

POLITECNICO DI MILANO



Neighbourhood Contracts.
A research on the regeneration programme of
Italian social housing estates

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Abstract

“Neighbourhood Contracts” is an Italian national program aiming at the regeneration of social housing estates. In the context of urban governance, “area-based program” and “integrated action” are the main features of the recent urban policies promoted by the European Union and this is also the philosophy guiding the policy design of “Neighbourhood contracts” program.

In Milan, several social housing estates that once were seen as ideal workers living place have become disadvantaged areas both physically and socially. There are lots of measures taken by the government to solve the problem and The Neighbourhood Contracts has been seen as one of the most important and effective intervention tools.

In Shanghai, the meaning of social housing is different from Italy as it mainly refers to the newly built public housing after the market reform of 1980s. However the “public property” housing districts which were built before have 1980s have similar severe problems. The experiences of regeneration are fragmented without integrated actions.

The aim of this thesis is to give some inspiration to Shanghai’s regeneration of “public property” housing by researching the experience of Neighbourhood Contracts in Milan. In order to fulfill this aim, the core questions are: “What is a Neighbourhood Contract?”; “Why and how was it conceived?”; “How is it organized and implemented?” and “Which are the positive aspects that can be learnt?”

The research can be divided into four parts according those questions:

The first part offers a general background for an understanding of the context in which Neighbourhood Contracts were conceived, Three main key words can be quoted as a first reference: “urban regeneration”, “governance” and “social housing”. In the “urban regeneration” part, there is the analysis of the general background and the Italian regeneration context. The “governance” part indicates the complex cooperation from various actors is the main trend in the field of contemporary regeneration. And the “social housing” part analysis its relation with social welfare and the necessity of regeneration.

The second part concerns the research of the forming process of Italian Neighbourhood Contracts, which due to the promotion of “area-based programs” by European Union and this process can be seen as a successful policy transfer.

The third part is split in three different levels and considers three different issues. The first is the bidding system of national level; the second is the integrated framework of the city level, and the third is the cooperative mechanism of the neighbourhood level (choosing Gratosoglio, in Milan, as a case study). In each level, positive and negative aspects of the programme are discussed according to the information from documents and the interviews with the stakeholders.

What should be mentioned is that in the neighbourhood level, an analysis tool is adopted to structure the process that is trying to find each actor's attributes and the mode of their network. This analysis tool also provides a comparison base for the latter Shanghai cases.

The last part is the comparison between experiences in Milan and Shanghai. In Shanghai, two cases are chosen, one is Anshan Sicun, of which the regeneration is totally directed by the government, and the other case is Yongkang li, of which the regeneration is carry out by the cooperation between government and a private company. These three cases are all top-down initiatives but their motivation, funding source, organization mechanism are different, and so the outcomes differ a lot. Gratosoglio got improved in both physical and social aspects while the Anshan Sicun and Yongkang Li only got some physical improvement.

Although there are some lessons in the practice of Neighbourhood Contracts, such as some part of the regeneration plan did not fit the real needs of the inhabitants due to the decision process was separated with the neighbourhood, and the social action did not get enough fund etc. There are still lots of positive aspects that we could consider transferring and introducing in Shanghai: First is the bidding system which can improve the positivity of cities to take part in the regeneration process; second is the city level framework which helps to formulate the integrated regeneration actions; third is the cooperation of multiple actors, in Gratosoglio, the actors' types and network are more complicated, which corresponds to the meaning of governance, however this trait can hardly seen in the case of Shanghai, and this means in the regeneration process, there are no representatives for the social parts which result in the neglect of the social issues .

Key words

Neighbourhood Contracts, social housing, regeneration, governance

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 The interest of the theme/Study origin

Urban renewal or regeneration is an important and unavailable topic in the development of the contemporary city, and this activities show different character in different phases and countries.

Social housing has played a central role in the development of European city in the 20th century; however, today most of these neighborhoods became “problematic” and dangerous places characterized by mono-functional uses, degradation, social conflict etc. Hence, the redevelopment of these areas becomes a common issue around European countries and Italy is no exception.

Of course, total or big partial demolition is not good way as it can cause social problems such as rebelling, property conflict, evictions and need of relocation, therefore, progressive refurbishment of these estate is the best way to revival these areas(Zhang, 2004). From the 1990s, many planning instruments have been are adopted by the Italian government to deal with this problem, and the Neighbourhood Contract (Contratti di Quartiere) program is among the most relevant. The character of this programme is” integrated”, combining physical, social and economic policies and used in the appointed area (so it also called area-based programme), which is quite different from traditional one.

Similar problems exist in china, taking Shanghai as an example, large areas of old run-down districts dominated by public property are in severe condition and facing redevelopment. Until now, in most of the cases regeneration consisted in demolishing and reconstructing, in general replacing the whole residents. Although these experiences are considered problematic and unsustainable, seldom positive example can be found and an effective and detailed policy of refurbishment and restoration of these estates are still missing. Hence, the introduction of Italian’s experiences can give some inspiration to Chinese regeneration.

As to the “contract”, it is a word represents a kind of governance form in the background of post-Fordism. Instead of actual town-planning tools, it is more suitable for the complex urban problems which involve multiple actors. This research weighs on the analysis of policies, including its evolution, contents, the actors involved and the outcome.

1.2 Research object

The research focuses on the mechanism of the programme. According to the theory of Hok Lin Leung, the theory of urban planning can be divided to two types:

substantive theory and processoral theory, the former refers to the concrete function, such as the land use, transportation, green space and housing etc. And the later related with philosophy and mechanism, such as the organization, process, morality and values. The origin of the process theory is “public administration” (Leung, 2004). The research of Neighbourhood Contracts programme can be classified in the field of processoral theory study.

1.3 Purpose

The main aim of this thesis is to discuss what is the programme, and to what extent, it may be introduced as a reference in China. In order to reach this object, we should solve several problems: “What is Neighbourhood Contracts”; “Why and how it comes out”; “How does it organized and implemented” and “What is the positive aspect that can be learn”.

1.4 Framework of the study

The main research can be divided into four parts according those questions:

The first part is the relative theory of Neighbourhood Contracts; The second part is the research of the forming process of Italian Neighbourhood Contracts; The third part is the most complicated. Here, this part is split to three levels, and research the organization and implementation respectively, as the third part is quite complicated, it can be divided to three chapters according to the different scales; The last part is the comparison between the cases in Milan and Shanghai.

Then counting the framework and conclusion, the whole thesis can be grouped into 8 chapters:

First chapter is the introduction including the study origin, research objects, the purpose, the framework and the methodology; The second chapter is the relative theory of Neighbourhood Contracts, which can be understand mainly in three academic key words “urban regeneration”, “governance” and “social housing”. In the “urban regeneration” part, there is the analysis of the general background and the Italian regeneration context. The “governance” part indicates the complex cooperation from various actors is the main trend in the field of contemporary regeneration. And the “social housing” part analysis its relation with social welfare and the necessity of regeneration. The third chapter is the evolution of the Neighbourhood Contracts programme. In this part, the thesis looks back and find how this type of programme was born, and how to transfer to the Italian background. The fourth chapter is the analysis of bidding mechanism of the national level. The fifth chapter is the organization and implementation of Neighbourhood Contracts in Milan city level. The sixth chapter is the analysis of the neighbourhood “Gratosoglio”. What should be mentioned is that in the neighbourhood level, an analysis tool is

adopted to structure the process that is trying to find each actor's attributes and the mode of their network. This analysis tool also provides a comparison base for the latter Shanghai cases. The seventh chapter is the comparison of the cases in Shanghai and Milan, and tries to detect the similarity and difference between them. The last chapter is the conclusion, including the summarization of the positive and negative of the experience of Neighbourhood Contracts, and also some inspirations to the regeneration of Shanghai.

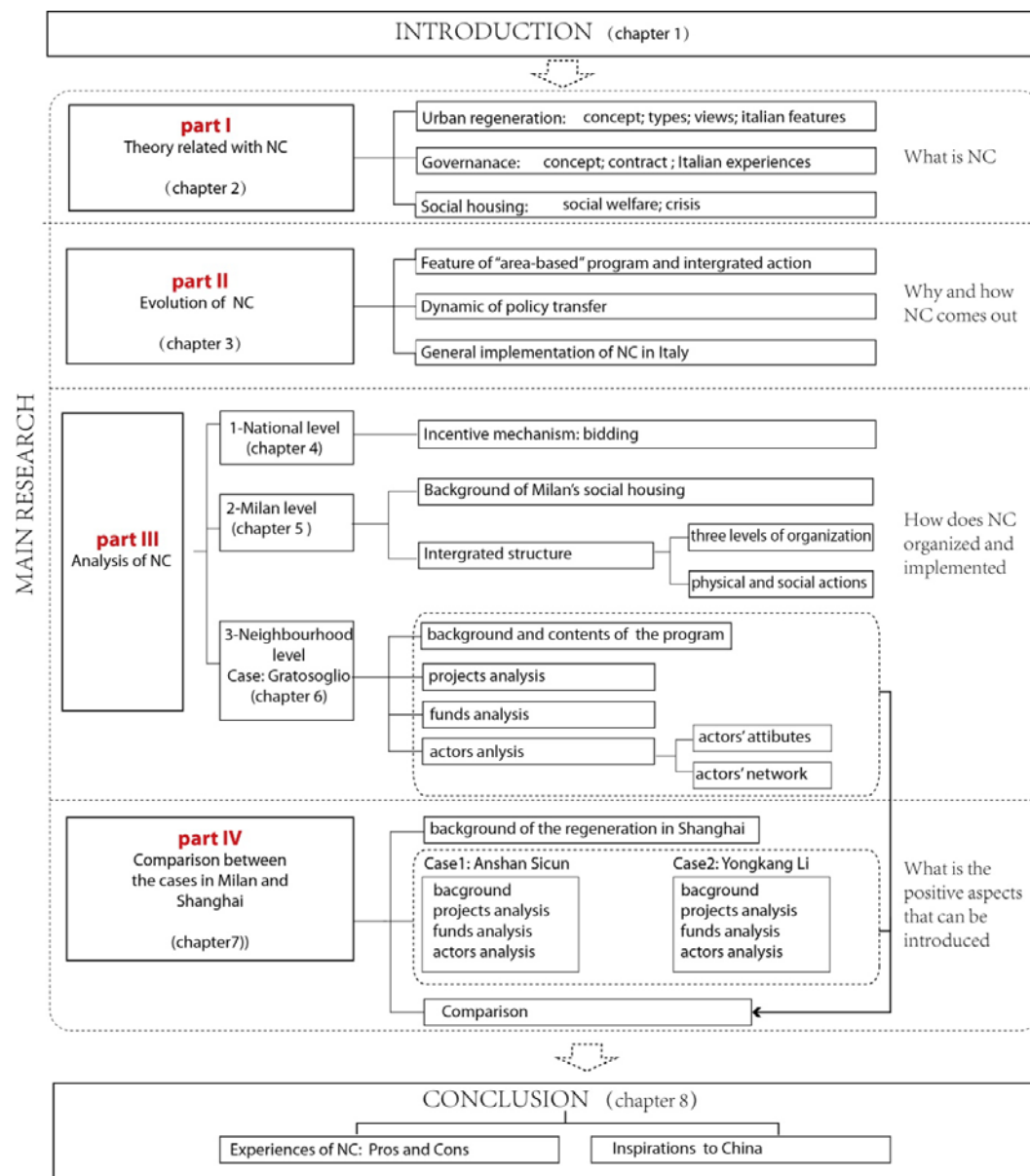


Fig 1. 1: the structure of the thesis

1.5 Methodology

In this research, multiple methods are adopted; the main methodology includes literature review, research on official documents and planning instruments, interviews, policy analysis tool and comparison.

1) Literature review

The chapters 2-4 mainly adopt the method of literature summarization. In chapter 2, the aim is to review the key words in the topic: “regeneration”, “contract” and “social housing”, searching for the core literature and summarize them respectively, and then make clear the concept of the research object, their location in the academic field, and relative research perspectives and theories. In chapter 3, the aim is to find how the “neighbourhood contracts” origins and the general condition of the implement around Italy. In chapter 4, it is the neighbourhood contract in Milan level, what is the background of social housing and how does the neighbourhood contract organized.

2) Research on documents, interviews and policy analysis

In chapter 5, the main aim is to find how the programme has been implemented. The main task is to find who are the actors and what do they do in the process. And this information can be found through documents and interviews. The documents include published and unpublished policy papers, reports and memoranda, and the interviews. The interviewees are a number of stakeholders in the neighborhoods, inhabitants, and experts, including Professors Massimo. Bricocoli, and the Vice Rector of Politecnico di Milano, Prof. Alessandro Balducci; Mr. Andrea Ghirlanda who works in the government of Lombardy region, Margherita Galliani who works in the Laboratory of Gratosoglio, Susy Liuzzi Giani, Gurcas Giovanna and Ermal Nikolli who work in the NGO groups in Gratosoglio, as well as some local residents Ms. Pan and Ms. Qiu.

As the process is quite complex, a tool of policy analysis are adopted to interpret and clarify the relationship between the actors.

3) Comparison

In the part of comparison, two cases in Shanghai are analysis according to the analysis tools mentioned above. Then is the comparison between Milan and Shanghai, and find the similarities and differences.

Chapter 2 Theories related with Neighbourhood Contracts

In this discussion, urban regeneration, governance and social housing are main key words, which have abundant content. So before the detailed study, the understanding of these words and relative research achievement is necessary.

Urban regeneration has developed abundant meanings along with the time and different places, and its content is changing from the traditional bulldozer to sustainable development along with social, culture, economy and environment. However, as the meaning of this word goes obscure, so the definition of the research become important, which can let us clear the position in the theory field.

Besides, urban regeneration can be seen as public policies, and how to understand policy related on its background largely. In the context of governance replacing government, the regeneration's forms are doomed to change. As a new form of governance, "contract" receives large attention in Europe and in Italy, besides, "integrated" is the main character of this phase. Hence, the second part is the analysis of background and new forms and features of public policy.

Social or public housing, played important role in the growing of cities in Europe, however, as time goes by, most large public estates decline and become a general problem. The last part is the review of relative literature.

2.1 Urban Regeneration

2.1.1 A tentative definition of urban regeneration

There are many other words to refer to urban regeneration processes, such as urban renewal, revitalization, gentrification, neighborhood renewal, rehabilitation, and renovation. In this discussion, we first Review the classical definition of this word.

Before urban regeneration, urban renewal is dominant word, it first appeared in August 1958 scholar M. Miller organized the first international seminar for Urban Renewal in Den Haag. Experts from United States and Europe agreed that the main purpose of urban renewal is to deliberately change the urban environment and to inject new vitality through planned adjustment of existing areas to respond to present and future requirements for urban living and working (Miller, 1959). For them, the fundamental objective of urban renewal is the application of several principles resulting in the revitalization of any or all portions of the urban structure which are not fulfilling the functions for which they were designed (Miller, 1959).

After that many scholars and institutions gave definition to the word such as in the Urban and Village Renewal Act, 1985, it defined urban renewal as "The systematic effort in the field of planning and building as well as of the social, economy, cultural and environmental standards of living in order to preserve, repair, improve, restructure or clear built-up areas within municipalities", which were considered a general definition.

The word "urban regeneration" came later than urban renewal, has similar meaning but weigh more on the problems combining physical, social and environmental aspects, as Couch wrote that "urban regeneration" moves beyond the aims, aspirations and achievements of urban renewal which is a process of essentially physical change"(Couch, 1990). P. Roberts defined urban regeneration as :“ comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change.” (P. Roberts, 2000)

In 1990s, more words came out to describe the change activity in the city: urban development (or redevelopment) has more general mission and less well-defined purpose; urban revitalization (or rehabilitation) whilst suggesting the need for action, fail to specify a precise method of approach. P. Roberts argue that urban regeneration implies that any approach to tackling the problems encountered in towns and cities should be constructed with a longer-term, more strategic, purpose in mind. (P. Roberts, 2000)

Actually, all these words’ boundary is not so explicit and sometimes the word renewal or regeneration can act as a joint name. Scholars have different types of dividing according to their background.

2.1.2 Periodisation and types of regeneration

Just as the difference of time, places and the problems to solve, there are different types of urban regeneration. Nowadays, the research method periodisation is often used.

Peter Roberts’ classification is very famous and well recognized, and in the article “the evolution, definition and purpose of regeneration”, he summarized the evolution of urban regeneration and divided it into five phases, which is a well-known classification and cited a lot.

Table 2. 1: the evolution of urban regeneration

period	1950s (post war) Reconstructio n	1960s Revitalizatio n	1970s Renewal	1980s Redevelopmen t	1990s Regeneration

major strategy and orientation	reconstruction and extension of older areas of towns and cities often based on a master plan	continuation of 1950s theme; suburban and peripheral growth; some early attempts at rehabilitation	focus on institution Renewal and neighbourhood schemes; still develop periphery	many major schemes of development and redevelopment ; flagship projects; out-of-town projects	move towards a more comprehensive form of policy and practice; more emphasis on integrated treatments
key actors and stakeholders	national and local government; private sector developer and contractors	move towards a greater balance between public and private sectors	growing role of private sector and decentralisation in local government	emphasis on private sector and special agencies; growth of partnerships	partnership the dominant approach

Source from the book < *Urban Regeneration-A Handbook*> P9-36 (Roberts, 2000)

Roberts and Sykes' observed and studied many England and American regeneration cases and tried to relate the events to the background and finally gave this classical way of periodization. However, this classification is mainly based on the experiences of UK and United States which is quite different from the situation of the continent of Europe, besides, this classification is too complicated and each period's feature is not so unique.

Another scholar, Naomi Carmon, proposed an analysis in 1999 based on the policies and experiences in United Nations and European countries. In his paper, he refers to "urban renewal" as a joint name and the process can be divided into three generations:

Table 2. 2: three generations of urban renewal programs

	generation I	generation II	generation III
beginning time	1930s	1960s	1970s
name	the era of the bulldozer	neighborhood rehabilitation	revitalization, especially in city centers
character	physical determinism and emphasis on the built environment	comprehensive approach emphasizing social problems	a business-like approach emphasizing economic development

Source: based on Carmon's paper (1999) and rearranged by author

Carmon's classification seems more objective and fits to different European countries.

The first generation can be seen as time in which interventions mainly consisted in demolishing and rebuilding and created vast dissense and received great criticism. The second generation proposed by Carmon is the one which **aimed at improving existing housing and environment instead of demolishing them, while simultaneously, treating the social problems of the population by adding social services and bettering their quality.**

The third generation, developed in a phase in which the western world's economy was starting to face a crisis and to decline: in the 1970s, most countries began to adopt neo-liberal policies and developed lots of revival projects to stimulate growth. So the task of urban renewal started to be re-oriented and to overlook the social aspect gradually, hence, many people began to oppose urban renewal (regeneration). In the book "Whose Urban Renaissance" Porter wrote that regeneration means, "Simply, reinvestment in a place after a period of disinvestment" (Porter, 2009), "Urban regeneration is often seen as a euphemism for gentrification" and "process of disinvestment and reinvestment are a knowing activity on the part of the 'producers of gentrification' (Smith, 1987) - the investors, developers, real estate agents, banks, governments and mainstream media-who act, in effect, as the collective initiative behind gentrification. All these are the criticism of today's main stream urban regeneration.

This research is about the regeneration of public housing estates, which depends more on public intervention. According to Carmon's division, this research can be referred to the second generation, that of "neighborhood rehabilitation", having a focus on the improving and upgrading of the existing environment while taking the social and economic aspects into account.

"Neighborhood rehabilitation" can be found in the US of the 1960s; an approach to assisting distressed neighborhoods was developed and implemented. For European countries, as Alterman has shown, many of the upgrading programmes in the European counties were uni-sectorial and focused solely or primarily on physical renovation of housing and infrastructure. So it was in Sweden, Holland and West Germany. (Alterman, 1991) But in other countries, including France and Israel, the comprehensive model of the US was applied. The French policy of neighbourhood social development, announced in 1981, reached 150 neighbourhood throughout France and was directed toward comprehensive and integrated management of housing, education, social integration, employment, professional training, health, culture and leisure, with emphasis on participation of the residents in the processes of change.(Carmon, 1999)

However, Carmon's study only focus on the phenomenon before 1990s, later, the neighborhood rehabilitation began to popularize in many European countries, including Italy. Hence, this research is the supplement of the theory of neighborhood regeneration.

2.1.3 Interpretations and theories on urban regeneration

There are a lot of theories to interpret urban regeneration. And they can be divided in two branches.

The first branch stems from a political perspective, researching about the dynamics and motivation, such as “urban regime” theory, “growing machine” “urban governance” etc.

“Growing machine” and “urban regime” theory try to make a model of the structure of power. The “growing machine” theory considers all the nature of locality is “growth” (Logan & Molotch, 1987). So, that the nature of regeneration is the coalition of government and company tries to get the common profit from the regeneration process. But in the process, the local inhabitants are always the victims. “Urban regime” theory revises “growing machine” theory and it suggests that it is the “informal governing alliance” between government and private sectors have the power to make the policy. (Stone, 1987)

“Urban governance” doesn’t try to build a model of political power, it focuses more on the process of the policy making and implement.

And the other branch of theories is researching the result of regeneration, from sociological angle, for example, the theory of “gentrification”.

Because of the main aim of the thesis is to find out the dynamics of the “neighbourhood contracts” policy, it takes the political perspective. “Urban regime” theory and “growing machine” can well explain the relationship of the actors in the system of neo-liberalism and they are tend to be used in the economy-led regeneration which is the “third kind of regeneration” as Carmon defined, for the structure of the coalition are more remarkable and the model can forceful explain the dynamics of this kind of regeneration. For example, Wu Fulong uses the theory to explain the case of Xin Tiandi which is an urban regeneration project in Shanghai in the article “property-led redevelopment in post-reform china: a Case study of Xintiandi redevelopment project in Shanghai”. (Wu, 2005) However, they are not fit for the neighbourhood regeneration, which is more relate to the welfare behavior of different actors. Hence, this thesis takes the “urban governance” as the basic theory, the focus is researching “who governs” and “how to govern” in the urban regeneration process. In the part 2.2, it is the deep research of the theory of “governance”.

2.1.4 Urban regeneration policies in Italy

Urban regeneration in Italy is quite different with the process of UK and USA, and the former shows the feature that lack of “a real national policy for urban renewal and the implementation of local actions”, but it has lots of practical experiences based on local municipalities, which involving kinds of actors: “volunteer associations, public agencies and various organizations” (Mingione and Nuvolati, 2003), besides, the regeneration in Italy has great relation with the conservation of cities.

According to Enzo Mingione and Giampaolo Nuvolati's paper, the process of Italian's regeneration (after WWII) can be divided into two parts:

1) First period is from the 1950s to the 1990s, although the detailed action and thoughts of urban regeneration (or renewal) is changing, the overall process is based on local actions. In 1950s, the activity of regeneration happened in the ancient urban settlements and the historic centers of cities, and the process was initiated by the elites of intellectuals and progressive town planners who are interested in the preservation of historical and architectural values. However, lots of low-income residents in the center were replaced by commercial and professional operators and high-income dwellers.

In the 1960s, local inhabitants were organized to protesting against the speculative expulsion and the concept of historic cores evolved "from that of a precious heritage to be preserved in its original form, regardless of social implications, to an important and active feature of the city, a vital and crucial element in the overall urban planning process".

In the 1970s, in the context of economic crisis, government attempted to reduce housing waste by minimizing new construction and encouraging social oriented rehabilitation of existing dwellings,

During the 1980s, problems of traditional methods of regeneration began increasingly significant: first, the municipalities had shown themselves unable to manage the complicated process of regeneration; second, traditional kinds of intervention can hardly deal with the social problems such as social exclusion, new forms of poverty etc.

2) The second period can be seen from 1990s to now, and at this period, a multi-sectorial approach emerges.

In this period, five successive and long-term programmes came into effect since 1992, and "Neighbourhood Contracts" is one of them and its mainly aim is to cope with public housing estates with serious problems in terms of urban quality and social exclusion.

Table 2. 3: the complex urban programmes in Italy since 1990s

	Programme	Starting Time	
1	Programmi integrati	1992	The first complex urban programme
2	Programmi di recupero urbano	1994	Mainly for the public housing
3	Programmi di riqualificazione urbana	1994	Mainly for the declined industrial area
4	Contratti di quartiere	1997	Mainly for the social housing estates with serious problems in terms of urban quality and social exclusion
5	Programmi di recupero urbano e di sviluppo sostenibile, PRUSST	1998	Mainly for the important infrastructure (port, airport, stations) and public buildings(court, hospital, university and conference & exhibition center)

source: rearrange according the article of Enzo Mingione and Giampaola Nuvolati(2003)

2.2 Urban Governance

2.2.1 Background: Changing from government to governance

1) Transition from Fordism to post-Fordism

From 1970s, under the influence of economic globalization, great changes happened in the western countries, at the economic level, the transition from industrial Fordism of mass production and mass consumption to post-Fordism of “flexible” work forms and of the third sector, and at the political level, the transition from the national, Keynesian, intervening welfare state to the post national, neoliberal, entrepreneurial state. (Markantonatou, 2007)

According to Joachim Hirsch (2000: 28), Fordism was an answer to the international crisis of 1929-30, lasted until the Middle 1950s and was related to a state management of demand and to a number of fiscal and consumption policies guided by the welfare state.

However, Fordism could not deal with the new crisis, and the oil crisis of 1973 signals the ideal-typical transition to the post-Fordist era. In this new phase, liberalization reforms tended to replace the Keynesian pattern as an main character, and the mighty intervention policies of powerful central states resulted into a series of deregulation policies. The traditional “hierarchical, centralized and bureaucratic” management in Fordism changed to “devolved and performance-driven” in post-Fordism. (Markantonatou, 2007)

Hence, the traditional management way of government gradually changed to governance, which explicitly involves in the action of governing a variety of actors, more public-private partnerships and “networked” forms (Brenner, 2002).

2) Governance

“Governance is one of the key-concepts in understanding the complexity of the public and political arenas in the light of the European integration process.” (Gelli, 2001) however, as governance is a widely discussed concept, which has many definitions and hardly to get a consensus. According to the definition of the World Bank, “one might conclude that governance is the process – by which authority is conferred on rulers, by which they make the rules, and by which those rules are enforced and modified”.

Osborne and Gaebler argue that: Governance can be understood as “entrepreneurial governance” (Osborne and Gaebler 1992), and such governments “decentralize authority, embracing participatory management and they prefer market mechanisms to bureaucratic mechanisms” (Markantonatou, 2007).

Patrick Le Galès states that, governance relates to all the institutions, networks, directives, regulations, norms, political and social usages, and public and private actors that contribute to the stability of a society and of a political regime, to its orientation, to its capacity to direct, and to its capacity to provide services and ensure its own legitimacy (Le Galès, 2011).

In a word, we can find that “cooperation” and “process” is the key points of governance and they are also the crucial elements to understand European countries’ urban policies.

Although there is no common accept definition of governance, its essence is the cooperation between public and private actors. Hence, there are lots of forms of cooperation. In the article “Urban governance in Europe: What is Governed?”, Le Galès names several forms of governance; Private-public partnership, charters, plans, contracts, or joined-up government (Le Galès, 2011).

2.2.2 “Contracting” as a main tool of governance

Contracting is a management method derived from economic field: “Contract management”, meaning the management of contracts made with customers, vendors, partners, or employees.

By changing into the political area, contract policy “represent one of the principal ways in which governments privatize their service delivery, and governments also represent, on average, a substantial source of revenue for nonprofit organizations. Contracts not only serve to check the actions of agents but also those of principals” (Al-Najjar and Cadadesus-Masanell 2002).

Generally speaking, “contract” policy is one form of governance in the background of post-Fordism and neo-liberalism. In this specific background, the “contract” has become the main tool in public policies for regulating the relation between Public Administration and Private Sector (Caselli and Maranghi, 2013). the reason for adopting “contract” policy as a main governance tool is that under the pressure of competition of neo-liberalism, the “Public Administrations tends to adopt the efficiency and efficacy criteria elaborated in the private sector” (Caselli and Maranghi, 2013) .

The main logic of “contract” policy is “**subsidiarity**”¹, (Caselli and Maranghi, 2013) which is a term from political area, here means that the upper level of public institution do not interfere the process only if it can act more effective than the local level of sectors. In another word, it means that the upper level of government or institutions only take the most important actions to guarantee the implement

1 The principle of subsidiarity is defined in Article 5 of the Treaty on European Union. It ensures that decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen and that constant checks are made to verify that action at Union level is justified in light of the possibilities available at national, regional or local level. Specifically, it is the principle whereby the Union does not take action (except in the areas that fall within its exclusive competence), unless it is more effective than action taken at national, regional or local level. It is closely bound up with the principle of proportionality, which requires that any action by the Union should not go beyond what is necessary to achieve the objectives of the Treaties.

Source: the website “Summaries of EU legislation” :

http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/glossary/subsidiarity_en.htm

process, and the detailed action can be decided by the local level and private sectors.

In a word, “contract” policy allow the public and private sector organizations get performance through contract relationships. By the contract, the government gives some of its work to the private sectors, and the process can be understand as “empowerment”.

2.2.3 Governance and policy processes in Italy

In Italy, in the transformation period from Fordism to post-Fordism, the traditional welfare system has undergone great crisis. The most important character is the change of the role of state, market and non-profit actors in delivering the services. As Zajczyk noticed” The third sector and non-profit organizations have not only become part of common language for politicians and civic society; they also became fundamental in the redefinition of the welfare system. ”(Zajczyk F, Mugnano S, Mezzetti P, et al, 2005,P. 13)

More specifically, since the 1990s Italy has been going through decentralisation processes and institutional changes. The changes in the roles and organisation of the state and more generally for the public actors, recognizably affects urban governments (Governa, 2010).

The change of the organization and the role of the State (and more generally of the public actor) also affects a change of urban government, spreading the term of urban governance (Balducci, 2000; Bolocan Goldstein, 2000; Perulli, 2004; Palermo, 2009).

In the context of governance, Italian urban policies began to develop several characters: 1) the introduction of inter-institutional forms of cooperation between various levels of government; 2) Coordination between a multiplicity of actors and interests; 3) involvement of private sector institutions; 4) a direct participation of citizens in the decision making processes.

In addition to the change in the legal and institutional framework, with all the aforementioned problems and difficulties, the construction of the framework of Italian urban governance has also been influenced by the role played by the European Union (EU). “Initiatives and community programmes have indeed spread in the Italian practices the “core principles” and the current European urban policy’s mainstream” (Governa, 2004) .

Under the influence of EU programmes, Urban governance in Italy lead to the introduction and development of the so called complex urban programmes, which constitute a sort of “Italian way” to urban regeneration (Governa and Saccomani, 2004). “Neighborhood contracts” are one kind of the “complex urban programmes” and it is also under great influence of EU programs, as it will be discussed with more detail in the next chapters.

2.3 Social housing

2.3.1 Welfare meaning of social housing

The history of social housing in European countries began more than a century ago. Although each country has different definition of “social housing”, the core of it is similar, which is the housing provided to those who needs them in the price lower the market. As much of Europe has “a common history of social housing with shared roots, a shared philosophy, and a large variety of experiences”, the social housing topic is quite popular around Europe. The word social housing is the key element of the “social welfare” policy that “marked the first stage of industrialization”. (Lévy-Vroelant, 2008)

“Since the industrial revolution, together with the traditional provision by private and speculative initiatives, industries and companies, as well as the State, became the direct providers of housing stock for workers, thus confirming the role of industrial production as a principle of economic, social and spatial organization. Public housing estates were conceived as answers to the relevant housing demand, as well as platforms for social inclusion, for urban integration and control of the working classes that migrated toward the city” (Bricocoli 2010, P.70) .

From this point of view, the birth of the social housing is not only for the need of workers, but for the economic and political needs. However, this kind of housing indeed constituted the main part of social welfare system.

Social housing is also connected with the Modern Movement of architecture, which declares its aim with reference to the development of social welfare. And the three words becomes co-ordinate ideas which establish on the same historical background.

2.3.2 The crisis of social housing

The contemporary crisis of social housing, modern architecture and social welfare are somehow all related to the structural change of the economic system. With the decline of economy in 1970s in the western countries, the general policy move to post-Fordism, and the cut-down of social welfare, traditional social housing districts began to face great challenge. Funds for public housing are lower, physical decay and the social decline becomes sever.

The sign of this crisis is the moment of the bombing of the social housing complex Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis, USA, in 1972 is described by Charles Jencks as the “the day Modern architecture died” (Jencks,1984)



Fig 2. 1: the fall of Pruitt-Igoe²

This situation is described in the article of Bricocoli “The economic crisis of the mid-1970s set overall in Europe a dramatic turn: together with the increasing retreat of welfare policies, investment in mass public housing stopped as the overall growth model of the city started to be in crisis... at a time of industrial crisis and structural economic change, many public housing neighbourhoods became, if not dysfunctional, definitely problematic entities in the economy of contemporary city. From solutions to a set of development-related questions they were more and more perceived as ‘problem areas’” (Bricocoli 2010, P.71).

However, social housing still plays an important role of social reconciliation, take Italy as an example, the public stock is less than 4% of the total housing in 2011. However, it amounts to 18.8% in the total rental housing available (Boeria 2011). The limited stocks play the important role of solving the problem of housing problems of low-income families. Besides, although the welfare system is declining now in Europe and the social housing cannot play as much important role as it was in the middle of 20th century, they still has the great meaning in the society in European countries. Hence, the regeneration of social housing is becoming very important issue and gradually getting more and more attention by almost all European countries.

2.3.3 Social housing in Italy

1) Concept of social housing in Italy

In Italy, social housing is a concept includes the idea of “public housing” (Edilizia Residenziale Pubblica) and also housing built by social (not for profit) associations. The “Edilizia Residenziale Pubblica”, according to the definition of “CECODHAS Housing Europe”³: mainly include two types:

² source from: wikipedia

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pruitt%E2%80%93Igoe#cite_note-econ2011-14

³ Established in 1988, CECODHAS Housing Europe is the European Federation of Public, Cooperative & Social Housing - a network of 45 national and regional federations which together gather about 41 400 public, voluntary and cooperative housing providers in 19 countries. Altogether they manage over 27 million homes, about 12% of existing dwellings in the EU.

<http://www.housingeurope.eu/publication/social-housing-country-profiles/social-housing-in/italy>

A) Edilizia sovvenzionata: direct state provided housing, with costs covered totally by the state and state ownership of the houses built (public housing);

B) Edilizia agevolata: support (mainly financial, traditionally in the form of interest subsidies on loans) for the construction of housing for rental and for owner-occupier housing, or grant of subsidised loans to private individuals.

The object in this thesis is mainly refer to the first kind of public housing, which faces more severe problems and need more intervention measures. So, in this research, the social housing can also be called public housing.

2) The situation of social housing

From 1980s, with the slowdown of economic and the political reform, public finance to social housing diminished. As most European countries, there was a general decline in public investment, and a shift away from government regulation towards market mechanism. (Tosi and Cremaschi, 2003)

As a result, the availability of public housing has been reduced by 90%, due to the slowdown of building new social housing and the sale of old housing. (Boeria, 2011)

Besides, the degradation of social housing is severe: Lack of building maintenance, dropout, and crime are quite common in these areas.

As a whole scale, new supply of constructions declined in Italy, say, over 60% building activity has concerned the redevelopment of existing stock since 1980s (Boeria,2011). So the supply of social housing also declined. Now the focus of social housing policy moves to the upgrading of existing estate by improving the physical condition and reducing social segregation.

Chapter 3 Evolution of Neighbourhood Regeneration policies

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the “Italian way” to urban regeneration is characterized by “The complex urban programmes” (Governa and Saccomani, 2004). These programmes, which have often been implemented in accordance with EU Urban initiative or through projects emulating its “spirit”, have disseminated urban governance practices based on the integration principle, inter-sectoral approach, and methodologies of participation of inhabitants. (Governa, 2010)

3.1 The evolution of integrated neighbourhood regeneration programmes.

3.1.1 “Integrated” and “area-based” programmes

A Neighborhood contract is a programme which has the character of “integrated “and “area-based”.

In Europe, integrated policies have become very popular in the last two decades. According to Kempen the term “integrated” has two meanings. “The first meaning is related to the issues that are tackled. Integrated policies can at least partly be seen as a reaction to single-issue policies that might generate solutions in one field but totally disregard other issues. Integrated policies in this sense are policies which tackle a number of issues at the same time. The second meaning refers to the number of parties involved in the policy. Integrated policies are the policies that involve a large number of participants. Local or national government doesn’t have the only say, and networks of organizations, including private companies, public sectors agencies, voluntary bodies, resident organizations and individual residents are involved. In this respect, we sometimes talk about a shift from government to governance. In the implement of this kind of policy, only when all parties, including local government, housing associations, shop owners, residents, private developers, can reach agreement about the direction and contents of the policy will there be successful outcomes.” (Kempen, Murie, Tosics, et al, 2006) And there are some advantages integrated policies:

- 1) Combination of problems can be attacked from different angles;
- 2) Easier cooperation among different actors in the policy arena (They can find their own interests);
- 3) All kinds of small initiatives can be bundled together. (Kempen, Murie, Tosics, et al, 2006 p.171-179)

The “area-based” approach refers to the definition of a perimeter which assumes “the borders of a public housing estate as the field of action of a multitude

of actors converging on an overall aim of tacking multidimensional disadvantages.” (Bricocoli 2010, P.73)

In other words, it means that a serious of actions focuses on one specific problematic place (deprived neighborhood). (Fig 3.1)

The most significant difference between new type of programmes and traditional ones is that the former has multiple goals and also combines inter-institutional sectors, for example economic, construction, employment etc. in the same places which can receive more effective interventions.

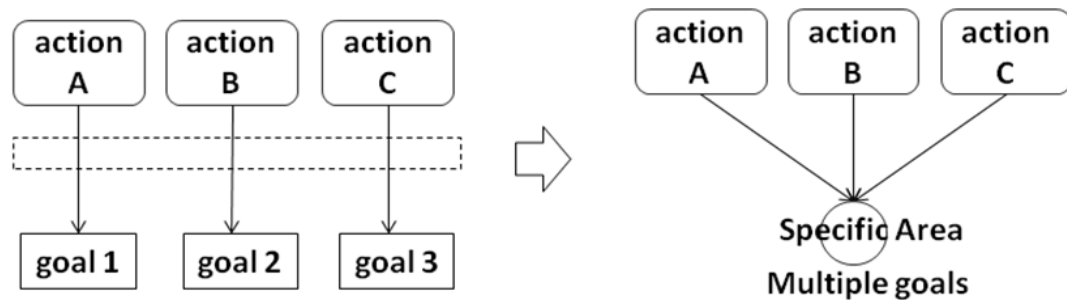


Fig 3. 1: mode of traditional programme and new type of programme
(Made by author)

3.1.2 The French experience

Since the beginning of the 1990s integrated approaches to urban policy-making have developed in many European countries, and definitely France was one of the main countries experimenting integrated urban policies.

In France, the integrated policies are called “area-based initiatives” and they were kick-started in the early 1980s after a series of insurgences and conflicts in the peripheral public housing estates of the Paris and Lyons suburbs. Following the contract mechanism (linking national planning to local implementation through formal agreements) French initiatives drew heavily on a new application of the established state/departement/commune network (Le Gales and Mawson,1993).

In 1980s, French government launched a set of policies targeted the problematic urban peripheries called “politique de la ville” and consisted of different programs and different phases. “Contrats de ville” (CDV) is one of the most important programme which is an influential example that “represented an attempt, through negotiation, to formalize relationships within and between tiers of government.” (Hall and Hickman, 2010) The CDV is inside the hierarchy of the planning system, inside of which “each tier of intervention is defined by reference to a higher tier – Grand project de ville to CDV; CDV to Contrat de Plan; Contrat de Plan to the National Plan – through a sequential negotiation of contracts covering different spatial levels.” (Hall and Hickman, 2010)

Although the experience in France has its limitation, as scholar Murray Stewart argues, the ‘contrats de ville’ and the quartiers policy “need to be understood in the context of a large set of policies developed along the years, the role of the family in

French welfare, the weak legal position of immigrants, and the relatively minor role of voluntary organisations (associations) in French community life” (Stewart and Lane, 2001), however, the major French contribution, according to Jacquier, was to “identify ‘quartiers’ as a European issue ”and to encourage the “neighbourhood in crisis” (Quartiers en Crise) initiatives which were themselves the precursor of URBAN and placed area-based urban policies on the edge of, if not at the top of, the European agenda” (Jacquier 1991; Stewart and Lane, 2001).

3.1.3 The promotion of integrated urban regeneration programs at the EU level

After the first exploratory experiences in France, at the end of 1980s, the European Union began to adopt the integrated urban policy concept and to extensively promote it at the European level, launching a series of different programmes. One of the first initiatives in this area was probably the network “Neighbourhoods in Crisis” in the years 1988-1989. From 1990 onwards, the Urban Pilot Projects (UPPs) began to be funded and launched to target neighbourhoods facing social problems, accompanied by exchanges of experiences between local authorities (RECITE) (Jacquier, 2012). Following this, the most important programme was the “Urban Community Initiative”, which first launched in 1994, encouraging urban areas and neighbourhoods in crisis to design innovative, integrated urban development measures.

Reviewing the main literature, we can find that these programmes (especially the URBAN programme) show the following characters:

1) A Top-down and co-funding approach

It is difficult to let the local government to deal with the urban problems alone, because the city was “recognized as playing an important role in responding to the global economic pressure within the framework of an increasing inter-urban competition, and as offering the scope for local democratic decision making and citizens participation” (Stewart, 1994). Urban problems were recognized as “aggravated by the financial difficulties of many urban local authorities” (Gelli and Tedesco, 2001). Hence, the top-down promotion and (from EU level or State level) becomes important.

These programmes occur at a European level, and then are implemented through the involvement of the national and local levels; take the financing guarantee system as an example: the first money comes from the Structural Funds of EU as an incentive and stimulating funds which need the “competitive bidding” of local cities (Gelli and Tedesco, 2001). After getting this money, the city can also get co-financing of the state and local government to carry out its regeneration projects.

2) The integrated action

The integrated approach of these programmes can be summarized into two parts:

For the content, “the idea and use of policy sector integration for tackling social, economic and physical problems, is central in the Urban Programme” (Gelli and Tedesco, 2001).

Besides, for the organization, the programmes also focus on the vertical and horizontal levels of relationships: vertical cooperation between different levels of governments, and horizontal cooperation of different institutions.

3) Urban Regeneration programmes and political concern

The Europeanization of the Urban Regeneration issue, according to Claude Jacquier, “owes much to European parliamentarians, networks of elected politicians and technical staff from cities”. Hence, from the beginning, the integrated urban regeneration policy has a broad political scope. As Claude Jacquier said that from that time of the program URBAN, “urban issues were never really off the political agenda” (Jacquier, 2012).

Besides the programs, the European Union also launched a series of academic conferences to promote the new approach to urban regeneration and a discussion of integrated urban regeneration policy issue in the international academic and scientific debate. From the first intergovernmental meetings “Member State presidency” which was held in France in 1995, the research and promotion of integrated policy never stops, and the following list is the most important documents and meetings:

Table 3. 1: the important meetings about the integrated regeneration

Time	Name of the meeting	Held country	Importance
1995	Member State presidency	France	Ushered the tradition of intergovernmental meetings.
1998	Vienna Forum	Austrian	The document "Framework for action for sustainable Urban Development in the European Union" laid the foundations for integrated strategies.
2007	Leipzig Charter	Germany	Create the governance structures to the implementation of integrated approaches
2008	French presidency	France	Formed the framework for the "sustainable city" (RFSC)
2010	Spanish presidency	Spain	Focused on the multi-level governance

Source from: the article of Jacquier (2012)

In a word, though a series of promotion, the EU successfully promoted and disseminated the concept of integrated policy to the European countries and then many of them began to develop its own similar programmes to deal with the deprived neighbourhood.

3.2 Policy transfer: from EU to single countries

3.2.1 The impact of URBAN

Most scholars believe that the Urban Programme (including URBAN 1 (1994-1999) and URBAN 2 (2000-2006) have had great impact on many countries, that adopted its concepts and developed their own similar programmes. At the EU level, “URBAN programme was considered to be an innovative step” (Tofarides, 2000 p. 102).

Both Urban I and Urban II facilitated the use of innovative methods and the application of integrated policies in area-based projects. They also stress the importance of public participation, the development of fruitful cooperation among local civil society, local residents and the authorities responsible for generation. The programme required co-financing from local and national sources in all cases. Urban I and Urban II programmes affected 129 areas in the 15 old member states. (Kempen, Murie, Tosics, et al, 2006) It is difficult to say how much the Urban Programme influenced the urban policy in each country, but the “circulation of ideas and concepts that were put into effect in other national contexts and not just at an EU level” (Gelli and Tedesco, 2001).

3.2.2 Policy transfer

After the URBAN programme, many countries including Italy develop their own similar policy programme. These can be seen as a successful the policy transfer⁴. Policy transfer can have different pattern of manifestation and different type.

Then according to Ronand van Kempen, there are three types of transfer (Kempen, Murie, Tosics, et al, 2006 P.42):

- 1) The vertical route: a top-down flow of information – for example from national governments to municipalities or neighbourhoods
- 2) The horizontal route: policy transfers on the same level, from country to country, region to region, city to city, or even between neighbourhoods.
- 3) The cyclical route: indicates a particular route of information, where bottom-up and top-down approached is combined.

As Kempen said “Transferring a policy doesn’t necessarily mean adopt it completely. Rather, transferring a policy can mean several things, from fully copying the policy to gaining inspiration from it”. The following table is the list of urban initiatives emerged in many countries to deal with the deprived neighborhoods. In these programmes, “integrated” is the “core” and key word, which means in addition to physical renewal and economic development, all these programmes “link

4 Transfer can be seen as “the different policies and practices, taken from another city, region or country(Kempen, 2006)” and the content of the transfer can be “data, information, knowledge and experience”.

residents’ involvement with the ambition to facilitate a cohesive social texture and to strengthen social capital” (Savini, 2011), which is under the influence of EU programme.

Table 3. 2: the “integrated” regeneration programmes in the main European countries

Nationality	Programmes	Starting Year
France	Développement social des quartiers DSQ(Social development of neighborhoods)	1982
	Le Contrat de Ville (The City Contract)	1989
	Grand Projet Urbain (Urban Grand Project)	1990
	Plan de Relance pour la Ville (Recovery Plan for the City)	1996
England	City Challenge	1989
	National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal	2001
Netherlands	Politique des grandes villes (Urban Policy)	1994
Italy	Contratti di quartiere (Neighbourhood Contracts)	1997
Germany	Die Soziale Stadt / the Social City Programme	1999
Denmark	Kvarterløft	1996
	Comité Urbain	1994
Belgium	Politique des grandes villes (Urban Policy)	1999
	Brussels :Neighbourhood Contracts	2002
Sweden	Programme de développement des quartiers (Development programme areas)	1994

Source: elaborated by the author on the basis of an interview to Sandro Balducci and of Savini (2011)

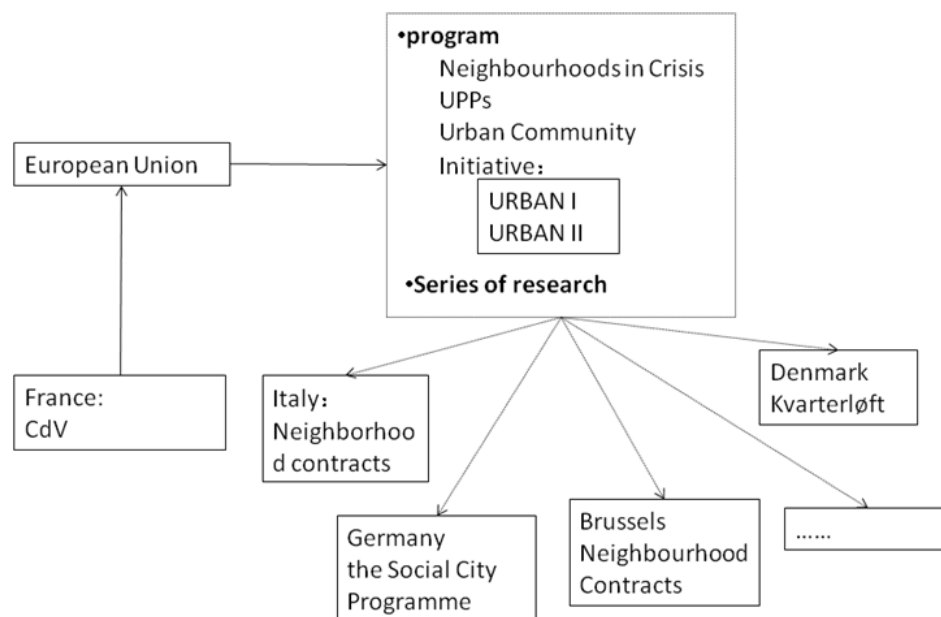


Fig 3. 2: the transfer of the integrated neighborhood regeneration policy (made by author)

In a word, in the evolution of neighbourhood regeneration, we can observe the type of Cyclical transfers: from neighborhood experience in France, to EU promotion and then to the national and neighborhood level. By years of promotion, most countries adopt the integrated policy (area-based approach) to deal with their own countries' problems of run-down neighbourhood.

3.3 The development of integrated programme in Italy.

3.3.1 Neighborhood policy in Italy before: fragmented and simple

Before 1990s, the Italian's policy of regeneration is fragmented and simple, and compared with North European urban policy, "the Italian model looks like a patchwork of initiatives and actors that have produced multiple forms of urban actions in different sectors but lacking overall co-ordination" (Mingione and Nuvolati, 2003; Bricocoli, 2004). In other words, we cannot say that Italy has an integrated plan of intervention to promote social inclusion profiting from the European experience.

The character of fragmented policy can be summed up as:

First, the policy is not efficient and this delay is caused by lack of a true national policy able to develop an articulated strategy of intervention in the rundown urban areas.

Second, the capabilities of local authorities in dealing with urban problems and solutions are missing. And this is caused by the autonomy of the local municipalities in Italy (the 100 cities nation) in promoting public policies has been traditionally more formal than substantial and strongly bounded by the central institutions.(Tosi and Cremaschi, 2003; Mingione and Nuvolati, 2003)

3.3.2 The EU's impact on the development of the Italian programme

EU promotion (especially the URBAN programme) has great impact on the Italian regeneration. In the bidding of EU's URBAN programme, many Italian cities in Italy were involved and submitted their proposals (Mingione and Nuvolati, 2003). After that, Italy developed several complex regeneration programmes, and Neighbourhood Contracts is one of them. As Francesca Gelli said: "During the '90s the Ministry of Public Works experimented some national urban programme: Programmi integrati di intervento, Programmi di riqualificazione urbana, Programmi di recupero urbano, Contratti di quartiere(NC). These urban and territorial programmes have some important points of connection with other E.U funded programmes "(such as the Urban Pilot Projects and the Urban Programme under Community Initiative) (Gelli and Tedesco, 2001)

3.3.3 The Italian context: A tradition of informal cooperation and new institutional reforms

Actually, before the framework of integrated policy, Italy has a long remarkable positive cooperation experiences and the good results were well recognized : “as a result of the work of volunteer associations, municipalities, public agencies and various organizations, a vast store of knowledge has been built up and a wide range of operative possibilities has been tried out” (Tosi and Cremaschi, 2003).

At the parliamentary level, the process of reform of local government and the public administration was initiated with two important bills passed in 1990. First is the 1996 act which introduced the concept of negotiated programming. The 1996 Act introduced the concept of “negotiated programming”, which “set form of negotiation and cooperation between public and non public actors”; Second is the 1997 reform of the public administration known as the Bassanini Law. The 1997 reform resulted in direct election of the mayors, and giving significant more power and delegated competences to local governments. And the release of “Bassanini Law” can be seen as the first time in Italy, “urban governance” is defined by law. (Bricocoli, 2004 P.104; Zajczyk F, Mugnano S, Mezzetti P, et al, 2005 P.15)

These reforms have produced two main results. First of all, the process of redefining competencies has given more power to local government authorities (mayors are now directly elected). Secondly, interesting new possibilities have opened up in favour of an approach more oriented towards negotiation and co-operation. Within this scheme, new tools have been introduced, such as *accordo di programma*, (programme agreement), *conferenza di servizi*, (meetings for programme evaluation by public entities), *società miste* (joint public and private municipal companies). (Mingione and Nuvolati, 2003) These are the basis of the implementation of the later programmes including “ Neighbourhood Contracts “.

3.3.4 New policy framework: main programmes and its characters

Because of these reasons, integrated or area-based initiatives have become a common feature of urban policy in Italy. Meanwhile “more and more local actions and integrated programmes have been located at the top of the framework of spatial policies” (Bricocoli, 2006)

Then series of integrated programmes for urban upgrading was proposed and implemented first by the administration of the CER (Housing Committee) and then by the Direzione generale del Coordinamento Territoriale (Territorial Co-ordination Department) of the Ministry of Public Works, including: Programmi integrati (Integrated Programmes); Programmi di recupero urbano (Urban Renewal Programmes - December 1994); Programmi di riqualificazione urbana; Contratti di quartiere (**Neighbourhood Contracts** - introduced in 1997) and Programmi di recupero urbano e di sviluppo sostenibile (Urban Upgrading and Sustainable Development Programmes - 1998)

In these programmes, three characters can be spotted: First is the promotion of new forms of partnerships; second is the integration of funding and of fields of intervention; third is the timing of the project to be shared and subscribed by all the involved actors. (Bricocoli, 2004 P.105)

3.4 General implementation of Neighborhood Contracts in Italy

From the analysis above, we can find that, the carry out of Neighbourhood Contracts can be seen as the co-influence of the EU promotion and the institutional reforms.

This programme is quite important: from the political aspect, Neighborhood Contract is the most significant programmes supporting neighbourhood policies in Italy (Balducci, 2001) which based on the new political reform context that enables the new partnerships among public and private, institutional and nongovernmental subjects. (Bricocoli, 2004) Also Neighbourhood contracts were an experimental programme for funding public housing areas to deal with the problem of urban, building and social decay, using the mechanism of nationwide tendering. They involved intervention on infrastructures and housing stock, and also on employment, occupational training, truancy and school dropout phenomena, assistance for the elderly and experimental housing.(Balducci, 2004)

The scope of the neighbourhood touch upon physical decay, social segregation, environment, job offer, economy stimulating, facilities and services etc. And the specific content is demand by the local communities, depending on the specific problematic area.The output can be regulations, for example, the design tools, environment plan, environment standards etc, and also can be specific aspects, such as revitalization of heritage, energy-saving buildings, assistance to elderly persons, new jobs and services etc.(Biocca and Morini, 2008)

In the evolution of Italian Neighbourhood Contracts, we can find that practices can be transferred from one spatial or political context to another. However the policy transfer cannot happen easily, which needs the influence of the outside (the EU promotion) and the conditions inside (the political reforms).

Chapter 4 The national level: bidding dynamics and Neighbourhood Contracts

4.1 The two series of Neighbourhood Contracts (NC I and NCII)

The national bidding procedure represents a critical step of Neighbourhood contracts, this measure refers to the European relative programmes such as Urban programme. There are two phases of Neighbourhood Contracts (NC I launched in 1997 and NC II launched in 2002), both of which followed the bidding dynamics:

In 1997, the Ministry of Public Works together with the CER (Committee for Housing) invested the last funds of «Gescal» (Management of Houses for Workers) in the competition for funding Urban Rehabilitation plans in social housing areas, called «Neighbourhood Contracts». Its target objects are the most problematic social housing estates, and there are fifty funded contracts in this programme. The Municipalities had got the chance to pursue objectives of urban and social rehabilitation in selected areas, while they should develop new operative ways of intervention on the public housing estates, and produce some methods, standards and regulations, sharable all over the nation. (Fianchini, 2012)

In July 2002, a new funding process for «Neighbourhood Contracts II» started. It was carried out from the past experience, but gave up to pursue both research and experimentation objectives and standardization. On the other hand, it increased the interventions and decentralized the process. What differs from the first series is that, “the Regions had to co-finance the interventions, to develop and manage the competition process in relation to the specific and local goals in the second phase”.(Fianchini, 2012)

As the research object is in Milan city which only take part in the second period of Neighbourhood Contracts (NC II), here the procedure research is focused on the NC II.

4.2 Bidding Procedures of NC II

4.2.1 Call for bidding

In the procedure, The Ministry of Infrastructures started the process, and then the municipality chose the target neighbourhood and proposes a regeneration design to take part in the bidding within the fixed time.

The proposal is submitted to the national level, where the Ministry of

Infrastructures is in charge of examining the Municipalities' applications and selecting those best meet their preliminary requirements at the best price-for-value rate.(Biocca and Morini, 2008)

4.2.2 Signing a Contract

After the bidding, the selection and designation of the projects which are awarded funding, the Ministry starts the negotiation and the contract signing procedure. The public funds of the programme come from three levels: the national provides 65% of the total project costs, while the remaining 35% comes from each selected Municipality's budget and/or its Regional government. In the fig 4.1, we can see the procedure of the bidding of Neighbourhood Contracts II programme, in which, the national level plays an important character, which plays the role of the prompter of the whole programme and also the main public supporter of the cost.

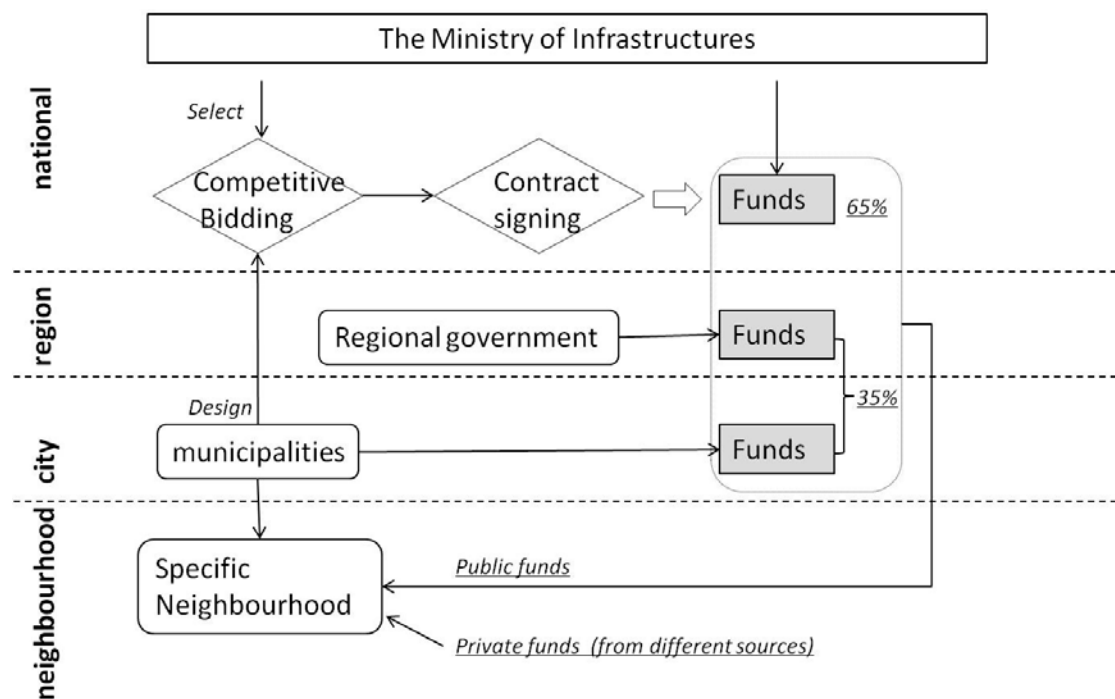


Fig 4. 1: Procedure of the starting of Neighbourhood Contracts II programme (made by author, according to Biocca and Morini (2008))

4.3 The cities involved and the distribution in the NC II

Although it seems that the projects of NCII covered all Italy, the general fund is uneven. The beneficiaries of the projects' funds are mostly from North Italy, with a total of about 800 million euro, while Central, South Italy and islands received some 400 million euro. (Biocca and Morini, 2008) In the table 4.1 we can see that Lombardy region's fund is the most and the average of each project is highest among

all Italy. As the regeneration funds should be co-financed by the regional government, those rich regions can get more chance than others, which makes unevenly distribution of the projects around Italy.

Table 4. 1: the public funds for the Neighbourhood contractsII projects.

Region	Number	fund (million €)	fund per project
Lombardy	22	305	13.9
Piemonte	19	118	6.2
Veneto	8	76.2	9.5
Liguria	7	46	6.6
Friuli Venezia Giulia	3	26.6	8.9
Emilia Romagna	12	82	6.8
Toscana	5	50	10.0
Umbria	4	19.6	4.9
Lazio	16	135	8.4
Abruzzo	13	32	2.5
Molise	5	7	1.4
Puglia	17	87	5.1
Campania	12	96	8.0
Basilicata	4	12	3.0
Calabria	7	39	5.6
Sardegna	8	48	6.0
Sicilia	20	101.5	5.1
total	182	1280.9	

Source from: The statistic is selected from Luigi Biocca and Annalisa Morini's article "the Italian cities' neighborhood contracts: highlights from the second strand of tenders" (Biocca and Morini, 2008)

4.4 Analysis of the bidding system

The bidding system could stimulate the local government to actively take part in the regeneration process and also to promote them to think of "innovative way" to solve the problems, such as taking ecology technology, stressing the security etc.

However, according to Cella, the neighbourhoods were identified on the basis of two principal criteria: "**whether the situation within the context was critical**- which was determined by cross-referencing information regarding physical and social aspects from various databases; and **the "capacity" of every individual environment to satisfactorily to the framework of objectives** set out by the regional call for tender" (Cella, 2006 P.11). There are some problems in it, because the regions tend to choose those extreme neighbourhoods which would be easy win the bidding, so the medium problematic neighbourhoods tend to be overlooked. On the other aspect, the success of the bidding had great connection with the financial

condition of the regional government, take Milan as an example, it did not get the programme in the Neighborhood Contract I for lack of the support of the region government, however, in the second phase it got five programmes which due to the promotion of the region of Lombardy. However, those relatively poor regions can hardly get the chance of regeneration programme.

Chapter 5 The Milan city level: The organization of

Neighbourhood contracts

The first two sections of this chapter is talking about the background of Milan and also its social housing problems, then this chapter will focus on how the Neighbourhood Contracts operated in the city level, including how it gets the bidding, the general organization of the programme, and the contents and negotiation of the integrated actions,.

5.1 Background of Milan

5.1.1 Political space of Milan –the system of government

1) The hierarchy of government

The administrative system in Italy consists of four levels: state, region, province, and city. Milan is the capital of Province Milan (with 3.7 million inhabitants) and also of the region of Lombardy (with 9 million inhabitants). In this research, the Milan refers to the City Milan. The city of Milan, which has population of 1,240,173 (from the website of istat.it, 2012) is the second largest city in Italy.

The three level of political space have clear boundaries: the region Lombardy has 11 provinces and 23,857 km²; The province of Milan has 188 communes and 1980 km²; the commune of Milan has 18,176 hectares. Each level has its own administration and different competences on territory, traffic, immigration, housing, industry and planning as far as public policies are concerned. The multi-level of government causes many troubles to planning, according to John Foot, “tensions between the various political bodies ... make co-ordinated planning and policy-making an extremely difficult task” (Foot, 2001, P.160). Hence, the “integrated “policy is quite important to some tough urban problems which need the cooperation between different levels of administrations.

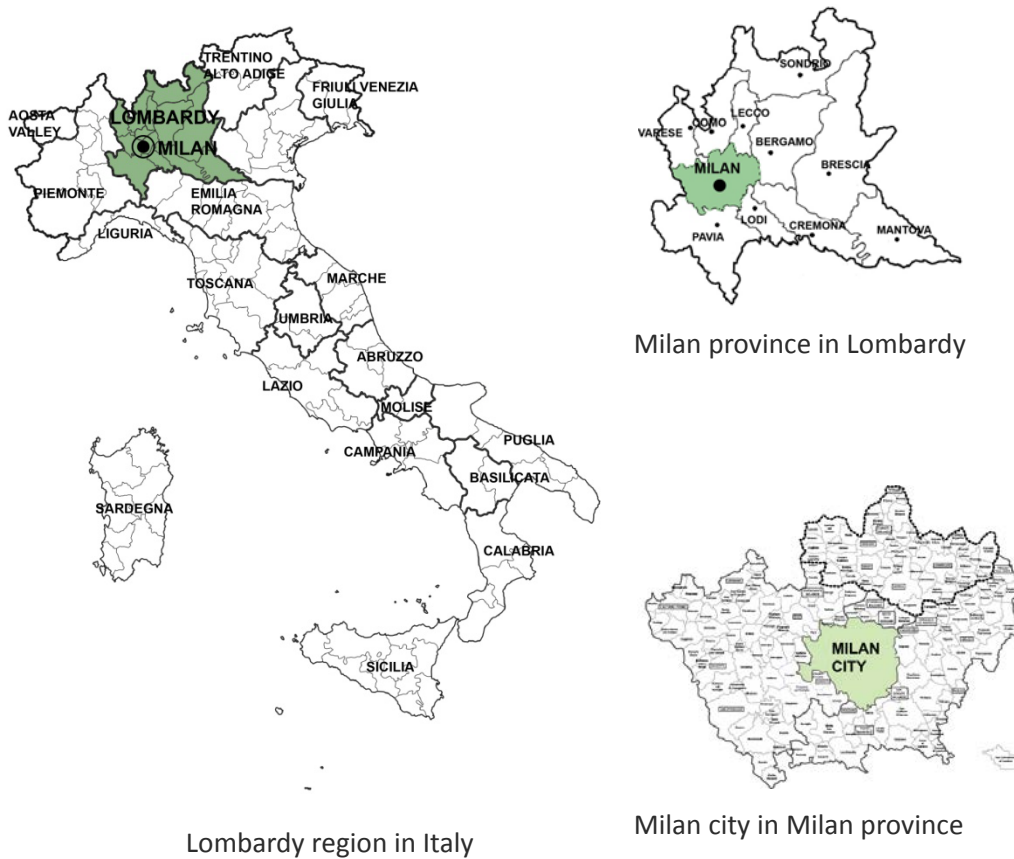


Fig 5. 1: Lombardy region, Milan province and Milan city

2) Structure inside the city: Zones and neighbourhood

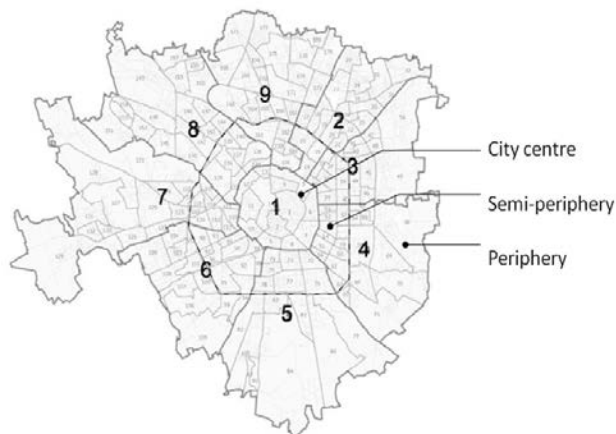


Fig 5. 2: nine zones and the neighbourhoods

The structure of Milan can be represented by two rings, the inner ring is the core of the city (the historic part) and the space between inner ring and second ring can be seen as semi-periphery which was built as periphery area in the beginning of 20th century, and the other places can be seen as periphery. But now some semi-periphery places show some kind of centrality.

Inside the city, in order to decentralize the management, the city was divided to nine districts (By the law 142 in 1990 and law 265 in 1999), and the division has a direct impact on the distribution of social and community services in the city. (Zajczyk F, Mugnano S, Mezzetti P, et al, 2005) The nine zones have been divided in 88 neighbourhoods (Nuclei Di Identita' Locale) which is kind of psychological identity but not an official administrative district.

Although there is some differences between the central and periphery, Milan has relatively social mix in the large scale, but great variances between different neighbourhoods (Mezzetti, Mugnano and Zajczyk, 2003 P.36).

5.1.2 Change of Economic situation in Milan

1) Economic miracle

After the Second World War, most European countries came across a big economic growth, so was Italy. Milan is the economic capital of Italy since the WWII. Also Milan is the typical industrial city combined with Turin and Genoa, which was considered "industrial triangle" of Italy. The period 1950s and 1960s is known as "economic miracle" of Milan history (Bricocoli, 2004) (Foot, 2001).

2) Slow-down of economy

As background of the world changing from the Fordism to post-Fordism in 1970s in the western countries, many changes happened. As to the policy level, the Keynesian fiscal policy was replaced by the neo-liberalism policy. In the period of the booming times, the mighty social welfare gave the possibility producing and maintaining large public housing estates. However, with the economic decline in the 1970s, the cut-down of public budgets is quite common around Italy and Milan is no exception. And the construction of public housing slow down and in this period, the old social housing estates began to decay and the social problems also emerged gradually.

Another changing is the industry shifting from the second to third in many big advanced cities. In Milan, the process of deindustrialization which began in the end of 1960s, and the process of decentralization, which began in the 1970s, marked the important transformation (Foot, 2001, P.174). By the 1980s, many factories closed and lots of workers became unemployed, many of them were poor, living in the social housing district.

As to the social housing, in this period, fewer new estates can be built, and the most public investment is for the maintaining and refurbishment of the existing buildings. (Bricocoli, 2004)

3) Old and new flows of immigrants

In the period of "economic miracle", great immigrations move to big cities. Between 1951 and 1971, the population increased by nearly 11 percent while households increased by 35 percent. Almost the entire demographic growth of the country concentrated in a few major metropolitan areas like Milan, Rome and Turin

(Tosi and Cremaschi, 2003) This migration flow completely changed the city's demographic structure. Although some of them were the mighty investor but most were workers with relatively low income, and the need of social housing is quite large; also "because of the mass immigration, overcrowded flats were very common in Milan". (Briccoli, 2004)

Actually, there are two waves of mass immigration in Milan, the first are from countryside, cities in the south and east of Italy, but the second concerns non-Italians, from North Africa, Egypt and Albania. The first waves of immigration are just in the economic booming, but the second has gone through the different economy, and process of post industrial. (Foot, 2001, P.37)

After the economic miracle time, lots of immigrants lost their jobs, but still living in Milan, most of them stay in the public housing districts, and can hardly pay the rent, which give great pressure to the public housing sector.

5.2 General view of social housing in Milan

5.2.1 Property and distribution of social housing

Since 1905, the city of Milan began to build public housing, and these housing are in charged by four institutions:

1) ALER

ALER is the abbreviation of Azienda Lombarda Edilizia Residenziale , which means social housing agency of Lombardy. It is the most important public owner and manager of the social housing in Milan. And it is also the largest public housing institution in Europe, with assets of 46.992 properties. (LABORATORIO CITTÀ PUBBLICA ,2009, p. 49)

The predecessor of ALER is IACP (created in the 1903) which was the national institute for social housing, and the main actor in the provision of public housing for renting. However, in 1990s, the IACPM (the Milanese brace of IACP) nearly got bankrupt and the sector of social housing was handed over to ALER (Aziende Lombarde di Edilizia Residenziale) in1996. (Bricocoli, 2004) (CECODHAS Housing Europe)⁵

2) Municipality

The Municipality of Milan owns some social rental dwellings and manages them directly.

3) Al Piano Ina Casa

The institution of Ina Casa, is an organization that formed after WWII, for the building of public housing under the national plan. This institution also runs some property of the public housing in Milan.

⁵<http://www.housingeurope.eu/publication/social-housing-country-profiles/social-housing-in/italy>

4) The Humane society (La Società Umanitaria)

The Humane society is a non-profit organization built in 1893, which aim at increasing the condition of workers. This organization created more than 150 housing between 1927 and 1933 in Milan city. (LABORATORIO CITTÀ PUBBLICA, 2009)

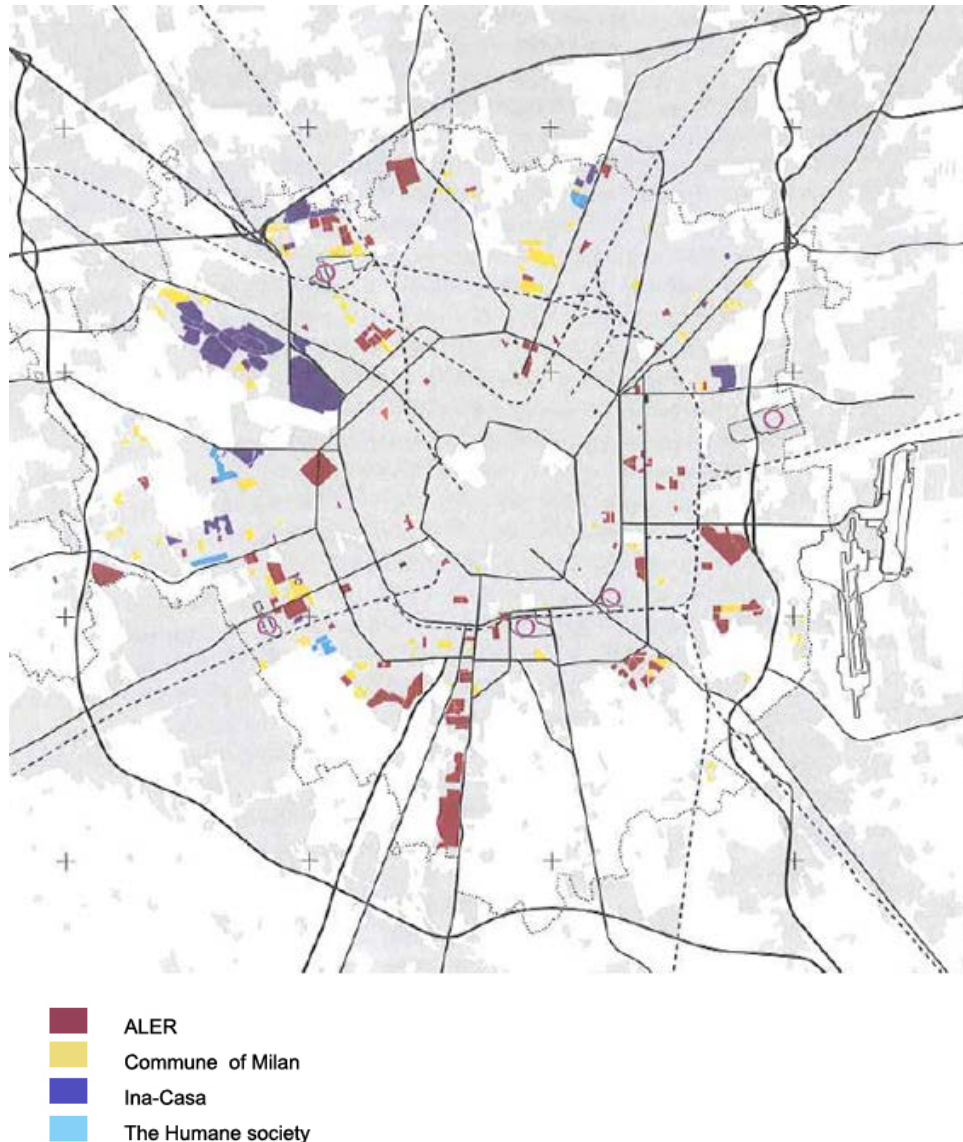


Fig 5. 3: the distribution and property of public housing in Milan city

source: Infussi F., *Città pubbliche. Linee guida per la riqualificazione urbana*, Bruno Mondadori, Milano, p. 49

From this picture, we can see that,

1) Most of the public housing estates are in a peripheral location, far away from the center of the city, and the main services, and also can cause the problem of social segregation.

2) Most of the public housing are owned by the public housing agency ALER, which is a company facing great fanatical difficulties.

There is a phenomenon should be mention that not all buildings in these areas

belong to the four main bodies, actually, some properties in the public district have been sold to private sectors or individuals now.

5.2.2 Development time and relative policies

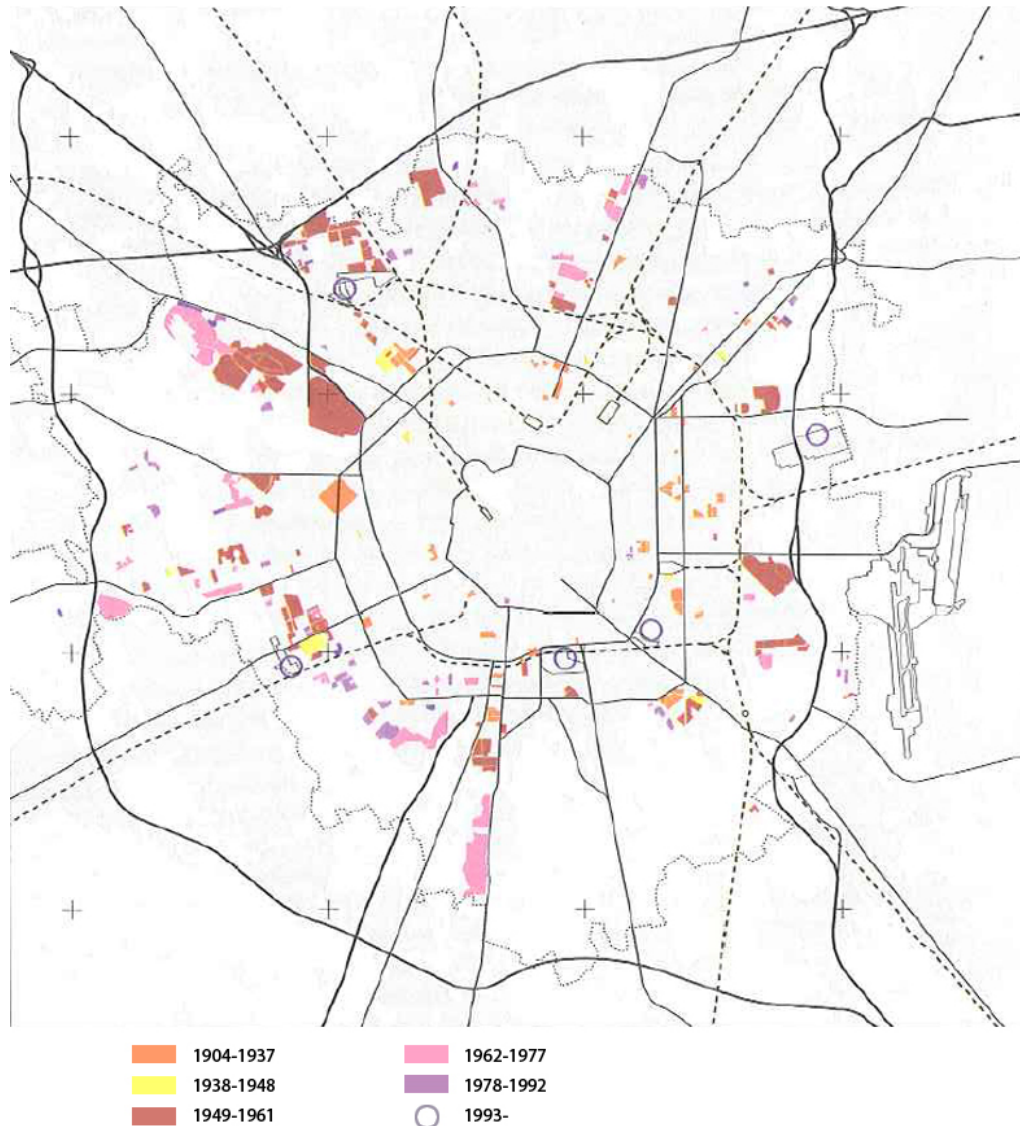


Fig 5. 4: the built time of public housing in Milan city

source: InfussiF., *Città pubbliche. Linee guida per la riqualificazione urbana*, Bruno Mondadori, Milano, p. 39

The construction of social housing is quite related with the general policy of that time. Here is the different stage of social housing, the relative policy and the historical background.

Table 5. 1: the conditions of social housing and the relative housing policy.

The construction of social housing	The policy of housing	historical
------------------------------------	-----------------------	------------

		background
1. 1904-1937 is the first period of social housing built in Milan.		Milan's first Urban Plan.
2. 1938-1948 is the time of "large interventions and completion" large social housing estates were built that time.		WWII
3. 1949-1961 comes the practice of "policy of neighbourhood", some medium sized neighbourhood were developed based on the idea of "self-sufficient", others were built as "heterogeneous neighborhoods"	1945-1950 High level of public investment to reconstruct of the houses.	Reconstruction after WWII
	1951-mid 1970 Extensive State investment to fit the high demand of housing; two national programme to create houses are important. 1) the INA-CASA programme (1949-1963) this programme is to create houses with controlled rents and also to increase blue-collar employment. 2) Gescal Trust Funds (Gestione Case Lavoratori) (1967-1973)	Economy booming
4. 1962-1977 is the time of "large size", the size of the estates was expanded to fit the metropolitan scale.	Mid 1970-1980s The housing policy was in a phase in which building construction was very limited. The distinctive impact of this period is the legislative measures that have strong impact on the framework of the public sector: the Land Regulation Act of 1977, and the Tenancy Agreement Regulation Act in 1978.	Slow-down of economy and deindustrialization
	1980s the housing policy was interpreted as an urban issue, becoming more locally based and within a general trend of integrated approaches.	
5. 1978-1992 is the period of "Replacement and episodes" "Sostituzione ed episodi"		
6. 1993-, in this period, the public housings are seen as a "service".	1990s Many integrated intervention policies are carried out.	

Source: Summarized by author and the information is based on Infussi, 2006 and "Large housing estates in Italy" (Mezzetti, Mugnano and Zajczyk, 2003)

In this fig 5.4, we can see that most of the social housing was built around or after WWII to 1980s. Nowadays those estates show severe problems both physically and socially: the decay of buildings, recession of public environment, and decline of society, such as crime, segregation or high unemployment.

5.2.3 The crisis of Milan social housing

There are lots of deprived social housing districts in Milan, the general problems are:

1) The total offer isn't enough

The public housing stock in Milan is just 5% of all the dwellings, similar with the average percentage of Italy which is 4%. This number is very low compared with other countries, such as Netherlands (36%), Great Britain (22%), and France (20%).

In Milan, the waiting list for social housing allocations in 2012 amounted to about 22,000 low-income households. In addition to the recorded needs of these people, there is a “hidden” demand that is not insignificant and that is represented by those who cannot reach the official channels (some of the foreign population, discouraged people who after various failed attempts stop applying; categories that due to their social-cultural and economic condition do not have the possibility of accessing institutional channels-mentally disables, ex-convicts etc, and also people who earn too much to match the allocation economic criteria and at the same time cannot afford a house in the private market). The “hidden” demand brings the number of families seeking a home in Milan to 30,000-35,000(commune di Milano, 2005a). (Cela, 2011)

2) Physical decline

The physical decline includes the deterioration of the dwellings and the lack of maintenance of public space. Many dwellings are built many years ago, and show obvious signs of physical decay, like roof leaking, facade damage, etc. Besides, when those buildings were built, the thermal and energy efficiency performance levels are very low, and they cannot meet the modern requirement. As to the public space, many estates show problems like some roads damage, lack of subsidiary facilities (lights, dustbin etc.), public places in bad condition or even abandoned.

In Milan, most social housing are managed by ALER who are responsible for the common maintenance, however, the fund is far from enough for the overall refurbishment, hence, the condition of those estates become worse gradually.

3) Social decline

Most of Milan’s social housing districts were planned based on the the ideas of CIAM (International Congresses of Modern Architecture) and Le Courbusier which marked by the pleasant, spacious, green, light places (Kempen, Murie, Tosics, et al, 2006 P.19), but these estates were far from the city center, and have very few interaction with other area, which lead to the similar groups of people living together, and they are rarely interacted with others.

Gradually, these areas are different from the surrounding, “with a high worsening of the conditions of marginality (lonely elderly, low income, number of foreign people, etc.), which generate phenomena of deviance (illegal activities, houses squatting, etc.) or of uneasiness (avoidance of local schools by the Italian students, etc.)” (Fianchini, 2012) .

Though the literature review, we can find that the main reasons of these problems are:

1) Lack of funding

At the time of economic booming, the large public housing developments were provided with national funding (those property owned by the public institutions). (CECODHAS Housing Europe)

Now, the financing is mainly provided by the Regions. Municipalities together with the Regions co-finance personal aids for the rental sector, and allocate land to providers. The central government is responsible for macroprogramming and co-financing of projects through housing allowances, co-funding of urban renewal programmes and programmes to support social rental housing. (CECODHAS Housing Europe)

However, the public sector still can't afford so large amount of cost, and the agency if ALER even is all year round at a loss. Most recently, the National Housing Plan⁷², set the basis for new forms of public/private partnerships, through the creation of an integrated real estate fund consisting of a national fund and a network of local revolving funds dedicated primarily to financing social housing. Few such funds have been so far implemented but this financing modality represents a real revolution but also a challenge, particularly for the public sector. (CECODHAS Housing Europe)

2) Growing housing question raised by new immigrants

Social housing in Italy has a mission of general interest in “safeguarding social cohesion, to reduce the housing problems of disadvantaged people and families who are unable to access housing in the open market”. (CECODHAS Housing Europe) Hence, the population in the public housing are those in difficulties, the chosen of the people are connected with some issues: income of the applicants; address (whether there is an occupational or residential link with the municipality), and nationality. Priority in accessing social housing is given to people in bad living condition, family with several children or to people experiencing enforced cohabitation.

However, according to the interview of one worker of the management company, there is a conflict, on one hand there are a lot of poor people in the waiting list for the housing, on the other hand, lots of people in the housing can't afford the rent. Lack of fund is the main problem of the system of social housing.

Actually, large part of the people living in the public housing is the immigrant from Eastern Europe and North Africa, and most of them have no job or get very low-income. Besides, there are some illegal immigrants or homeless people in those areas, which causes great problems of insecurity.

5.3 The neighborhood contracts II in Milan- structured framework

5.3.1 A call for tender and five proposals

In the period of Neighbourhood Contracts I, Milan did not get any project , because of the “absence of central coordination and direction of the council has made it impossible for any presented projects to be financed” (Zajczyk F, Mugnano S, Mezzetti P, et al, 2005).

In the Neighbourhood Contracts II, the government of Lombardy decided to take active part in the program. Lombardy Region issued its competition notice on the 18th of November 2003 and it was aimed to increase the worth and the quantity of the social housing estates (Fianchini, 2012). In the meantime, the region provided 112,375,000 € to co-fund the projects in order to promote the municipalities to bid for the chances (Zajczyk F, Mugnano S, Mezzetti P, et al, 2005).

With the support of the regional government, the city of Milan in partnership with ALER chose five target neighbourhoods, and with the scientific support of the Department of Architecture and Planning⁶ of Politecnico di Milano developed the process of designing the regeneration plans. The negotiation between DiAP, city and ALER contains bargain, for their purposes are different. The aim of ALER is elevating the value of its property also earning money by proposing lots of commercial functions. However, the municipality and DiAP are in the position of improving both the physical and living conditions and also from the practical aspect, reject some improper demands of ALER. After the negotiation compromised those ideas and finally proposed a relatively proper plan.

The list of winners was published on the 28th of November 2004, five neighbourhoods in Milan won the competition. They are: San Siro, Molise Calvairete, Mazzini, Ponte Lambro and Gratosoglio. They are located in the semi- periphery or periphery of the city.

6 DIAP: Dipartimento di Architettura e Pianificazione, former department of architecture and urban planning(one department of Polytechnic University of Milan), now it changed to DASTU - Dipartimento di Architettura e Studi Urbani.



Fig 5. 5: location of Neighbourhood Contracts in Milan

source: InfussiF., *Un contratto per la città: I Contratti di Quartiere II a Milano. Comune di Milano, Cella M C, Milano, 2006*

Table 5. 2: the time are and inhabitants of the five neighbourhoods

	S Siro	Mazzini	Molise	Ponte Lambro	Gratosoglio
construction time	1935-1947	1910s	1920s	1970-1980s	1962-1965
land area (m²)	206483	153905	157947	98896	318275
inhabitants	10878	2129	3846	1130	5309

Source from the government documents of Lombardy government (Regione Lombardia, 2004)

5.3.2 The distribution of funding

Table 5. 3: the Fund source of the five neighbourhoods

	S Siro	Mazzini	Molise	Ponte Lambro	Gratosoglio	total/average
From state & regional €	28082711	21269273	35713466	19614377	35717312	140397139
Other €	19783505	13218003	22578545	12278050	7498831	75356934
total €	47866216	34487276	58292011	31892427	43216143	215754073
public proportion(state and regional)	58.67%	61.67%	61.27%	61.50%	82.65%	65.07%

Source from the government documents of Lombardy government (Regione Lombardia, 2004)

The constitution of the regeneration fund is mainly from five parts: the State, the regional government, the municipality, ALER and other private sectors. The table shows the total fund and those from state and regional level, which is the money that the city gets from the bidding.

From table 5.3, we can find that, although the programme is characterized by the cooperation of public and private sector, the public money counts the most. The average money from the State and the regional counts 65%, and in the neighbourhood Gratosoglio, the number even accounts for 82.65%. The money of “other” comes from the municipality (commune of Milan), ALER and other companies or institutions.

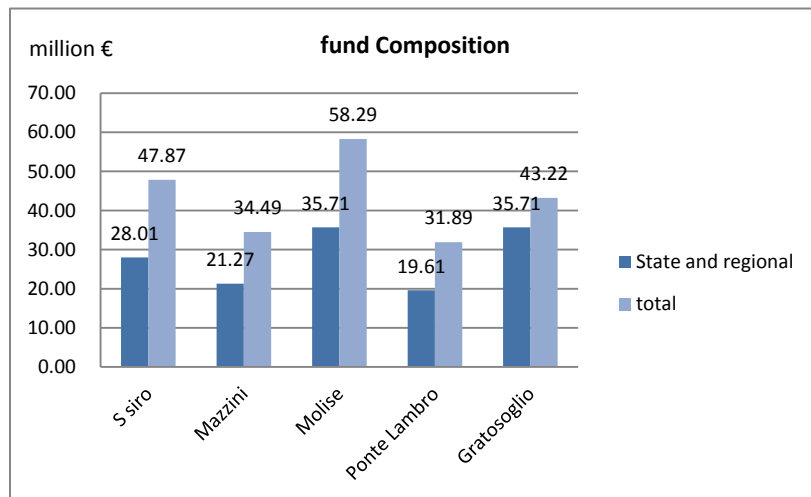


Fig 5. 6: the regeneration fund composition of each neighbourhood

The graph can give a direct view of the fund composition of the five neighbourhoods, we can find that the money spent on each district are quite balance.

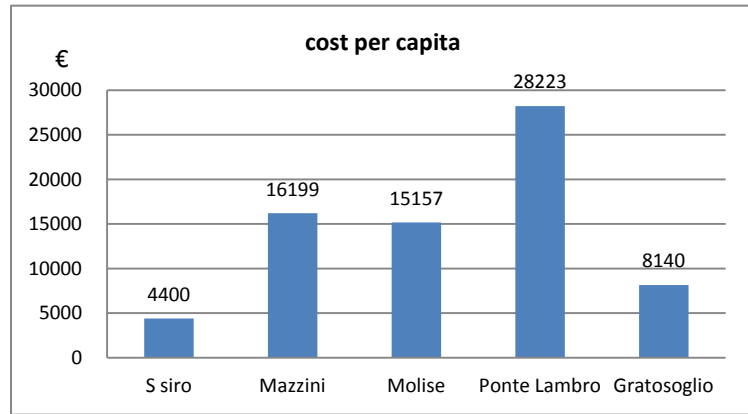


Fig 5. 7: the cost of the regeneration programme per capita

However, one phenomena should be mentioned that the distribution of money is just relatively equal, and from the point of view of per capita there still exist inequality as we can see from the bar graph: Gratosoglio and S Siro gets fewer than other three neighbourhoods.

5.3.3 Integrated organization framework: three levels of cooperation

According to the description of Cella (Cella, 2006, P.14-15), the mechanism of the Neighbourhood contracts in Milan contains three levels, the detailed actors can be seen in the fig 5.8, and those actor could be abstracted in the fig 5.9.

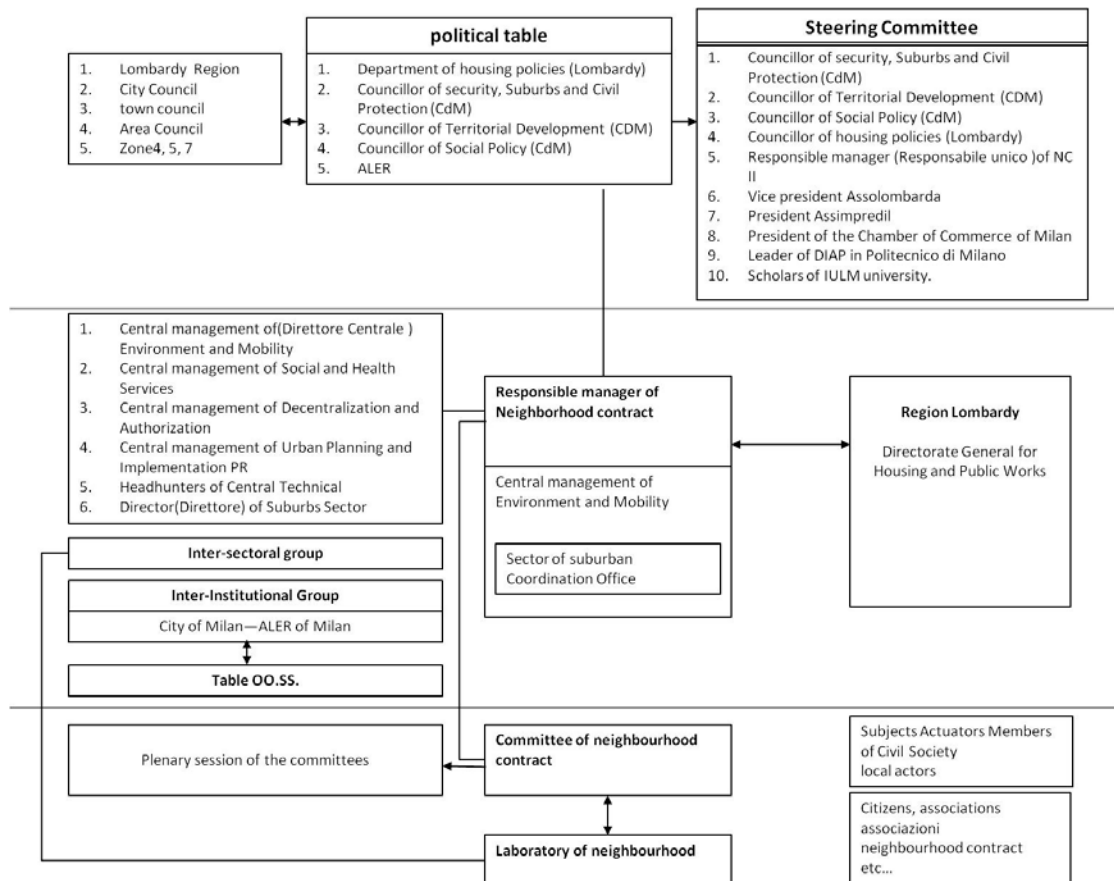


Fig 5. 8: the three levels of Neighbourhood contracts in Milan
 source from the book “Un contratto per la città : i contratti di quartiere Il a Milano”. (Cella, 2006),
 translated by author.

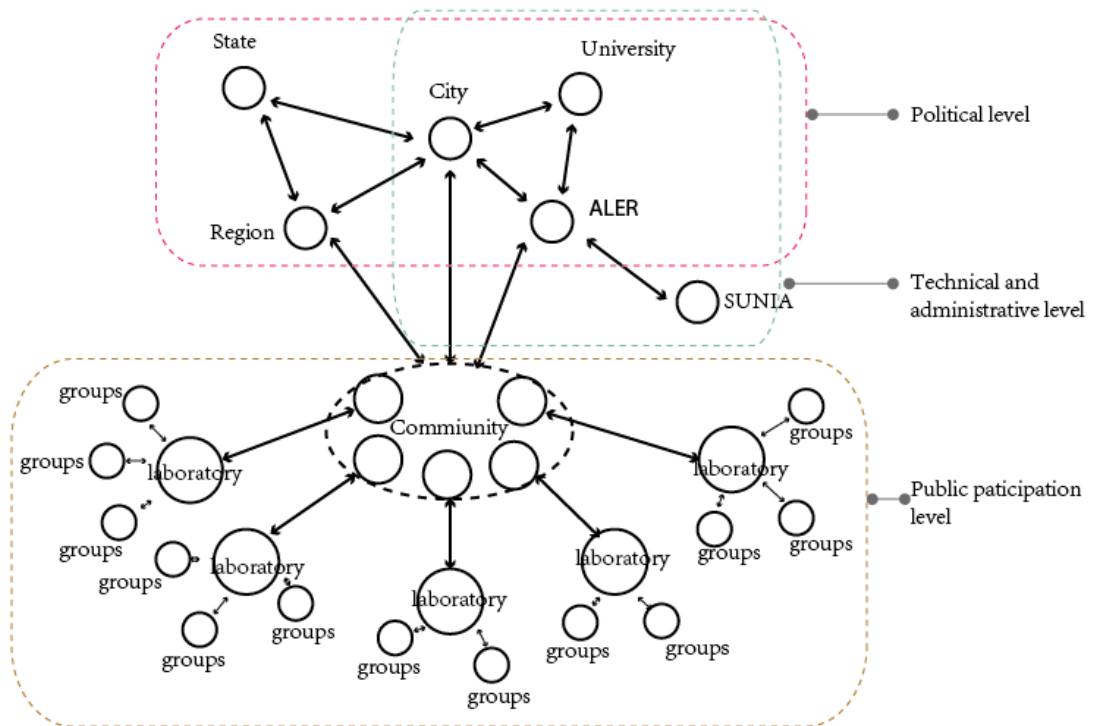


Fig 5. 9: the basic organization of the three levels' actors

1) Political level

First, as the approach is a top-down process, the political part is important. In the political level, the actors contained the relative government departments of different levels and the experts form educational institutions, for example, DiAP from Polimi University. In the political level, the regional government only does the work of coordination and supervision. And the specific implementation involves commune of city, zones and experts. They all together guarantee the joint development of economic, planning and social aspects.

2) Technical and administrative level

For the technical and administrative level, the actors are from public or semi-public sectors and also the experts. The mainly technical negotiations happen in three groups. First is the inter-sector group, it consists of the representatives from design and implementation institutions. The mainly thing they discuss is the common actions related with social aspects, for example, the Pact of Local security (a common agreement for solving the safe problems). And then the city legalizes the final decision. Second is the inter-institution group, which consists if city and ALER, the group try the best to make the decision adapt to the professional knowledge and also meet the interests of ALER. The third group is composed by trade union, ALER and the representatives of tenants, and it tries to solve the problems of participation

of local people and the mobilization of people.

3) Participation level

The participation module contains two core actors, Neighbourhood Contract Committee and Neighbourhood Lab, which connects the phases of planning and implementation and also the upper level and the inhabitants or local groups.

The Neighbourhood Contract Committee

According to Federico Savini, The neighbourhood contract committee “consists of institutional representatives of the municipality, social housing associations and trade unions.” “The neighbourhood contract committee supervises and monitors the entire process within the specific neighbourhood. Its first function is to transmit plans defined at the local level to the Periphery Department⁷ of the municipality, which coordinates all the projects. However, it does not participate actively in local activities” (Savini, 2011) (Cella, 2006)

The Neighbourhood Lab

Each neighbourhood has a Neighbourhood Lab, which consists of a group of appointed professionals and its function is to “coordinates the advisory process and organizes the consultation”. Most Neighbourhood Labs are managed by a consulting company, funded by the City of Milano and acting locally on its behalf, composed by the experts from the background of urban planning, architecture, sociology and anthropology. Such sorts of Facilitation Companies emerged in Italy at the beginning of the Nineties, working in programmes and projects fund or inspired by the European Union. During the '90 and the first decade of '00 their position has gained recognition and their active presence in the implementation of the major Public Urban Regeneration Programmes (Caselli & Maranghi, 2013).

Table 5. 4: the facilitation company of each neighbourhood.

Neighbourhood	Facilitation Company
San Siro	Metodi
Gratosoglio	Abcittà (2005-2011) Cicsene (from 2012)
Ponte Lambro	Irs
Mazzini	Martini associati
Molise Calvairete	Avventura urbana (2005-2011) Abcittà (from 2012)

Source: the article of Caselli & Maranghi (2013)

⁷ It is now dismantled. The absence of a municipal department exclusively managing the urban peripheries and the Neighbourhood Contract II program became one of the major concerns of local associations.

5.3.4 Integrated interventions

The “integrated” dimension can be understood in two aspects: first is the unified and standard contract framework of all the five neighbourhoods, including the problem definition, physical intervention and social intervention. The physical or social parts are connected with its problems but also have some part in common: the requalification of buildings, infrastructures, providing social services etc.

The second meaning is the “integrated” refer to some special project facing certain items which involves inter-sector or inter-institutions , for example, the “Pact of Local security” which is an agreement that facilitates the joint action of different security departments from regional, city, and zones. This kind of projects have been developed and shared in several neighbourhoods.

1) A short summary of main problems in the five neighbourhoods

The five neighbourhoods have some common problems such as the poor maintenance of residential buildings, lack of services for the elderly, immigrants that can hardly integrate to the nation, etc. While each of them has some unique problems: in San Siro, there are plenty of people with severe mental illness, who needs special social help; in Mazzini, the problem of security is quite sever, and the density of buildings is quite high which is a crucial point that affect the quality of life; as to the Molise Calvairate estate, it is one of the most typical representatives of social housing and also the first examples of rationalist architecture in Milan, however, the value of historical heritage haven’t got much attention, besides, in this neighbourhood, there are also lots of disabled and psychic people who need great help; in Ponte Lambro and Gratosoglio, there are also sever security problems like drug dealing, stealing etc. Besides, there are also some invisible problems, such as the social segregation which lead to the lack of attractively of these neighbourhood.

Table 5. 5: the problems of the five neighbourhood

	San siro	Mazzini	Molise	Ponte Lambro	Gratosoglio
Similar problems	bad maintenance of buildings; aging; immigrants;				
Special problems	people with severe mental illness	high density of buildings; Phenomena of crime.	protection of historical heritage; disabled and psychic people	phenomena of crime	phenomena of crime

Source from: the government documents of Lombardy government (Regione Lombardia, 2004)

All these neighbourhoods have highly complex situations by many types of problems, and the intervention should involve variety of objectives, resources, stakeholders.

2) Physical interventions

The physical intervention aims at the residential buildings and the public spaces. The regeneration of residential buildings covers the renovation of the rundown units and also increases some new units in the open space. The renovation of the old buildings takes new ecologic methods, according to the Lombardy region's requirement of energy saving, these technology methods can be installation of solar panels, ventilated walls and wall units, and the application of home automation systems.

The upgrading of public space includes the renovation of infrastructures (road, municipal systems) as well as some services, which can be the activity center, market, nursery etc. according to the needs of the neighbourhood.

Table 5. 6: the physical regeneration of the five neighbourhood

		S siro	mazzini	molise	ponte lambro	gratosoglio
housing	Renovation:unit	966	404	686	379	1341
	Increase: unit	40	57	39	29	70
public space	Infrastructure (Road, municipal systems)	1) video surveillance system 2) new central network thermal – heating 3) new underground parking	1) redevelopment of the square Ferrara and road works	1) upgrading of road infrastructure		1) redevelopment of the road section by Baroni
	service building and activity space	1) recovery and adjustment for Senior Citizens Center 2) accommodation in Piazza Selinunte, and Viale Arethusa 3) the adaptation of the nursery on the Ionian Sea 5 4) creation of mini-apartments for the elderly 5) the Municipal Market Square in Selinunte	1) new municipal market 2) redevelopment former industrial building as social and cultural activities 3) therapeutic garden for elderly people	1) multi-purpose center for the elderly, services, mini sheltered housing for the elderly 2) one-stop integrated and new headquarters of the municipal offices 3) young people gathering space, space for cultural activities 4) laboratory and neighborhood activities of participatory planning, meeting senior center, aggregation activities and social participation 5) Safety Service Center, new home for the garrison city police and the Local Pact for Urban Safety 6) interventions regulatory compliance asylum in the neighborhood	1) upgrading the Civic Centre 2) upgrading Municipal Market 3) upgrading the kindergarten 4) upgrading the nursery 5) sheltered housing for the elderly 6) places for the "incubator company"	1) restructuring Nursery via Baroni, 45 2) maintenance of non-residential spaces 3) construction square in front of the whole school via barons and the square in front of the complex RSA

Source from: the government documents of Lombardy government (Regione Lombardia, 2004) rearranged by author

3) Social interventions

The measures of the social interventions can be divided into four parts: services, measures for improving employment, enhancing security and stimulating economy. Some projects are adopted by all the five neighbourhood, like providing or incrementing services for the youth and families, such as creating sport yards, libraries, activity centers etc., but other issues are focus on the neighbourhood's own problems, for example, in the neighborhoods which have the problems of crime (Mazzini, Ponte Lambro and Gratosoglio), the "Pact of Local Urban Security" (Patto

locale di sicurezza urbana) are adopted, which is an integrated project, aiming at solving the problems related to security in neighborhoods; some special care services are developed in San Siro and Molise, which have large number of special disease inhabitants.

Table 5. 7: the social regeneration of the five neighbourhood

		S siro	mazzini	molise	ponte lambro	gratosoglio
	for old people	1) activate a network of support through moments of listening and companionship 2) Management of mini-apartments for the elderly 3) Social Porter for elder people	Laboratory employment for the elderly			caretaking of old people
service	for young or family	1) The sport as a tool for participation and integration 2) From Bibliobus to the library: a journey through books 3) National Academy Ascot window-dressing 4) Network of local associations. 5) "Portierato sociale" (Home Health Care Services)	1) Project against early school leaving 2) services aimed at children and their parents for both recreational services and education to promote responsibility of families 3) "Portierato sociale" (Home Health Care Services)	personal services and the family, to children and their families	Creating spaces for conducting various activities, in four thematic areas: 1) Area UNDERTAKING; 2) Area LIFE; 3) Area FACTORY; 4) Area HABITAT.	1) places for participatory planning 2) activated workshops: theater, creative dance, school support to prevention of youth problems 3) laboratory of childhood for children of ages 6-10 years against school dropouts 4) Creating a children's playground 5) "Portierato sociale" (Home Health Care Services)
	For special population	Integrated project for the treatment of mental health problems		Support to housing and residential facilities for mentally ill		
Emploment		Measures to promote employment		youth training and employment measures	Monzino Cardiology Institute that aims to promote employment growth	
sercurity			Pact of Local Urban Security	crime prevention and safety training	Pact of Local Urban Security	Pact of Local Urban Security
economy developme nt			1) Project Centre for Work Easy; 2) Project Grand Harbour; 3) Immigrants Project			

Source from: Official documents of Lombardy government (Regione Lombardia, 2004) rearranged by author

The integrated projects were decided by the negotiation of city government, ALER, SUNIA and University, the process of which was full of debates and as those actors have their own stands and values, for example, the ALER would like the empty public space change to commercial use in order to increase their profit, while the university (DIAP) suggested those spaces should be used for social service (from the interview with Professor Bricocoli). Although the results could not meet every demand of each actor, it reached a compromised solution which could relatively satisfied all the actors, and this was a good start for the next implementation.

Chapter 6 Neighbourhood Level: the implementation of the Contratto di Quartiere in Gratosoglio

6.1 Background of Gratosoglio

6.1.1 Location and history of Gratosoglio :

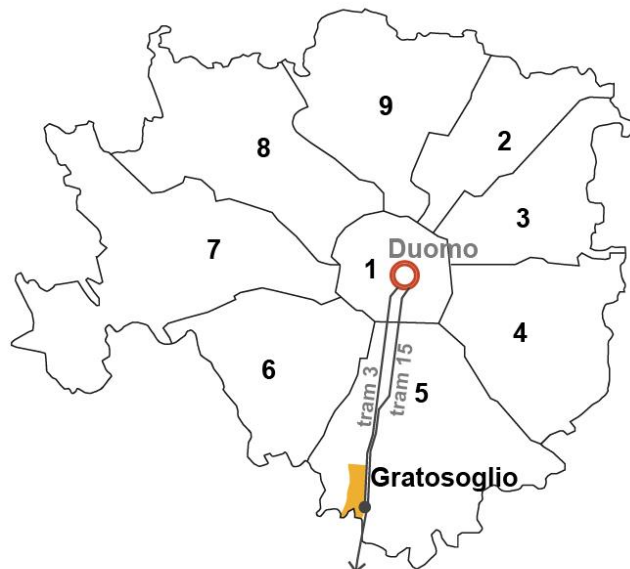


Fig 6. 1: the location of Gratosoglio

The Gratosoglio housing estate is located in the area of decentralization number 5, near the south border of the city of Milan, about 5km from the centre (Duomo Square). The neighbourhood was built by IACPM (Istituto Autonomo Case Popolari of Milan) in the four-year programme (1962-1965) which was set as an agreement between IACPM and the City of Milan, for solving the problem of housing shortage associated with intense immigration.



Fig 6. 2: the environment of Gratosoglio
(photo taken by author)

6.1.2 Features of the construction

1) Self-sufficiency plan

From the scale of planning, the design of the Gratosoglio is based on the concept of “Self-sufficiency” (ALER, YEAR or LINK) deriving from the Modern Architecture movement, intending that the neighbourhood was equipped with a whole set of local services, including churches, retail, schools and other facilities, so that the people living there have no need having relation directly with the city. There are lots of these neighbourhoods in Milan, such as Omero, Harar-Dessiè, Comasina, Forlanini, Chiesa Rossa, Sant’Ambrogio, Lorenteggio-Inganni.

However, the neighbourhood turned out to be quite a monofunctional area, mainly dominated by housing and quite isolated both in physical and social aspects, meaning that after decades Gratosoglio is still regarded as a sort of extraneous entity to the rest of the city and quite separate from urban fabric.

2) Spatial characteristics: rationalism and “grand ensemble”

The whole neighbourhood is composed by 52 “line” buildings with 9 floors and they are placed at 45° respect road “Missaglia”, and 8 towers with 16 floors. The district can be divided into two sectors: north and south (the regeneration project concerns only the northern part). In the north part, there are 25 line buildings and 2091 units, and in the south part, there are 27 line buildings and 1898 units.

The layout of the buildings is like a sort of fish-bone which distributed along the main road “via Baroni”. The public green space around the buildings is quite large.

The whole area is based on the concept of French “grand ensemble”, which is a name of large collective housing district.

From the architectural point of view it is interesting to remark that in Gratosoglio, for the first time prefabrication systems were used in Milan in order to speed up the construction. Hence the buildings are characterized by the same compositional elements.

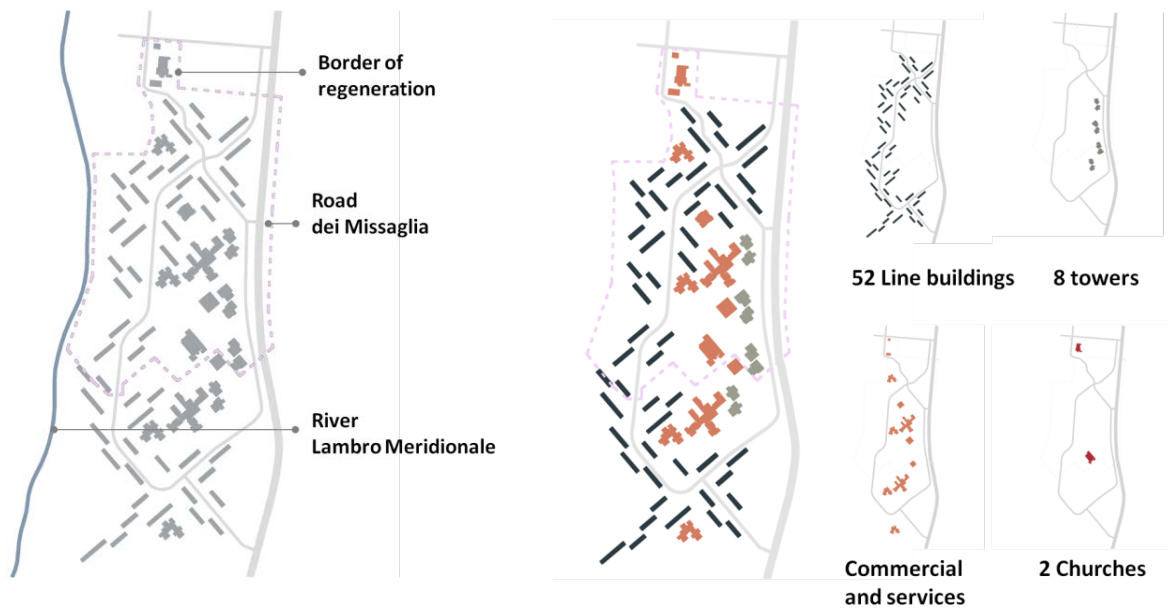


Fig 6. 3: The morphology and building functions of Gratosoglio

6.1.3 Problems of the neighbourhood

As the location of Gratosoglio is far from the centre and the construction was based on the concept of “Self-sufficiency”, characterized by single-function, the neighbourhood rapidly turned out to be more and more segregated and lacking attractiveness. Problems can be attributed to two main dimensions:

1) Physical degradation

First, there are severe decay of the façade and leak of roofs because of the lack of maintenance for a long time.

Secondly, the public space are not in good use, for example, lots of the rooms on the ground floor of the tower are locked and empty for a long time, which were considered for public use.

Last, the open places declined very much, for example, lack of maintenance and care of green spaces, the presence of waste materials, disordered and disconnected parking areas, poor maintenance of the roadway and pedestrian routes, bad lighting etc.

2) Social decline

The phenomenon of social decline can be divided to four aspects: lack of social service, lack of culture attraction, security problems and economic depression.

First, there is a large demand of social service for the elderly people, disabled and the dropout children. Approximately 58% of the population is now over 65 and there are 134 disabled in the neighbourhood, but there are not enough facility and service for them. Besides, there are some dropout children in the neighbourhood and the helping measures are not enough.

Second, because of the distance from the city center and there are not so much

of culture activity, the neighbourhood has little attraction to people.

Third, there are lots of events of crime and drug dealing emerged which lead the area to the unsafe place.

Last, as the residents there are of low income groups and some of them are even unemployed for a long time, besides, some homeless people expelled from the city centre and move here. Economic depression, in terms of low incomes and unemployment is a permanent problem in the neighbourhood.

6.2 The actions and their outputs

6.2.1 Physical actions



The actions promoted by the Contratto di Quartuere programme concern both the physical and social interventions, the document identifies a set of specific action items.






The scope of intervention does not cover all the buildings in the neighbourhood. The choice of the buildings to be refurbished is largely influenced by ALER, for in the north part of Gratosoglio, all the properties are owned by ALER, but in the south, many of the houses are sold to individuals. Hence the intervention only covers the north part, only 18 line buildings and 2 towers' ground floor in the north part are refurbished.

The building regeneration includes the renovation of the existing buildings, services and also built new housings for young couples and students; besides, there are also infrastructure renovations: the requalification of the main road via Baroni and the square and green spaces.

Here is the detailed number and location of these interventions

Table 6. 1: the physical intervention of Gratosoglio

	content	location
1	Extraordinary Maintenance of the line buildings (adding new ventilated facades; repairing new roofs and accommodation facilities in 1341 units)	
2	Extraordinary maintenance of non-residential spaces (ground floor of the two towers)	
		<p style="text-align: center;">Line Buildings Towers</p>

3	Recovery of the nursery School building (road Baroni, 45)	 <p data-bbox="981 483 1155 515">Nursery School</p>
4	New construction: 38 units for young couples	  <p data-bbox="759 864 930 896">Young Couples</p> <p data-bbox="1011 864 1133 896">Dormitory</p>
5	New construction: 32 units as university dormitory	
6	Requalification of road Baroni and landscape (green land and square)	  <p data-bbox="788 1238 932 1270">Road Baroni</p> <p data-bbox="1023 1238 1145 1270">Landscape</p>

Source: according to the government document: Contratti di Quartiere-Gratosoglio (Comune di Milano, 2004)

The six projects are not only corresponding to the problem of the neighbourhood itself but also touch upon some general problems which can be found elsewhere in the city such as the homogeneity of the inhabitants and the overall shortage of affordable housing.

The actors in the physical intervention are relatively clear, ALER is the main actor in charge of the implement and the fund comes from state, region and city and also the ALER itself. The municipality, SUNIA (union of tenants) and the committee of neighbourhood contracts supervise or coordinate the process.

6.2.2 Outputs of the physical actions

1) Outputs of the planned projects

The project 1 (Extraordinary Maintenance of the line buildings) is currently finished according to the design, including the adding of waterproof roofs, ventilated façade and the reparation of elevator and heating systems.



Fig 6. 4: the building condition before

(source from the website:

http://www.urbanistica.unipr.it/?option=com_content&task=view&id=416)



Fig 6. 5: the building after

(photo taken by author)

Although the physical refurbishment of project 2 (Extraordinary maintenance of non-residential spaces of two towers) is finished, the use of the ground floor spaces is not satisfactory: the south one of the tower's ground is used as a recreation center for elder people (Centro Socio Ricreativo), but the north one is still empty and nobody use the spaces. According to the interview to Margherita Galliani⁸, the space

8 Margherita Galliani is the Chief Executive of Associazione La casa di Emma; Volunteer at Sportello Stranieri of Arci - Associazione Ricreativa e Culturale Italiana; Fundraiser and Social Planner of Cooperativa Sociale "Il Mondo di Emma", besides, she is the social Social Worker in Urban Regeneration Program-CICSENE, which is a company responsible for the operation of the Gratosoglio laboratory from 2012, and she participates and knows the process of the implementation of the Neighbourhood Contracts, so the author interviewed her in 13 Jan. 2014 at the office of the labrarory in Gratosoglio.

of the north one are intended use as association center, but this proposal is still under discussion between the municipality and ALER.



Fig 6. 6: the empty ground floor of the tower
(photo taken by author)

The project 3 (Recovery of the nursery School) is not carried out because of the lack of money.

The project 4 (New construction for young couples) was started but then stopped because of funding problems. However, ALER and the regional government reached an alternative solution, which consists in repairing the same number of units (38) in the existing estate and providing that these are allocated to young couples.

The project 5 (New construction for students) is finished but the use changed. At first, it was intended to be used as dormitory, but no university wanted to take it because of the bad location and its small scale. The building was changed to a social house for divorced people, who tend to meet housing problems when homes are judged to ex-husband or wife and then the need of a second dwelling emerges. The apartment can be provided to them in a low price and their living can last no more than 3 years, besides, in this period, some social workers will help them to find new house. All the apartments were rent at the end of 2012, and it runs well now.



Fig 6. 7: social house for divorced people, which originally intended as dormitory
(photo taken by author)

The project 6 (requalification of road Baroni and landscape) is not started yet, but it is listed in the new expended projects, which approved at the end of 2013.

Table 6. 2: the implementation of physical intervention

	items	Implementation	Details
1	Extraordinary Maintenance of the line buildings	Yes	
2	Extraordinary maintenance of non-residential spaces	Yes	The renovation have finished, but one building put into use, the other is still empty
3	Recovery of the nursery School	No	
4	New construction: 38 units for young couples	Change	Change to renovation of same number of units
5	New construction: 32 units as university dormitory	Change	Built up but changed to social housing for divorced people
6	requalification of road Baroni and landscape	Change	Move to the supplemental plan

Source: from the interview with Margherita Galliani

2) Supplementary projects

Under the discussion of regional government and ALER, a supplementary plan of Neighbourhood contracts was carried out at the end of 2013, which include several projects:

First is the enlargement of the intervention scale, which was the rose dashed line in the fig 6.8, while in the supplementary plan covers the whole neighbourhood of Gratosoglio (the blue line in the fig 6.8), the new plan includes most line buildings

on the south part of Gratosoglio. However, the renovation of those building only includes the repair of the roof and the joints of the façade.

Second is the repair of 38 units which will be substituting for the young couples' house.

Third is the requalification of the road and the landscape.

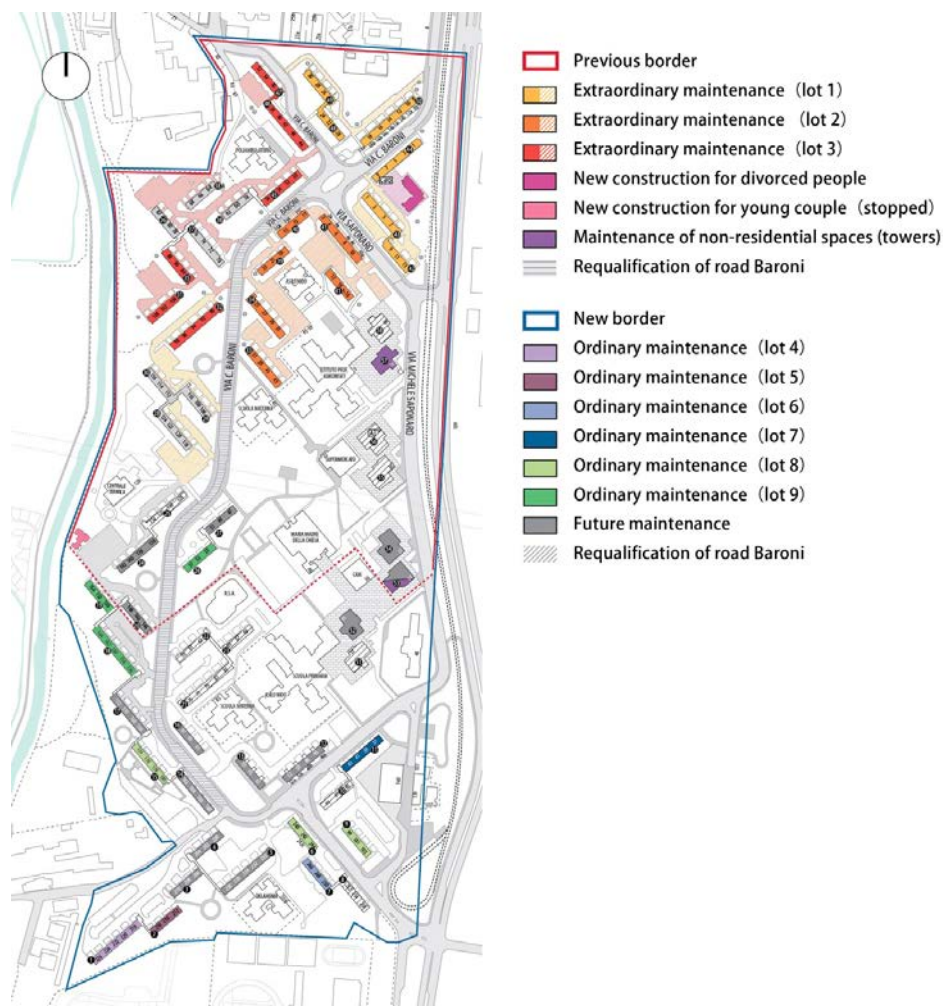


Fig 6. 8: the supplementary plan
(source from the laboratory website⁹ and translated by author)

6.2.3 Social actions

The social interventions include 10 projects, which deals with the four problems (lack of social service, lack of culture attraction, security problems and economy depression)

The organization of social intervention is much more complex than the physical intervention, for it involves lots associations which focus on different social fields. In those 10 projects, the project 1 and project 2 are more complicated, for they

⁹ <http://www.laboratorigratosoglio.it/il-quartiere/>

involves much more actors than other projects.

The main task of project 1 is to build a “neighbourhood laboratory” that composed of some experts and the this institution can be seen as a third part independent of public body and local actor and its task is to coordinate the conflicts between them and also provide some information using its professional knowledge (interview with Andrea Ghirlanda¹⁰).

The project 2 “Local Security Pact” consists of multi-level of governments and many local groups. The main work is to carrying out safe improving programme such as safety courses, listening service and installation of monitoring equipments etc.

The projects, their contents and its actors are listed in the following table:

Table 6. 3: The social projects and the corresponding actors

	item	The main content	Investor	Actors responsible to carry out the projects
1	social project accompanying - participatory planning (Progetto di accompagnamento sociale e progettazione partecipata)	Found “neighbourhood laboratory”	Lombardy Region; City of Milan	Comitato di quartiere Gratosoglio; Sunia; Chiesa Maria Madre della Chiesa; San Barnaba; W. Kandinsky; “Io Scigno”; CCTE zona 5; Antigua; “Viviam cent’anni”
2	Local Security Pact (Patto locale per la sicurezza urbana)	safe promotion programme, including providing some courses, listening service and installation of monitoring equipments etc.	Lombardy Region; City of milan	Maria madre della chiesa; Lo scigno; W.kandinsky; Centro Oklahoma; ALER; CCTE zona 5; Sunia; centro diurno integrato “vodia cremoncini”; cooperativa sociale a.r.l.(onlus); ‘s. barnaba’ church; “Le Torri”(ex cascina comunale del Ronchettino); Associazione di volontariato “Emmaus ”(ex scuola moneta); Centro aggregativi multifunzionale (C.A.M); centro sportivo “peppino vismara”; circolo nuova soceta
3	social care taking (Il portierato sociale)	providing daily care for the old people	City of Milan	Lo scigno

10 Andrea Ghirlanda is the Policy officer of Social housing and urban policies presso Regione Lombardia, the author interviewed him in 15 Jan, 2014.

		alone and the disabled		
4	"I care" and school workshop (progetto Gratosoglio. Scuola popolare "i care" e scuola bottega)	Crime prevention programmes, including courses and workshops	Banking foundation Unioncredito,	S.martino
5	childhood Lab (progetto laboratori d'infanzia)	aim at the 6-10 children, reduce dropout by the special courses	Lombardy Region; City of milan	Lo scrigno
6	"new twists" (progetto "nuovi intrecci")	aim at the foreigner families, helping them adapt to the local society	Lombardy Region; City of milan	Lo scrigno
7	"Tourists 1" (progetto "turisti 1")	aim at the foreigners, providing language courses	Lombardy Region; City of milan	Lo scrigno
8	"Tourists 2" (progetto "turisti 2")	aim at the foreigners, providing language courses and job training courses	Lombardy Region	Lo scrigno
9	"to learn ... playing " (progetto "imparare... Giocando")	aim at 11-15 poor children, providing courses and recreation activities	City of Milan; Zone 5	Association of Antigua (l'Associazione Antigua)
10	"Field Games for Kids" (progetto "Campo Giochi per bambini)	construct the playground	Mary Mother of the Church Parish	Mary Mother of the Church Parish

Souce: according to the government document of Contratti di Quartiere-Gratosoglio (Comune di Milano, 2004) and the interview with Margherita Galliani who is a member working in the neighbourhood laboratory

6.2.4 Outputs of the social actions

The main task of Social Project 1 (participatory planning) is to set up a neighbourhood laboratory which has been carried out and in normal operation. The laboratory's work is to communicate between the public bodies and the local private actors, and also provide programme informations for the local people. However, many local associations who signed the contracts drop out of the programme and disconnected with the laboratory, but at the same time, some other groups tend to

cooperate with the laboratory, including Gratosoul, AL OUISSAL, neighbourhood committee, and Unione Autogestioni. Gratosoul is a new association found by the local residents that focus on the culture activities, and it cooperated with the laboratory to organize some community activities such as book exchange, concert and holiday celebrations. The AL OUISSAL is an language learning group, found by an Arabic immigrant, and the laboratory provide rooms for it. The neighbourhood committee is a traditional residents' self-governance group, which cooperates with the laboratory and do the coordination work. The Unione Autogestioni is a new residents' self-governance group, it considers that ALER is not active at the ordinary maintenance, so it tries to do the work by themselves and then reporting the expenses to ALER who will give them the repair fees, and in this period, laboratory helps it communicate with ALER. Although lots of groups exist from the programme, the laboratory still plays important role as an important third part between the public bodies and the private actors.



Fig 6. 9: some activities related with the lab¹¹

Unfortunately, the project 2 (Local Security Pact) stopped after running for a short time. The original design was to built an framework to connect different actors and meet regularly to carry out some activities to improve the safety sequentially, but in the implementation, the local groups couldn't receive enough money, so they drop out the programme gradually. All those groups have its own organization and source of fund, so they tend to do their own job and not cooperation with the Neighbourhood Contracts programme. In the interview with the manager of CTE Zone 5 association, Susy Liuzzi Giani, who worked in the association for more than 30

11 From:<http://www.laboratoriogratosoglio.it/attivita-e-iniziativa/> (2013)

years, she said:

“Our association founded at the end of 1970s, we did some anti-drug job at first and then worked on the education of special students, and now, we are the arts & crafts workshop open to the local children. We signed the contracts of the Neighbourhood contracts programme but it did not provide money to us.”

The projects 3-8 and 10 are implemented, and help to improve the neighbourhood to some extent. For example, the project 4("I care" and school workshop) stopped 12 children from dropping out.

However, the project 9 ("to learn ... playing ") stopped with the moving out of the managing association called “Antigua”.



Fig 6. 10: the class of "I care" project (source from chiediloaloro website12)



Fig 6. 11: the "Field Games for Kids" project (photo taken by author)

Table 6. 4: the implementation of social intervention

	items	put into effect	Details
1	social project accompanying-participatory planning	yes	The cooperate groups changed
2	Local Security Pact	stopped	Association tend to work alone
3	social caretaking	Yes	
4	"I care" and school workshop	Yes	
5	childhood Lab	Yes	
6	"new twists"	Yes	
7	"Tourists 1"	Yes	
8	"Tourists 2"	Yes	
9	"to learn ... playing "	stopped	The Association of Antigua moved out
10	"Field Games for Kids"	Yes	

Source: from the interview with Margherita Galliani

12 Source: <http://www.chiediloaloro.it/le-opere/2013/scuola-popolare-i-care> (2013)

In a word, the implementation of the integrated actions has its success and shortcomings. The good parts are that those actions covers almost different levels problems including the total shortage of social housing in the regional level and also the physical and social decay of the neighbourhood level.

However, some projects are stopped or changed during the operation, some of them are due to a change in the rationale of the plan, but in most of cases the issue is the lack of funding or to organizational problems, which will be analyzed during next two sections.

6.3 The fund analysis and its problems

6.3.1 The fund source proportion

The state and the region provide 79% fund of the total regeneration expenses, then ALER accounts for 14%, and the municipality accounts for 2%, while other public bodies accounts for 3%, and private institutions account for 2%.

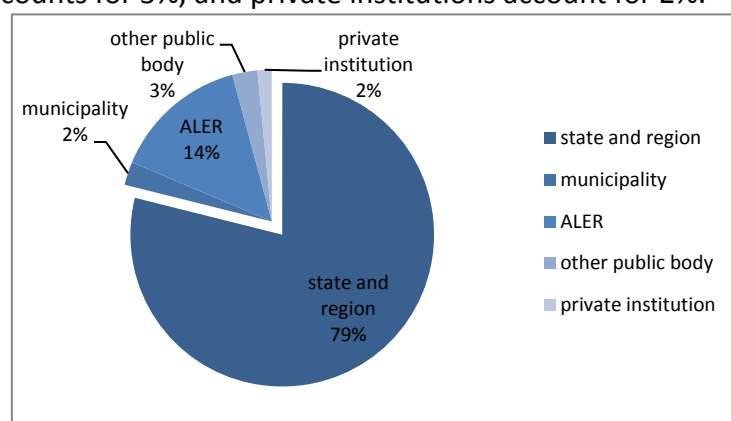


Fig 6. 12: the source proportion of regeneration fund

Source from the government and ALER document (commune, 2004; ALER, 2006)

The upper level government provides most part of the regeneration money, which is quite large, but this can cause a problem that the total programme relies too much on the public funds which have low elasticity that means if it is not enough in the implementation, the public bodies can hardly supplement additional funding. Besides, according to the interview with Margherita Galliani who works at the laboratory, ALER is facing severe financial crisis, which can hardly provide additional funding. Hence, how to find a way to attract private investments in this kind of programme would be a very important issue.

6.3.2 The distribution

On the whole, the distributions of funds between the physical and social projects are quite uneven. The former accounts for 95%, while the latter only 5%,

which is quite inadequate and this can also explain why so many associations drop out the programme.

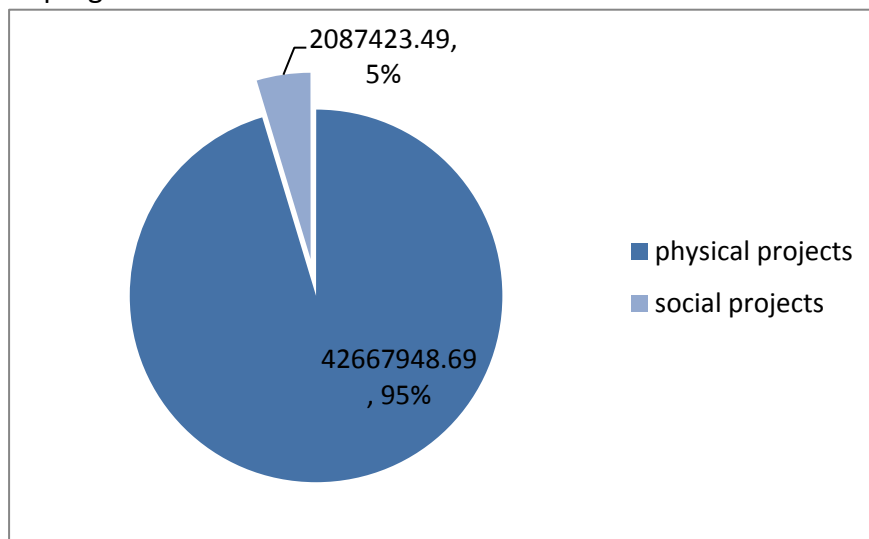


Fig 6. 13: the proportion of the funds of physical and social projects
Source from the government and ALER document (commune, 2004; ALER, 2006)

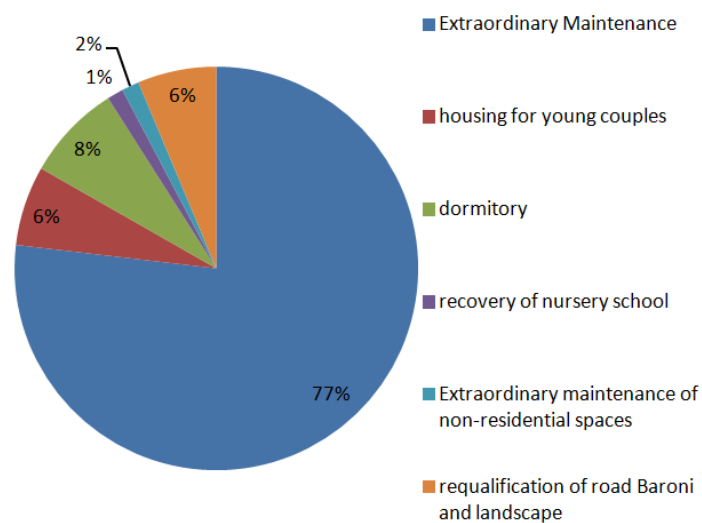


Fig 6. 14: the fund allocation to physical projects
Source from the government and ALER document (Comune di Milano, 2004; ALER, 2006)

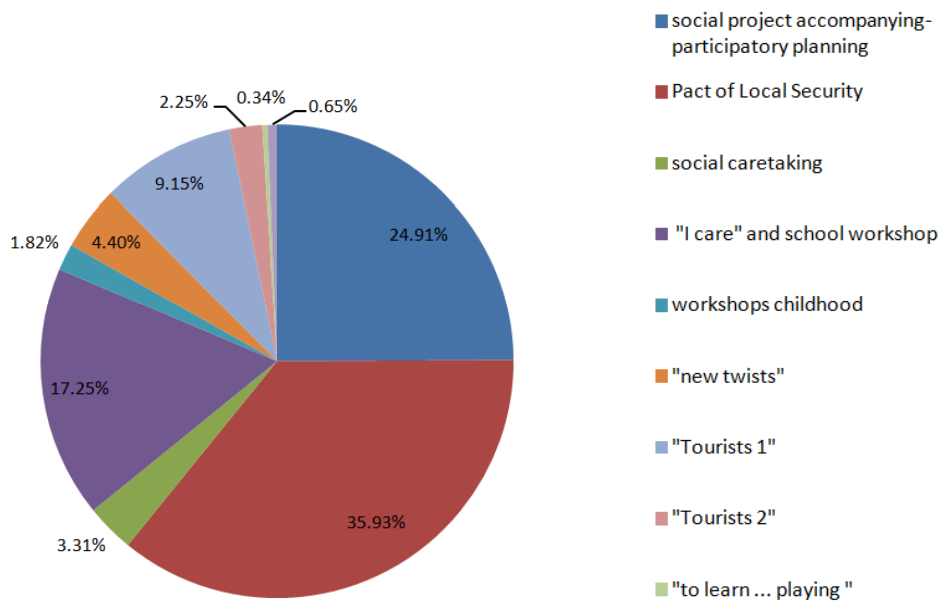


Fig 6. 15: the fund allocation to social projects

Source from the government and ALER document (Comune di Milano, 2004; ALER, 2006)

As to the physical projects, the project 1 (Extraordinary Maintenance) counts the most (77%), the second is the new construction (house for young couple and students), and the distribution for the infrastructure and public space is less. From the implement analysis above, we can find that the project 1 which is the only one that implemented as planning gets sufficient money, however, the other projects' funds are much less which can explain to some extent why they are changed, postponed or even abandoned.

For the social projects, the distribution of funds are not even either, the project 1 (social project accompanying-participatory planning) and project 2 (Local Security Pact) gets more money than other projects. However, the outputs of the projects have less correlation with the funds proportion, because the social projects are more related with the organization issue which will be discussed in the next section.

6.3.3 The problems on the source and distribution of funding

Fund is definitely a precondition in regeneration programs, and with reference to urban programs, the Neighbourhood contracts programmes get much more resources than any other social housing regeneration project, because the former gets more financial supports from the state and region by bidding. However, in the implementation, there are still lots of fund shortage and result in some projects postponed or even abandoned. This could be explained in two aspects:

First, the programme depends too much on the public money which was distributed from the beginning and this lead to the lack of flexibility in the implementation process. Although there can be some changes during the

implementation phase, it is still difficult to fill the large funding gap. As to the non-public money, ALER is the largest supplier, however, it is facing the risk of bankruptcy these years, and it cannot provide more money. Other social funding comes from foundations and the church, but the amounts are very limited. So how to attract private investments could be an important issue in the future.

Second, the distribution of the fund is quite uneven. As the whole level, the social projects get too little from the whole programme, which only accounts for 5%, so the problems of the social actions' output are more serious, for example, lots of groups quit the programme as they cannot get support. As to the projects level, the proportions of different items are quite uneven. For the physical parts, the amount of the money is directly related with the implementation of the projects.

6.4 An overview on the organization

6.4.1 Tools to analyze the programme

The analysis of the organizational dimension is very difficult, for there are lots of actors in the programme, and their relationships are also complex. In this section, a method of policy analysis is adopted to describe the organization of the Gratosoglio regeneration programme. This method is based on the view of urban governance and focus on the actor analysis, including their attributes and networks.

First, we move back to the literature part, as the contract is a kind of governance, which core is to answer "who governs" and "how to govern". In the case of Gratosoglio, the actors are a lot and the relationship between them are quite complex, there need a tool to analysis the whole programme.

In this thesis, the tools from Bruno Dente's theory are adopted, based on the book *"Policy decisions: how to take them, how to study them"* (Dente, 2013). In his approach Dente shows how the way the actors act during the framing and solving of a collective problem is a main key point. In another word, this method focuses on the analysis of actors and the aim is to answer "who the actors are" that is "who governs", and "how they act" that is "how to govern". This kind of method can be used in policy as well as programme and project analysis.

Using this method, we can first be clear "who are the actors, and what are their attributes. And then by the actor's network analysis, we can try to find some clues to understand the dynamics of the programme and explain the results.

6.4.2 Analysis of the actors - “who governs”

In the method of Bruno Dente, the actors can be analyzed by their attributes, in order to understand who the actors are, which resources they have and which position they have compared with other actors.

According to the hierarchy of the administration, the actors can be classified several dimensions.

The resources of the actors can be divided to four parts: 1) Political resources, which are the ability to mobilize consensus; 2) Economic resources, which are the ability to mobilize money; 3) Legal resources, which are the “advantages” that the law grants to some actor; 4) knowledge resources, which are the data or the models relevant in order to take the decision. (Dente, 2013, P 35-45)

According to the nature of legitimacy they claim, the actors can be divided to five types: 1) Politicians are those actors that base the legitimacy of their intervention on the fact of “representing” citizens, and they are likely to respond to the use of political resources. 2) Bureaucrats are those actors that base their legitimacy on the fact that the law entrust them with the power to intervene in the policy. 3) Special interest actors are those actor that base the legitimacy of their intervention on the fact that they are directly affected by the policy decision; 4) General interest groups are the actors that base their claim on the fact that the interest they represent are general in nature like the NGOs; 5) Experts are those actor that claim to have the knowledge needed in order to solve the problem (Dente, 2013, P 45-52).

In the process, the actors can play different roles: 1) The promoter is the central actor in the policy formulation phase. 2) The director is the actor more interested in reaching decisional success by overcoming decisional hurdles and non intentional consequences. Those two roles are necessary, besides, there are other roles: 3) The oppose is the actor who does not agree with the definition of the problem and/or the choice of the solution; 4)The ally is an actor who shares with the promoter and/or the director the interest to the solution of a specific problem; 5) The mediator is a specific type of director who tries to reach a solution acceptable to everybody through the modification of the stake; 6) The gatekeeper is an actor that, even if he is not interested in the issue, can stop the process; 7)The filter is an indirect actor or a non-actor because is has no goals but intervenes in the process on behalf of some other actor whose interests or claim he represents. (Dente, 2013, P 54-59)

According to the analysis tool of the former section, the relationship of the actors can be analyzed in the table 6.5. Here the different departments in one level of government can be abstracted as one actor for they share the similar goals and interests.

Table 6. 5: the attributes of the actors in Gratosoglio.

	actor	type	resources	role	level	
Actors in the original plan	1	state	bureaucrats/politician	political/legal/economic	promoter	national
	2	Lombardy region	bureaucrats/politician	political/legal/economic	promoter	regional
	3	ALER	special interest	economic/knowledge	ally	regional
	4	University (DiAP)	expert	knowledge	ally	city
	5	Municipality of Milan	bureaucrats/politician	political/legal/economic	director	city
	6	Zone 5	bureaucrats	economic/knowledge	ally	city
	7	SUNIA	special interest	knowledge/economic	mediator	city
	8	Neighbourhood Committee-Gratosoglio	bureaucrats	legal	mediator	city
	9	Unicredit foundation	general interest	economic	ally	city
	10	Neighbourhood Laboratory Gratosoglio	bureaucrats/expert	legal/political	mediator	local
	11	'Maria Madre della Chiesa' church	general interest	economic/knowledge	ally	local
	12	'S. Barnaba' church	general interest	knowledge	ally	local
	13	Lo Scigno (Centro di aggregazione giovanile)	general interest	knowledge	ally	local
	14	S. Martino	general interest	knowledge	ally	local
	15	Tenants	special interest	political	ally	local
New actors	16	Gratosoul	general interest	knowledge	ally	local
	17	AL OUISSAL	general interest	knowledge	ally	local
	18	Unione Autogestioni	general interest	knowledge	ally	local
	19	Gratosoglio Committee	general interest	knowledge	ally	local

		actor	type	resources	role	level
Actors dropout the programme	20	Group of "Viviamcent'anni"	general interest	knowledge	ally	local
	21	Antigua Association	general interest	knowledge	ally	local
	22	Institution "Scuola Superiore W. Kandisky" (ex school Moneta)	general interest	knowledge	ally	local
	23	"Le Torri" (ex cascina comunale del Ronchettino)	general interest	knowledge	ally	local
	24	Centro Oklahoma (ex Scuola materna)	general interest	knowledge	ally	local
	25	Centro diurno integrato "Vodia Cremoncini"	general interest	knowledge	ally	local
	26	Associazione di volontariato "Emmaus "(ex scuola moneta)	general interest	knowledge	ally	local
	27	Centro aggregativo multifunzionale (C.A.M)	general interest	knowledge	ally	local
	28	Centro sportivo "Peppino Vismara"	general interest	knowledge	ally	local
	29	Circolo nuova società	general interest	knowledge	ally	local

Source from: the document of the government and the interview with Margherita Galliani.

Level analysis: According to the analysis of chapter 4, there are six levels' of governance in Milan (including the official or non official), which are state, region, province, city, zone and local (neighbourhood). So the actors that take part in the Gratosoglio programme can be divided to six levels. For the public actors, they can be classified according to their administrative level, and for the other actors, they can be classified according to their range of actions. For example, ALER is a Lombardy social housing agency, so it can be identified as regional actor; the university acted as a cooperator with the municipality in the process of bidding, so it can be regarded as city level; the massive social groups which serve only the neighbourhood can be seen as local level.

Resource analysis: according to the government documents and interviews, those actors have those different resources as in the table. The resources' distribution is definitely not balanced, for the upper levels' actors (state, regional, city and zone), they have more political, legal and economic resources, but the actors

of local level have more knowledge resources.

Type analysis: in this case, according to the method of classification of Dente, the actor included the five types: the governments can be seen as “bureaucrats” or “politician”, for they have the ability to influence other actors to mobilize consensus and also have the right to use and interpret the laws or regulations; the university and laboratory can be regarded as “expert” who use their knowledge to make plan or provide information; ALER and SUNIA have their own specific benefits in this programme, so they can be identified as “special interest”; other actors which are NGOs or social groups who base their claim on the fact that the interest they represent are general in nature and they can be seen as “general interest”.

Role analysis: according to the analysis the sections before, State is the promoter of the programme; Lombardy government, Administrative Zones, ALER and the University can be seen as the ally of the programme; the municipality is in charge of the whole process, so it can be seen as the director; SUNIA, committee of neighbourhood - Gratosoglio, and laboratory are in charge of the communication between the local actors and the public actors, so they can be regarded as mediator; other actors take part in some part of the programme, and they can be seen as the ally.

We can say that, in the case of Gratosoglio, no certain actor decides over the programme but all the actors govern the process and they have different impact. Besides, the main character of those actors is their high complexity which is the basic trait of modern governance. The high complexity not only reflects in the large number of the actors, but also on the relationships and networks, which will be discussed in the next section.

6.4.3 The network of the actors - “how to govern”

In the theory of Dente, the network of actors is a way to answer “how to govern”. The network is the set of actors of a given decisional process with the evidence of the links between them. There are three main attributes of a network which are complexity, density and centrality. By calculating these three values, it is easier to understand the dynamics of the decision and explain the results.

1) Complexity

High complexity is the main character of the modern governance. This is a word to describe the degree of the variety of the problems and ways of resolution.

In Dente’s approach to policy analysis, the value of complexity can be measured by a matrix which based on the principle that the complexity equals the number of different points of view represented by the actors. This depends on the heterogeneity in terms of type of actors and geographical dimension of the actors themselves.

The calculation is like this, make a matrix with the value of dimensions and types and then inserting the actors in the appropriate cells and multiplying the number of rows by the number of columns in which at least one actor is present. This

means that, if all the actors are in the same cell, the complexity is the lowest, as the actors share the similar views, on the contrary, if every column and line have actors, the complexity is the highest, which implies the actors have multi-interests.

In the case of Gratosoglio, according to the actor analysis above, if there is at least one actor fit the condition, put a “√” on the cell of the matrix: (Dente, 2013, P 61-62).

Table 6. 6: the matrix of the actors’ complexity in the programme of Gratosoglio’s regeneration

Type	politician	bureau crats	expert	special interest	general interest
Level					
State	√	√			
Region	√	√		√	
City	√	√	√	√	√
Zone		√			
Neighbourhood		√	√		√

According to the table, the complexity of the actors in the case of Gratosoglio is 25 ($C= 5 * 5=25$).

Although some actors dropped out the programme, the values in the table didn’t change, and they are all reach the highest value (25), which means, the organization of “Neighbourhood Contracts” can be seen as the typical way of modern governance. This intends that the goals and solutions of the programme are of high variety which can lead the results as equitable as possible, while it also has the challenge of low efficiency.

2) Density

The density of a network means the intensity of the relations between the actors of a decision-making process.

Before the calculation, the abstract graph of the actors’ network should be drawn. The network is the set of actors of a given decisional process with the evidence of the links between them. In the network, the lines represent the actual relation between them, the bidirectional arrow means the mutual relation such as the discussion or negotiations, and the mono directional arrow means the one-way relation such as the command or delegation. (Dente, 2013, P 59-61)

In the case of Gratosoglio, the network can be draw according to this principle above. As some actors drop out the programme in the process, the network now (fig 6.17) has some difference with the one in the beginning of the programme (fig 6.16).

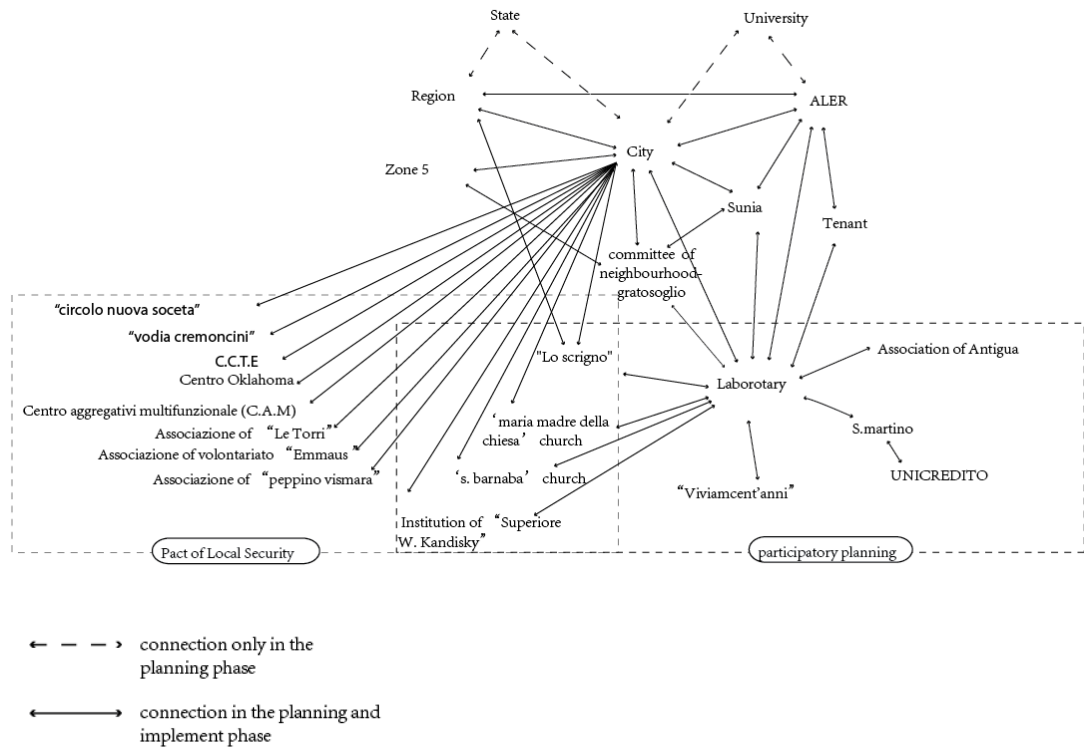


Fig 6. 16: the former network of the actors

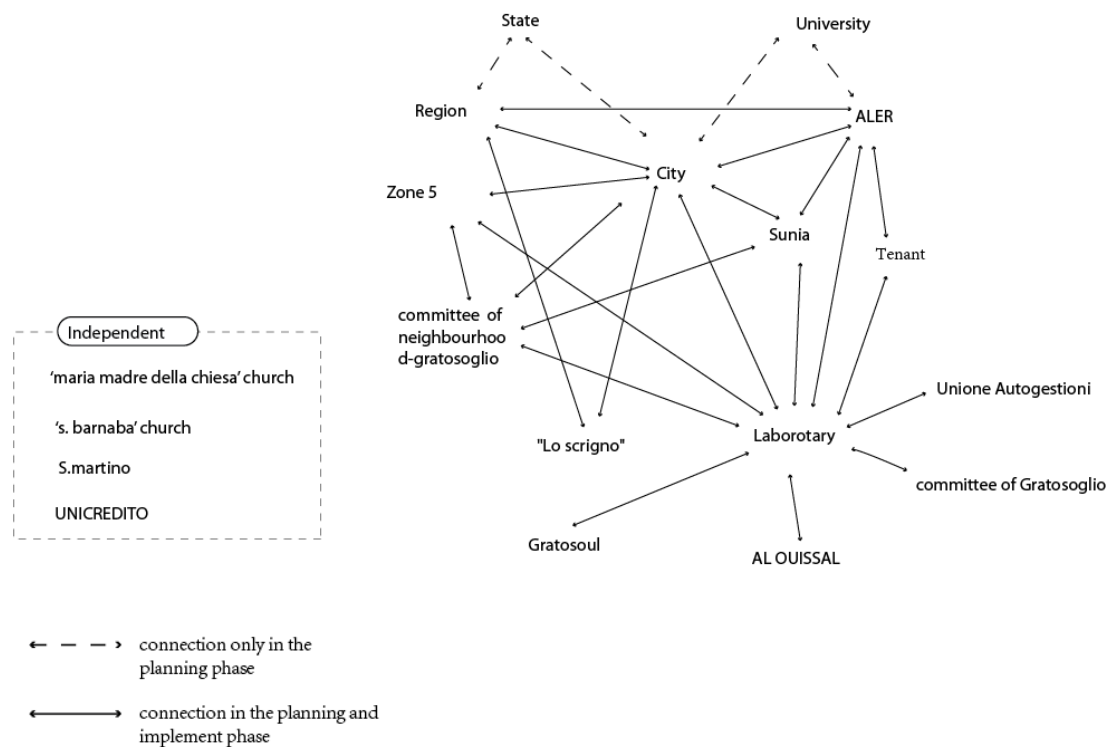


Fig 6. 17: the present network of the actors

After the graph, the density can be calculated. The density of a network is given

by the ratio between the actual links between the actors and the number of theoretically possible links. (Dente, 2013, P 63)

The formula for measuring network density is:

$$D = \sum ki / (n^2 - n)$$

Where:

D = density coefficient varying between 0 and 1

n = number of actors

Ki = number of links

In this case, in the former network, the density

$$D = 80 / (25 * 25 - 25) = 0.13$$

In the present network, the density

$$D = 52 / (15 * 15 - 15) = 0.25$$

In this analysis, the density of the actors' network is still low, although the value has risen a little in the actual operation.

According to the theory, the density means the degree of the connection of the actors. High density can strengthen the complexity of the governance; on the contrary, the low density can weaken the complexity. If the density is too high (the actors are too much connected, which can reduce the efficiency), or too low (the actors are lack of connection), the policy or programme will not succeed. This should be analyzed with the other value: centrality.

3) Centrality

Centrality is the property that consists in the fact that the links within the network are more or less monopolized by one or few actors. The calculation is to measure the proportion of all the relations of a network that are monopolised by a specific actor. The formula is like below: (Dente, 2013, P 63)

$$C = ki / \sum ki$$

Where:

C = centrality coefficient varying between 0 and 1

Ki = number of links out from a single actor

In former network, the city (Municipality) is most connected actor, and the centrality:

$$C(\text{city}) = 20 / 40 = 0.5$$

The second most connected actor is the laboratory, and the centrality:

$$C(\text{laboratory}) = 12 / 40 = 0.3$$

In the present network, the laboratory is the most connected actor, and the centrality:

$$C(\text{laboratory})=10/26=0.38$$

The second most connected actor is the city, and the centrality:

$$C(\text{city})=9/26=0.35$$

From this analysis, we can find that, there are two important actors in this case, which are the city (municipality of Milan) and the laboratory of Gratosoglio. They all have much more connections than other actors, and can be seen as the core actors in the programme.

In the beginning of the programme, the city is the most connected actor, however, in the operation now, the centrality of city declines and the laboratory rises.

In the table below, we can see clear the density and centrality in the case Gratosoglio.

Table 6. 7: the value of density and centrality of the case Gratosoglio

	Density	Centrality	
The former network	0.13	City	0.5
		Laboratory	0.3
The present network	0.25	City	0.35
		Laboratory	0.38

The first character is that the density of the network is low, while the city had high centrality which is 0.5 in the former network, but then falls down to 0.3. According to the theory of Dente, if the density is low and the centrality is strong, the central actor (core actor) should have enough resources, if not, the policy (programme or project) will tend to fail.

In the table, in the former network, the density is low, but the centrality of the city is very strong. But in the present network, the density rises with some actors leaving. This demonstrates that there is a large problem in the beginning of the programme, which hope to cover as many actors as possible, but the central actor (city) do not have so much resources, so many actors (local social groups) dropped out the programme. In the operation now, the density rises and the centrality of city declines, and this can be seen the reasonable revise of the former operation network.

The other character is that, in the present network, the centrality value of the city and laboratory are similar, and their values are much higher than other actors, which implies that the two actors becomes the core actors in the programme.

In the network, the city is the center of the up level actors, while the laboratory is the center of the local actors, so the connection of the city and the laboratory is very important. The city can be seen as the delegate of the up level actors, and most

of the up level actors are public institutions. Most local actors are private groups, and they are organized by the laboratory. According to the former analysis, the laboratory can be identified as “expert type” actor which is a kind of “Facilitation Company”(see in the 5 chapter) composed by professionals, and it is relatively independent of the government and the citizens, so it can be seen as the third party between the public and private sector. In another word, the “expert type” of actor who acts as the third party plays an important role in the neighbourhood contracts programme.

6.5 The overall change and other influencing factors apart from the Neighbourhood Programme

6.5.1 The overall change after the Neighbourhood Contracts programme

The physical improvement that the Neighbourhood Contract brought to the Gratosoglio is obvious, for the quality of the environment and buildings improved a lot after the implementation of the programme.

However, social change is complex and difficult to observe, so the author interviewed several residents and local groups, asking them about the social changes in the past ten years. As the social problems of the Gratosoglio refer to social, cultural, security and economic dimensions, the questions are based on these four aspects. The interview objects are the local residence, members of the local groups and also staff of the laboratory.

As far as the social dimension is concerned, the number and scale of services provided is larger after the implement of Neighbourhood Contracts, and services include care for the elderly, children education, language training for immigrants, etc. However, the total amounts are still not enough actually. Take the elderly service as an example, according to the interview with Giovanna Guras and Eral Nikolli who are staff of the elderly service, the funding which mainly comes from the city can only support 30 elderly people while the number in need is much larger, therefore, lots of them are on the waiting list, and the association can only chose the clients who are in extreme condition, such as the elderly in dire poverty, or in very poor health.

For the cultural aspects, the local culture events are more frequent in these ten years, such as the concerts, holiday celebrations, bookcrossing,etc, and the local residence are enjoyable of these events, according to the interview with Margherita Galliani who is the staff in the laboratory and Ms. Qiu and Pan who live in this neighbourhood.

For security, the general situation is much better than 1990s. In interview with Susy Liuzzi Giani who has been living in Gratosoglio for around 40 years, she said that,

in 1980s and 1990s, the security problems was very serious, lots of illegal events happened frequently, such as drug dealing, stealing, gang fighting, etc. Since 2000, the government took lots of actions to improve security, such as closing down the Drug trading places, installing Surveillance Equipments etc. In general, there are still some stealing cases now, but the situation of security is much better than ten years ago.

For the economy, however, the condition doesn't change so much. According to the interview with Ms Pan and Ms Qiu who work and live in Gratosoglio, the income and employment situation hasn't improved these ten years, and this is due to the more generalized and nation-wide economic crisis.

In a word, after the implementation of Neighbourhood Contracts, the physical change is significant, and for the social aspects, the social service, culture and security improved to some extent, but the economy doesn't change so much.

6.5.2 The positive role of local groups.

Neighbourhood Contracts has great influence for the physical change, however, based on those interview, the improvement of the social aspects has more connection with the local social groups' contribution than the Neighbourhood Contracts programme, for the Neighbourhood Contracts' social actions are based on the local groups. In the programme, the government provides money to the groups and suggesting them to manage the designed projects. However, the money and the number projects are limited and not enough for the requirement of the neighbourhood, while the local groups' efforts is long-term and constantly. Besides, in the investigation, lots of groups dropped out the programme, but they still provide their service as their original pattern.

There are more than a dozen groups of associations and other groups in Gratosoglio (see in the attached table), and almost all of them are NGOs, and the contents are diverse, such as self-governance, elderly service, children education etc. all those groups have their own goals, service objects and stable fund source.

For example, the "CCTE Zone 5" which is a group found in 1979, once worked on the drug against, special children's education, now focuses on the drawing and DIY teaching for the local children. The money of daily operation is provided by a bank foundation in Milan (information from the interview with Susy Liuzzi Giani who is the founder of this group). Similarly, another group called "cooperativa sociale a.r.l." runs the "Vodia Cremoncini" center which provides day-care service for the elderly in difficulty. The money of daily operation is from the social department of the municipality government (information from the interview with Giovanna Gurcas and Ermal Nikolli who are the staff working in the center). Moreover, the local church also provides some community service, such as education to exceptional children.

To some extent, Neighbourhood Contracts is only an important positive indirect

factor for the social environment, while the general social improvement relies more on the numerous local groups.

6.6 Brief sum-up: the implementation of Neighbourhood Contracts

6.6.1 The actions

The actions of the regeneration enshrine the principle of “integrated”, and deal with all the problems in the neighbourhood.

However, in the implementation, some projects are changed or even stopped, some of them because the design is not appropriate for the local condition, and some because of the lack of money. This shows that in the process of programme designing, there should be more reasonable analysis, besides, the budget is low and lots of the projects cannot receive enough funds.

But the positive aspect in the implementation is that the operation is relatively flexible, changing or supplement the programme is common by some consultation procedures, which can make up for the deficiency.

6.6.2 The fund operation

Although the amount of the public fund is big, and seems more abundant than other regeneration programme, there are still some problems in the operation.

First is that the programme relies too much on the public money that is inelastic, which means that the number of the money is pre-allocated, if there is a shortage, it is difficult to raise more money.

The second problem is in the fund distribution, in which the social projects receive too little compared to the physical ones, so the problems in the implementation of social actions are much bigger.

6.6.3 The organization analysis

there are three characters in the organization of Neighbourhood contracts:

1) High complexity

There are a lot of actors which have different attributes, and according to the analysis, the value of complexity is high and this is the typical trait of modern governance which has the advantage of high equity, but challenge of low efficiency.

2) Low density and high centrality

in the operation network, the density is low which means the connection of the actors are not so much, while the centrality is high, which means it tends to be centralized management. However, in the former network, the resource of the

central actor: the city (municipality) didn't have so many resources, which led to the drop out of many actors. And in the latter network, the density rises and the centrality of the city declines, this could be seen as the reasonable revision of the former organization.

3) Double center of the network

In the present network, the city and the laboratory are the center actors of the upper level actors and the local actors respectively. The irreplaceable role of the city is obvious as it is the main director of the programme, while, the laboratory which is a third party composed of professionals also plays an important role in the neighbourhood contracts programme.

6.6.4 Other factors besides Neighbourhood Contracts

The physical and social environment improves a lot after the implementation of the Neighbourhood Contracts programme. The physical change directly results from the regeneration projects. However, for the social aspects, according to the interviews, the effects of the programme are limited. The changes have much connection with the local groups who provide long term and constant contribution to the local social environment.

Chapter 7 First notes for a comparison between Shanghai and

Milan

In China, the general regeneration is dominated by the “bulldozer” type, which is questioned by lots of scholars and complained by the residents. At the same time, the “neighborhood rehabilitation” emerged and gets the attention of governments and scholars. Although the scale and quality is not quite satisfied which based on the fragmented experiences, it will be the key point of the future regeneration. In China, the experiences in Shanghai are quite typical, and the following analysis is focused on this city.

The problems of the social housing estates in Milan and the “old property housing” in Shanghai are quite similar (lack of maintenance of the buildings, aging, etc.), while the regeneration mechanism between them are different, the former is based on the concept of governance while the later is still lead by strong government. However, in China, the talking of governance becomes more and more frequent and it may be a tendency in the future (Zhang, 2004; Wang, 2012; Wang, Deng, Li, et al, 2008). Hence, in this chapter, the comparison between the typical cases in Shanghai and Milan could be useful and on the basement of which, some good points in the Neighbourhood Contracts could be used as references for Chinese future regeneration.

7.1 The background: old public property housing in Shanghai

7.1.1 The administrative system in Shanghai

The administration system in Shanghai refers to “two levels of government, three level managements and four level networks” which means the hierarchical structure of government consists of four levels: city government, district government, street government and the neighborhood committee. (Jiang, 2011) The city and district level of government have the power of financial, housing management and plan etc. And the street government can be seen as the extend agency for the local administration. However, the neighborhood committee isn’t an official department and has limited power that only acts as the communicator between government and the local residents.

The power of city government and district government in Shanghai are similar with the city government in Milan, and the “street” government is somehow similar to the administrative zones government in Milan, which has some administrative right but not binding; The scale of “neighbourhood committee” in Shanghai is similar

with the neighbourhood (NIL, Nuclei di identità locale) in Milan, but the former is a level of semi-official unit, while the later is only the statistical and psychological cognitive unit and do not have the power of administration.

7.1.2 The decline of “old public property housing” neighbourhood in Shanghai

1) The concept of “old public property housing”

The concept of “social housing” in Shanghai is different which is a word with short history after the 1990s, mainly refers to the houses providing to the poor people under the market price, and those houses also have the name “affordable house”. Because of the short history, the social housing in Shanghai hasn’t faced the problem of server decline (Chen, 2006; Wang, 2012).

However, there are large numbers of “Laogongfang”, which is a special name refer to the declined “old public property housing” estates in the city of Shanghai. That kind of housing has lots of similarities with the social housing in Milan.

The forming of “old public property housing” is quite related with the housing policy in China.

2) The change of housing policy in Shanghai

The housing policy in Shanghai after the found of PRC can be divided to two parts, first is the welfare housing stage (1950-1980), in this period, the housing are of free distribution to people who only pay some symbolic money. That kind of housing policy had major defects that the rent cannot cover the basic maintenance of the building and the condition of the house declined gradually.

The second period is from 1980 till now, and the housing gradually becomes market dominating. In 1984, Shanghai became the pilot city which introduce private fund into the housing sector. In 1993, the original public house can be sold and the house privatized can be circulated on the market.

The “old public property housing” mainly comes from the first period of housing policy,

3) Two types of “old public property housing”

Those public property houses are mainly formed by historic reasons and they can be classified as two types:

First is the houses built before the found of PRC (1949), when most of them are private. After the “public ownership” reform in 1950s, they all belonged to public, and then distribute to the people according to the housing policy. And the public departments which are the district government or the state-owned company would in charge of their maintenance.

They other type is the housing built from 1950-1980s, most of them were built for the workers, called “workers’ village”. And the houses were public or collective

ownership, and the duty of maintenance belongs to government, the state-owned or collective company.

People who live in these houses haven't the property right of the house but only have the right of residence, and they rent the houses from the public institution (different level of government), however, their rent can be permanent.

After the marketization reform, some of the public houses are sold to private, and different property can exist in one building, in this case, and the property relations become complex and such result in the duty of maintenance also obscure.

Most of the old public property house in Shanghai are facing great decline, like building decay, aging of infrastructure, lack of sanitation facilities and overcrowded, etc. The people living inside are quite dissatisfied with the condition and most of them are eager to move out.

7.1.3 The similar problems

There are lots of similarities between the decline of social housing estates in Milan and the old public property housing in Shanghai.

1) Property ownership:

The estates are mainly belonging to the public or semi-public institution.

In Milan, most of the houses belong to ALER which gets great help from the government and can be seen as semi-public body. There are some other estates that belong to Milan city; In the case of the Piano Ina Casa and of projects developed by La Società Umanitaria, besides, some part of the houses have been sold to private owners.

In Shanghai, most properties belong to government of different levels and state-owned companies. These years, some houses are also sold to private owners. The property relations are very complex: even in the same building, different units may belong to different types of owner.

2) Similar problems:

First, most houses are worn down by the years without good maintenance, and show the phenomenon of leaking roofs, damage of facade, lack of thermal insulation layer on the surface, etc.

Second, the aging of infrastructure is sever, which include, the decay of the road, the bad maintenance of the green land and public space.

Third, the aging of the population is becoming more and more sever, however, the relative facilities and services for the elderly are not enough.

3) Different problems:

In Milan, as stated before, there are problems of security, school drop-out and integration of immigrants in the social housing estates.

In Shanghai, the phenomenon of overcrowding is quite sever in the old "public owned" houses. It is a quite common scene that three to five families live in one unit,

and most people's residential area is less than 5 m². Besides, there is a hidden problem which is the lack of sense of community due to the lack of culture events and activity.

Table 7. 1: the comparison between the old housing between in Milan and Shanghai

		Milan	Shanghai
Property	Mainly	ALER	Different level of government ; State-owned company
	Other	Milan city Piano Ina Casa; La Società Umanitaria Private owner	Private owner
Similar problems	Decay of building Aging of infrastructure (road, facilities) Aging of population		
Different problems	Security problems School drop-out Immigrants	Overcrowded Lack of sense of community	

As mentioned above, the question “who governs” and “how to govern” is the main topic, so the focus of the comparison is organization mechanism. By the comparison, some good points of the Neighbourhood contracts can be introduced.

7.1.4 The regeneration phases of “old public property housing” in Shanghai

1) From 1949 to 1978

From the foundation of PRC (1949) to the marketization reform (1978), the financial capacity of state and the city was limited, the regeneration was quite few, and those changes only happened in the very dilapidated houses. (Yang, 2008)

2) From 1978 to the end of 1980s

In this period, the object of the regeneration reached the “Lilong” area, and the scale is larger than before. The regeneration type is “bulldozer”-----demolish and rebuild, the Lilong houses which were 1-2 floors were replaced by the buildings of 4-6 floors. (Yang, 2008)

3) The “365 scheme” in 1990s

In the 90s, along with the warming of the real estate market, the scale of regeneration of the old district expanded, which represented by the “365 scheme”----- a program of demolish 3,650,000 m² old houses. And the regeneration

was also the mode of “bulldozer”, and the people were all moved out of the city center and located in the outskirts of the city. (Yang, 2008)

4) The comprehensive regeneration in 2001-2005

As the “bulldozer” mode produced great problems such as gentrification and segregation, besides, the with the price of the land becomes higher and higher, the traditional way of regeneration slow down and “comprehensive regeneration” got the attention of the government, which means the refurbishment of the old public property housing. The renovation measures include refurbishment of buildings and improvement of infrastructures. However, the “bulldozer” way still existed, and most of the old houses are demolished and replaced by high-rises. (Yang, 2008)

5) From 2005 to now

From 2005, the new policy of the regeneration of the old houses is called “Chai, Gai, Liu”, which means, there are three types of regeneration coexists: demolishing the dilapidated buildings; refurbishing the common quality buildings (can also called comprehensive regeneration) and conservating the historical building (Urban and rural construction and the management committee of Shanghai, 2012).

The type of “comprehensive regeneration” is similar with Neighbourhood Contracts, both of which are focused on the improvement of the declined neighbourhood by innovation of the existing buildings and their environment.

7.1.5 Policies towards “comprehensive regeneration” in Shanghai

In 2005, the Shanghai government issued a document of “Interim Measures on the Administration of comprehensive regeneration” which is the main policy document of the regeneration of the declining districts.

In this document, the goal, regeneration contents, procedure of operation and technical regulation are expressed. The goal of “comprehensive regeneration” is improving living conditions of the declined old housing estates. The contents include: increasing the living area, changing the flat roof to the slope roof and improving the infrastructure etc. And the procedure is following: project approval, consultation, project planning and design, hearing the advice of the public, planning approval, construction permits, and implementation and completion acceptance. The technical regulation involves these areas: building border, structure safety, height control, the Kitchen & Bathroom standard, rent adjustments and fund sources.

Although there are lots of articles in this document, there are still some problems:

First, the document is rich in the management methods but lack of incentive measures. The regeneration will cost lots of money, and the local government (mainly the district government) who is responsible for this fund gets little stimulation from the policy, so it has low positivity for this activity.

Second, the detailed measures are missing in the document, and there is no specific objects, time, and detailed source of fund. The initialization of regeneration projects are according to the situation of the budget of the district government or some special politic reasons. Besides, the experiences of those projects are fragmented as there is no detailed or integrated regeneration plan.

As there is no large complex program, in the next sections, two cases are used to illustrate the typical regeneration characters.

7.2 Cases1: regeneration of Anshan Sicun, a government-leading project

7.3.1 The background and the description of the project

1) The background and problems

Anshan Sicun is located in the north east part of Shanghai, and it was built in 1953, This district consists of 1894 households, and the total area is 79133.8 m². Most of the property belonged to the district government, but some houses have been sold to the private.

There was no overhaul of the buildings for nearly 20 years, and the problems of those buildings were severe. And the living condition were not good because of the overcrowded, besides, the aging of the population becomes more and more significant these years.



Fig 7. 1: location of Anshan Sicun



Fig 7. 2: the environment of Anshan Sicun

2) The procedure of the project

The project started at 2003 and finished at 2008. In the process, the district government (which involves the land and housing department, housing regeneration headquarter and project acceptance institution) is the main actor, it received the wish of regeneration from owner committee and then applied a proposal to the city government and the city accepted it.

Then, the district government ordered the housing regeneration office in the Street government in charge of the coordination of the whole process including the design, construction and supervision which all undergone the bidding procedure.

The street government also ordered the neighbourhood committee to mobilize the residence who will pay some money for the regeneration project. The residents also had the right to give suggestion to the design of the regeneration.

After the finish of the project, the district government turned over the management right to the property company.

According to the research of Sun Yimin (Sun, 2009), the procedure of the project can be showed like the graph below:

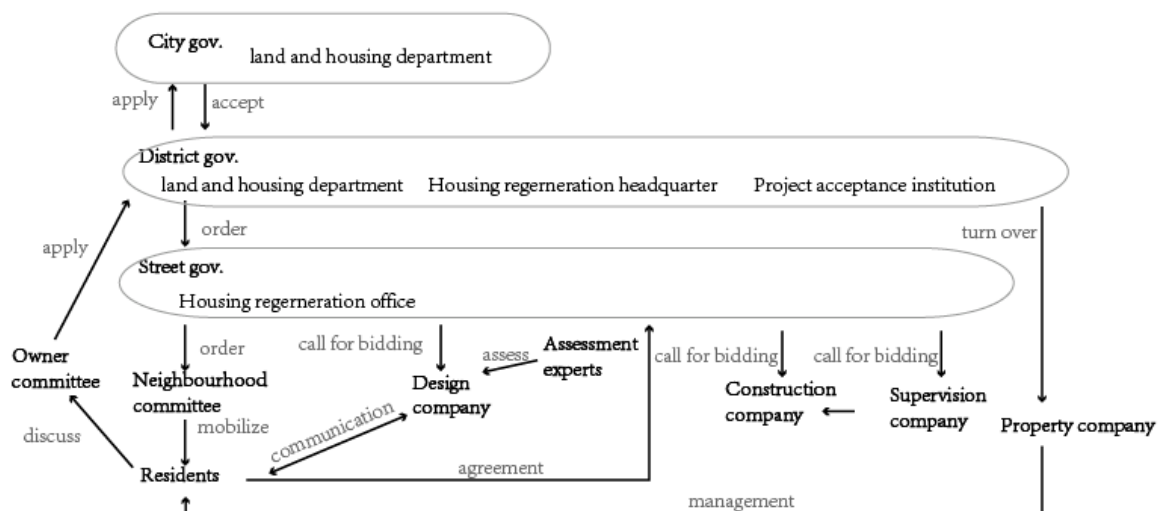


Fig 7. 3: the process of the regeneration of Anshan Sicun project made by author self, based on research of Sun (Sun, 2009).

7.3.2 The content of the regeneration

The regeneration of Anshan Sicun mainly focused on the physical renovation which consists three parts:

Table 7. 2: the intervention items of Anshan Sicun

1	Project of changing roofs and refurbishment of the houses (“Ping gai po” project)	Changing the flat roof to the slope roof The renovation of the out wall; system of water, electricity and gas in the houses; The renovation of the kitchen and the bathroom.
2	Project of adding areas	Adding two floors and new staircase on the original structure.
3	infrastructure and green spaces	Repair of the street lights, fence, and fitting equipments; Change the plants and the restoration of the lawn.

Source: Made by author, based on the research of Sun Yimin (Sun,2009)

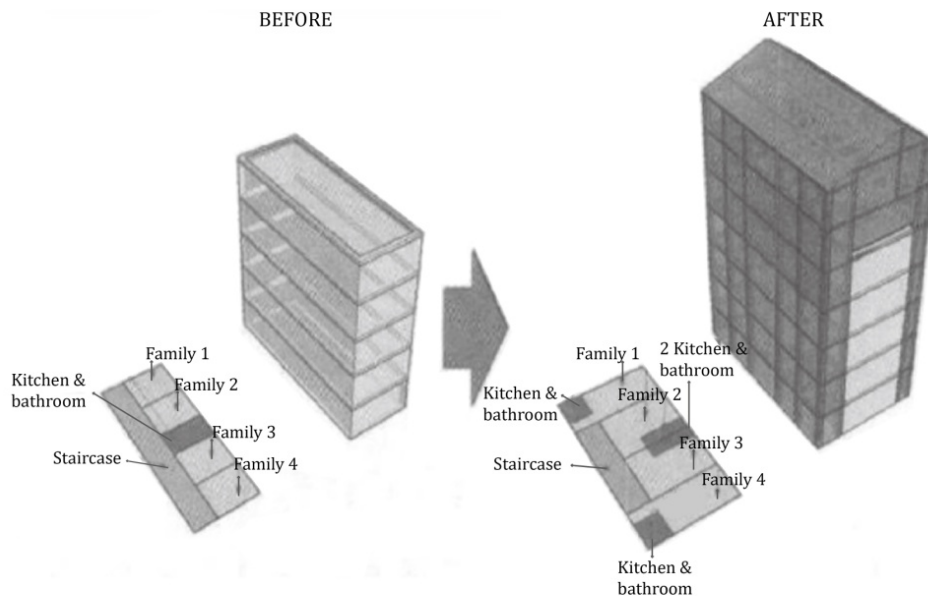


Fig 7. 4: the project of adding areas

Source: based on the research of Sun Yimin (Sun,2009)

7.3.3 Funding of the projects:

The fund sources of the three kinds of projects are different but mainly paid by

the government.

The fund of project 1 (Project of changing roofs and refurbishment of the houses) are from the city and district government, and the residents pay very few money. The project 2 (Project of adding areas) is paid by the district government, the property company (“Weibaixin” company which is a special company working for the government for the management of the public housing) and the residents, and each of them is responsible for 1/3. The source of the project 3 is negotiated between street government, neighbourhood committee and the residents.

Similar with the condition of Neighbourhood Contracts, the funds mainly comes from the public, but the difference is that, in the case of Italy, the money is from the up level, which are the state and regional government, while in the case of China, the money is from local level, that is the city and district governmet.

7.3.4 Actor and network analysis

1) The complexity

Using the tool of actor analysis, the attributes of each actor described above can be described in the following table:

Table 7. 3: The attributes of actors in the Anshan Sicun regeneration project

	actor	type	resources	role	level
1	city government	politician	political/legal	ally	city
2	district government	bureaucrats/politician	political/legal/economic	promoter	district
3	street	bureaucrats/politician	political/legal/economic	director	street
4	design company	special interest	knowledge	ally	street
5	construction company	special interest	knowledge	ally	street
6	Supervision company	special interest	knowledge	ally	street
7	assessment expert	expert	knowledge	ally	street
8	neighbourhood committee	bureaucrats	political	ally	neighbourhood
9	owner committee	special interest	knowledge	ally	neighbourhood
10	property company	special interest	knowledge	ally	neighbourhood
11	residents	special interest	economic	ally	neighbourhood

According to the analysis above, the matrix of complexity can be listed as below:

Table 7. 4: the complexity analysis matrix of Anshan Sicun

Type \ Level	politician	bureaucrats	expert	special interest	general interest
state					
city	√				
district	√	√			
street	√	√	√	√	
neighbourhood		√		√	

The Complexity: $C=4*4=16$, compared with the case of Gratosoglio, the complexity is low, as there is no up level's involvement, and there are no "general interest" actor.

2) Density

The actors' network can be represented as the graph below

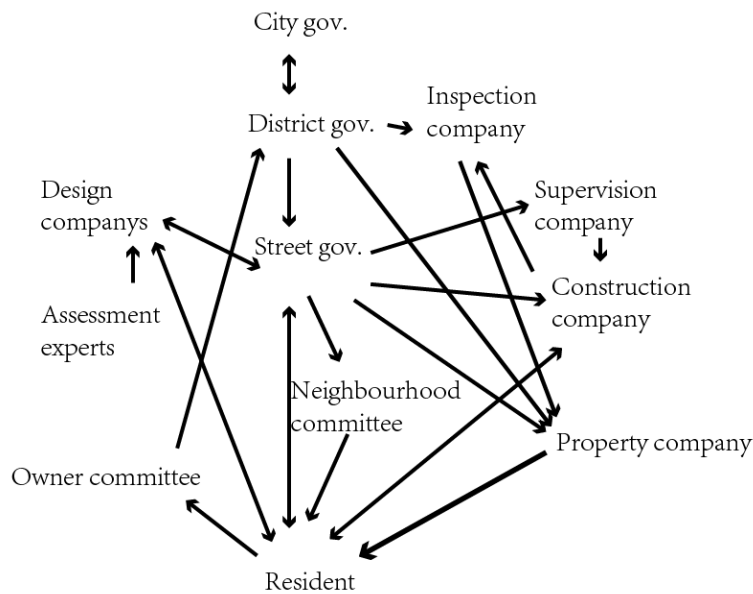


Fig 7. 5: The network of the Anshan Sicun regeneration project made by author

Using the tools mentioned above, the density $D=22/13*12=0.15$. This value is not high, which is similar with Gratosoglio.

3) Centrality

The centrality of the street government and the residents are the most highest, both of which is $9/23=0.39$, which is similar with the city and laboratory in the case of Gratosoglio.

However, the actor of resident is of passive status, and only be informed but only few path to express their opinion and cannot take part in the management. And in the case of Gratosoglio, the laboratory is an independent “expert” actor, and has the power of management and negotiation, so it can be seen as one of the core actor. In the case of Anshan Sicun, the network is still a one core operation and the core actor is the street government.

7.3.4 The outcome

After the regeneration, the housing condition and the neighbourhood environment become much better than before, and those families who share the same shelter can have their own unit due to the added areas on the original buildings. And the most residents living there are satisfied with the project.



Fig 7. 6: the building before and after the regeneration¹³

However there are two main problems:

First, the project is a pilot experience which received great political and funding support from the city government. This mode can hardly be copied because most local government will not choose to start those projects without economy or political stimulation.

Second, the social problems are not touched in the project, and lots of lonely elderly people, poor families who are in need of good and low price service and facilities.

Three, there impact of the “expert” actor is very limited who only appeared in the assessment of the design. The lack of this kind of actor in other steps is not good for the equity and innovation of the projects.

¹³ http://newspaper.jfdaily.com/cb-spl/html/2011-06/23/content_599186.htm

7.3 Case 2: the regeneration of Yongkang Li, a cooperation between government and a private company.

7.4.1 Background and the description of the project

1) The background and the problems

Yongkang Li is located in the center of Shanghai, and it was built in 1920s, and the neighbourhood once belonged to the French Concession (One of the colony in Shanghai before the found of PRC).

The neighbourhood consist of 1699 households which most belong to the district government, however, the half of the shops along the street, which were houses before and changed to commercial use belong to the state-owned companies including New Xuhui company, Xuhui food company, Luda company, and Xuhui Grain & Oils company.

The problems of the housing are very serious, such as lack of sanitation facilities, the aging of system of electricity, gas and water, and the decay of the wall. Besides, shops are unclean and made the street messy.

The social problems were more severe, first is overcrowded, the houses which were intended to live one family are occupied by 4-6 families, which lead to awful living quality. At the same time, the aging of the people are obvious as most young people tend to move out if they get the chance.



Fig 7. 7: location of Yongkang Li



Fig 7. 8: the environment of Anshan Sicun

2) Process of the regeneration

According to the interview (20-12-2012) with Su Xinguo who is the director of the Municipal department of the street government, and the interview (08-12-2012) of Chen Robert who is the manager of the “Paifeng Yongkang” institution, the procedure of the project can be showed like the graph below:

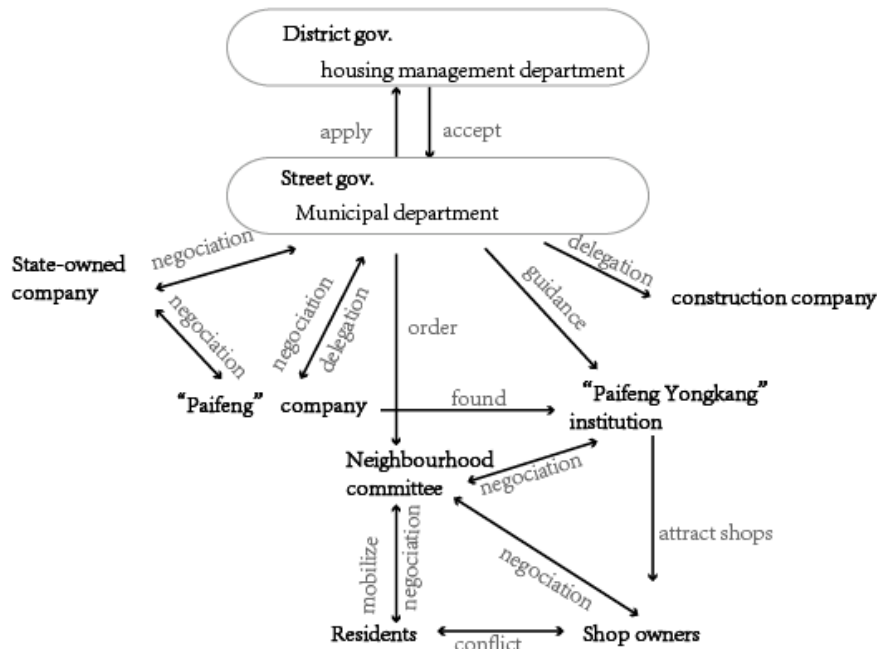


Fig 7. 9: the network of the Yongkang Li regeneration project made by author, based on the interview with Su and Chen in Dec 2012.

The project start at 2009 and finished at 2011, in the process, street government is the main actor in the process. The initiation of the project is the complaining of the local residents which is about the bad environment of the street, and the leader of the district government order the street government to promote a project.

Then the street government planed the project of the regeneration, and applied the fund from the district government and then, getting the fund and permission, the street government began the project which aims at the renovation of the building and also the upgrading of the commercial level.

The project divided to two parts, for the renovation of the houses, the street government delegated one construction company to do the project.

And for the façade renovation and the changing of the shops, the Street government delegated the “Paifeng” company to do the design of the façade and also the function changing. As the some of the property belong to the state-owned companies, the government, state-owned companies and the “Paifeng” company negotiated the investment and the revenue ratio and then found a new institution called “Paifeng Yongkang” who would do the work of attract upper level shops and

also manage them.

However, after the new shops came, most of them were bars and restaurants which open to midnight, and the residents could hardly bare them and conflicted with the shop owners and “Paifeng Yongkang” institution. Then the neighbourhood committee mediated the relationships by restrict the shop opening hours and also ask the “Paifeng Yongkang” institution give economic compensation to the residents.

7.4.2 The content of the project

The regeneration including two parts, the first is about the refurbishment of the houses, including the adding of the sanitation facility, system of water, electricity and gas.

The second is the changing of the functions of the first floor facing the street. As those spaces have some commercial value, they are changed to high-end shops by the cooperation force of the government and the private company. This can be seen as an economic incentive project, which benefits the private company and the consumers while there is no advantage for the local residents.

There is still no social project in this regeneration.

Table 7. 5: the two projects in the regeneration of Yongkangli

1	Project 1: Housing refurbishment	Adding the sanitation facility, system of water, electricity and gas in the houses The renovation of street facade
2	Project 2 : Shop displacement	Change the low-level retail shop (on the ground floor) to the high-end shops

7.4.3 Funding of the projects

The fund of the project 1(housing refurbishment) mainly comes from the district government, some part comes from the street company, and the residents only pay some symbolic money.

The fund of the project2 (shop displacement) comes from the street government, state-owned company and the “paifeng” company (source from the interview with Su and Chen in Dec 2012).

7.4.4 Actor and network analysis

1) Complexity

Using the tool of actor analysis, the attributes of each actor described above can be described in the following table:

Table 7. 6: the attributes of actors in the Yongkang Li regeneration project

	actor	type	resources	role	level
1	district government	bureaucrats/politician	political/legal/economic	ally	district
2	street government	bureaucrats/politician	political/legal/economic	promoter	district
3	Paifeng company	bureaucrats/politician	political/legal/economic	ally	street
4	Paifeng Yongkang institution	special interest	knowledge	director	street
5	state-owned company	special interest	knowledge	ally	street
6	construction company	special interest	knowledge	ally	street
7	neighbourhood committee	bureaucrats	political	ally	neighbourhood
8	residents	special interest	economic	opposer	neighbourhood
9	shop owner	special interest	economic	ally	neighbourhood

According to the analysis above, the matrix of complexity can be listed as below:

Table 7. 7: the complexity analysis matrix of Anshan Sicun

Type	politician	bureaucrats	expert	special interest	general interest
Level					
state					
city					
district	√	√			
street	√	√		√	
neighbourhood		√		√	

The Complexity: $C=3*3=9$, the complexity is low, as there is no up level's involvement, and there are no "general interest" and "expert" actors.

2) Density

The network of the actor can be abstracted as the graph below



Fig 7. 10: the network of the Yongkang Li regeneration project made by author

Using the tools mentioned above, the density $D=23/9*8=0.32$. This value is higher than other cases, which intends that the connection between the actors is closer. This is due to the total number of the actors is fewer than other two cases, besides, there are lots of negotiation and discussion between the actors.

3) Centrality

The centrality of the street government is the most highest, which is $9/23=0.39$. In the network, the street government is the central actor, besides, the "Paifeng Yongkang" institution which is a new department found by the "Paifeng company" also plays an important role as the partner of the government and the relationship can be seen as kind of "entrepreneurship".

7.4.4 The outcome of the project

After the Completion, the urban environment along the street becomes better than before, (as the picture below).

However, there still exist great problems: first, the problem of overcrowded has not been touched. It is the urgent problem in this neighbourhood but it is cannot be solved by the local power, which needs regional coordination. Second, the quality of the housing improvement is quite limited, although the houses are added the sanitation facility and repaired the system of water, electricity and gas, the condition still not satisfied, besides, there is no change in the wall inside the neighbourhood(see picture below).



Fig 7. 11 :the street view before regeneration ¹⁴



Fig 7. 12: the street view after the regeneration
(photo taken by author)



Fig 7. 13: the house inside the neighbourhood after the regeneration
(photo taken by author)

7.4 The comparison between the cases in Milan and Shanghai

According to the analysis above, the characters of the cases in Milan and Shanghai can be concluded in the following table:

¹⁴ Source from the document of Paifeng company

Table 7. 8: the comparison between the cases in Milan and Shanghai

		Milan	Shanghai	
		Gratosoglio	Anshan Sicun	Yongkang Li
Backgro-und	Time	2004-now	2003-2008	2008-2011
	Households	1341	1894	1699
	Property	ALER	district government and partly private	district government and state-owned company
Way of the operation		Top-down	Top-down	Top-down
Motivation		Welfare & bidding	Political	Market & political
Fund	Mainly	Public (state and regional government)	public; (city and district government)	public; (district government and street government)
	Other	City government; ALER; Bank foundation; Church	Street government; Property company (Weibaixin); Residents	State-owned company; Private company ("Paifeng"); Residents
Regeneration projects		Physical project; Social project	Physical project	Physical project; economic incentive
Actor analysis	Number of actors	15	11	9
	Complexity	High (25)	medium (16)	Low (9)
	Density	Low (0.25)	Low (0.15)	medium (0.32)
	Centrality	Two core center: City and the laboratory	One center: The street government	One center: The street government
	The way of organization	Integrated cooperation	Government-leading	Government and private company
Outcom-e	Positive	Physical upgrading Social improvement Increasing of the households	Physical upgrading; Increasing of the living area	Improvement of urban environment; Stimulate the local economy
	Negative	The fund for social intervention are not enough; There are no subsequent funding support	Hard to be copied because there is no policy promoting; Lack of social activities;	The quality of the living not getting too much improvement; Conflict between residents and new shop owners

The regeneration scale (the number of households involved) of the three cases is similar, and the properties of the houses are similar which belong to public or semi-public institutions, and the way of the operation are all top-down and most of the regeneration fund comes from the public.

However, there are great differences in the motivation, contents, the attributes of the actors and the way they organize which result in different outcomes.

First, the motivations vary widely, the programme of Neighbourhood Contracts are based on the welfare-state background, besides, by the bidding system organized by the state, the cities are more likely to take part in the regeneration process. As to the case of Anshan Sicun, it is the Pilot Project which based on the welfare behavior of the government, but it can hardly be copied by other neighbourhood because of lacking economic stimulation. As to the Yongkang Li, the motivation consists of two parts: the economic benefit and the political reason which is the task by the upper government, and by this motivation, the regeneration focus more on the commercial interest than the needs of the residents.

Second, the content of the interventions are quite different, for the Gratosoglio, the realm of the interventions involves all the problems in the neighbourhood. But the Anshan Sicun and Yongkangli mainly deal with the physical regeneration, hence, the problem of living quality still exist.

Third, the attributes of actor management differ a lot. The number of the actors is much more in the Gratosoglio case, and they distribute on five levels and five types, result in high complexity which is the typical character of western urban governance. However, the case of the Anshan Sicun and Yongkang Li, there isn't upper level of actors and the type of general interest actors, hence, the aim of the regeneration is single and many problems are overlooked in the regeneration process. Besides, in the case of Gratosoglio, the relationships of most actors are bidirectional, and this means negotiation happens in each level of management, and it shows the feature of integrated cooperation which is the character of "contract" governance. However, in the case of Anshan Sicun, most relationships of the actors are monodirectional which means the government directs and orders all the actions. In the case of Yongkang Li, it can be seen that the street government and the private company are the main actor to manipulate the project. And the negotiations happen in two levels (street government, state-owned company and the private company; neighbourhood committee, private company, and shop owners), but there is little connection with each other.

Chapter 8 Conclusions

8.1 The pros and cons of Neighbourhood Contracts

Social housing is an important element of the European welfare system, and their policies are also of welfare in nature. Neighbourhood Contracts is such an action that pursues more of the social benefit other than economy development.

The content of the intervention of the programme is integrated, including the physical and social actions dealing with all kinds of problems in the neighbourhood.

Besides, the way of implement is adapted with the character of the post-Fordism society, such as adopting the competitive way of sponsoring the programme, encouraging private actors take part in and using them to reducing the pressure of government.

As analyzed in the chapter 3, Neighbourhood Contracts can be seen as a representative of the new way of regeneration which is adopted widely in European countries. The main characters of this regeneration type include the competitive bidding, the integrated action and area-based approach. In terms of concept level, those characters are perfect but in the real implementation, there are some practical problems.

In this section, the pros and cons of Neighbourhood Contracts will be concluded mixing the research of chapter 4, 5 and 6, and the three characters of the programme are the clue of the analysis.

8.1.1 The bidding (call for tender) mechanism

As the source of dynamic and main finance, it is clear that there are lots of advantages of the bidding mechanism:

First, this measure can stimulate the local government paying more attention to the declined neighbourhood, and take active part in the regeneration;

Second, as the competition exists, the local government will be more care about the innovation of the regeneration design, such as adding the heritage conservation, ecological issues;

However, there are still some disadvantages:

First, as the competition needs the cooperation of the regional government, the regions with less economic and political power can get much fewer chances and money than others.

Second, in order to winning the bid, the local government may chose the most problematic places, and the neighbourhoods with moderate recession tend to be neglected.

Third, the money from the bidding is the main fund of the regeneration, and it is fixed and distributed at the beginning of the programme. While in the experience of the implementation, there is no follow-up funding support from the state, and also little money from other public sectors. In this case, the projects face lots of troubles and some of the plans have to be changed and some of them even are abandoned.

8.1.2 The integrated action

The advantages of the integrated action are:

First, the contents of the regeneration cover both the physical and the social aspects, and this can deal with the complex problems in the neighborhood;

Second, the regeneration programme is based on the “actions” which set the object, time, money etc, and this is more concrete than traditional planning.

However, there are still some problems in the implement:

First, the projects are designed by the up-level actors who are separated from the implement, so some of the designs are not fit the local needs, for example, in the case of Gratosoglio, the project of building a dormitory is not suitable for the local situation.

Second, although the design was made by the negotiation and discussion of the different actors, the powerful actor (like the ALER) can influence the results greatly, and this may not fit the equity and rationality.

8.1.3 Area-based approach

The programme of Neighbourhood Contracts is “area-based” which means that the specific declined “area” is the focus, and different policies, actors are organized to solve its problems.

This way of operation has some prominent advantages:

First, a platform of communication and cooperation is built for multiple actors including the governments of different levels and departments, private companies, social groups, residents etc. This guarantees the problems and needs of different views can be recognized, which could lead to results as equitable as possible.

Besides, in the operation of Milan, the platform is characterized by “two-cores” network. Milan city is the core actor of the up-level actors, and it coordinates the process of bid application, projects design, allocation of funds etc. While the “laboratory” that composed by experts is the core actor of the local actors. The laboratory is a third part between the public and private actors and plays an important role of communicating with the up-level actors and organizing the local actors. This “two-cores” network can make the organization efficiency.

There is a problem in the practice:

The resources of the “core actor” are not enough to manipulate all other actors, as in the case of Gratosoglio, many local groups dropped out the programme because they can only get little benefits from the core actors.

Table 8. 1: the pros and cons of the three characters of Neighbourhood Contracts

	The bidding mechanism	The integrated action	Area-based approach
Pros	stimulate the activity of local government	deals with the complex problems	In a kind of “platform”, different views of multiple actors can be recognized, which could lead relatively equity result.
	Encourage the innovative design	the “actions” define the object, time, money etc, making the programme more concrete	The “two-cores” network in the practice of Milan is a good configuration of the “platform”
Cons	The distribution is not equal	The actors of the design are separate from the implement and this could lead to some impractical projects.	The resources of the core actors are not enough to manipulate all the actors.
	The neglect of the moderate recession neighbourhood	The powerful actors influence the result meeting their interests	
	Less of follow-up funding support		

8.2 Some good experience that can be introduced

8.2.1 The possibility of policy transfer

As a typical way of urban governance, Neighbourhood Contracts can be seen as a successful practice, and the experience can be introduced to other places, but in the same time the policy should be changed according to the conditions, as experts said:

“This underlies also the idea that there is something in a specific experience that may be ‘transferable’ from one context to another. However, the emphasis on innovation in such a Programme implies an approach that does not aim at diffusing well-tested and repeatable methods and procedures, but tries and explores new solutions for problematic situations that are supposed to be uncertain and

differentiated” (Balducci, 2002; Bricocoli, 2010)

The basic of the transfer is the background of the urban governance. In China, the topic of urban governance is gradually accepted now in the academic sector (Zhang, 2004; Wang, 2012; Wang, Deng, Li, et al, 2008), besides, in the practice, the partnership of the public and private is common in the field of economy-oriented development, while, the experience in the regeneration field is limited. Although the environment of administration in the regeneration practice is still “government”, the tendency in the future will change, as the problems will become more and more complex and the government cannot take all the works. So some good experience could be introduced and may give some inspiration for the future practice of the regeneration in Shanghai or even in China.

8.2.2 The experience that can introduced in Shanghai

According to the analysis of Chapter 7, there are some problems in the regeneration in Shanghai. The good points in Neighbourhood Contracts can provide some inspirations, although there are still great challenges for the adoption of those experiences.

1) The stimulation dynamic

The policy of the regeneration in Shanghai mainly focuses on the “management”, but there aren’t any stimulation measures. So the motivation of the local government is the commercial benefit or the political task given by the up-level government, and most of the quality of the regeneration is not satisfied.

The bidding mechanism is a good way to stimulate the activity of the local government, but the challenge is that only the central government pays attention to the problems of the declined neighbourhood can this method be adopted.

2) The action-based programme

In Shanghai, the official documents only defines the framework of the regeneration, but lack of the detail rules such as the time, specific money, standard, etc. The practical regeneration experiences are quite fragmented, and the launching of the projects, the content and quality are according to the budget of the government or the political demands, which cannot guarantee the quality of regeneration.

In the future the experiences of action-based programme like Neighbourhood Contracts can be learned, in the documents of which the time, money and objects are clearly defined, and this can give clear guidance to the practice.

3) The social regeneration

There are lots of social promotion needs such as elderly service, culture events etc in the old neighbourhood in Shanghai, however, the regeneration projects are all only focus about the physical improvement, the intervention of social promotion can hardly be seen for a long time.

While in the European experience, the integrated regeneration concept is well accepted and there are lots of good experiences for the social promotion. In the case of Milan, the social projects are based on the original local social society, and the government provides more supports for them to manage more social projects. The local groups play very important role not only in the programme of the Neighbourhood Contracts, but also in the daily community maintenance.

However, there are few local social societies in most neighbourhood in Shanghai, and it is difficult for generating those kind of groups in the present environment. How to build the mechanism that involves the social promotion in the regeneration system is an important question in the future practices of Shanghai.

4) The promotion of the status of “experts”

The government is the main actor of the regeneration practice in Shanghai, and directs almost all the process. While the “expert” actor only appears in the assessment and its status is less important in the whole process. The lack of independent and neutral actor (the expert) between the public and private sector cannot lead to the fairness results of the projects.

In the case of Milan, the actor “experts” plays important roles in every part of the process, including the decision-making, designing, and implementation and they ensure the fairness and the innovation of the results.

How to find way letting the experts involving in the regeneration process can also be a big issue in the future practices in Shanghai.

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