cohesion materialise. But the choice of concepts in building this problématique influences the way problems are identified and solutions proposed. In this regard, four perspectives - socio-economy, culture, ecology and politics - of the problématique with respective affinities to different academic disciplines and policy areas were defined in Social Polis [ibid.]. Moreover, their role in unravelling the political, normative and scientific-methodological consequences of building social cohesion in the city as a *problématique* were also examined [ibid.]. Together with the transdisciplinarity [3.3.1] and collective action and partnership [3.3.2], the following four connected thematic perspectives provide the methodological framework for problematizing *social cohesion in the city and its wider geography.*

3.3.3.1 Socio-economy: Solidarity and Social Exclusion

Solidarity via belonging, equal opportunities and fair redistribution versus Social Exclusion via labour market, accessibility to services and welfare.

A socioeconomic perspective on social cohesion stresses the disintegrative effects of social inequality and exclusionary dynamics in the access to resources and markets on solidarity. Solidarity and reduction in wealth and income disparities are required to create equal opportunities and a sense of fairness. Solidarity is linked to forms of redistribution (Kearns and Forrest, 2000) and to social contracts about the financial foundation of the welfare state (De Swaan, 1988). Socially cohesive society is a society preventing social exclusion and enabling all to become part of and belong to it by offering equal opportunities within a framework of accepted values and institutions (Dahrendorf, 1995). Different concepts [*le tout social* – society as a whole, *Teilhabe* - partaking, participation, etc.] [30] allows socioeconomic perspective to put conflict and exclusionary structures – such as, the functioning of the labour market, access to the services and infrastructure of the city, from public transport and public spaces to housing, health and education - at the centre stage of the *problematique* [see Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012]. It also allows to analyse local welfare systems, the

[29] See multi-dimensional conceptualisation of social cohesion in Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012.

[30] The French republican tradition, which focuses on *le tout social*, society as a whole (Xiberras, 1998), stressing relational issues like the disruption of social ties between the individual and society. A German-speaking strand of discussion dwells on the concept of *Teilhabe* (partaking, participation) (Kronauer, 2002, 2007, Novy, 2007), which links the socioeconomic and political dimension of cohesion.

role of universal welfare rights as a pre-requisite for social cohesion, and that of citizenship and the public sphere in the building of a cohesive society. Public life has eroded in what is often called 'the second modernity', because of the growing dominance of the 'labour society' (Arendt, 1958), as well as the fragmentation and individualisation of the public sphere (Sennett, 1977). Economic transformations may increase the spatial concentration of excluded or deprived groups in certain neighbourhoods with contradictory dynamics of gentrification and social mixing. Although the impact on local cohesion might be positive within a gated community, social exclusion in the sense of segregation between rich and poor neighbourhoods might be increasing, thereby burdening cohesion in the city as whole [see Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012].

3.3.3.2 Culture: *Common Values and Identity*

Common values and multiple identities building versus clashing / confrontation of cultures, value systems and identities.

The second perspective adopted here to problematize social cohesion, is cultural and focuses on identity and common culture as key dimensions of belonging to a social whole, which is often territorially expressed: Cities are places of encounter, formed by networks of interaction bringing people from different backgrounds, as age and life styles together through migration, commuting and cooperation. This creates hybrid cultures and cultural heterogeneity in multiple time-space frameworks (Simonsen, 2008, Dukes and Musterd, 2012). A strong attachment to place and the intertwining of people's identities with places are considered important elements for social cohesion (Kearns and Forrest, 2000, p. 1001) that is based on a civic culture of shared values and "a common set of moral principles and codes of behaviour through which to conduct their relations with one another" (ibid, p. 997).

Several concepts ['Social closure' - Weber, 1978; 'Imagined communities' - Hobsbawm, 1990 and Anderson, 1991; 'Social capital' - Bourdieu, 1986, etc,] can be mobilised in the cultural perspective to put the issues of diversity and identity - "we" and "them", "insiders" and "outsiders", multi – ethnic and religious tensions, clashing of cultures / identitities / values, etc. – at the centre stage of the *problematique* [see Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012]. For example, the concept of Social capital, as used by Bourdieu, connects symbolic and social capital to economic capital and explains how individuals find access to social capital in unequal ways, as the possession of all forms of capital is polarised, which underscores the discriminating role of social class and other social 'distinction' factors among people (Bourdieu, 1980, 1986). Moreover, the Bourdieuan perspective emphasises conflict and the power function of social capital (social relations that increase the ability of an actor to advance her/his interests). It becomes a resource in the social struggles that are carried out in different social arenas or fields [see Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012].

3.3.3.3 Ecology: Sustainability and ecological justice

Sustainability and ecological justice versus consumerism, productivism and depletion of resources.

While there is a long tradition of holistic approaches towards nature-society relations, it was only over the last decades that these approaches have re-entered urban development analysis and discourse. As environmental "goods and bads" are unevenly distributed in the city, processes of social exclusion in the city have to be linked with issues of ecological justice. The key message of mainstream sustainable development approaches is that ecological, social and economic concerns have to be understood and tackled simultaneously (WCED, 1987). Although it is criticised by political economists as a "fantasy of socio-ecological cohesion" (Swyngedouw and Cook, 2012), the sustainability discourse has increased the awareness of a broader and more systemic approach towards urban development. Political ecology in turn managed to link the political economy of capitalism to issues of nature and ecology and to territorialize ensuing conflicts. Overcoming the "artificial ontological divide between nature and society" (ibid.) results in a renewed focus on the city

(Swyngedouw, 2006, Heynen et al., 2006, Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003). As the city as a territorial unit is a constantly emerging contradictory whole, to create cohesive cities requires not only social, but socio-ecological cohesion and justice. This has implications for urban collective action and policy fields like housing and transport where exclusion and access are part of everyday life.

3.3.3.4 Politics: Citizenship and Participation

Citizenship, participation and redistribution *versus* autocracy (technocracy) and neo-liberal policy.

The final perspective on social cohesion we adopt here is political and synthesises the three aforementioned dimensions by stressing political action as participating in public affairs, but also as crucial for being a full member of the local community. Citizenship is a historically constructed set of rights and duties, which organize the type of belonging to a society (Garcia et al. 2012). As belonging is related to political equality, 'full' citizens enjoy equality of rights and opportunities. This is in line with welfare theories conceptualising citizenship encompassing civic, political and social rights (Marshall, 1950) as well as theories of democracy that stress the mix of direct, representative and participatory democracy as crucial for democratic governance (Leubolt et al., 2009).

While forms of cosmopolitism remain highly idealistic, new types of multi-level governance, citizenship, democracy and participation emerge to challenge a conception of full citizenship based solely on nationality. The latter is increasingly problematic because of the internationalization of the labour market, the hollowing-out of national social protection systems (welfare states) and the increasing mobility of citizens within Europe, which requires more flexible forms of political rights and participation as well as a Europe-wide system of universal social rights. It is the lack of common norms and institutions providing for labour, social and political rights which is increasingly undermining social and territorial cohesion. Therefore, a key focus of innovative approaches is linking rights to residence instead of an imagined "natural" national identity. This may rehabilitate the city as a political territory, a *polis,* where citizenship is linked to everyday life (García and Claver, 2003, Bauböck, 2003). But it also calls for planetary democracy based on universally valid human rights (Dukes and Musterd, 2012). In European cities, new residents from non-European countries have joined and transformed the urban fabric.

Sassen in her work on global cities stresses the resulting polarisation within cities, while Hamnett (2003) focuses on the emergence of a new middle class (Sassen, 1991, Burgers and Musterd, 2002, Hamnett, 2003, 2001). The emerging occupational structure reflects an increasing insecurity in the labour market, social and demographic change, international migration and the growing impact of the hegemonic competitiveness discourse on the organization of labour processes and work organization. Accelerated by the recent international financial crisis and its consequences for public spending, the foundations of social cohesion in Europe as a whole, and in European cities in particular have been shaken up. Further curtailment of national welfare as well as urban social services provision will be a probable outcome of the growing public debt due to the bank-crash and recession that started in 2008 and is still not under control. It is within this unstable socio-economic setting that citizenship is renegotiated. Struggles about citizenship overlap with those about social exclusion (Berghman, 1998, p. 258-259), again showing the growing complexity of the social cohesion problématique and the need to tackle it in a politically comprehensive way.

4. Urban futures: the Socially cohesive city as a European urban model

4.1 Defining a 'socially cohesive city' model

Defining a socially cohesive urban model first and foremost requires clarifying the concept of social cohesion by embedding it within a dynamic, multi-scalar and complex understanding of socioeconomic development in the city. Based upon such an understanding, the aim of the first sub-section is to define the meaning of a socially cohesive city as an urban model. Secondly, defining a socially cohesive urban model requires the understanding of urban social cohesion in relation to the perception and representation of urban growth and change. In this regard, the second sub-section gives a European perspective on the relationship between social cohesion and urban policy views. Thirdly, defining a socially cohesive urban model requires the conceptualisation and identification of the appropriate scale levels involved in the analysis, policy formulation and implementation. This is the purpose of the third sub-section dealing with the local dimension of urban social cohesion in a multi-scalar way. Fourthly, defining a socially cohesive urban model needs coherent ways of measuring and qualifying urban social cohesion, which is the aim of the fourth sub-section.

4.1.1 Meaning of a socially cohesive city

In recent policy shifts [Territorial agenda, green paper, etc.], Social Cohesion is becoming central in the debate on urban development, urban planning and European urban policy making [Atkinson, 2010; Cremaschi, 2010; Decleve, 2010; and Santiago, 2010]. However, the academic and policy groups remain divided as to the meaning of a socially cohesive city. On one side, there is the argument that social cohesion is a necessary condition for sustainable development; social cohesion is needed to ensure the reproduction [sustainability] of a neighbourhood, a city, urban system, or a society, and that social cohesion serves both justice and development [Atkinson, 2010; Cremaschi, 2010; Santiago, 2010]. On the other side, there are arguments, such as: social cohesion is a contested concept, lacks coherence, difficult to operationalise and measure; its variable meanings [with positive and negative connotations] are not clearly defined; and that demand for cities to be socially cohesive is unrealistic, too broad objectives are ineffective [Atkinson, 2010; Cremaschi, 2010, Drubigny, 2010].

Our meaning of a socially cohesive city is based on the collective learning process, undertaken within "SOCIAL POLIS – Social Cohesion in the Cities", which has led to an understanding of social cohesion as a *problématique* (see 3.3). This is based on analysis that shows how social cohesion is not about a single issue, fitting one definition and addressing a clearly specified problem, but a set of issues which embraces a variety of dimensions of human conviviality; it deals with the resultant challenges to respect citizens' and communities' diversity as well as urban inhabitants' desire to belong and to identify with a group and a place [Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012]. In a generic but helpful approximation, a socially cohesive city as an urban model implies a coherent body of ideas, concepts and policies that aims to foster social cohesion in cities through creating neighbourhoods and agglomerations where people "live together differently" (Patsy Healey, 2006) or – more precisely – "have the opportunity to be different and yet be able to live together" (Mikael Stigendal).[31] This approach refers to an apparently unsolvable paradox, an inherent contradiction in human conviviality in general, and in modern capitalist societies in particular; urban inhabitants to be free and autonomous to enjoy a broad plurality of life styles on the one hand, and to recognise and claim for equal rights and access to urban infrastructure and fair chances of social and spatial mobility for all of them, on the other hand [Bourdin, 2005]. This tension can only be addressed dialectically through the lens of the dynamic and complex relationships between people, and between people and nature within cities. The discussion about the paradoxical relationships between a 'just urban society for

[31] We owe these definitions to personal communication and collective brainstorming in Social Polis.

all' on the one hand, and the right to individual and community-based freedom on the other hand has had a long history (Arendt, 1958, Sennett, 1977).

What is new today is that the tension between aspirations for individual freedom and general social justice has become part of a dominant discourse that subjugates the search for social cohesion to an almost unchallenged competitiveness rhetoric that has driven claims for a universal welfare state to the background (Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012). To deconstruct this dominant discourse, social cohesion needs to be re-problematised by considering a wide spectrum of processes and outcomes, causes and effects relating to urban inhabitants' lives. This is why we propose to define the socially cohesive city as a *problematique,* which is the only way of tackling simultaneously a variety of problems of "living together differently" without being homogenized or excluded.

To problematise the multi-dimensionality of social cohesion in the city, section 3.1 laid out the analysis of the core-dimensions and section 3.3 outlined the four perspectives on urban life covering the diversity of the *problématique* of social cohesion in the city as a whole. Dwelling on the paradox of apparently opposite aspirations of belonging and differentiation, the core-dimensions and four perspectives systematises social cohesion as an 'open concept', distinguishing between its socioeconomic, cultural, ecological and political dimensions. In our opinion, such a systematisation provides the basis for imagining socially cohesive urban futures and constructing a socially cohesive European urban model that matches diversity and freedom on the basis of equal civic, social and political rights and makes cities more inclusive for all inhabitants in all their uniqueness and diversity.

4.1.2 Urban social cohesion in relation to growth, change and the European policy scene

From a policy perspective, urban social cohesion is required for managing growth and change, the contradictions of equality and diversity, unity and autonomy, as well as building social order and repairing the damage caused by capitalist modernisation (Berman, 1988, Cowen and Shenton, 1996). Growth and change is often accompanied by urban disorder, which is inherent in modernisation of capitalist societies based on class cleavages and constant transformation of economic activities and their resources. More than a century ago, Emile Durkheim [1893; 1933] popularised the term social cohesion in a context of rapid social change associated with industrialisation and urbanisation, and identified 'organic solidarity' for achieving it. From this perspective, talking in 'urban' terms, the city as a whole' is the place where weak ties of organic solidarity build bridges between social groups and territories [Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012].

Marx and Engels describe the disruptive forces of growth and change through modernisation as "all that is solid melts in the air" (Marx and Engels, 1986), an idea elaborated by Schumpeter as "creative destruction" (Schumpeter, 1947, p. chap 7). It was this dark side of progress that gave rise to the idea of shaping development as conscious human intervention to correct these disruptions (Cowen and Shenton, 1996). This resulted in a long history of modernising the welfare state and urban reform to heal the city from the perils of capitalist progress, marrying nature with the city, restoring harmony and achieving "wholesome" living (Swyngedouw, et al. 2012). However, the crisis of the 1970s in North-Western and continental Europe gave way to a cutback of the welfare state, impacting on social cohesion mainly by increasing levels of structural unemployment as well as new forms of authoritarian state (Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012). A crisis that seems to be taking a second dip, and probably a more fatal one, due to the deepening of the current global financial recession that started in 2008. It is in these moments of crisis and the hollowing-out of the welfare state in Europe that social cohesion is gaining momentum as a key concept in policy and research.

In the official discourse, social cohesion became a key concern for European integration in the first place through the pursuit of territorial cohesion (Faludi, 2007; Servillo, 2010). The Lisbon Agenda [2000] made Competitiveness *and* Social Cohesion as its key objectives. But

the obsession with Knowledge-Based Economy has reduced social cohesion to its functional role in achieving and maintaining competitiveness (Apeldoorn et al., 2009). The reverberations of the Lisbon agenda can be felt in the EC's working paper on *Cohesion Policy and Cities* (CEC, 2006), whose core message is to bring cohesion to cities by creating more and better jobs, and improving the employability of people in want of work. This embodies a new compromise of competitiveness and social cohesion (Boddy and Parkinson, 2005, Apeldoorn et al., 2009), creating a "de-socialised" and a "de-politicised binary" that leaves no room outside its own rationale (Maloutas et al., 2008, p. 260).

In the framework of territorial cohesion, the European Union's strategies of urban and regional development have recently tried to bring "economic and social cohesion" together (CEC, 2009b) in a so-called 'new' approach [see 2.2.1], which aims at fostering an integrated development that considers the specificities of each place.[32] This is not so different from the social policy perspective launched in the early 1990s when local development was put forward as a strategy to combat social exclusion [Novy, et al. 2012]. But the new approach seems to be in tune with policy conceptualizations from other European institutions. For example, the Council of Europe (CoE)'s report on "*Towards an Active, Fair and Socially Cohesive Europe*" goes beyond social inclusion in the labour market, as it is more concerned about a broad range of social relations, bonds and balances that are foundational to a 'good society' and a healthy democracy (CoE, 2008). Such an open approach is most in tune with the academic discussion about social cohesion in the city within Social Polis, which does not only stress its multidimensionality but also its ethical, cultural and societal roots. As Moulaert and Nussbaumer (2009) argued: social cohesion has been and should be socially constructed, it cannot be proclaimed or 'discursively materialised' by granting it a slot within a grand ideological discourse.

The power of social cohesion [policy] discourse derives from its capacity to frame conversations, set goals and make sense of complex relationships of policy issues in socio-economic development (Beauvais and Jenson, 2002, p. 20, 31). Conceptually, it offers an integral analysis, but in practice it is strongly linked and subordinated to the competitiveness discourse [Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012]. This is one of our central concerns in defining the socially cohesive urban model, which aims to address social cohesion as a specific concern and a specific perspective to look at social issues in the city. Defining the socially cohesive urban model, thus, could be seen as a strategic balancing act in the contemporary EU territorial cohesion discourse that holds an inclination towards the functionalization of social cohesion to the benefit of competitiveness.

4.1.3 The 'local' dimension of urban social cohesion

The term 'local' has become an amorphous category. For some it refers to a scale level [others being the global, national and regional], city, neighbourhood, others imply it as local economy, or administrative unit, each with variable and uncertain relationships [Atkinson, 2010]. In the formulation of our premise for the workshop [Mahsud, et al. 2010; and also see 1.2], we build up the case for focusing on the 'local' dimension of European urban reality – in both SMS cities and large metropolitan areas as an empirical entry point - for rethinking the challenges and opportunities involved in exploring and imagining socially cohesive urban futures. This yielded several interpretations and competing notions of the local in relation to urban social cohesion on the one hand, and approaches for rethinking it on the other hand.

Competing notions of the 'local':

- Conceiving 'local' in a European sense is very problematic: it runs the danger of subsuming the very differences that much current thinking and policy seeks to

[32] The Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion (CEC, 2008) and the *Barca Report* (Barca, 2009) are paradigmatic policy documents in this line, as they foster a place-based strategy to cohesion in which the diversity of territories in Europe is considered an asset to promote cohesion and the specificity of places is taken into account.

emphasize, e.g. little attention to East-central Europe, their cities and towns, etc. [Atkinson, 2010].

- Emphasis on the 'local' offers the opportunity to explore new combinations: of local policies, limits and strengths of local democracies, and the role of local institutions in empowerment [Cremaschi, 2010].
- Local as both 'node of value' [economic] and 'living place' [social] is the appropriate level for analyzing the conflict over occupying space and the potential and limits of social cohesion, as they are unravelled practically, spatially and symbolically. Local is no longer a dimension or scale, rather a cultural model of living together called 'City': as opposed to the other model of producing urbanity through globalization, whose reference image is not the city, but the fortress, the castle or the camp] [Decleve, 2010].
- Local is a level of spatial solidarity, in which recognition other than economic can support solidarity actions, at the same time it can be escaped by people preferring long distance relations. Local is not the space for identity formation: it represents an assemblage of differences [Querrien, 2010].
- Local articulations have key importance to materialize the positive global forces or fight against the negative ones; however endogenous, self-sustained development from within is increasingly difficult to implement [Santiago, 2010].

Different approaches for rethinking the local:

- Local can only be defined 'from within' according to a notion of interdependence in a multi-scalar way. The dialectical relation between the local and the global is inherent in the idea of 'poly-centricity', and public policies by definition are multi-level [Cremaschi, 2010].
- Relations between territorial scales are no longer a simple relation of 'nesting' but rather a 'collision' between land-uses, production, actors, worldviews, and very different projects [Decleve, 2010].
- Rethinking the local requires a dual perspective: the 'global' [e.g. ongoing debates on 'small cities'; transnational networks of grassroots movements] and the 'national' [public policies with a local focus, the adaptive practices and endogenous initiatives by local authorities and grass-root movements] [Ferrao, 2010].
- While the global restructuring puts important constraints on the local scale, it is the multi-scalar interactions [global to local] that define the direction of the whole urban vector as a combination of different partial vectors [Santiago, 2010].
- 'Relational' theories of space and place can be useful in building ideas of urban life as relational process, involving assemblages linking multiple scales simultaneously. Inter-urban social, ecological and political movements now exist which harness and encourage 'local' mobilisations [Graham, 2010].

From the above, we acknowledge that the 'local' is a construct, something that can be thought in a multiplicity of different ways, and that the challenge is to address its crucial importance without reifying or fetishising it [Atkinson, 2010; Graham, 2010]. We also acknowledge that a socially cohesive urban model based on a long lasting development 'from within' [see 1.2] requires a cumulative permanent process of capacity building, skills acquisition and relational capital formation among the individuals and institutions available to share a common vision, agenda and action for socially relevant territories [Ferrao, 2010]. Our focus on the *multi-scalar rethinking of the local* [see, 1.2.3 and 1.2.4] in SMS cities and large metropolitan areas can be seen as an empirical entry point for understanding the modalities of social cohesion through social innovation, social learning processes, spatial change, new policy initiatives, or collective action, and thus appropriate for constructing a socially cohesive urban model.

A multi-scalar rethinking of the local implies an articulation among the autonomous local initiatives as well as initiatives taken at higher spatial scales to coordinate them. It also implies avoiding the 'localism trap' and understanding the dynamics of change at the local level – neighbourhoods and local communities – as an integral and vital part of wider urban

dynamics [Moulaert, 2010, p. 49]. Furthermore, it is indispensable for comprehending the 'local dimension of urban reality' [see 1.2.2 and 1.2.3]; the locally embedded qualities and assets of urban life, including neighbourhoods, districts, urban villages, functional areas, business parks, knowledge campuses, infrastructure, nodes, and open spaces, etc..[33] Their multi-scalar rethinking implies connecting them to higher scales, not only through transportation and logistics networks, but also by initiatives from local actors, design of inter-local communication channels, and the elaboration of coherent two to three scale democratic governance system involving e.g. neighbourhoods, districts, and urban regions. This also implies that we have to look at different functions and meanings of the local, e.g. urban region, prototypical factor of cohesion, a strategic node in a wider spatial network, host to inter-place communications, and so on. Thus, a multi-scalar rethinking of the local [assets and qualities, challenges and opportunities, etc.] in SMS cities and large metropolitan areas - and always connected to wider-area networks, systems, and initiatives at higher spatial scales – is crucial for defining a socially cohesive urban model and forms of development.

4.1.4 Measuring and qualifying urban social cohesion

In defining a socially cohesive urban model, coherent ways of measuring and qualifying urban social cohesion are crucial. This implies coherent and comparable data pertaining to urban social cohesion in European SMS cities and large metropolitan areas. Several data sources on demography, geography, economy and infrastructure, etc. exist, such as EUROSTAT, 'Urban Audit', 'State of European Cities' reports, ESPON data bases, and national statistical institutes, etc. However, their usefulness for measuring urban social cohesion is rather limited and even questionable. Based on the analysis of our experts, several gaps in the existing data were identified, and an argument was made in favour of an approach towards a coherent and comparable urban data system.

The limitations and gaps in existing data:

- Most measures use proxy data that is rarely collected specifically to measure social cohesion; particularly the situation is worse for comparative European data [Atkinson, 2010].
- Micro-data is lacking in all sectors (census track and below), due to restriction in use generated by privacy concerns, particularly on job positions and family income. Data on rent, land and building values, public services, tax and public expenditures are not fully integrated into the social analysis of territorial differentiation [Cremaschi, 2010].
- In an evidence-based policy-making environment there is the possibility of data manipulation with the purpose of justifying a specific policy under implementation [Ferrao, 2010].
- Major problem in accessing urban, rather than national, level data. Particularly accessing infrastructural data is problematic due to privatization where it often becomes commercially proprietary [Graham, 2010].
- Heterogeneity of the data collected at national or local level, with different sources, methodologies, etc. makes comparative analysis impossible. Disparities of data within the different countries and lack at European level of systematization, rationalization and harmonization of data definitions, methodologies, collection procedures, etc. Using wiki technologies and concepts could be an interesting way of data sharing [Santiago, 2010].

Towards a coherent urban data system:

More than the identification of gaps in the existing data (e.g. information without administrative spatial references, such as, that occurs with 'environmental data') the key challenge is to define a strategy towards a coherent urban data system that builds on the following [Ferrao, 2010]:

[33] Local assets of urban life include human, social, cultural, intellectual, natural, environmental, and mobility [Friedmann, 2007].

- Systemic Vision: To link the statistical production about the urban futures to more generic issues securing in the process a stronger systemic rationale: e.g. the 'beyond GDP' debate (conceptual component); or the application of the Inspire directive (operational component).
- Concentration: To avoid the multiplication of statistical information sources; prioritise the enhancement of the existent ones.
- Comparability: To avoid the production of non-comparable data both in spatial and temporal terms.
- Qualitative Aspects (i.e. values, attitudes, behaviours, etc.): To explicitly introduce the urban dimension in already existing qualitative data collection instruments (e. g., European Quality of Life Survey, European Values Survey, European Social Survey).
- Selectivity: To identify a core set of quantitative and qualitative indicators that despite hailing from a variety of sources provide a comparative systemic overview.
- Differentiation: To differentiate indicators in terms of their *purpose* – monitoring spatial dynamics, policy evaluation, policy-learning, … - and their *nature* - structural or contextual – in order to address need and decision-making processes with distinct objectives and timings.

4.2 Challenges and opportunities for socially cohesive urban futures

The role of challenges and opportunities for socially cohesive urban futures is to identify the grains of change in urban development. From the analysis based on KATARSIS [FP-6], SCIAL POLIS [FP-7], other projects, EC observations and the diversity of views presented in the workshop by our experts, we have observed that it is hard to decide if we are moving towards a socially cohesive urban Europe. In the analysis of the core dimensions there are some indications of cohesion, but increasing signs of exclusion. Poorly skilled people, people with psychological problems, problems in the cohabitation of different ethnicities, integration of migrants and ethnic minorities, access to housing, education [increasingly expensive, elitist, technology oriented, etc.], labour market, etc. are indications of moving away from the opportunities of social cohesion.

The complexity of the conceptual underpinning of urban social cohesion that demands people to be at the same time entitled to be different and to receive equal treatment poses pressing challenges: How to tackle unity and diversity, difference and equality, autonomy and inclusion? How much social mix and homogeneity a neighbourhood needs to be cohesive (Murie and Musterd, 2004)? How much diversity does a city need to be creative and innovative (Hillmann, 2009)? How to deal with diversity of daily experiences, ageing and life styles in neighbourhoods (Guentner, 2009)? Based on urban challenges and key policy responses [chapter 2] and our shared problematizing approach to urban social cohesion including the observations of our experts [sections 3.1 and 3.3], we have identified and formulated the following challenges and opportunities for socially cohesive urban futures. For systematizing their formulation and presentation, we use the four perspectives of the methodological framework.

4.2.1 Socio-economic: Solidarity versus Social Exclusion

Social exclusion, social disparities, spatial segmentation and fragmentation, and urban sprawl remain chief concerns across EU at all scales [from SMS to large urban zones]. They are exacerbated by the effects of globalization, demographic change [see 2.1.2], aging population, streaming migration flows, crisis of the welfare state and citizenship, the rise of the far right and the global financial crisis. Social exclusion and inclusion depend crucially on the current functioning of the labour market which is the main system of distributing resources, currently leading to increased unemployment, precarious work, working poor and discrimination of migrants [Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012]. Moreover, they also importantly depend on access to the services and infrastructure of the city, from public transport and public spaces to housing, health and education (Novy et al., 2009). Furthermore, universal welfare rights and active citizenship are a pre-requisite for socially cohesive urban futures [Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012]. From the socioeconomic

perspective on socially cohesive urban futures, we can identify challenges and opportunities mainly in terms of the accessibility of the following core dimensions:

- **Welfare and social services**: heavy cuts and widespread privatisations due to 'emergency' measures [financial crisis] and lack of 'financial sustainability' and 'rationalisation' have:
  - **Challenges**: lower global coherence, greater vulnerability, increase in the disparities of access, degradation of the public image due to partial withdrawal of the state.
  - **Opportunities**: greater flexibility and focus, growing importance of the third sector and informal networks in proximity services and specific needs, reinforcement of the role of local authorities.

- **Education and training**: proliferation of technocratic, elitist, inflexible systems of education and training regimes:
  - **Challenges**: education as a part of life for everybody and not a fulltime activity for some; increasing gaps between labour market and education and training; inter-related shifts for the overall transformation of learning process; the limitations of local authorities and new roles of the local.
  - **Opportunities**: democratization of access through public or community spaces at the local level; enrolling the competencies and skills in new schemes of learning and teaching all life long; social innovation research on the capacity of informal education; shifts towards shorter curricula linked to existing social and labour needs based learning opportunities; shift towards a global learning rationale of permanent personal, civic, social and professional development; shift towards a logic of learning in and from the city through social innovation and creative social learning practices.

- **Labour market**: Hard hit labour market and economic development due to financial crisis in both the SMS cities and large agglomerations have:
  - **Challenges:** delocalisation of production activities and services in SMS cities, no collective action or alternative activity for replacing thousands of lost jobs in the service sector in large cities.
  - **Opportunities:** capitalising on being 'small' and 'local' in order to make the most of the potential 'place-based' systems, building on projects and partnerships, and catalysing on local initiatives for mobilising and developing new socio-ecologic modes of production and consumption that contribute towards a sustainable and inclusive local economic development.

- **Mobility, telecommunications and security**: The tension between the spatial requirements of the capital [global] for developing infrastructure and local visions focusing on territorial cohesion and people's accessibility, the transformation of urban life through pervasive diffusion of digital technologies, and the measures stressing identity and raising the fear of others have:
  - **Challenges**: urban sprawl and lack of liveability and urbanity, the decrease in physical mobility, arcane and opaque shifts whereby software increasingly mediates the right to the city, threat to privacy, interconnection of data bases, and growing daily solitude.
  - **Opportunities**: affordable & efficient public transport; making the opaque processes more transparent and visible through public data scrutiny and regulation, art and social movement practices, etc.; role of new technologies in opening & connecting the world, allowing new services and ways of life, diversity and cohesion, as well as bypassing social control, to fraud, to oppose resistance; developing European guidelines for urban space lighting, security and management.

- **Social housing, neighbourhoods and public space**: The cuts [financial crisis] in public expenditure and resources for local authorities, and large scale neo-liberal urban [re]developments have

- **Challenges**: social housing – increased privatisation, reduced access, more stigmatised, increase in insecurity and homelessness; social segregation / gentrification of neighbourhoods - spontaneous re-organization in space of those who can afford it, growing gentrification of the city centres, marginalisation of migrants and expulsion of local communities; public space - erosion of public space, civic degradation, emphasis on private wellbeing over public goods, etc..
- **Opportunities**: liveability comes in a capacity to speak together more than in built facts and other marks of identity; supporting neighbourhood councils as a form of local democracy for creating a large set of local activities in culture and solidarity; fundamental restructuring of services delivery, more resources and integration of local intentions with wider policies on economy, employment, welfare and education for lasting change; directing policies at both people & places that work together to tackle social exclusion.

4.2.2 Culture: Common Values and Identity versus clashing cultures

The super diversity [2.1.2.4, and 2.1.4.1], tensions between multi-ethnic and multi religious groups, intergenerational and intercultural relationship, moving from coexistence to interdependent living across European cities present major challenges and opportunities for building common values and multiple-identities. From the cultural perspective on socially cohesive urban futures, we can identify challenges and opportunities mainly in terms of the following:

- **Diversity and identity**: The fragmentary drive of urban cultural development and lack of institutional support for cosmopolitanism represents following challenges and opportunities to the model of urbanity of European cities

  - **Challenges**: lack of institutional capacity and cultural policies addressing the difficult process of 'living together'; adaptation of local cultures to the global influences; ability of a resurgent far-right across Europe in exploiting the financial crises to demonise non-indigenous urban groups and communities; the tension between [imagined] political community at 'national' & 'city' levels; increasing spatial segregation due to fragmentation of society, privatisation of welfare and the rise of individualism, which increases the risk of social fracture; and gentrification and cultural theme-parking of city centres.
  - **Opportunities**: the legal standpoint of 'citizenship' & 'heritage' as crucial in building pro-cosmopolitan identity; economic opportunities, public services and education as key factors in the integration of ethnic / cultural minorities; using heritage as means to enhance socio-economic development in a way that quality of life, attractiveness and inhabitability are extended to all the fabrics of the city.

- **Creativity and innovation**: The celebrated return to the city in the attempt to define 'sustainable living' & the 'creative city', which gives distinctive impulses to social innovation and the knowledge economy, while unfolding inherently ambiguous ways:

  - **Challenges**: technologically dominant view of innovation and creativity; lack of institutional support for social innovation, grass roots and socially autonomous experimentation initiatives; historical centres are re-tuned by the tourism and entertainment industry; gentrified working class neighbourhoods have become cultural districts; reverted industrial areas host universities and research centres.
  - **Opportunities**: social innovation and social capital formation; understanding innovation as a far larger process than technical improvements: it requires a change in people's attitudes and relations; networking and synergy creation in grass-roots and socially autonomous experimentation initiatives; linking innovation and tradition in improving the image and attractiveness of city centres; focusing on the key elements of the creative city such as liveability, efficient services, diverse areas of mix use, cultural institutions, affordable and variety of housing; regeneration

strategies and economic development to bring knowledge and technological districts in proximity.

4.2.3 Ecology: Sustainability and ecological justice versus consumerism and resource depletion

Sustainable environmental and resource management, socio-ecological cohesion and ecological justice are key elements for socially cohesive urban futures. They require socio-ecological innovation based transition of the modes of production and consumption (including ´post-carbon` energy paradigm), ecological resilience of building stock / housing and infrastructure, biodiversity and food security in an era of pervasive consumerism, productivism, resource depletion, climate change and energy risks. From the perspective of ecology, the challenges and opportunities for socially cohesive urban futures can be identified mainly in terms of the sustainability of the urban environment and mobility through ecological urbanism and ecological justice.

- **Sustainable urbanism and ecological justice**: The onset of the socio-ecological crises linked to global warming and resource depletion [‘peak oil’ etc.], the conceptual problems of ecological urbanism, the way the discourse of ‘nature’ dominates the projects of spatial planning, the gap between theory and practice, the intensity of logistics and infrastructure in the modern consumer society, and the complexity of ecological justice and the metabolic processes of the urban environment:

  - **Challenges**: climate change, urban sprawl, nearing the end of fossil energy [energy risks], ecological resilience, biodiversity and food security; the social production of nature and the ways in which multi-scalar flows necessarily blend the natural, the social and the technological into inseparable ‘urban’ assemblages; the progressive, naturalist and culturalist variants of the urban; the risk in believing that environmental sustainability could be achieved by technological change without major changes in our behaviour and economy; and the dominance of GHG emissions in re-orienting ecological building and urbanism.
  - **Opportunities**: socio-ecological transition of the modes of production and consumption (including ´post-carbon` energy paradigm); transforming the social-natural-technological assemblages of urban life in ways that help build socio-environmental justice whilst reducing the risks of biodiversity collapse, neo-liberal globalisation & climate change; rescaling urban metabolism and local capacity of resilience to the crises of energy and natural resources; eco and energy efficiency of the built environment [green building stock, compact and polycentric urban model, green mobility through ‘walkable’ and ‘cyclable’ cities with efficient public transport, and reducing automobile traffic in conjunction with sustainable land-use]; increased awareness of socio-ecological issues through social participation at the local level.

4.2.4 Politics: citizenship, participation, policy and governance

Quality of democracy (modes of governance, participative and deliberative democracy, collective action, active citizenship), just local fiscal systems and financial sustainability of public policies are transversal political dimensions for socially cohesive urban futures both in SMS cities and local spaces in large metropolises [Ferrao, 2010]. The current tensions between the integration and disintegration of policy fields / collective action, scalar fragmentation, the mixing of narratives and a patchwork of political goals [competitiveness and cohesion] and autocratic and authoritarian neo-liberal policies overwhelm the capacity of the local authorities in building socially cohesive urban futures. From the political perspective, the challenges and opportunities for socially cohesive urban futures can be identified in terms of active citizenship and multi-level governance.

- **Active citizenship and multi-level governance**: mixing of narratives and a patchwork of political goals, the need for a shift from government to governance that is multi-level with new types of partnerships and participative democracy and modes of governance, which

involves some (unpredictable) combination of markets, hierarchies and networks in association with the use of formal and informal negotiations:

- **Challenges**: Combination of competitiveness and Cohesion in the perception of change is paradoxical; neo-liberal 'growth' versus environmental sustainability and social cohesion; representation of social and environmental unbalances due to 'economic' hegemony as 'market failures', and tackled as 'collateral effects'; inclusion of all interests in governance arrangements; networks can also act as mechanisms of exclusion and maintain the status quo; increasing complexity and uncertainty at all levels and between levels; the un-settling, multi-dimensional and essentially contested nature of the concept of sustainability that requires comprehensiveness - a mode in which consistency and aggregation suffers; hierarchy as the dominant mode in governance arrangements; global policies creating inequalities and overwhelming the capacity of local authorities; growth of authoritarian urban public & legal policies [fortifying, bunkering public space].
- **Opportunities**: democratic governance, environmental sustainability and social cohesion as integration of policy imperatives; focus on local and trans-national networks to ensure smooth running as mechanisms for integrating partners; vertical, horizontal and territorial coordination of the actions of governmental and non-governmental actors; hierarchy as a governance mode can be surprisingly flexible; consolidating the role of SMS cities in mediating rural space and big cities; their consolidation provides also a better equilibrium at territorial and regional level; re-establishing the role of the local in SMS cities, neighbourhoods, districts, urban villages and the recognition of more local socio-spatial realities within large metropolises.

4.3 Imagining a collective utopia: a 'Socially cohesive city' as a European urban model

Imagining a collective utopia is a creative response to the need for a convincing vision for future development of European cities, which are faced with increasing overall socio-economic and cultural-political cleavages. The demographic change, migration and particularly the 'neo-liberal' policies and current economic crisis are aggravating these disruptive processes. Imagining a collective utopia of socially cohesive cities implies innovative answers to achieve social cohesion in a reaction to the world economic crisis, the increasing social disruption and global ecological challenges, which have severe repercussions for urban social cohesion. A global new green deal, as proposed by the UN, a new architecture for the financial system whose necessity is now universally recognised and the renewed insistence on the crucial role played by the state, set the new terms for urban development decisively (Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012a). The current crisis radicalises the *problématique* of social cohesion, as certain solutions of the crisis might deepen social cleavages and ecological problems, if determined public action is not taken.

Urban policy making over the last decades has been strongly influenced by the 'neo-liberal counter revolution', which has had devastating effects on urban social cohesion. Privatisation of public and social housing, liberalisation of labour and financial markets, and large scale urban development projects as flagships of a competitive city have led to increasing inequalities between districts in cities and urban regions. Although, several political coalitions at a diversity of spatial scales made an effort to tackle the problems of growing disparity by linking competitiveness and social cohesion (Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012a). But in many of these policy efforts, it has not been clear whether social cohesion is seen as an objective by itself or as merely functional for competitiveness (Reeskens, 2007, p. 35). For instance, labour market integration via education and training tends to substitute for universal welfare provision (Peck, 2001, Bieling, 2009) and large scale urban redevelopment projects based urban policies often privilege increased competitiveness as an investment criterion over improved social service provision and community development (Moulaert, et al. 2003; Brenner, 2004). The consequence is social polarisation and new forms of "actually existing neo-liberalism" (Brenner et al., 2005), but also new forms of civic and social mobilisation and local social capital formation as strategies of coping with the negative consequences of urban restructuring and changes in

roles, positions, and scales of urban 'governance' (Moulaert et al., 2007; Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012a). Based on the valorisation of such strategies, our collectively imagined utopia of socially cohesive cities aims to: avoid that the urban remains the scene of social exclusion, polarisation and fragmentation; create space for and reinvent urban inertia; integrate social / green innovation in the urban system; promote solidarity based development; reinvent the European social model; explore the modalities of European social citizenship; and lay the foundations for a long lasting endogenous development.

4.3.1 Towards utopia

Reflecting on urban development as a contradictory, creative and destructive process nevertheless delivers relevant insights for empowering inhabitants to shape their cities towards social cohesion. A vision for the future is needed for actors to consciously shape their city, as urban development processes are linked to the dialectics of freedom and utopia (Harvey, 2000, p. 225). "The presence of a utopia, the ability to think of alternative solutions to the festering problems of the present, may be seen therefore as a necessary condition of historical change" (Hodgson, 1999, p. 7). To understand the current situation and to identify a potential future are the starting points of emancipation.

Community-centred localism as the first step:

Neo-liberal politicization of social cohesion has either hollowed out or destructed collectivist traditions, and a general amnesia prevails about the viability of collective action in creating cohesion (Judt, 2010); records on successful application of negotiated post WW II social cohesion arrangements seem to have been removed from the collective memory (Martinelli, 2010). Collective action withdrew from a universal struggle for an emancipatory welfare society in favour of a post-political approach of targeted expert-coordinated initiatives and movements (Crouch, 2004). A specific contested type of policy has been *community-centred localism* (see Moulaert et al., 2010, for a synthesis of this debate). Such policy can focus on specific targeted multi-dimensional but integrated interventions in favour of social cohesion within existing communities. But social cohesion within a community may disclose the exclusive features differentiating it from other communities or spheres of society, which might result in situations where social cohesion in some place or in some respect becomes a threat to social cohesion at other places or in other contexts (Jenson, 1998, p. 4). But it can also be a reformist first step toward rebuilding a new type of multi-level and universal welfare state based on equal rights of all inhabitants. To evaluate these complex dynamics, a multi-scalar analysis is required [Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012].

Bottom-linking local initiatives as the next step:

Urban communities can be enablers of citizenship rights using their multidimensional diversity to generate socially innovative and politically progressive initiatives working through different but interconnected spatial scales. Local initiatives as "bottom-linked" (García et al., 2012) seem to be a most promising approach to avoid the localist trap in trying to solve local problems at the local level alone (Moulaert, 1996, Moulaert et al., 2010). In this articulated spatiality, the neighbourhood is not only the site of existence of a proactive community to accommodate diversity and equal rights but also the appropriate scale to drive their general recognition and institutionalization into effective social cohesion policy at other spatial levels.

Constructing the city of diversity and equality through social innovation, transdisciplinarity and social learning:

Cities that had become "institutional laboratories" for neoliberalising urban life (Brenner and Theodore, 2002), might become places which accommodate diversity and equality (see Arendt, 1998) by means of political mobilisation and awareness-raising about the limits of current neoliberal urban development on articulated spatial scales (Moulaert et al., 2003). Diverse experiments on social innovation have been tried out over the last decades and show the viability of the transformation of the city in this concern (Moulaert et al., 2010, Mac Callum et al., 2009, Moulaert, 2002). A further step has been undertaken since 2007 by "SOCIAL POLIS – Social Cohesion in the City" project which considered the separation of critical urban research from political mobilisation and policy making as a hindrance to

elaborate an agenda for social cohesion in the city. It has come to the conclusion that a process of social learning involving all relevant actors is the only way to overcome this separation. Social learning is very much a matter of relational understanding and activism, built on a jointly developed ethics of collective action and strongly embedded in pragmatism and holism (Moulaert and Mehmood, 2012b). Furthermore, following a progressive neo-structuralist approach (Moulaert, 1996) social cohesion not only refers to the integration or the inclusion of particular social groups – or their negation; it also addresses the generic forces and agencies that create these interdependencies and enlarge agency via options of choice expressed in a shared ethics (Sen, 2001). Such approach does not "naturalize" structural constraints, but perceives them as emerging and therefore open to collective shaping through conscious and ethical agency.

Developing the city of human conviviality through solidarity-based development:
Relevant for a progressive neo-structuralist perspective on social cohesion are the different attempts to grasp development as an embracing concept to measure good life. Different efforts have been undertaken which stress individual capabilities and their enlargement as crucial for human conviviality (Sen, 2001). Based on the Human Development Index suggestions on a more effective measurement of quality of life beyond the GDP have been presented, stressing the importance of reducing inequality, of measuring wealth and non-economic assets and giving due credit to sustainability (Stiglitz et al., 2009, Wilkinson and Pickett 2009). These undertakings broaden the database for public debate and qualified democratic decision making; but at the same time they put too much stress on outcomes, and not enough on multidimensional processes of development and the social reproduction of norm-systems and collective action (Moulaert and Nussbaumer, 2009). Therefore, solidarity-based development,[34] which first came up as alternative development in the 1960s, is back on the agenda as a viable and necessary strategy to deal with the multiple problems which inclusive liberalism has not been able to solve [Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012a].

Achieving the city of participatory democracy through multi-level governance:
A social polis, a cohesive city, which offers quality of life for all its inhabitants, needs a public sphere of collective rational deliberation and should produce public spaces not only for bonding and belonging, but also for deliberation, negotiation and conflict resolution [Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012a]. While the focus in fostering participation and local democracy is all too often on procedural issues of secondary importance, social cohesion in a city of free and equal citizens requires a material base, a socio-economic organisation which grants the right to the city to all inhabitants [ibid.]. Subsequently, dialogue and democratic decision making through multi-level governance can integrate all inhabitants in a process of socioeconomic democratisation, fostering a really democratic *res publica as a pre-condition for a* Social Polis [ibid.].

4.3.2 The utopia of socially cohesive cities

A city that offers a good life for all its inhabitants is one where they are allowed to be different and yet able to live together, thereby politicising the problem of social disintegration. A concrete utopia of socially cohesive cities within territorially cohesive macro-regions has to elaborate a regulatory setting, which accommodates freedom, equality and solidarity (Novy

[34] Solidarity-based development unites different approaches in theory and practice which range from small bottom-up initiatives in improving local development via self-help to elaborated theoretical reflections on contradictions of finance and real estate capital in general and referring to radical geography (Gregory and Urry, 1985) which has stressed the necessity of an understanding of urban development from the vantage point of the production of space (Keil, 1998, Kipfer, 2008, Mahon and Keil, 2008). From its perspective, the city is a territory of collective consumption. In the 1970s, social infrastructure and services – from public housing and transport to schools and hospitals – were public goods offered by the state (not always local) authorities in the city as a collective space [see Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012a].

and Lengauer, 2008, Balibar, 1993). The challenge of social cohesion implies cultural change overcoming adherence to a single-language, mono-ethnic norm, and accommodating diversity, equality as well as multi-identity exchange. Within this context, cities can become places of belonging and territories that accommodate place-based specificities with equal opportunities for quality of life.

Socio-economically, social cohesion would be fostered if the European economic treaties abandon inherent market fundamentalism and return to a mixed economic order which experiments with a constructive synergising between markets, regulation and planning as well as with private, communal and public ownership. This would enable cities to consolidate a plural economy based on a mix of paid and voluntary work, and an export as well as caring economy (Gibson-Graham, 2007; Fraisse, 2012). Politically, the challenge consists in advancing from an essentialist and exclusionary concept of national citizenship that creates "outsiders", toward a scale-sensitive and inhabitant-centred conception of citizenship (Garcia et al. 2012). This would allow establishing a societal citizenship guaranteeing rights for everybody (Beauregard and Bounds, 2000).

Ecologically, the challenge of social cohesion implies ecological justice in the socio-ecological transition of the modes of production and consumption (including ´post-carbon` energy paradigm), and dealing with issues of ecological resilience, biodiversity and food security. This requires a move towards a socio-ecological accumulation strategy with a scale-sensitive public investment in public transport, socio-ecological housing and energy self-sufficiency as key elements [Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012a]. The focus here should be on changes in the organisation of mobility, away from fuel-dependent and socially uneven car mobility towards innovative combinations of public transport, biking and walking. Furthermore, "greening" public infrastructure and production is a huge domain for urban innovation. This type of socio-ecological accumulation strategy would give incentives to a new civilizational mode of living and working in the urban agglomeration that fosters social cohesion.

5. Socially Cohesive Urban Development: Mainstreaming the urban dimension of European cohesion policy

5.1 Grand problems in policy making

5.1.1 Neglect / abandoning of the 'local' to the benefit of the urban region

Our analysis of the urban development policy trends over the last two decades [2.2 and 4.1.2] shows a progressive fragmentation of the policy fields and abandoning of the local to the benefit of the urban region. Based on our shared problematising of urban social cohesion [chapter 3], the analysis of the local dimension of European urban reality [Mahsud, et al. 2010, 1.2 and 4.1.3] and the challenges and opportunities [4.2], we have reached the conclusion that a multi-scalar rethinking of the 'local' [4.1.3 and 4.3] is pivotal for urban social cohesion. All our experts share this conclusion as an alternative focus for overcoming fragmentation and its critically important capacity in unfolding policies for socially cohesive urban development.

With respect to urban social cohesion, locally focussed and bottom linked [4.3.1] policy and analytical perspectives can provide the integrating framework for "place-based development" and "territorial cohesion" concerns. Our focus on the local also corresponds to the emergence of new forms of civic and social mobilisation and local social capital formation as strategies of coping with the negative consequences of urban restructuring and changes in roles, positions, and scales of urban 'governance' (Moulaert et al., 2007). Of crucial importance, however, is to avoid the localist trap (background paper - Mahsud, et al. 2010). The specific advantage of the local resides in its capacity to integrate and coordinate. That is why the local is important. But there is a constant danger of fragmentation, as "targeting" certain localities is often to the detriment of other localities, increasing competition as well as lack of integration, hence, the need for multi-scalarity [Atkinson, 2010a].

The local can be the place for social innovation, a "laboratory of solidarity" (against the history of neo-liberalism, when cities were laboratories of neo-liberal restructuring). The multi-scalar view of the local embeds local activities and institutions in broader contexts, and allows covering issues of the adequate form of the European Social Model (European social citizenship) and the link between social and territorial cohesion [Novy, 2010a].

Our specific focus on the local is to go beyond 'glocalisation' as a very influential understanding of urban development. In glocalisation, which is a political as well as an economic concept, the city is a node in a worldwide network [Swyngedouw, 2004]. In this sense, glocalisation implies that urban activities are inserted in national, transnational and global networks of exchange in terms of production and market chains. In addition, 'glocalisation' argues that urban regions as political units operate within a transnational context (often at the expense of national territorial governments).[35] Obviously the concept gives more emphasis to the local in its connection to the framework of supra-territorial global and transnational networks and scales. This influential perception has strengthened an understanding of urban development that relies more on global and transnational networks than the capacity of the respective hinterland.

The combination of 'global' and local' in 'glocal' offers more a conception of bi-scalarity than multi-scalarity [Novy, 2010a]. In particular, there are areas that deserve more attention for a multi-scalar rethinking of the local, such as the capacity of hinterland as a potential regional market for the SMS-cities, urban villages or the city-regional hinterland connections and

[35] Take Brussels as an example. The Brussels functional region extends deep into Flanders and Wallonia. Brussels is clearly a nodal point in transnational and global configurations and operates extremely well, even in the absence of a national government or coherent regional policies [Based on correspondence with Erik Swyngedouw, Feb. – March 2011].

flows for the local in large metropolises, and reflections on sustainability with respect to regionally integrated consumption and production [Novy, 2010a, also see background paper, Mahsud et al. 2010]. Thus, a multi-scalar perspective of the local has to take not only the regional, national, European and global levels into consideration, but also rural-urban relations, forms of trans-local cooperation and multi-scalar governance when aiming at cohesive cities [Novy, 2010a].

5.1.2 The need for a democratic, efficient and multi-level governance system

Based on the analysis of the core dimensions [3.1], the challenges and opportunities for governance [4.2.4] and its role in building socially cohesive urban futures [4.3.1], we have identified the growth of authoritarian urban public and legal policies, and with that the need for a democratic, efficient and multi-level governance system. This need owes to fast erosion of the welfare state, fuelled by neo-liberal policies, that has made the regulation of place and space more difficult. Added to this are the internationalization of the labour market and the increasing mobility of citizens within Europe, requiring more flexible forms of political rights and participation as well as a Europe-wide system of universal social rights.

It is the lack of common norms and institutions providing for labour, social and political rights, which is increasingly undermining social and territorial cohesion. The Urban Governance approach tries to critically capture the new power geometry and the host of institutional changes within the local and regional state apparatuses and the new stimuli for locational competition [Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012a]. City governments increasingly perceive their spatial borders as a constraint to tackle cross-border problems like migration, commuting, suburbanisation and city-region formation, not to speak of climatic change and the world economic crisis which can be solved neither through top-down state planning nor market-mediated anarchy (Jessop, 2003, p. 101).

New modes of governance, sensitive to scale and context, and alternative institutional settings promoting a plural economy are needed, which allow tackling the question of social cohesion in the city as a political problem of accommodating social and economic development and challenge all urban actors to collectively look for adequate urban institutions which permit a more inclusive form of development [Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012a]. Moreover, the challenge consists in advancing from an essentialist and exclusionary concept of national citizenship that creates “outsiders” toward a scale-sensitive and inhabitant-centred conception of citizenship [Garcia et al. 2012). This would allow establishing a societal citizenship guaranteeing rights for everybody (Beauregard and Bounds, 2000). This emphasis of social citizenship as a key element of social cohesion, linking the process of participation with concrete improvements in living conditions is a main driver of political legitimization and the acceptance of democracy [Novy, 2010a].

When reflecting on socially cohesive urban development, our experts reminded us of the concept of a “European social model”, the highly-appraised balanced development based on a notion of equitable distribution. They also reminded us about the often-neglected actors in cohesion policies, the voluntary and private sector, which is problematic as they are powerful agents. We were also reminded of the participatory governance, democracy, active citizenship and value issues with references to the Brazilian case, which is important for several reasons. Participatory budgeting of Porto Alegre - where the urban neighbourhoods have their own budgets and citizens decide about public funds - is a very good example, as it is not only about the distribution of public funds, but also the common deliberation results in mutual learning processes. It leads to a broader vision of urban development, including a revision of their own perspective and the creation of a sense of solidarity by acknowledging the legitimacy of claims of other actors and neighbourhoods that live in even more deprived situations. The case of Porto Alegre shows the necessity to broaden local participatory governance and to strengthen regional participatory governance. Furthermore, the Brazilian case offers insights for the European Social Model as well, as the country is introducing welfare capitalism, exactly at a time, when Europe is identifying it as hindrance to “competitiveness” and dismantling its model of the 20th century.

A multi level governance system is about integrating knowledge, agenda setting, public policies and collective action at all scale levels, which produces complex interplay involving multiple factors, actors and scales aiming at fostering 'local' dynamics. Such a system with new forms of partnerships, participative and deliberative democracy, collective action and active citizenship is crucial for unfolding socially cohesive urban development. It involves inclusion of all interests, vertical, horizontal and territorial coordination of the actions of governmental and non-governmental actors, and also focus on local and trans-national networks to ensure smooth running as mechanisms for integrating partners. While the focus in fostering participation and local democracy is all too often on procedural issues of secondary importance, social cohesion in a city of free and equal citizens requires a material base, a socio-economic organisation which grants the right to the city to all inhabitants. Subsequently, dialogue and democratic decision making through multi-level governance can integrate all inhabitants in a process of socioeconomic democratisation, fostering a really democratic *res publica as a pre-condition for a* Social Polis [Novy, Coimbra and Moulaert, 2012a].

5.1.3 Sectoral fragmentation of policies

Sectoral fragmentation of policies has been a consistent trend over the last two decades [2.2 and 4.1.2]. This has serious repercussions for policy-making for socially cohesive urban development. The current tensions between the integration and disintegration of policy fields / collective action, scalar fragmentation, the mixing of narratives and a patchwork of political goals [competitiveness and cohesion] and autocratic and authoritarian neo-liberal policies overwhelm the capacity of the local authorities in unfolding socially cohesive urban development [4.2.4]. Sectoral fragmentation of policies remains well entrenched within the national governments [different ministries and departments with competing competencies for urban development]. Even the much-favoured transfer of financial autonomy to cities, has not stopped the unfolding of flagship projects and sectoralisation of urban policy [Moulaert, 2000]. The common strand, if any, in urban policy making has been the strong influence of 'neo-liberalism', which has had devastating effects on urban social cohesion. Privatisation of public and social housing, liberalisation of labour and financial markets, and large scale urban development projects as flagships of a competitive city have led to increasing inequalities between districts in cities and urban regions. Furthermore, in the policy efforts that have taken place in linking competitiveness and social cohesion, it has not been clear whether social cohesion is seen as an objective by itself or as merely functional for competitiveness. Our analysis [see 4.3, 4.1.2 and 2.2] at the local level shows the case to be that of the later, and even that the contemporary EU territorial cohesion discourse holds an inclination towards the functionalization of social cohesion to the benefit of competitiveness [Novy, Coimbria, Moulaert, 2012; and 2012a].

During the course of this 'Prospective Urbaine', we were constantly reminded of the need to avoid dispersion when being confronted with the broad variety of issues that influence social cohesion in cities. Several suggestions were made in this regard: social cohesion and integration require overcoming the tensions between national and local policies, forecasting and a long term vision, focusing on the topics of "place-based development" and "territorial cohesion", developing social cohesion indicators that could guide policies. In this regard, the prospects of replicating the French example of urban initiative to create a "single pot" is worth examining, in which there is a synergy of all policy sectors in order to constitute a 'plan' for funding forum / platform for urban interventions and create room for social innovation.

5.1.4 Neglect of crucial elements for building social cohesion

Based on our analysis of the core dimensions [3.1] and the challenges and opportunities [4.2], we identified crucial elements for building urban social cohesion. They include variety of aspects pertaining to the accessibility of affordable housing, social services, educational system, labour market, and issues of migration and citizenship, etc. In our analysis and imagining of a collective utopia of socially cohesive cities [4.3.2], we have observed neglect of the interconnectedness of these crucial elements in the policy discourse [see 2.1, 2.1, 4.2

and 4.3]. For instance, labour market integration via education and training tends to substitute for universal welfare provision [Novy, Coimbria, Moulaert, 2012]. The effects of urban sprawl in the way people live and relate, the housing debt crisis that has reduced the ability of the individual / house-hold to own a house, the increased privatisation of social housing that has reduced access, increased stigmatisation, insecurity and homelessness are key factors with devastating consequences for social cohesion. The proliferation of technocratic, elitist, inflexible systems of education and training regimes, the high concentration of immigrants in certain schools and natives in others, have exacerbated the problems of inequality and exclusion. Moreover, the dysfunctional and fragmented policies of integration of migrants, the rise of the far-right and their use of migrants as scape-goats, the new role played by nationalism and the romanticization of the national past, especially when mobilised to explain current insecurity, are alarming trends that needs to be addressed for unfolding social cohesion in the cities. Furthermore, the transformation of urban life through pervasive diffusion of digital technologies, and the measures stressing identity and raising the fear of others also poses grave problems for urban social cohesion.

Accessibility to social resources promotes social inclusion, overcomes spatial fragmentation, supports capabilities' acquisition and ameliorates the urban environment towards cohesion and sustainability [Vicari, 2010a]. There has to be a renewed interest in social issues, as a worthwhile concern in itself (and not only functional to economic development) [Faroult, 2010a]. We have to rethink the role and modes of employment, including the capacity building for employment [education and training], in relation to socially cohesive urban development, as a job is decisive for human capabilities and entitlements [ibid.]. We need to re-conceptualize cyberspace, away from its most technological orientation and at the service of the global economy, and rather use it as a means of socialization within a more egalitarian society. Besides its successful use for political mobilization [Obama-2008, and Tea party-2010 campaigns in the US], this implies creative use of digital infrastructures to enhance accessibility to social resources and welfare; improve social interaction across social classes and age groups; re-connect places and to reinforce the sense of community; and to revitalize both the street level and larger community level [Graham, 2010a]. We have to creatively deal with the issue of migration. In the face of demographic crisis, migration is part of the future of European societies, which requires the "politics of hospitality" to accommodate the newcomers, 'social citizenship' and the "politics of trying together" and re-enactment of inclusive political communities as the only ways to undermine extreme right politics. Moreover, of particular relevance are also the various definitions of a migrant, their liberties, their reasons and preferences for integration, lack of opportunities for their political representation, and the "trans-local" relations among migrant communities in European cities [Garcia, 2010a]. This also involves the further exploration of the principle of European citizenship and looking at the debates and campaigns put forward by some European advocate groups.

5.1.5 The consequences of the financial crisis for public policy

Based on our analysis [1.2, 2.1.3.1, 2.1.4.1 and 4.2], the current global financial meltdown that started in 2008 is a multi-dimensional crisis with severe repercussions on urban social cohesion. Hardly any sector of the society seems to have escaped the crisis, which has caused manifold increase in social disruptions worldwide. With devastating effects in south Europe [Greece, Portugal and Spain], the crisis is stronger at the moment in Ireland, UK and Baltic, and there are increasing signs of its strengthening in the rest of the European countries. Besides badly coordinated effects and misunderstood subsidiarities, the crisis is profoundly linked to the unfolding of fiscal austerity and radical cutting of welfare and public services, radical collapse of public sector employment, the rise of far-right anti-urban/anti-cosmopolitan politics and their ability to exploit the crisis. It is increasingly exposing the limits of the – until recently – hegemonic model of inclusive liberalism. A global new green deal, as proposed by the UN, a new architecture for the financial system whose necessity is now universally recognised and the renewed insistence on the crucial role played by the state, set the new terms for urban development decisively. The current crisis radicalises the *problematique* of social cohesion, as certain solutions of the crisis might deepen social

cleavages and ecological problems, if determined public action is not taken [Novy, Coimbria, Moulaert, 2012].

Overcoming the financial crisis without deepening de-regulation and erosion of public services and welfare is a mammoth policy challenge. The need to elaborate fiscal policies that would have a progressive character against the current trend in which the middle and working classes have been penalized, is of paramount importance for social cohesion [Graham, 2010a]. Some suggest that common measures at the European level for all territories would not do, as common measures on unequal situations generally reinforce inequalities [Querrien, 2010a]. Others recommend a pragmatic approach; a critical-pragmatic revision of the model of urban changes might lead to a more open view on financial crisis [Cremaschi, 2010]. Based on our analysis, we foresee that a new configuration of the relationship between central and local government is likely to emerge, one in which there will be a transfer of competencies from central to local so that cities will be in charge of social cohesion in a framework of drastically decreased local resources. A positive effect will be that financial transfer to cities will not be tied to specific sector / policy, so that innovation and integration will be possible. On the other hand social cohesion cannot be addressed only at the local level. It is important to call for a European initiative like URBAN but at the same time to recommend Nation states' responsibility on cities and social cohesion [Vicari, 2010a]. On a more positivistic side, human, social and economic development can be achieved simultaneously, if adequate public coordination, regulation and planning take place. In line with the current revival of Keynesianism, municipalities have to be given a broader fiscal space of manoeuvre as well as more systematic support in a multi-layered public investment strategy. If this does not take place, municipalities might become the first victims of austerity policies with the related consequences for social cohesion.

5.1.6 The challenges of environmental sustainability and ecological justice

The challenges of environmental sustainability and ecological justice are multi-dimensional. The onset of the socio-ecological crises linked to global warming and resource depletion has serious repercussions for urban social cohesion [see 3.1, 4.2.3, 4.3.2, 3.3.3.3 and 2.1.3]. In this respect, we identified sustainable environmental and resource management, socio-ecological cohesion and ecological justice as crucial factors for socially cohesive urban development. They require socio-ecological innovation based transition of the modes of production and consumption, ecological infrastructure and urbanism, biodiversity and food security in an era of pervasive consumerism, productivism, resource depletion, climate change and energy risks. Such a complexity is further complicated by the conceptual problems of ecological urbanism [3.1 and 4.2.3], the way the discourse of 'nature' dominates the current urban development trends, the wasteful intensity of logistics and infrastructure in the modern consumer society, and the issues of urban metabolism and ecological justice. Moreover, the pervasive belief that environmental sustainability could be achieved by technological change without major changes in our behaviour and economy, and the dominance of global-molecular level [GHG emissions, etc.] in re-orienting ecological building and urbanism adds further to the challenges.

The multi-dimensional nature of environmental sustainability and ecological justice is intimately tied with the urban question. Urban sprawl and other unsustainable patterns of urbanisation are identified as the most important challenge for the 21st century demanding change in urban design and planning practices [UN-Habitat 2009; 2010]. The alarming pace of global urbanisation and the consequences of the urban space consumption per capita at the micro-scale on the meso and macro scales [sprawl, emissions, energy and social risks] have fed a consensus that the *sustainability question is intimately tied with the urban question* [Ingersoll 2006; UN 2010; Pont 2010]. In the European context, the situation is even more alarming: 83% of the European population will be urban by 2050, urban sprawl expands faster than population rise [CEC, 2010b]. The correlation between resources [energy, materials, etc.] consumption and concentration of urban area, and the question of providing water, transport and waste management infrastructure in a sustainable way,

intimately ties the need for the *sustainability question to be asked in terms of urban life* [Williams 2000; Jenks 2005]. The gargantuan challenge that this implies is the transformation of the social-natural-technological assemblages of urban life in ways that help build socio-environmental justice whilst reducing the risks of biodiversity collapse, neo-liberal globalisation and climate change.

In this regard, the nascent field of sustainable urbanism [Farr 2008; Lehman 2010] together with a move towards a socio-ecological accumulation strategy [Novy, Coimbria, Moulaert, 2012a] - with a scale-sensitive public investment in public transport, socio-ecological housing and energy self-sufficiency - holds a great promise. This promise lies in combining environmentalism and urbanism with socio-ecological transition in the processes of production and consumption for unfolding socially cohesive and sustainable urban development as a new economic base. Three main focus areas can be identified here. The first is about changes in the organisation of mobility, away from fuel-dependent and socially uneven car mobility towards innovative combinations of public transport, biking and walking. Secondly, the "greening" of public infrastructure, building stock and production processes, etc. should be seen as a huge domain for urban innovations and employment generation in itself. This type of socio-ecological accumulation strategy would give incentives to a new civilizational mode of living and working in the urban agglomeration that fosters social cohesion. Thirdly, the focus should be on linking the processes of social exclusion/inclusion with issues of ecological justice and increased awareness of socio-ecological issues through social participation at the local level. Leads from political ecology could be useful here, as it has managed to link the political economy of capitalism to issues of nature and ecology and to territorialize ensuing conflicts. As the city as a territorial unit is a constantly emerging contradictory whole, to create cohesive cities requires not only social but also socio-ecological cohesion and justice [ibid.]. This has implications for urban collective action and policy fields like housing and transport where exclusion and access are part of everyday life.

5.2 The potential of mainstreaming the urban dimension of European cohesion policy

The need for mainstreaming the urban dimension of EU cohesion policy is widely recognized. This implies dealing with urban development issues at the European level, as not doing so would endanger the achievement of the objectives of the EU's Lisbon agenda and Sustainable Development Strategies [CEC, 2009, p. 9]. There is not only the wide recognition of the central role of cities in meeting those 'competitiveness' oriented objectives [growth, jobs, etc.] but also the fact that they are the frontline in the battle for social cohesion, environmental sustainability and democratic governance [CEC, 1997, 1998, 2004, 2006a, b and c; CEC, 2010a and b, see also 2.1.4]. In our background paper, introduction [1.1 and 1.2] and the analysis of the key policy trends [2.2], we presented the evolution of these ways of seeing the role of cities in European policy-making and also examined the major efforts [Urban Pilot Projects, URBAN & URBACT programs, Article-8, 'Acquis Urbain', etc] in the context of the mainstreaming of the "urban dimension" of EU Cohesion Policy. With the proliferation of urban initiatives and programs, the lack of coherence in them has arisen, which in turn has intensified the need for a common European approach towards urban policy [see 2.2.1 and 2.2.1.3]. In this regard, the emergence of the so-called 'common European methodology for sustainable urban development' [CEC, 2009] and the so-called 'new approach' that aims at combining 'economic and social cohesion' through place-based and territorial approach were also examined [4.1.2, see also 2.2.1]. Our conclusions on them [5.2.1] and the proposals [5.2.2] should be seen as an effort to formulate the basis for a way forward from within the 'tropical forest' [see 1.1]; the analogy that characterizes well the debate on mainstreaming the urban dimension, where conceptual foundations are blurred, several misconceptions have arisen and no common grounds exist for a useful debate to take place.

5.2.1 The problems of the 'new' common approaches

Based on Article-8 and the principles of the 'Acquis Urbain', the 'common European methodology' proposes 'sustainable, integrated and participative urban development' through a concentration of funding on selected target areas, the increased involvement of citizens and local stakeholders and a stronger 'horizontal' coordination as main elements [CEC, 2009, p. 10; CEC, 2010a; see also 2.2.1.3]. First, the approach behind this methodology has added to the fragmentation of policy concepts [CEC, 2009, p. 23]. For example, the definition of 'sustainable, integrated and participative urban development' is significantly loaded and open to different interpretations [CEC, 2010a]. There is evidence that policy-makers assume conflicting understandings of each of the four terms, a marked hiatus is observed between theory, policy making and practice, and a common trait is that there is not sufficient citizen's participation in the programming and ownership of the actions, a result which is shared by several ex-post evaluations [CEC, 2010a, p.1 and p. 26; 2009a; and CEC, 2006d].[36]

Second, the Article-8 and the principles of 'Acquis Urbain' does not include the relation between socio-spatial and economic disparities and inequalities and the reasons that cause them, which is crucial for any talk of sustainable urban development or the policies thereof [CEC, 2010a, p. 27].

Third, most urban development policies continue to have a strong relation with the ideas of "cities as engines of growth" in the Lisbon agenda, while missing the link that cities are also big "engines of consumption" in terms of territories, energy and natural resources [CEC, 2010a, p. 27]. Fourth, little attention is paid to mainstream the more successful programs such as urban pilot projects, integrated area development based approaches, INTERREG / URBACT type of knowledge exchange and networking actions in order to improve the capacity of cities from different member states to learn from each other [background paper; Moulaert, 2002; CEC, 2010a, p.28]. Fifth, there is a general critique of ERDF's urban involvement for being overwhelmingly focused on physical infrastructure and strengthening cities as motors of regional development rather than the objective of internal cohesion within cities,[37] and that mainstreaming the urban dimension within ERDF comes down to branding the cities ['attractive', 'knowledge' and 'culture' cities, etc.] for increased investment [neo-liberal trend] as a way of dealing with their problems [CEC, 2006, and 2009; ECORYS, 2010]. Within the regional debate, some point to the tension between reinforcing ongoing 'local development' methodologies, flagship projects 2020 focused on deprived neighbourhoods, and creating platforms – cooperation between cities. Others argue for an integrated approach, building up on the past and ongoing initiatives.[38]Finally, it is also rather naively acknowledged that the 'Acquis Urbain' is yet to be consolidated and the key elements of a common European methodology for sustainable urban development are yet to be defined [CEC, 2009, p.51].

Based on our analysis of the so-called 'new approach' [4.1.2, 2.2.1, and 4.3] - linking competitiveness and social cohesion through place-based and territorial development – we highlighted that it has not been clear whether social cohesion is seen as an objective by itself or as merely functional for competitiveness. For instance, place-based demands for labour market integration via education and training tends to substitute for universal welfare provision, and large scale urban redevelopment projects often privilege increased competitiveness as an investment criterion over improved social service provision and community development. We pointed out that 'the new approach' is not so different from the (integrated) social development perspective launched in the early 1990s when local

[36] Instead, citizens rarely have the ownership of the projects and even less a voice in the related financing procedures. See CEC, 2010a, p. 26.

[37] The scale of social action supported within ERDF remains limited, see, ECORYS, 2010.

[38] Such as, Urban pilot projects [1989-1999], URBAN-I (1994-99) & URBAN-II (2000-06), Urban Audit and JESSICA, see, CEC, 2009 and 2010a.

development was put forward as a strategy to combat social exclusion [Novy, Coimbria, Moulaert, 2012]. We also presented the argument that social cohesion has been and should be socially constructed, it cannot be proclaimed or 'discursively materialised' by granting it a slot within a grand ideological discourse [Moulaert and Nussbaumer, 2009]. Whereas the new approach is creating a "de-socialised" and a "de-politicised binary" that leaves no room outside its own rationale, hence reducing social cohesion to its functional role in achieving and maintaining competitiveness.

Our conclusion is that the 'new approach' remains embedded in the 'competitiveness' oriented hegemonic policy discourse, where non-economic aspects are of interest primarily because of their economic functionality. The power of this discourse derives from its capacity to frame conversations, set goals and make sense of complex relationships of policy issues in socio-economic development. Conceptually, it offers an integral analysis, but in practice it is strongly linked and subordinated to the competitiveness discourse [Novy, Coimbria, Moulaert, 2012]. De-linking this subordinated role of social cohesion in the policy discourse is one of our central concerns in formulating the basis for mainstreaming the urban dimension of European cohesion policy. Our aim is to address social cohesion as a specific concern and a specific perspective to look at social issues in the city, which is crucial for unfolding policy options for socially cohesive urban development.

5.2.2 The prospects for deviant mainstreaming and transdisciplinarity

For transcending the discourse of competitiveness, we need to apply a territorial logic [territorially-rooted practices, institutions and conflicts] and a solidarity-based development approach [see 4.3.1], which gives a holistic perspective on the overall dynamics of urban development and social cohesion [Novy, Coimbria, Moulaert, 2012a]. Embedded in their application is the capacity to unfold innovative answers to achieve social cohesion in a reaction to the world economic crisis, the increasing social disruption and global ecological challenges. In this regard, the research undertaken in SOCIAL POLIS identified three principles that are of crucial importance to social cohesion in the city: first, a scale-sensitive accumulation strategy that suits the needs and potential of cities and which is cohesive as well as coherent [see 5.1.2, 5.1.5 and 5.1.6]; second, a scale-sensitive approach to politics, policy-making and democratisation [see 5.1.2, 4.3.2]; and finally, a form of scientific involvement in urban affairs that fosters rational urban debates. They are based on an epistemology that favours transdisciplinarity and deviant mainstreaming, which offers a democratic, socially cohesive and creative basis for mainstreaming the urban dimension of European cohesion policy.

Formulating the basis for mainstreaming of the urban dimension of European cohesion policy requires a systemic understanding of the current problems of European urban development and possible solutions [see 2.1, 2.2, 4.2, 4.3 and 5.1]. This requires not only new policies, but also new forms of knowledge production, a culture of learning and democratic forms of conflict resolution. In this regard, transdisciplinarity constitutes a dialectical process integrating practical relevance and accountability on the one hand and scientific validity and freedom on the other hand. It links theory and practice in order to solve existing problems of social cohesion, by integrating different and competing perspectives from the beginning and give the practitioners a say in defining relevant questions.

Transdisciplinarity aims at overcoming fragmentation in society and knowledge production [Novy, Coimbria, Moulaert, 2012a]. Politico-administratively this fragmentation happens through the division of labour between ministries and departments, and state levels. Academically, the division of universities in disciplines hinders inter- and transdisciplinary research. In civil society, environmental NGOs fight climate change, developmental NGOs combat poverty and trade unions campaign for growth and employment. *This partition of the world into pigeonholes ends with no one being accountable for development as a coherent process*.

Transdisciplinarity in social sciences can foster social cohesion as active empowerment of citizens by means of a republican understanding of knowledge production. Academic research should be organically related to the socialisation and democratisation of the access to and use of knowledge (Thompson Klein, 2001, p. 114) and publicly accessible to "user groups" via open-source technologies. Transdisciplinary projects have the potential to facilitate "powerful interventions into local systems" (Häberli et al., 2001, p. 9) by the "taking of ownership" of the results of transdisciplinary processes by involved groups (Nowotny, 2003). Public platforms of knowledge exchange are required to mobilise experience and know-how to combat exclusion, foster cohesion and facilitate participation, achieving a "socially robust knowledge" (CEC, 2008).

Collective search processes for discovering socially-cohesive practices, creating new institutions and organisations to deal with conflicts of interest and problems in urban development, require transdisciplinary settings of joint learning based on rational judgement and normative commitment to social cohesion as a structural transformation process [Novy, Coimbria, Moulaert, 2012a]. Participants in transdisciplinary dialogues are designated to discover new interconnections between allegedly different dimensions of social exclusion. Transdisciplinary research, respectful of the experience-based knowledge of policy-makers and civil society activists, raises awareness of the structural limits on agency. In this context, deviant mainstreaming (Arthur et al., 2007) is a short-term strategy which links pragmatic urban activism and policy-making with a utopian perspective of overcoming structural constraints imposed by inequalities in class, gender and ethnicity. It exploits the contradictions inherent in different forms of liberalism with the intention to expand the existing frontiers in favour of cooperation and solidarity to restrain the collateral damage caused by strategies of locational competition. This justifies innovative public policies, which promote cohesion in ways that diverge from the conventional recipe – as happened in 2009 in relation to financial markets and its repercussions on urban development. Examples flourish: The cooperative movement in Tower Colliery, in Wales, extended the dominant mode of governance towards more progressive variants (Arthur et al., 2007). In Canada, the "Quebec Model" is a pluralist, almost hybrid mode of governance" based on corporatist and inclusive elements. Participatory budgeting, as elaborated in Porto Alegre, Brazil, has been declared a best-practice even by organisations like the World Bank (Abers, 2000, Novy and Leubolt, 2005).

Deviant mainstreaming embeds the meaning of terms like citizenship, community, empowerment and participation in a relational understanding of the human being and a collectively constructed *res publica.* Citizenship considered from a solidarity perspective and defined via equality under the law, franchise and free political participation and social rights (Marshall, 1950) is different from that understood by 'possessive individualism' (Mac Pherson, 1962). Community can be a group traditionally bonded by clearly differentiating "us" from "them" or, instead, a socially constructed collective jointly acting in favour of a place or common concerns (Moulaert and Nussbaumer, 2005). Empowerment can be an individual effort of capacity building or a collective undertaking of changing the rules of the game (Friedmann, 1992). Participation can be limited to the micro level and minor improvements in the neighbourhood (micro participation) (Cooke and Kothari, 2001) or it can be an experiment with new forms of macro-participation which aim at jointly constructing the future of the city (integral participation) which is crucial for cohesive and integrated strategies (Novy, 2007).

5.3 Social innovation as a contemporary bottom-linked approach to social cohesion

Building on our methodological framework [3.3] and the analysis of the role of social innovation in constructing socially cohesive urban futures [4.3], and to address the grand problems in policy making [5.1] and to formulate a democratic basis for mainstreaming the urban dimension of European cohesion policy [5.2], we present social innovation as a contemporary bottom-linked approach to social cohesion. This implies social innovation as collective problematization and collective cohesion-seeking action [Moulaert, 2010a and b].

In this regard, there are three interconnected dimensions of social innovation: i] Satisfaction of needs (agendas and initiatives for) ; ii] Innovation in social relations ; and iii] Empowerment of communities and their members. They involve agenda setting, social economy building, participation and shared decision-making etc. with a central place for the involved populations [see Integrated Area Development, Moulaert 2000, 2002 and 2010). The following two tables illustrate the capacity of these dimensions of social innovation in relation to the four perspectives of problematizing urban social cohesion [see 3.3.3], and scale-sensitivity of social innovation as a process and collective action.

Table 5.1: **Social innovation and problematizing social cohesion**.

Dimensions of social innovation **Perspectives of problematizing**	**Satisfaction of human needs**	**Innovation in social relations**	**Empowerment of communities and their members – Politics and policy**
Perspective 1: Social Economy	Production and allocation of use-values	Governance of social economy organizations	Needs oriented mental frames building -
Perspective 2: Culture	Overcoming alienation – Identity building	Community building initiatives	Culture, social movements and politics
Perspective 3: Ecology	Ecological sustainability goals	Revisiting nature-culture relations	Prioritising nature-culture relations in empowerment dynamics
Perspective 4: Politics	Building citizenship rights	Cooperation-Mobilization	Mobilising over social cohesion as a collective strategy
Scientific analysis - transdisciplinarity	[Revealing of needs]	Social learning process	Building institutions promoting constructive problematising
Collective action and partnership	Agenda building	Participatory strategic planning	Connecting capability building sociopolitical mobilisation

Source: Frank Moulaert, [2010b].

Table 5.2: **An overview of social innovation as process and collective action – significant illustrations**

Type of Social Innovation **"Scale"**	**"Finalité" (In reaction to? To improve?)**	**Governance (Social learning, cooperation, decision-making and communication, …)**	**Institutional leverage (Law making, funding, public institution building, …)**
Neighbourhood	Multi-dimensional neighbourhood development plan – IAD covering housing, public space, social services,	Neighbourhood committees, Neighbourhood Councils	Neighbourhood Development Agencies, City funds, EC Community Initiatives
City	Integrated area development plan City-wide	Networking among development actors	City-wide administration with clear district competencies
Region - Nation	Nation-wide sustainable development agenda	Inter-scalar policy learning networks	City-Funds, Social economy laws and institutions

Source: Frank Moulaert, [2010a].

5.3.1 Social innovation as the basis for sustainable development and reforming European cohesion policy

'Social innovation' is a concept significant in scientific research, human development (agendas), business administration, public debate and ethical controversy [Mac Callum,

Moulaert, et al., 2009]. The concept enlarges the economic and technological reading of the role of innovation in development to encompass a more comprehensive societal transformation of human relations and practices (Moulaert and Nussbaumer 2005). However, social innovation is not a new term, as the historic antecedents of its theory and practice go as far back as the eighteenth century. But it has returned to prominence in the last 15 years, after a period of neglect. Firmly established as an integrating strategy and a policy instrument in the field of 'integrated area development' [Moulaert, 2000, 2002], social innovation has returned as a crucial basis for multi-level governance and territorial development [Moulaert, 2007; MacCallum, at al., 2009]. This return has been materialised in approaches that experiment with social innovations to institutionalise new (sustainable, scale-sensitive, …) forms of urban solidarity and focus on space for alternatives, mixed / plural economy, local welfare and of socioeconomic citizenship, and limits on destructive locational competition (Moulaert, 2002, Moulaert and Nussbaumer, 2009). This brings a new focus on the city as a space for civic actions, social integration and, with it, possibilities of thinking through new configurations for scale-sensitive citizenship formation and macro political participation from a decidedly cosmopolitan perspective [Harvey, 2006; Brenner et al., 2005, Moulaert et al., 2003, Sandercock, 2003; Novy, Coimbria, Moulaert, 2012a].

In linking social innovation to sustainability and European cohesion policy, its role in democratic multi-level governance and territorial development is of crucial importance. With increasing emphasis on the territorialisation of sustainable development in the European policy discourse [CEC, Territorial Agenda 2008; see 2.2, 4.1.2 & 5.2.1], the social dimension necessarily recovers its centrality as the societal connecting thread building complementarities between the different dimensions of sustainability. This argument should not reduce the relevance of the other two pillars of sustainable development, but it rather advocates the need to understand their articulation as being indivisible from society in terms of social relationships and governance. In this respect, we argue that an integrated approach to social sustainability via social innovation offers the best way towards sustainable territorial development and reforms of the cohesion policy. This implies a *process* approach to sustainability that would turn governance into the core of the socially sustainable development process and the three-pillar sustainability agenda into a regularly revised and re-evaluated outcome of that governance process [Parra and Moulaert, 2010].

Our argument is that the potential of social sustainability within sustainable development and territorial cohesion can be enhanced best by starting from the concept of social innovation (Moulaert *et al.,* 2005a p. 1976), which in any case puts social sustainability in both governance and equity (development agenda) at its core. The implementation of the three dimensions of the *concept of social innovation* – satisfaction of human needs, changes in social relations and increasing socio-political capability (see Moulaert *et al.* 2005a) – at the light of the sustainability problematic leads to a reading of socio-institutional innovation for territorial sustainability including a *collectively produced definition of sustainable paths of development*, *innovation in the governance for sustainable development* and *enhancement of environmental rights – as a basis for new environmental citizenship rights*. Therefore socially innovative relations within their indissoluble affinity with nature have the capacity to produce what might be called "socio-nature embedded scales" feeding both social and environmental rights enhancement into the governance agenda of the different territories [Parra and Moulaert, 2010]. This implies that social innovation based governance processes would enhance consultation and co-production between planners, policy-makers and stakeholders, that the three pillars of sustainability are clearly translated into spatial quality rights from the very beginning, and that the participatory dynamics are considered as a fully fledged part of the local democracy process in the territory.

Having made the case for social innovation as an approach for sustainable territorial development, we move towards its challenges in relation to institutional dynamics and its role in integrated area development [IAD]. In this regard, we draw the following challenges [Moulaert, 2010a] for social innovation in relation to governance and transferability of good practices, and IAD.

Governance and Social innovation

- Social innovation initiatives at the local level or at a small scale cannot work properly without social innovation in multi-partner governance.
- Governance refers to governing social innovation initiatives but also the building of institutions supporting them.
- Social innovation in governance implies communication, participation and joint decision-making by actors in bottom-up actions but also innovation in governance structures at higher spatial levels essential to facilitate bottom-up initiatives, whence bottom-linked initiatives.
- Hence, social innovation in governance is (also) about making participation and democracy work in public institutions and socio-political organizations.

Transferability of good practices

The social and spatial context-sensitive character of social innovation responses puts doubts on their transferability. Decisions on good practices transferability should be based on an in-depth understanding of civil society organizations, governance regimes and welfare regimes at the local level. Still contextualized transferability of good practice is possible and may take many forms:

- Learning across localities and initiatives: exchanges of experiences, ideas, management and governance principles etc.
- Including new partners and initiatives within existing practice communities and networks – with reciprocal learning among experiences.
- Broadening governance regimes enabling greater opportunities for new SI initiatives to emerge.

Integrated Area Development [IAD]

IAD is based on the philosophy of social innovation [SI], with the main thesis that disintegrating forces and incoherence among strategy approaches should be overcome by putting the needs and the socio-political organization of deprived or excluded groups at the heart of local redevelopment strategies [Moulaert 2002, p. 67]. Based on over two decades of experimentation, IAD as an implementation mechanism is highly appropriate for social cohesion and re-establishing the role of the 'local' in multi-level governance arrangements for its following attributes:

- IAD is based on the idea that the development to be pursued in a locality should take into account its historical trajectory for the analysis of the nature and causes of socio-economic disintegration and the potential for recovery.
- IAD considers the preservation of traditional culture, the revival of traditional activities, the valorisation of skills and professional experiences, socio-cultural life, informal relationships in all sectors of social life, etc. as the vectors of local renaissance [Ibid, p. 67].
- In IAD, 'satisfaction of basic needs' is achieved by the combination of several processes: the revealing of needs by grass-roots movements and through institutional dynamics, the integration of deprived groups into the labour-market and into local production systems [construction of housing, ecological production activities, urban infrastructure development, social services, SME for manufacturing and trade], and training permitting participation in the labour-market. Institutional dynamics play a predominant role in the process of empowerment that should lead to economic pro-activity [ibid, p. 71].
- IAD model is integrated in several ways: it combines various development rationales, domains of intervention and integrates subsystems and spatial levels of development. It manages to direct the complexity of a project by structuring it around the principle of social innovation, which is not only operationalised by meeting the basic material needs of the concerned communities, but also by new modes of social organisation by the grass-roots movements [ibid, p. 79].

From the aforementioned, it can be seen that the strength of IAD model, as an alternative strategy for local renaissance, lies in its focus on social innovation as an integrative force: the basic needs of the population come first and bottom-up socio-organizational innovation is essential to meet them. Socio-organisational innovation mainly refers to the notion of local governance: organization, communication, and decision-making procedures within the projects and the communities, and with the other development agents at the local, regional, national, and EU levels [ibid, p. 135]. IAD could become an effective implementation mechanism for socially cohesive urban development through efficient, democratic and multi-level governance, provided that:

- The development agenda of IAD should be multi-dimensional i.e. ecological, socio-cultural, fostering new and sustainable activities.
- Socially innovative reorganization of production systems, and democratic modes of interaction between change agents should all be part of the agenda.
- Continuous communication between similar projects and experiences of IAD should be promoted.
- Establishment of a political agenda to support IAD at a regional, national, and EU level involves changes in priorities of public spending and redistribution policy, enabling the funding of investments and seed money for co-operative enterprises meeting ecological, social, and political criteria. Also requires changes in the legal frameworks regulating the creation of co-operations and associations, as well as their support organizations.

6. Policy Recommendations

The main aim of our policy and collective action recommendations is to formulate a framework for launching a European initiative for '**Urban Social Cohesion**', supported by establishing a '**European Social Innovation Network**' and a '**European Observatory on SMS cities**'. In this regard, we have organized our policy and collective action recommendations under the following four flags in two time horizons: short-term 5-10 years, and long-term 20-30 years. They represent a thematic reflection on ways of working towards socially cohesive urban Europe, and are based on a synthesis of our analysis of the challenges and opportunities for socially cohesive urban futures [4.2, 3.1 and 2.1] and the grand problems in policy making [5.1, 5.2 and also 2.2]. Before proceeding further, however, we would like to make a few transversal remarks concerning new policy imperatives, social cohesion and the role of the 'local', and the financial crisis.

- 'Social Cohesion', 'Environmental Sustainability' and 'Democratic Governance' should be seen as complementary policy imperatives to ensure the provision of social services for all, including liveability of cities, efficiency in transportation networks, reducing environmental problems, minimizing resource use and waste generation, assuring water and energy services for all, active citizenship and participation in urban management.
- While problematizing urban social cohesion [see our methodology in 3.3] as a European concern, particular attention should be paid to the meaning of social cohesion within particular national societies [their cities, towns and interrelationships between them through social categories, such as class, gender, ethnicity, their expression within particular places] and also focus on the diasporas, the rise of transnational communities, and their impact on identity building and different forms of social cohesion. This implies the problematizing of the meaning of the 'local' in national sense, as well as 'trans-local' in the European sense.
- There is a need to make a clear distinction between the use of 'local' against the backdrop of SMS cities and the use of 'local' in the context of metropolitan areas. This distinction is valid at the analytical, strategic and political level. Furthermore, the two uses of 'local' correspond to two different policy and even political agendas even if they overlap at times.
- What *we strongly lack* and must urgently expand is *knowledge of the micro-dynamics of the learning, decision-making and innovation processes* (e.g. micro-social, economic and institutional behaviour and pathways) *that take place at the 'local' level*. This knowledge alone will allow us to better understand the specificities and opportunities of the 'local' as a whole and of grassroots movements in particular [cf. establishing a '**European Social Innovation Network**'].
- Overcoming the financial crisis without deepening de-regulation and erosion of public services and welfare is a mammoth policy challenge. From the perspective of urban social cohesion, particular attention needs to be paid to 'local' endogenous forces of development [cf. background paper, Mahsud et al. 2010], new configurations of the relationships between central and local governments, promoting the notion of equity in the design of financial regulations, enhancing the capacity of European financial institutions to help with housing debt crisis, to fund SI based development initiatives and to elaborate fiscal policies that would have a progressive character against the current trend in which the middle and working classes have been penalized. Moreover, in line with the current revival of Keynesianism, municipalities have to be given a broader fiscal space of manoeuvre as well as more systematic support in a multi-layered public investment strategy.

6.1 Re-orienting urban design and planning toward sustainable development

Urban social cohesion requires reorientation of the current modes [both academic / curricula and practice] of urban design and planning towards several issues [see 3.1 and 4.2]. In principle, 'socio-spatial cohesion' and 'environmental sustainability' at multiple scale levels should form the core of their re-orientation. Our recommendations for the short-term [5-10

years] include the encouragement, promotion and integration of the following in the educational curricula and professional practice:

- Eco and energy efficient, mixed- use/ tenures/house-types, compact, low-rise and high-density urban design and development.
- Creating, connecting and preserving public space [from neighbourhood to regional scales], so that it becomes [again] a main vector in the articulation of social life.
- Sustainable mobility through walk-able neighbourhoods and multi-modal mobility networks [that allow integration of public transport, walking, cycling and reduction of car use].
- Sustainable land-use and settlement patterns through better coordination between transport, land use, open space planning with environmental controls, high standards of management and preservation of green and blue networks.
- Promoting the use in public policy and collective action of participatory planning and design methods as well as capacity building methods to involve a diversity of actors in planning processes.
- Transcending the green and compact city debates through a socio-ecological formulation, and focusing on human scale and human association in urban organisation.
- Conceptualising energy and resource efficient urban models for re-organising the existing urban and social fabrics towards sustainability.
- Synthesizing new design approaches such as, Cradle to Cradle (McDonough, 2002), Landscape Urbanism (Waldheim, 2006), Ecological Urbanism (Mostafavi, et al. 2010). Innovative strategies such as "maximizing production of 'urban values' against consumption of 'production' factors" (Portzamparc, 2009) and major successes surrounding 'cycling urbanism' [Graham, 2010] can have positive knock-on effects in terms of street life, neighbourhood cultures and releasing infrastructural spaces for new projects.

In the long-term [20-30 years] perspective, we make the following recommendations:

- Integrating various eco and sustainable building and urbanism programs and initiatives towards the establishment of a '**European Green Building Council'**.
- Supporting and consolidating the field of 'sustainable urbanism' as a synthesis of urbanism and environmentalism, a culmination of reforms movements [Smart Growth, New Urbanism, and Green building movement] for dealing with the challenges of sprawl, GHG-emissions, loss of sense-of-place, moral decadence and bridging of 'green and brown' agendas.
- Progressive shift towards a more human-powered and less resource-intensive buildings and settlement patterns design as the core of all urban design and planning curricula.
- Promoting the realization of new urban landscapes of polycentric and compact garden city structures through urban containment and integrated territorial policy approaches and the promotion of the urban-rural interface.
- Social sustainability should become a core concern in urban sustainable development, not only as an equity criterion, but also in the form of governance of complex systems including socio-ecological systems. Socially sustainable governance should be based on shared decision-making across all stakeholders. This includes the organized use of participatory planning methods.

6.2 Working towards democratic, efficient and multi-level Governance

The complex multilevel nature of EU, National and sub-national governance structures is a '**structural problem'** that affects all policy fields seeking to develop an integrated approach towards social cohesion. In this regard, citizenship-building, collective responsabilization and reinventing the collective sector [affordable housing, free education, free access to social services, redistribution and state banking] through social innovation [participation, consultation, co-development …. time credit for citizenship], integrated area development

[see below 6.2.2], just local fiscal systems and financial sustainability of public policies are transversal for working towards democratic, efficient and multi-level governance system that guarantee urban social cohesion. Such a system is about integrating knowledge, agenda setting, public policies and collective action at all scale levels. This requires a complex interplay involving multiple factors, actors and scales aiming at fostering 'local' dynamics. The following table introduces the key-features of this complex interplay aiming at fostering "local" dynamics, while avoiding the local "trap".

Table 6.1: **Multi-level governance system based on fostering 'local' dynamics while avoiding 'localism' trap**

<table>
<tr><th></th><th>Knowledge about:</th><th>Agenda Setting</th><th>Public Policies (*)</th><th>Collective Action</th></tr>
<tr><td>Global</td><td colspan="2">Global debates, new social concerns, new priorities [financial crisis, climate change, sustainability]</td><td></td><td rowspan="2">-Global and Transnational grassroots movements/networks.</td></tr>
<tr><td>EU</td><td colspan="2">-European networks;
-Transnational comparative studies;
-Shared agendas;
-Knowledge transfer via socialization among political and technical decision-makers, and professionals.</td><td>-Including, in a explicit way, urban social cohesion issues in the Cohesion Policy agenda post 2013;
-Involving distinct EU institutions (Commission, EP, GOP...) in debates about social innovation and place-based policies.</td></tr>
<tr><td>National</td><td rowspan="3">-Knowledge brokerage:

-Institutional bridging.

-Local knowledge and practices of social innovation</td><td rowspan="3">-Agenda-setting power, from national think-tanks and media to web-blogs and local citizen groups.</td><td>-National regulatory and strategic framework (political options; planning, legal, fiscal and public financing tools; territorial governance models);
-Monitoring and evaluation systems.</td><td>- National grassroots movements/networks.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Regional</td><td>-Spatial development strategies, including both binding and non-binding orientations to local authorities.

- Multi-scalar governance systems as in IAD</td><td>- Regional grassroots movements/networks.
- NGOs or Foundations as drivers of bottom-linked governance</td></tr>
<tr><td>Local</td><td>-"Quality" of local actors, democracy, development strategies, planning tools and inclusive interventions:
. Citizens and communities values and power;
. Institutional capacity;
. Territorial governance;
. Social innovation.</td><td>-Local integrated interventions based on local programmes collaboratively designed by citizens, NGOs, local authorities and representatives from national/regional bodies;
-Grassroots initiatives, supralocally networked</td></tr>
</table>

(*) Design, Implementation, Monitoring, Evaluation of. Source: based on Ferrao [2010].

In working towards a democratic, efficient and multi-level governance system, we have formulated the following recommendations that refer to new modes of governance, new forms of institutions and welfare, new ways of citizenship and political rights and participation. They together make a plea towards re-establishing the role of the local [6.2.1] and integrated area development [6.2.2].

Governance and new forms of institutions:

- Multi-level governance should in particular aim at enhancing the capacity of city governments in tackling social exclusion, cross-border problems like migration,

commuting, suburbanisation and city-region formation, not to speak of challenges stemming from climatic change and the world economic crisis which can be solved neither through top-down state planning nor market-mediated anarchy.

- Multi-level governance, sensitive to scale and context, and alternative institutional settings promoting a plural economy are needed, which allow tackling the question of social cohesion in the city as a political problem of accommodating social and economic development and challenge all urban actors to collectively look for adequate urban institutions, which permit a more inclusive form of development.
- More flexible forms of political rights and participation as well as a Europe-wide system of universal social rights are required because of the erosion of the welfare state, neo-liberal policies, internationalization of the labour market and the increasing mobility of citizens within Europe. It is the lack of common norms and institutions providing for labour, social and political rights, which is increasingly undermining social and territorial cohesion.
- New forms of partnerships, participative and deliberative democracy, collective action and active citizenship are crucial for unfolding socially cohesive urban development. The multi-level governance arrangements should involve inclusion of all interests, vertical, horizontal and territorial coordination of the actions of governmental and non-governmental actors, and also focus on local and trans-national networks to ensure smooth running as mechanisms for integrating partners.
- Social cohesion in a city of free and equal citizens requires a material base, a socio-economic organisation, which grants the right to the city to all inhabitants. Subsequently, dialogue and democratic decision-making through multi-level governance can integrate all inhabitants in a process of socioeconomic democratisation, fostering a really democratic *res publica*.

Active citizenship and migration:

- Advancing from an essentialist and exclusionary concept of national citizenship that creates “outsiders” toward a scale-sensitive and inhabitant-centred conception of citizenship is required, which would allow establishing a social citizenship guaranteeing rights for everybody. This implies rethinking of the concept of a “European social model”, the highly-appraised balanced development based on a notion of equitable distribution. The emphasis on social citizenship as a key element of social cohesion, linking the process of participation with concrete improvements in living conditions, is a main driver of political legitimization and the acceptance of democracy.
- Particular attention should be paid to the role of ‘participatory and active citizenship’ and harnessing the potential of the often-neglected ‘voluntary’, ‘private’ and ‘informal’ sectors towards social cohesion in the future reforms of European cohesion policy.
- Participatory budgeting [e.g. Porto Alegre] should be promoted as a good example of active citizenship, as it is not only about the distribution of public funds, but also the common deliberation results in mutual learning processes. It leads to a broader vision of urban development and the creation of a sense of solidarity.
- We have to creatively deal with the issue of migration through “politics of hospitality”, ‘social citizenship’ and the “politics of trying together” and re-enactment of inclusive political communities as the only ways to undermine extreme right politics. These should take into account migrants’ civil duties and liberties, their reasons and preferences for integration, lack of opportunities for their political representation, and the “trans-local” relations among migrant communities in European cities. This also involves the further exploration of the principle of ‘European citizenship’ and learning from the debates and campaigns put forward by some European advocate groups.

6.2.1 Re-establishing the role of the ‘local’

Re-establishing the role of the ‘local’ through its multi-scalar rethinking [4.1.3, 4.3 and 5.1.1] is pivotal for unfolding policies for socially cohesive urban development. The multi-scalar

view of the local embeds local activities and institutions in broader contexts, and allows covering issues of the adequate form of the 'European Social Model' (European social citizenship) and the link between social and territorial cohesion. It also implies understanding the hinterland as a potential regional market for the SMS-cities, urban villages or the city-regional hinterland connections and flows for the local in large metropolises, which allows reflections on sustainability with respect to regionally integrated consumption and production. Thus, a multi-scalar rethinking of the local has to take not only the regional, national and European levels into consideration [see table 5.1], but also rural-urban relations, forms of trans-local cooperation and multi-scalar governance when aiming at cohesive cities. In re-establishing the role of the local in SMS cities, neighbourhoods, districts, urban villages and large metropolises, our recommendations for the short-term [5-10 years] include the following:

- The recognition of more local socio-spatial realities within SMS cities and large metropolises require supporting measures that facilitate overcoming or mediating the tensions between national and local socio-political imaginaries and policies with respect to urban social cohesion.
- Enhancing the capacity of the local to integrate, coordinate and collectively imagine a path of development; the local focussed and bottom linked [4.3.1] policy and analytical perspectives can provide the integrating framework for "place-based development" and "territorial cohesion" concerns.
- Of particular importance are the new forms of civic and social mobilisation and local social capital formation as strategies for coping with the negative consequences of urban restructuring and changes in roles, positions, and scales of urban 'governance'.
- For those SMS cities that are strongly dependent on public or public-supported activities, there Local Capacity for investment needs to be enhanced through private and public partnerships in a way that reduces the dependence on outside capital.
- Greater responsibility to local governments and civil society, and increasing the role of city administrations in national and regional policies relating to employment, child poverty, culture and social development.
- The mismatch between 'increased' responsibilities of cities and the resources made available to them must be recognized. It is causing fiscal stress [aggravated by financial crisis, increasing flows of migration, deepening social exclusion, budgetary limitations and administrative decentralization] that undermines the capacity for local action.
- Particular attention should be paid to overcome the additional problems of the 'local' at the policy and institutional level, such as fragmentation of efforts of different levels of government, sectoral interventions in different policy fields that render ineffective the responses, uncoordinated interventions in different geographic areas, and inertia in institutional local structures.
- Take stock from ongoing debates on "small cities" research, innovative strategies, political agendas and transnational networks based on grassroots movements, such as: the idea of a 'Territorial platform' / 'masse territoriale', Transition towns movement [UK]; Cittaslow movement (Italy); "Comuni Virtuosi" (virtuous municipalities) Network (Italy); Eco-city movement (Sweden) and eco-municipalities network (USA); Economic Gardening movement (USA).

In long-term [20-30 years] perspective, our recommendations include the following:

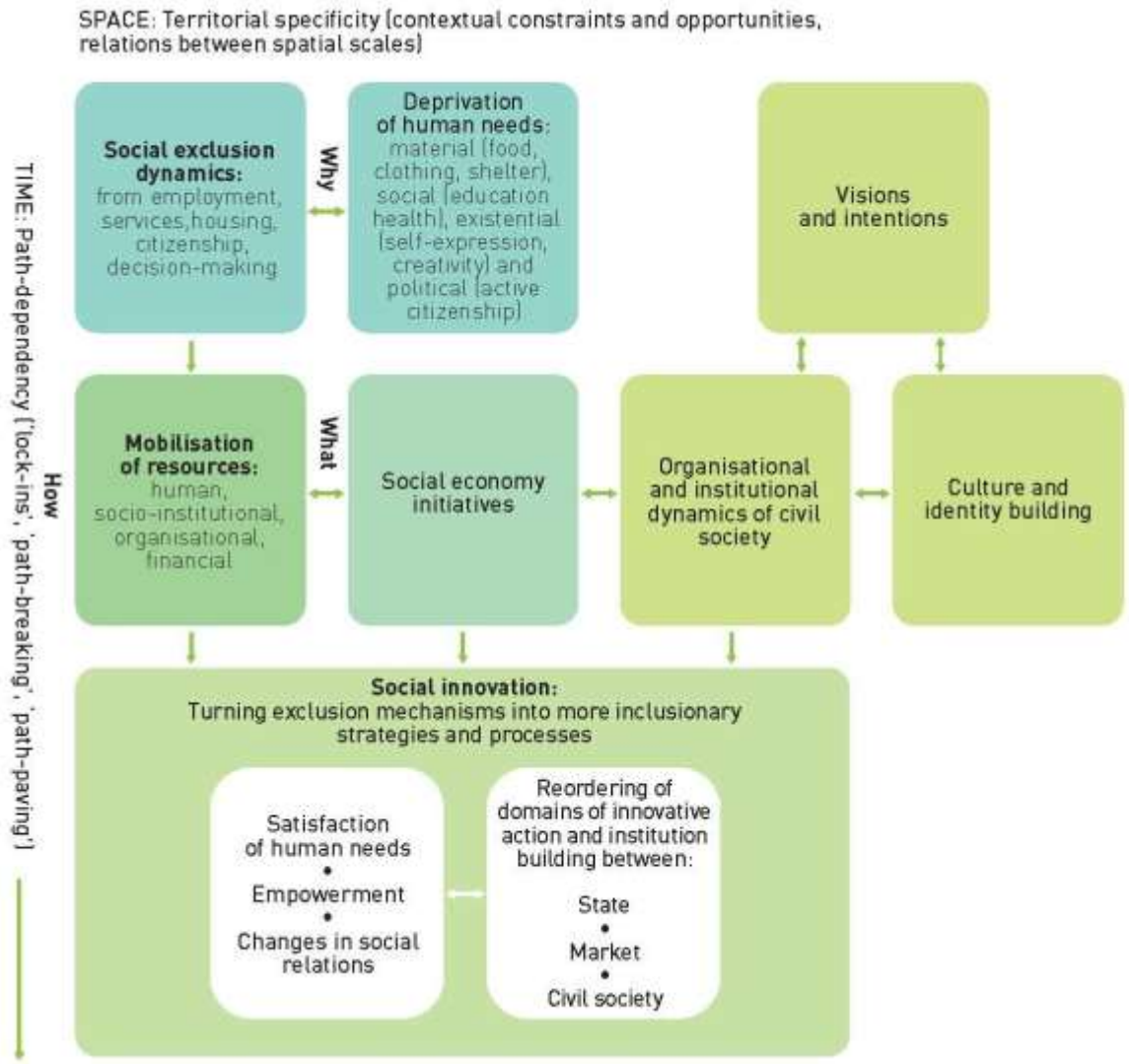
- SMS cities are key engines for innovation in public policy; therefore, a '**European Observatory on SMS cities**' should be established. This could avoid the loss of knowledge and permit the transfer and sharing of knowledge. It must not be top-down, but should cover mutual learning exercises as well as describing good practices among SMS cities. This would provide a useful policy-making tool for enhancing the role of SMS cities in mediating rural space and big cities.

- Support for the enabling factors for social cohesion at the local level, such as family support / informal networks (including friends and neighbours); raising education level (but no longer with a generalized positive impact on job quality, wage level and social mobility); and local social cohesion policy tools (e.g., generalising *local contracts for social development* as in City and Neighbourhood Contracts).
- Long lasting development *from within* requires a cumulative permanent process of capacity building, skills acquisition and relational capital formation among the individuals and institutions who hold the potential and willingness need to construct a common vision, agenda and action programme for socially relevant territories (places).
- In supporting the accessibility of welfare and social services at the local level, particular attention should be paid to: Third sector - Growing importance in terms of the provision of proximity services; Local authorities - Reinforcement of the local authority intervention in the programming, financing and provision of social services; strong dependency on available resources, both human and financial, and vulnerability related to political cycles and local government stability; Informal networks (i.e. family, neighbours): Reinforced use of informal networks as a response to the insufficient provision of specific needs (e.g. mental health) and to the insufficient support to specific social groups (e.g. elderly people).

6.2.2 Role of Social innovation and Integrated Area Development

Several problems in achieving multi-level governance – related to multi-scalar and trans-national connections in re-establishing the role of the 'local', accessibility to social resources [see 5.1.4], sectoralisation of public policy [see 5.1.3] and territorial cooperation among cities [CEC, 2009, p. 22] - can be addressed through the Integrated Area Development [IAD] model based on Social Innovation [SI, see 5.3]. The specificity of IAD is that it has a diverse range of participants, the goal is the implementation of a neighbourhood development plan to meet basic needs of the local population (housing, sports and culture facilities, waste services, health provision, security). Such a plan is negotiated and designed in a bottom-linked manner. Through its ongoing democratic practice involving a wide diversity of neighbourhood, city, etc. actors, it improves relations between individuals and organizations both within and outside the neighbourhood. Processes of SI are steered through socially innovative governance [Mac Callum, D., et al. 2009]. In this regard, as mentioned earlier, we propose the establishment of a '**European Social Innovation Network**'. The following illustration shows how the philosophy of SI through IAD works: it reacts to deprivation or poor service provision, is based on the mobilisation of local and supra-local resources, and depends for its effectiveness on multi-scalar governance [Moulaert, et al. 2010].

Illustration 6.2: Dynamics of social innovation (Source: SOCIAL POLIS platform; in: CEC, [2010b], p. 22)



Accessibility to social resources through SI and IAD promotes social inclusion, overcomes spatial fragmentation, supports capabilities' acquisition and ameliorates the urban environment towards cohesion and sustainability. It may stir a renewed interest in social issues at all levels [local, national, EU], and social cohesion as a worthwhile concern in itself and not only functional to economic development. In our recommendations, the conceptual and analytical apparatus of SI and IAD [Moulaert, 2000 and 2005; MacCallum, *et al.* 2009] is most appropriate as an operating pattern for social cohesion policy and collective action in re-establishing the role of the 'local' [see also 5.3.1] due to their following attributes:

- They offer a constructive response to the restrictive / restricting neo-liberal economic vision of spatial, economic, and social change, it offers an enlarged view of development that respects plurality and treats people as active agents of change, and fosters alternative imagination of cultural and institutional change at multiple scale levels.
- They offer a coherent conceptual and analytical apparatus built on the principles of justice and equity, and a process approach for strategy-making and identifying existing opportunities and those that may be generated for the future.
- SI employs IAD – integration of various spatial levels of analysis and action, with intellectual foundation in institutional economics and alternative development – and shares with 'community economies' [Gibson-Graham, 2009] an orientation for an economic and social order that embodies contextually situated notions of social

justice and democratic governance by making social movements as a transformative force for change and sustainable urban development.

Our recommendations for '**European Social Innovation Network**' [ESIN] are that it should promote:

- Socially innovative policy-making: policies built through greater democratic participation, joint learning networks among different citizens groups, targeting social cohesion goals along with (or instead of) competitiveness objectives.
- Social innovation initiatives by providing them with legal frameworks and supportive institutions, building customized funding mechanisms privileging social and ecological allocation criteria. Also investing in socially innovative trans-local organisations.
- Education policy developing social innovation skills – R&D policy for social innovation.
- Institutionalization of the social economy as a filière (production, distribution, funding, relations with education, training, innovation policy, consumption patterns, etc.).

6.3 Working towards the Ecological city

The gargantuan challenge that working towards the ecological city implies is the transformation of the social-natural-technological assemblages of urban life in ways that help build socio-environmental justice whilst reducing the risks of biodiversity collapse, neo-liberal globalisation and climate change [see 5.1.6]. In this regard, the nascent field of sustainable urbanism – focus on changes in behaviour, lifestyles and consumption patterns - together with a move towards a socio-ecological accumulation strategy - scale-sensitive public investment in public transport, socio-ecological housing and energy self-sufficiency - holds a great promise. Their promise lies in combining environmentalism and urbanism with socio-ecological transition in the processes of production and consumption for unfolding socially cohesive and sustainable urban development as a new economic base. In this regard, our short-term [5-10 years] recommendations include the focus on the following:

- Changes in the organisation of mobility, away from fuel-dependent and socially uneven car mobility towards innovative combinations of public transport, biking and walking.
- The "greening" of public infrastructure, building stock and production processes, renewable energies, etc. should be seen as a huge domain for urban innovations and employment generation in itself.
- Linking the processes of social exclusion with issues of ecological justice and increased awareness of socio-ecological issues through social participation at the local level [e.g. schools, media, NGOs, firms, city-wide events, etc.].
- Capitalize on being "small": transforming time availability *plus* geographical proximity into positive critical assets. *Time availability:* Stress the potential of ´slow` everyday living, liveability, quality of life, individual and social wellbeing, and less materialistic lifestyles as preconditions for a new generation of social entrepreneurship. *Geographical proximity:* Value geographical proximity as a factor that stimulates better tailored economic and social answers to local needs based on interactive processes of learning and social innovation.
- Capitalize on being "local": producing a social and economic added value to mainstream economic development through focus on socially meaningful places. *Collaborative potential*: Iconic 'local' places (e.g. a quarter, landmark, etc.) hold a stronger potential to mobilize: i) citizens and institutions; ii) community involvement and public participation; and iii) collaborative and integrated projects and policies as factors that stimulate grassroots politics; - *Territorial identity:* territorial identities also hold a strong mobilization potential that stretches beyond territorial marketing strategies to include the potential to be a 'local' mobilization factor towards the promotion of alternative 'local' development models or solutions; - *Resilient communities:* Both iconic "local" places and territorial identities allow to better

balance the values, interests and power of local communities, businesses and governments vs. the wider society and economy.

In the long-term [20-30 year] perspective, our recommendations include the following:

- Sustainability of scale-sensitive public investment – by municipal, national and EU-institutions – in public transport, socio-ecological housing and energy self-sufficiency as key elements of an alternative accumulation strategy as well as a form of socialised consumption which fosters social cohesion.
- Socio-ecological cohesion and justice in the transition of the modes of production and consumption (including ´post-carbon` energy paradigm) towards ecological resilience, and in ensuring urban biodiversity and food security.
- Social enterprise and innovation together with coordinated 'transformation' planning can helpfully address dangers of climate change, broadening the definition of the 'social economy' to address structural transformations, and shift the socio-ecological processes underpinning city life in ways that reduce carbon footprints, exploit new 'green' technologies, and build new industrial sectors.

6.4 Working towards the Educational & Participatory City

Free and fair accessibility to quality education, location of schools [particularly in relation to reducing high concentration of immigrants and ethnic attitudes] and modes of education that promote life long learning for all are critical factors in working towards the educational city. These factors combined with equal citizenship rights [see 6.2] and responsibilities for all, including immigrants, and active participation of all in collectively shaping the future of their city, are significant factors for urban social cohesion. In working towards the educational and participatory city, our short-term [5-10 years] recommendations include the following:

- Appropriate mechanism should be established for the promotion of an "open-up" educational model based on a pedagogical system that places the emphasis on learning rather than on teaching and also reinforces values such as: autonomy, responsibility and cooperation.
- Social innovation practices, educational policies and mutual learning should be supported that facilitates bringing to the fore values corresponding to an open view of citizenship.
- Development of mutual and multi-generational learning places and education through investment in European media, civic centres and libraries project. Moreover, the role and use of public libraries and civic centres as centres of social cohesion policies should be strengthened, including the transferability of good practices. For example, the "Community Center Gellerup" in Denmark is a good example of institutional cooperation [among various organisations, administrations, volunteer associations and citizens as equal partners] that focuses on citizens and their needs, helping them to overcome institutional barriers and to support active citizenship.
- Integration and adaptation programs for immigrants must include: strong anti-discrimination and anti-racist measures; accessibility to the services of the cities including properly trained staff that understands cultural differences; promotion of positive interaction between individuals of different cultural, religious and racial backgrounds in the city; provision of targeted support, such as language training and the involvement of local 'host' communities, particularly the voluntary and community sector.

In the long-term [20-30 years] perspective, our recommendations include the following:

- Promoting the creative use of digital infrastructure for enhancing community life and active citizenship: this implies creative use of digital infrastructures to enhance accessibility to social resources and welfare; improve social interaction across social classes and age groups; re-connect places and to reinforce the sense of community; and to revitalize both the street level and larger community level.

- Integration policies need to embrace four inter-connected aspects – the social, economic, cultural and political – and a concerted action through multi-level governance in building pro-cosmopolitan politics of identity in cities, which undermine ethno-nationalist, far white and profoundly anti-urban rhetoric.
- Inter-related shifts are needed for the overall transformation of the learning-process that also involves assigning new roles to the “local”. Such shifts and new roles should include:

  - **Educational and training institutions** -The contemporary mainstream rationale based on a transmission-acquisition approach to information and knowledge should shift towards a supply of learning opportunities that springs from existent social and labour needs and emphasises the appropriation and development of new skills, capacities and competencies;
  - **Work / Learning** - To shift the life-long discontinuous formation logic, which essentially envisages to correspond to the emergent needs of the labour market, towards a global learning rationale of permanent personal, civic, social and professional development;
  - **Policy-learning** - To shift the current rationalist and technocratic logic, based on technical and scientific knowledge and empirical evidence, to a logic of learning and social innovation, which involves different learning communities, learning modes and different types and sources of knowledge;
  - **Learning in and from the city** - A shift towards creative social learning practices that aggregate, around a specific theme or area-based platform, the different life ‘experiences’ of the city, involving citizens, schools, NGOs and other entities, which may be associated with the multiple forms of deliberative democracy (e.g. participatory budget, Local Agenda 21, citizens’ juries etc.).

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