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Izabela Litewska
Technological University Dublin

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Dublin Institute of Technology
School of Spatial Planning
Faculty of Built Environment



Local urban interventions and their role
in economic development.
An evaluation of key policy inputs based upon Irish
and Polish approaches supported by European Union
initiatives 1992-2002

Izabela Litewska, MA

**Submitted for PhD award
May, 2010**

Vol. 1 of 2

Supervisors: Dr Brendan Williams and Professor Jim Berry

Abstract

The importance of local economies, based on a bottom-up approach, has been increasingly prioritised by urban policy makers as the vital factor that conditions economic development. Modern policy approaches, which are explored in this research, regard local economic development as a process deriving from both, market processes impacting upon local structures, functions and spatial planning, and non-market dimensions based on environmental and social measures. Since the 1990s, both Dublin in Ireland and Upper Silesia in Poland have represented urban regions where economic and social deprivation is being addressed by a range of area-based initiatives but from different perspectives. The research examines in detail the administrative processes involved in treating related developmental problems in similar but contrasting European urban contexts during the period of 1992-2002, a time of intense transition in both the Irish and Polish economy. It explores in practice the difficulties in achieving an integrated approach and how policy makers and service providers adapt to such goals. This could contribute to a wider debate by providing an assessment of the formulation, implementation and likely future impacts of innovative policies in enhancing local economic development during current economic restructuring.

Key words: local economic development, area-based initiatives, integrated approach

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I dedicate this research to my parents and family, with appreciation for their understanding and patience, and without whom this research would not have been possible.

Abbreviations

CEB	Community Enterprise Board
CDBs	City/County Development Boards
CBR	Centrum Badań Regionalnych (Centre for Regional Studies) (Poland)
COMTEC	Community Training and Employment Consortia Programme
CSF	Community Support Framework
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DCC	Dublin Chamber of Commerce
DCGA	Department of Community and Gaeltacht Affairs
DED	District Electoral Divisions
DETR	Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (UK)
DoELG	Department of Environment and Local Government
DRA	Dublin Regional Authority
ESDP	European Spatial Development Perspective
ESF	European Social Fund
ETW	Expanding the Workforce
EU URBAN	Urban Community Initiative
EU OPLURD	Operational Programme for Local Urban & Rural Development
NDP	National Development Plan
FÁS	Irish National Training and Employment Authority
GAMMA	GAMMA Ltd. (Demographic Reporting Consultants)
GEAR	Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal Scheme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
IAPs	Integrated Area Plans
ILO	International Labour Office
IBEC	Irish Business and Employers Confederation
LBN	Northside Partnership Employer Network
LES	Local Employment Service
LDEIs	Local Development and Employment Initiatives
LURD	Local, Urban and Rural Development Programme
SPCs	Strategic Policy Committees
LA	Local Authority
LACs	Local Area Committees
LR	Live Register
NAPS	National Anti-Poverty Strategy
NESC	National Economic and Social Council
NDP	National Development Plan
NSP	Northside Partnership
NIRSA	The National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis
NGO	Non-Government Organisations
NUTS II	Nomenclature D'unités Territoriales Statistiques (The Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics)
NAPS	National Anti-Poverty Strategy
NSP LES	Northside Partnership Local Employment Services
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (UK)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
RAPID	Revitalising Areas by Planning Investment and Development
PARP	Enterprise Development Agency

PARR	Polish Development Agency
PES	Principle Economic Status
PNR	Programmes for National Recovery
PESP	Programme for Economic and Social Progress
PCW	Programme for Competitiveness and Work
PPF	Programme for Prosperity and Fairness
QNHS	Quarterly National Household Survey
QHS	Quarterly Household Survey
RLO	Regional Labour Office
SAHRU	Small Area Health Research Unit
SEA	Single European Act
SDS	Spatial Development Strategy
SPCs	Strategic Policy Committees
SWDS	Siemianowice Welfare Development Strategy
SWO	Social Welfare Office
TTA	Tripartite Training Agreements
URFA	Urban Renewal Forum Association
WEF	World Economic Forum
WRC SEC	Social & Economic Consultants

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Contextual background

The importance of local economies, based on a bottom-up approach, has been increasingly prioritised by urban policymakers as the vital factor conditioning economic development (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001; Healey, 1998; OECD, 2005). The concept of local economic development has evolved from economic growth theories linked to area-based development, which is further discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis. Traditional neo-liberal assumptions considered economic development as the outcome of the powers of free market and production measures, rather than being related to specific institutional and cultural conditions of the local area (Scott, 1993). Modern policy approaches, which are examined in this research, regard local economic development as a process deriving from both, with market processes impacting upon local structures, functions and spatial planning and non-market dimensions based on the environmental and social measures (Sztando, 2000; OECD, 2004b; Boland, 2007). This research explores both the policy evolution and practice of local economic development in European case study areas experiencing rapid economic restructuring during the period of 1992-2002.

Local development encompasses different policy targets and is based upon a range of institutional configurations, reflecting local needs, economic potential and political preferences (European Commission (EC), 2000a; Henderson et al, 2007). The term 'economic' was added to local development policies in the early 1970s as a result of increasing economic recession and the crisis of inner urban areas in Western European countries. This highlighted institutional and organisational deficiencies of economic and

social policies within both local government structures and between central and local levels. The concept of local economic development for the purposes of this research is considered to embrace institutional and policy developments that seek to increase the benefits of local participation in economic development issues. The approach emphasises the need to link social concerns of public governance with economic policies. The uniqueness of locality means that urban change, its complexity and conflicts, can be understood by appreciating the interaction between universal processes, such as capital accumulation, economic restructuring and local actions (Gaffikin, 2000; Lorenzen, 2007).

Since the 1960s, the 'endogenous-based' concept has highlighted that in order to create the necessary conditions for such strategies, it is essential to encourage and facilitate innovation, enterprise and economic development at the local level. This could be achieved by building up 'people-based' strategies on the current skills, knowledge and commitment of local people and institutions (Jacobs, 1969; Ellerman, 2005). Modern approaches are concerned not only with generating additional economic income, but also making good use of that income to enhance the quality of life (Owens, 1987; Sen, 2000). An additional underpinning philosophy is that measures adopted reach those in greatest need and that the focus is not just on investment and infrastructure, but also on equity issues, such as better access to opportunities, improved income levels and better quality of life (UNDP, 1997).

Recent worldwide environmental problems indicate that development policies increasingly involve making better use of scarce resources along with improving the living conditions of disadvantaged groups. Achieving environmentally sustainable

growth has become synonymous with attempts to assist economic development (Todaro M. and Smith, C. 2008). Consequently, concerns regarding environmental issues and costs associated with economic activities have brought about a growing consensus that environmental considerations should form an integral part of policy initiatives (World Bank, 1992; Bigio and Dahiya, 2004).

Urban policies have increasingly recognised that assistance for the improvement of the physical functions of disadvantaged areas without linking them to socio-economic problems would not secure long-lasting gain for the societies living in those areas and could limit future potential for local economic development (Billert, 2001). There is a new emphasis currently being attached to local actions in most countries, revolving around three key dimensions: a more closely targeted geographical scale of action, a more decentralised and pluralist system of institutional arrangements and a broader social and economic definition of the problems being addressed (OECD, 1996a; Häikiö 2007). As the benefits of growth are often not distributed equally, co-ordination between public authorities, the private sector and civil society has become one of the prerequisites for efficient urban development, which is balanced and viable in the long-term (OECD, 2000; EC, 2008).

Previous studies on economic development in urban areas have indicated that economic activity is critically dependent upon the combination of economic, social and environmental factors. By improving such inputs, policy enables enhanced competitiveness, which is increasingly focused on locally-based elements of productivity (European Foundation, 1998). Organisational factors, such as the growing

desire of citizens to be associated with the management of public matters, have become prime influences in the emergence of local actions (Edwards and Batley, 1978).

Since the 1990s, area-based actions in urban areas have become a key item on the agenda of European policy frameworks (Roberts and Sykes, 2000; EC, 2008). This reflects recognition of the important role that urban areas have played in regional development. In particular, local urban initiatives have emerged as a consequence of the declining competitive position of national economies throughout Europe since the 1970s, with the consequent rise in unemployment and related urban development problems (MacLaran, 1981). The previous role of the state as a provider of necessary resources required to support interventions has evolved towards a greater emphasis on the role of public-private partnerships and area-based approaches (Turok, 1987; Roberts, 1997).

The existing European Union policy thrust is embedded in co-ordinated and targeted actions for addressing urban problems. Specifically, the policy focus is placed on developing an urban dimension in employment policies, through the strengthened role of cities as centres for innovation and economic development, local involvement and support to local employment and development initiatives (EC, 2007). This approach is underpinned by the growing European policy awareness that spatial planning policy has evolved from a concern for purely physical planning and land-use matters to a wider concern for social, economic and environmental issues. This is reflected in the increased process of decentralisation of policies to regional and local levels of state governments, integration of economic, social, and environmental aspects, coordination between various levels of government and policy sectors, and citizen involvement (EC, 2000a;

OECD, 2004 a). A common focus is given to innovative urban local development, characterised by strategic planning against traditional management of the assigned resources, an integrated approach rather than application of departmentalised and separated policies, and taking decisions with local communities rather than for them (Parkinson, 1996; EC, 2000b; OECD, 2001). Two emerging policy attributes – partnership and area-based approaches to local economic development – have evolved as an essential tool for recent urban change in Europe and internationally.

In Ireland, during the period of 1992-2002, strong economic performance has been paralleled with the continuation of urban deprivation and poverty. The influence of the European Union on local development policy has assisted in the development of an integrated response to unemployment and associated urban problems during the 1990s. Area-based actions in Ireland have evolved from a concern with labour market exclusion and a desire to respond to this through combating long-term unemployment, and the introduction of strategies to enable employment sustainability (WRC, 1994). Four catalysts were identified in the emergence of local approaches:

- The application of a top-down model of partnership as a mechanism of policy implementation;
- The strengthening of the local dimension in economic policy, with a particular focus on micro-enterprises and other employment initiatives;
- The design of locally delivered multi-sectoral strategies in order to enhance the effectiveness of traditional welfare policies;

- The recognition and support by government for local communities as legitimate actors in the provision of public services and the promotion of economic self-help (Walsh et al, 1998).

Early published evaluations on local development initiatives in Ireland found them to be innovative, but not to have the capacities that could embody and extend their innovations into implementation and delivery (European Social Fund (ESF), 1999). These structures lacked institutional and democratic legitimacy and suffered from problems of co-ordination, both horizontally – between partnerships, and vertically – between partnerships and central government. The central features of the criticisms were a lack of meaningful indicators of progress achieved, an absence of integration between all agencies involved in the provision of services and the failure to manage relationships and communication already built within existing structures (OECD, 1996a; ESF, 1999).

Specifically, the Dublin Region, although regarded since the mid 1990s as the prosperous ‘core’ of Ireland, still experiences substantial difficulties in terms of economic sustainability. This involves the continued concentration of long-term unemployment in comparison to other regions in the country in a number of ‘blackspots’. Such areas continue to share evidence of persistent disadvantage relating to quality of life issues such as low educational attainment, lone-parent households, high dependency ratios, a concentration of local authority housing and poor area facilities (Morgenroth, 2001).

The Irish experience demonstrates that EU membership alone is not sufficient to secure the benefits of integration and free trade. This process needs to be accompanied by an active domestic policy including area-based interventions (Nolan et al, 2000; Fitzpatrick et al, 2005). The economic policy agendas of the EU cohesion countries, such as Ireland, and its processes of restructuring and convergence are important models for policymakers in the Central and Eastern transition economies, particularly with regard to supply-side reforms (Fitzgerald et al, 2000).

In the Polish context, over the same time period three factors influenced the evolution of urban development interventions. One was the spatial concentration of the transition and development problems; the second was the decentralisation of state powers; and the third factor was the European integration process (Węclawowicz, 2005; Gorzelak et al, 2007). Within the process of policy change from the centralised system of a state-owned economy to the operation of a free market, local governments and central government agencies have evolved. This resulted in the necessity to create viable structures to manage and stimulate economic development activity. Urban development policy has been associated with the transformation of the existing municipal structures and targeted capital investments in priority projects, including infrastructure, services and jobs (Lorens, 2005).

One of the main problems facing contemporary urban development strategies is how to include emerging agencies and organisations, having various financial, organisational and legal resources at their disposal, in urban development initiatives. Another constraint is to find appropriate solutions in adapting existing approaches for this purpose (Ziobrowski et al, 2000). In order to meet such challenges, Polish policy

frameworks, similar to other European approaches, require integrated planning designed for the co-ordination of complex and multi-disciplinary actions, especially regarding public and public-private initiatives, to acquire the best possible spatial, economic and social results (Furman, 2004).

The Upper Silesia Region in Poland has the largest concentration of declining traditional industries and has been also considered as the most seriously disadvantaged region in terms of environmental quality (RPOWS, 2007). Recent radical structural and ownership transformations are creating new socio-economic problems, such as high out-migration, particularly of young educated people, growing unemployment and the need to retrain employees within the companies being restructured (Republic of Poland Publications, 1998; Gorzelak; 2008).

Since the 1990s, both the Dublin and Upper Silesia Regions represent urban districts where economic and social deprivation is being addressed by a range of area-based initiatives, but from different perspectives. It is therefore an important function of this research to examine in detail the administration processes involved in treating related development problems in similar but contrasting European urban contexts, such as in Ireland and Poland. This research explores in practice the difficulties in achieving an integrated approach during the period of 1992-2002, and how policymakers and service providers adapt to such goals, particularly in the context of recently developing urban European Regions, such as Poland and Ireland. This can contribute to wider debate by providing an assessment of the formulation, implementation and likely future impacts of innovative policies in enhancing local economic development.

1.2 Evaluating area-based interventions

Urban policy has been the subject of continuous monitoring by government, and evaluation studies have become an integral part of economic development performance (Robson, 2002; EC, 2006). Various studies have indicated that interconnection between sustainability, economic growth and the need to address inequalities in territorial development pose major challenges in policy evaluation. Specifically, no single indicator can provide an adequately robust measure of local economic development performance in urban areas (Dunford, 1994; Cheshire and Gordon, 1996; O'Reilly, 2007). Moreover, the process of integration across different strands of urban policies has been found by European surveys to be uneven within and between countries (EC, 2007).

The scale considered appropriate for the definition of urban problems and the urban policy design has shifted from the very local, to the city-region, to the neighbourhood/district and back again to the region, as urban problems have varied in terms of their cause, character and occurrence (Roberts and Sykes, 2000). In addition, institutions have operated within different geographical and functional boundaries, which could facilitate or constrain an integrated approach. The complex nature of area-based development interventions have made it difficult for policy assessments to grasp the rationale of the relationships between different socio-economic factors in the development process (Wong, 2002).

Arising from these constraints in urban policy making, there has been an increasingly greater realisation about the plurality of relationships between evaluation and practice (Innes and Boher, 2000; OECD, 2004b).

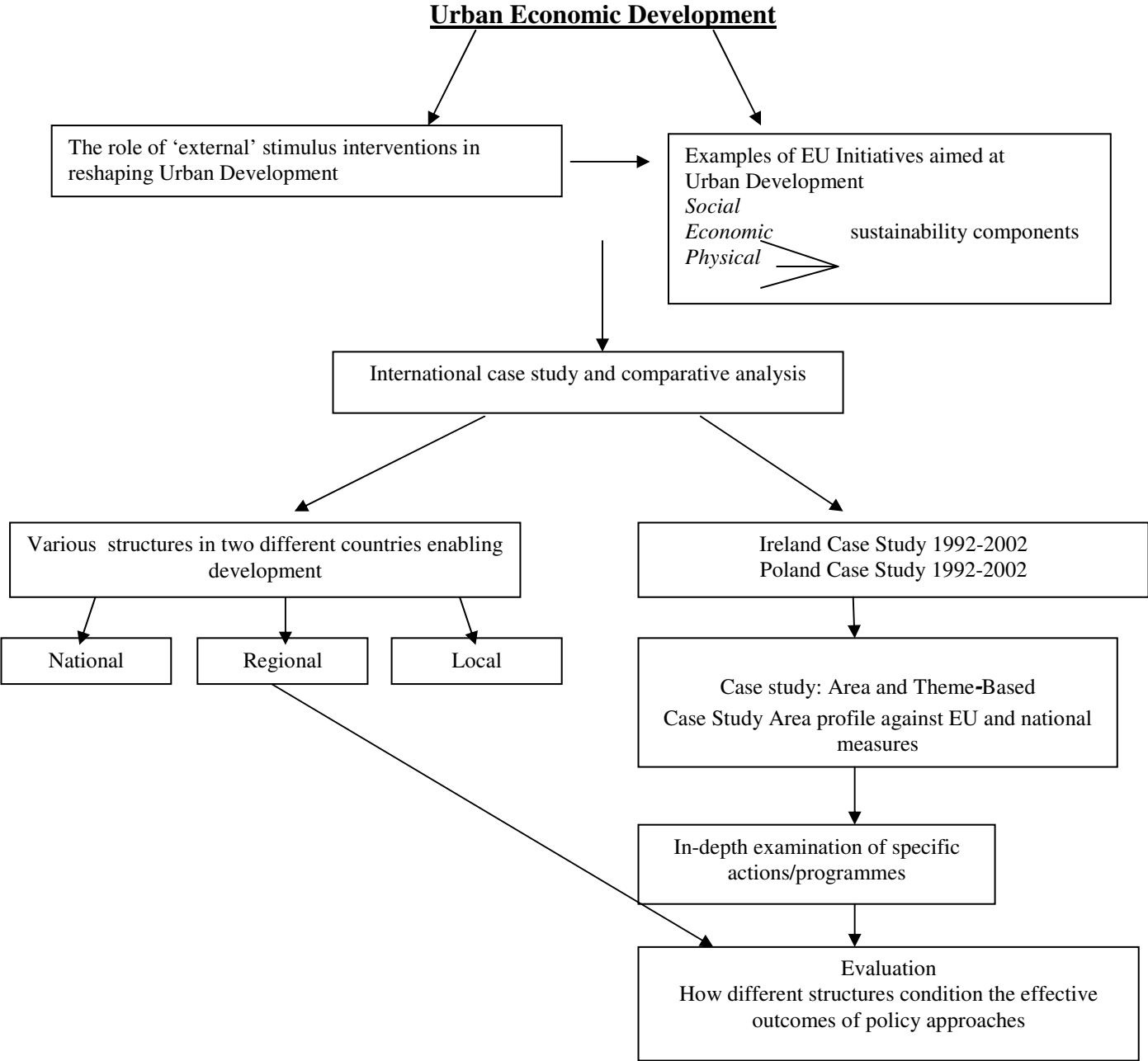
From the existing evaluations published in Ireland and Poland it is evident that critical weakness in management and operation of local urban development programmes require further research (ESF, 1999; Gorzelak; 2008). The shift from government-led programmes to new structures of governance based on the ‘joined-up’ approach, in which policies are built and implemented increasingly by a range of actors, have led to the policy question of whether the complex institutional relationships can be coordinated in a coherent way. In addition, there is a danger that locally-based initiatives can be fragmented and hampered by bureaucracy with little power or resources. It is also open to question whether local institutions can tackle deep-rooted problems such as the collapse of traditional industries, decentralisation of jobs and structural division of the labour market.

Key common questions emerging from the evaluation of various area-based approaches (EC, 2007) include:

- Who benefits from the initiatives and changes?
- Did the approaches suit the needs of local areas?
- What was the quality of the development produced?
- Did other community benefits result?
- Did the policy deal with the wider needs of the urban area?
- At what administrative levels are specific actions appropriate and effective?
- How does the integration of environmental, economic and social measures influence successful approaches?

These obstacles are addressed by this research around key components focusing on the role, structures, resourcing and key policy outcomes of local urban programmes. Given the fact that many European Union agendas have impacted upon the evolution of area-based actions, the research particularly focuses on the role of such measures in local economic development in a comparative perspective. The study examines specifically how different administrative structures, at various levels of governance, condition the successful outcomes of area-based programmes aimed at local economic development in urban areas. It also attempts to measure the level of integration of its sustainability components – social, economic and physical (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1: Urban Economic Development Concept



1.3 Aims and objectives of the research

The aim of this research is to evaluate the role, structures, resourcing and policy outcomes of local economic approaches in selected areas within two case studies in

Dublin and Upper Silesia during the period of 1992-2002, and to examine the influence of European agendas on best practice for sustainable development. The period covered by this research reflects the emergence and development of the partnership process in Ireland, rapid economic growth and consequent transformation of the economy. In the Polish context it concerns the process of economic transition towards the market economy, with associated devolution of state powers to regional and local government levels, the emergence of new governance structures and the European integration process.

The following research objectives have been set:

1. To discuss the theory and concept of local economic development and the effects on performance of local urban areas, including emerging approaches and innovative policy response measures.
2. To examine the genesis of area-based initiatives in the selected case study areas and the impact of external policy stimuli, including the European Union and other international inputs to facilitate economic growth and sustainable development over the time period of 1992-2002.
3. To measure the performance of selected case study areas in local economic development based on quantitative analysis.
4. To analyse the effectiveness of the structures employed, considering aims and resource requirements, including the life span for their effectiveness.
5. To assess the critical inputs necessary in the delivery of successful programmes, the weaknesses in those less successful and the applicability to the future development of local policy approaches.

6. To draw conclusions based on the outturn performance of local development initiatives that will contribute to the sustainability of urban areas and facilitate further debate in the subject of local urban development

1.4 Overview of the research methodology

Methodology was developed to meet research objectives employed for the identification of the quality of relationships between different strands of urban policy and structures responding to challenges of an integrated approach.

The methodology encompassed a literature review concerning the evolution of local urban initiatives internationally and in the case study areas, their role and implications for public policy interventions. The theoretical examination is followed with the quantitative analysis of case study areas in order to take into account the economic and physical context in which local development is facilitated and the rationale for specific policy interventions. The primary component of the methodology is the comparative and qualitative insight into the actual operation and implementation of area-based initiatives in order to assess practical difficulties in the application of integration principles and the adaptation of policymakers, service providers and policy recipients to emerging European policy goals.

The case study approach was adopted within the methodological framework (Figure 4.1 of Chapter 4) involving selected areas located in two European regions. This approach enabled a comprehensive analysis of individual case study areas with the purpose of facilitating development of particular insights into current implications of the policies applied during a sustained period of time. The process of area selection and general

criteria used in the identification of target locations for policy intervention are further explored in detail in Chapter 4 of this thesis. Three main sources were used to generate and triangulate qualitative data towards development of a cogent analysis:

- Investigation of written documents.
- In-depth interviews.
- Questionnaire surveys.

Structured interviews were carried out with five target groups involved in the creation, implementation and participation in local economic development policies in the selected urban areas: policymakers, service providers, and local employers, along with questionnaire surveys of a sample of beneficiaries of these programmes and local residents. The process was combined with an action research approach, including observation and field work. Based on the responses received, common criteria were identified that formed the basis for establishing specific indicators measuring the relevance and feasibility of the interventions applied in each of the case study areas.

For the purpose of evaluation, comparative public policy research was employed for understanding of the reasons *why* and *how* local development interventions had emerged in different geographical, economic and cultural settings. Such an approach allowed for exploration of *how*, *why* and to *what* effect different governments had pursued a particular course of action and adopted certain positions during the short and long-term. Alongside qualitative research techniques, quantitative methods were employed in order to consider the economic and geographical context in which local development is created and to determine the rationale for policy intervention. This involved the application of the concept of mapping of socio-economic trends used in the

identification of areas for policy interventions and the employment of relevant quantitative indicators for urban regeneration and local economic development.

The methodological process applied in this study included issues addressed during the surveys and quantitative methods used to identify major themes affecting development of policy interventions in both countries. The process is further explored in-depth in Chapter 4 of this study.

1.5 Research composition

The composition of this thesis comprises of eight chapters related to its objectives and methodological techniques employed in the research. They are set within four main inquiry stages: theoretical (Chapters 2 and 3), methodology (Chapter 4), implementation (Chapters 5, 6 and 7) and evaluation (Chapter 8). Figure 1.2 provides the research matrix – relations between the research objectives, methodology employed and the structure of the dissertation.

Chapter 2 discusses international theories on which the concept of local economic initiatives in urban areas is developed. The examination encompasses the revision of established general knowledge of economic development, international policy trends relating to urban change, and governance principles. Specific emphasis is placed upon the European and international strategies contributing to the evolution and stimulation of local urban initiatives.

Chapter 3 reviews the genesis of area-based approaches, the application of international models and the relationships between local urban initiatives, economic development and urban regeneration approaches.

Chapter 4 provides information on the research design and methodology relevant to this investigation. The methodology encompasses conceptual approaches and the specific data sources used in this research.

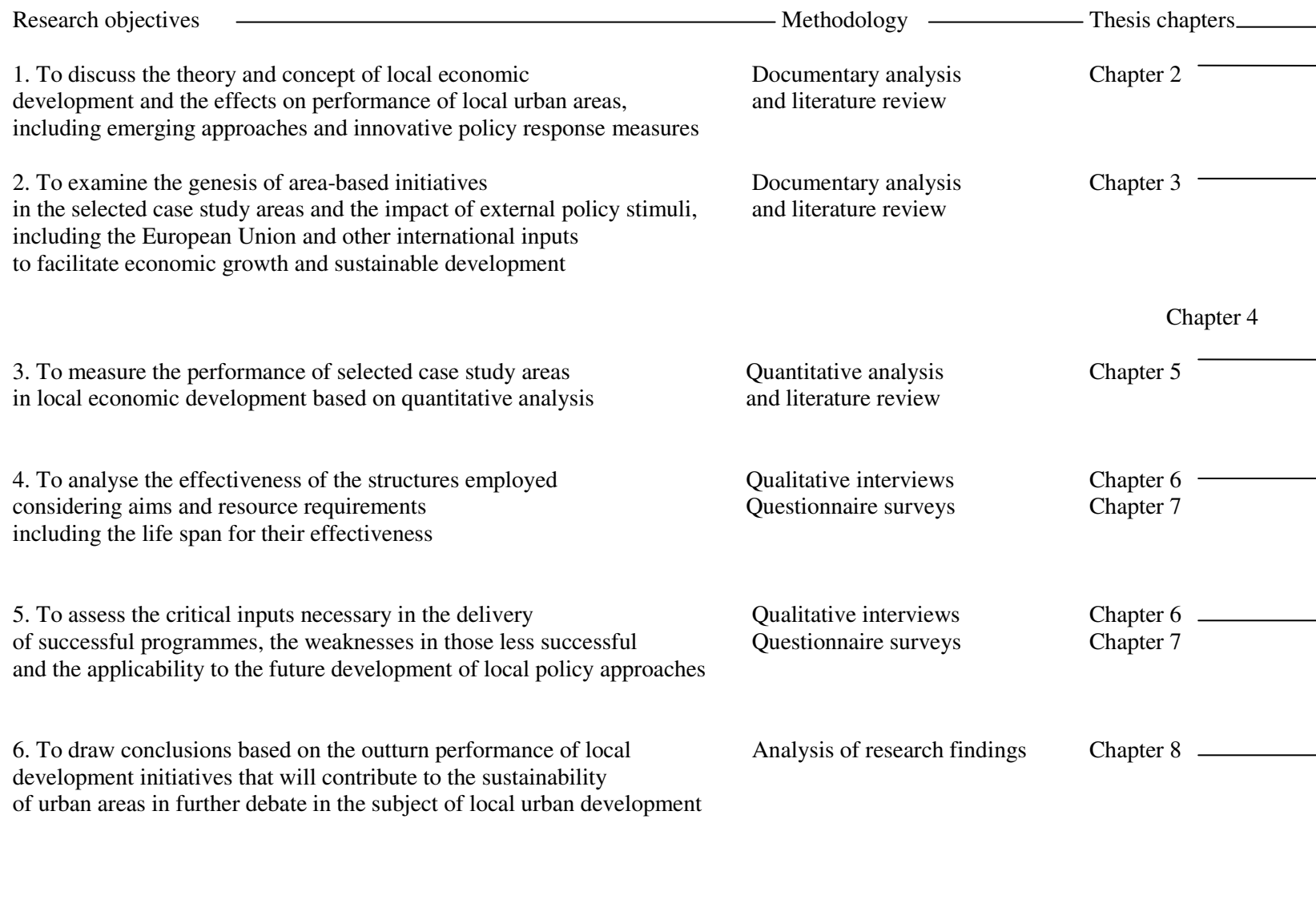
Chapter 5 encompasses the detailed quantitative examination of the identified areas targeted for intervention. This includes the concept of mapping socio-economic trends employed in the identification of areas for policy interventions and the application of relevant quantitative indicators for local economic development and urban regeneration.

Chapter 6 analyses results of policy interventions applied in Ireland. It presents key actors involved in the research, the nature of policies employed and specific programmes examined, principal themes raised by the research informants and potential areas for future research. It concludes with identification of key issues in implementation of public policies.

Chapter 7 analyses results of policy interventions employed in Poland. Similar to the Irish case study it presents key actors involved in the research, nature of policies employed and specific programmes examined, principal themes raised by the research informants and potential areas for future research. It concludes with identification of key issues in implementation of public policies in a comparative perspective.

Chapter 8 encompasses presentation of critical features of public policies applied. Principal findings are developed and main recommendations drawn for future policy formulation.

Figure 1.2: Relationship between the research objectives, methodology and its structure



Chapter 2: Development in the Context of Local Urban Initiatives – the Evolution, Role and Implications for Public Policy Interventions

“Development theory by itself has little value unless it is applied, unless it translates into results, and unless it improves people’s lives.”

Lewis T. Preston, 1994

2.1 Introduction

As the concept of local economic development has evolved over recent decades, policy responses to social and economic change have progressed along a similar path (Schumpeter, 1961, Zuvekas, 1979; Todaro and Smith, 2008). Government policies have always been confronted with conflicting aims of development models, principles of equality and deprivation measures (World Bank, 2000). Historically, although most western European and U.S. urban areas have experienced rapid economic growth in the post-World War II era, socio-economic improvements were found to be unsatisfactory (World Bank, 1974; International Labour Office (ILO), 1977). This led to the widespread adoption of alternative approaches, which strived to explain and enhance urban development policy instruments (Hess and Ross, 1997).

Currently, contemporary cities are increasingly underpinned by the process of economic globalisation, the emergence of worldwide economic sectors, international institutions and new forms of governance (OECD, 2004a). The general drive of public policies is to achieve sustained economic growth with simultaneous reduction of unemployment and other social problems (Todaro and Smith, 2008). The challenge to be tackled by future policy interventions is to ensure that appropriate measures are applied to improve the quality of life and that policies are sufficiently flexible to confront imminent changes. As many urban problems are rooted in wider economic and social forces, it is vital for

public policies to evaluate prevailing assumptions on economic growth and competitiveness and their implications for urban areas (EC, 2008; Atkinson, 2002).

This chapter initially explores economic development theories on which recent European urban interventions are built. It traces the evolution of these ideas, starting from the post-war approaches, through the human-need concepts of the 1970s and neo-classical phase of the 1980s, towards the most recent, dominant principles, known as the theories of endogenous growth and sustainable development. Since the late 1990s, the sustainable development concept has become a focus for the implementation of urban policies at the global scale (Bigio and Dahiya, 2004; Todaro and Smith, 2008). Various approaches to development have emerged in order to assess principal responses to policy uncertainties in achieving economic sustainability (World Bank, 1998, Ellerman, 2007).

The notion of sustainability is further explored by examination of the knowledge of external stimuli that drive policy interventions towards economic progression. In Europe, the creation and development of European Union policies has built foundations for sub-national politics of its member states and encouraged new accession countries to exercise their political power and authority (John, 2000; EC, 2007). Since the adoption of European agendas, the local mandates and involvement of local and regional stakeholders have been characteristic features of member states' policies (EC, 2001a; OECD, 2008). The institutional mechanisms of the EU-specific measures have influenced the transformation of policy making, which increasingly attempts to create long-term linkages between local governance and other actors involved in the process of city development (Rhodes et al, 1996; Ansel et al, 1997; Ball and Maginn, 2005). This

chapter provides the analysis of external measures applied to economic development and the implications in urban areas internationally.

European policies have recognised that the urban dimension is a vital component to the economic development of the member state countries (Newman, 2000; EC, 2008). Governing urban areas has created a new debate on sustainability principles, which has appeared more difficult due to the growing complexity of social life and urban differentiation within the city (Healey, 1997; OECD, 2005). The principles underpinning economic policy measures, the relevance of sustainability to development and management of urban areas are further developed through an examination of urban governance concepts. Policy problems in achieving development are presented from various perspectives. This involves practical experience in adapting governance models and integration of socio-economic and spatial policy dimensions (Harvey, 1989; Harding, 1996; Considine, 2003; OECD, 2004a).

2.2 Economic development models

The following section will consider the key elements that underpin the models of economic development, including: models of growth of the 1950s and 1960s, the human needs approach of the 1970s, neo-classical concept of the 1980s, new growth theories of the 1990s and endogenous growth approach at the outset of the 21st century.

2.2.1 The evolution of economic development models

In the theory of economic development there has always been a wide discussion about the terms of ‘growth’ and ‘development’ (World Bank, 2000; Todaro and Smith, 2008). The notion of ‘growth’ focuses on output and production in the short-term, while ‘development’ draws attention to long-term development and enhanced functional

ability, such as physical co-ordination, learning capacity or ability of the economy to adapt (Table 2.1). Development is distinguished from growth by focusing on the types of change occurring in the economic, social and political spheres, such as shifts in the occupational structure of the labour force, and an increase in the degree of education and training required of those who seek jobs, including both the type of employment and its geographic distribution (Kindleberger and Herrick, 1977; Zuvekas, 1979; Todaro and Smith, 2008). Therefore, traditional indicators such as Gross National Product (GNP) or Gross Domestic Product (GDP) are insufficient in providing in-depth guidance on the extent to which well-being, developmental attitudes and satisfactions may influence society as a whole (Kindleberger and Herrick, 1977).

Table 2.1: Concepts of ‘growth’ and ‘development’

Concepts of ‘growth’ and ‘development’	
Types	Attributes
1. ‘Quantitative Economic Growth’ (equates economic growth with development)	Economic growth is assumed good as is measurable, concrete and responsive to human demands for a huge range of utility of goods. Quantitative growth provides better focus in measuring development than any other broad type of social or economic change.
2. ‘Green Growth’	Economic growth is perceived as the foundation of development. Growth is genuinely developmental only if environmentally sensitive - adding rather than hindering the welfare being derived from the surroundings.
3. ‘Just Growth’	Economic growth is genuinely developmental only if its outcomes are adequately distributed. It denotes the concept for the reduction of poverty and social inequality and meeting basic needs for all.
4. ‘Appropriate Growth’	Economic growth can be considered developmental only if it enhances rather than weakens social and cultural values. This approach derives from the idea that economic growth could have damaging effects on the social and cultural environment if unconnected with poverty or social justice.

Source: Author’s compilation based on Fahey, 1995

The major difficulty with the GNP measure, raised by economists, is its failure to include non-marketed, non-priced subsistence production (including much of women’s work) and incorporate welfare and income distribution considerations (World Bank, 1974, ILO, 1977). These social circumstances surrounding economic activity were found to have a positive impact on participatory development and a negative impact, where development was imposed by the state (Kindleberger and Herrick, 1977). By contrast, more modern theories on economic development evolved from the late 1940s onwards as a result of political independence of emerging Asian, African and Caribbean countries, and physical, social and economic reconstruction of States affected by World War Two (Meier and Rauch, 2000). The progression of development theories is outlined in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Principal economic development theories – summary

The principal economic development theories – summary	
Principal theories/decade	Main drivers
1. Models of growth adapted in the 1950s and 1960s	Market driven: maximisation of Gross National Product (GNP) or Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth, rapid capital accumulation
2. Human needs approach applied in the 1970s	Welfare driven: redistribution from growth, improvement of human condition
3. Neo-classical approach of the 1980s	Free market driven: privatisation of public enterprises; social and political factors limited
4. New growth theories of late 1980s and 1990s	Driven by both public and market factors: public and private investments in human capital, quality as the factor for productivity
5. Endogenous growth approach and sustainable development concept of the outset of the 21 st Century	Driven by multidimensional and integrated factors at policy and governance level: social, economic and environmental. Market-oriented interventions are viewed as a tool for improvement of human opportunities. The role of ‘local’ and ‘space’ is emphasised as key elements for economic innovation and competitiveness

Source: Author’s compilation based on references presented in this chapter

Theories of the earliest post-war approaches concentrated on ‘models of growth’ (Hirschman, 1958; Rostow, 1962). In this context, economic improvement was seen as a growth in population and wealth, but in conflict with the principles of equality. The role of private involvement and entrepreneurial profit was emphasised as major factors explaining and contributing to development (Schumpeter, 1961). However during the late 1960s and 1970s, various researchers argued that unless capital was used efficiently, increased investment would not result in accelerated rates of GDP growth. The fundamental question raised by economists at that time was whether a sustained increase in economic growth or per capita incomes could bring simultaneous reduction in unemployment or other measures of deprivation and an improvement in the quality of life of local communities (Seers, 1969).

The lack of socio-economic advances, even under conditions of very rapid economic growth, led to the widespread adoption of alternative approaches. Referred to as the ‘basic human needs’ approach, economic development was, in these terms, defined as a progress towards reducing the incidences of poverty, unemployment, and income inequalities (World Bank, 1974; ILO, 1977). Central to this concept was ensuring the inclusion of all individuals willing to participate in the productive economic activity (Kindleberger and Herrick, 1977). Enhancing opportunities of human capital was considered as a complementary element to physical input in the development process (Schultz, 1961).

The strategies that dominated the post-war era, until the mid 1970s, became closely associated with the consensus based around the welfare state approach. However these policies were subject to criticism based on the capability of the state to manage the

economy and intervene effectively to solve urban problems (Joseph and Sumption, 1979; Offe, 1984; Green, 1987). The 1980s neo-classical approach emphasised the beneficial role of free markets, open economies and the privatisation of inefficient public enterprises. Substantial government interventionism and regulation of the economy were seen as a constraint to development. These free market fundamentals largely ignored equality issues, such as income distribution, matters of public participation and fairness (O' Broin et al, 1999). The new resurgent solution, supported by global institutions such as International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, was to facilitate the operation of market forces and entrepreneurial initiatives in order to renew economic and social well-being. Substantial criticism of such approaches emerged in terms of firstly their general ineffectiveness for developing economies and secondly the absence of the expected 'trickle down' effects (OECD, 1998; Atkinson, 2000).

The late 1980s and 1990s introduced 'new growth theories', attempting to explain the disparities between rapidly developing and stagnating countries, and emphasising the role of government policies in fostering long-term economic growth (O'Broin et al, 1999). These new approaches emerged as a result of the perceived poor performance of neo-classical theories, which did not consider the generation of income and making a good use of resources to improve the quality of people's lives (Sen, 2000).

Consequently, attention began to focus on social exclusion problems, which were prevalent in urban areas. The outcomes of economic restructuring, including the major reform of social protection systems, resulted in growing development disparities among urban societies (Drudy and Punch, 2000). These changes created more demands on national and EU policies directed at declining areas and countering social exclusion. In

response to such changes, economic researchers advocated the creation of more flexible labour markets in order to reduce the cost of social protection, as the sums spent on social welfare policies substantially outweighed financial inputs for urban initiatives (Atkinson, 2001). Consequently, the attention shifted from physical capital to enhancement of human socio-economic conditions and opportunities (Owens, 1987). New policy transformations emphasised a broad structural shift of governance activities towards economic objectives in the attempt to attract investment and generate development (Logan and Swanstrom, 1990; D'Arcy and Keogh, 1998).

Economic growth affecting the quality of people's lives was recognised as a central element in contributing to development. In turn, the development has become a tool for expanding a community's ability to shape its own future. This has involved a number of attributes, including more equitable education and job opportunities, greater gender equality, a sustainable natural environment and richer cultural life (World Bank, 2000). This 'endogenous growth approach' has been documented in literature as a multidimensional process, involving changes in social structures, attitudes, and national institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic competitiveness, reduction of inequality and eradication of poverty (Todaro and Smith, 2008).

The promotion of increased productivity in pursuit of better living conditions has brought a new era of worldwide environmental problems. In this sense the concept of environmentally sustainable growth has become synonymous with the definition of economic development (Todaro and Smith, 2008). As environmental costs have been associated with various economic activities, development commentators viewed environmental considerations as an integral part of policy initiatives (Bigio and Dahiya,

2004). The publication of a report by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) has introduced environmental sustainability as one of the emerging notions in the rationale of urban planning (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987; Naess, 2001). As a result, there has been a growing awareness related to convergence of multiple social, economic and environmental problems occurring at international level (Meadows, 1972; Schumacher, 1973; Brown et al, 2000; EC, 2007).

Two types of sustainable development can be found in the existing literature, ranging from ‘technocratic’ to ‘eco-centric’ (Dobson, 2000; Chatterton, 2002). At a generic level, the former type explains sustainability as originating from the expansion of economic growth through maintaining market relations as a prime attribute to economy, while the latter relates to development rooted in steady-state economics based on creation of connections between environmental, social, economic and political spheres of life (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Types of sustainable development approach

Types of sustainable development approach	
Technocratic	Eco-centric
Expansionist or growth Economics based upon maintaining market relations	Steady-state economics rooted in ecological thought Radical ideology which changes relationships with natural environment and in the mode of social and political life

Source: Author’s compilation based on references quoted in this Chapter

Within the literature, sustainable development is defined as a specific mode, which recognises policy linkages between the natural environment and economic and social systems but distinct from that of capitalism, based on exclusive market relations

(Dobson, 2000). The concept of sustainable development is underpinned by a number of factors. Sustainability is viewed by some authors as a concern for achieving ecological change by transforming every feature of life, at all levels of community and urban planning, rather than simply policy (Robertson, 1998). The notion of sustainable development is based upon preservation of community, social and natural capital. Human economy is regarded as a fully contained and integral system (Dal and Costanza, 1992). In this context, the local setting of the economy should favour production for people's needs and quality of their lives (Hansson and Wackernagel, 1999). This would require application of new models of governance with an outward-looking approach and engagement by area-based services with the economic and other interests which influence the wellbeing of the locality (Hambleton, 2003).

Sustainability contains, however, a number of competing and contradictory approaches (Redclift, 1987; Rees, 1995; Gibbs, 1997). Tensions result from the contradictions between urban planning, directed to achieve sustainable development, and economic and regeneration policies, which are dependent more on attracting inward investment (Friends of the Earth, 1999). Indeed various authors have indicated that the adoption of sustainable development models represents basic contradictions. This is apparent where policy objectives have different goals and methods of delivery, such as maintenance of stable levels of economic growth and employment; protection of the environment; and prudent use of natural resources (Daly, 1996; Chatterton, 2002).

Policy contradictions can be found in the case of new local and regional coalitions, created to secure cohesion between the two contrasting concepts of social welfare on one hand and economic growth on the other (Harding, 1996). For example, the UK

White Paper on Sustainable Development claims that more economic growth is a prerequisite to achieving sustainable development (Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR), 2007). In addition, one of the problems identified by researchers is the lack of appropriate mechanisms to encourage debate on the wider implications of sustainable development, given that the concept of sustainability is perceived to evolve through practice rather than policies (Chatterton, 2002).

A number of commentators asserted that the introduction of the notion of sustainable development requires policy rethinking to encompass a more humane, people-centred, ecological and localised economy. This would depend upon utilising the skills of local people and existing development organisations (Sachs, 1993; Robertson, 1998; Douthwaite, 1999; Ellerman, 2007). Other authors highlighted that while debate on sustainability remained marginal at the national and international levels, it appeared to be difficult to incorporate the concept into policy at the local level in order to develop innovative, independent actions, outside the wider priorities of central government. Moreover, sustainability is frequently perceived as an additional component, rather than the central measure in policy making. Indeed little is known about the full range, impact and potential of policy interventions promoting sustainability. It is also considered as too complex to confront issues requiring wider lifestyle and ethical trajectories (Chatterton, 2002; Bigio and Dahiya, 2004).

No cohesive agreement has been reached so far as to how the convergence of social, economic and environmental problems should be achieved through integrated policy and implementation (Conway and Konvitz, 2000; OECD, 2005). The most recent policy approaches in urban governance argue that these concerns are interdependent, mutually reinforcing and constitute key ingredients in the policy efforts to develop the new 'smart

economy' that combines the successful elements of economy, such as innovation while promoting a high quality environment and social cohesion (Ó Broin, 2010). This thinking originates from an understanding that social, economic and political changes are necessitated by a qualitatively different economic environment, in which cities become creative places for living and working (Gordon and Buck, 2005).

2.2.2 Modern dominant principles of economic development

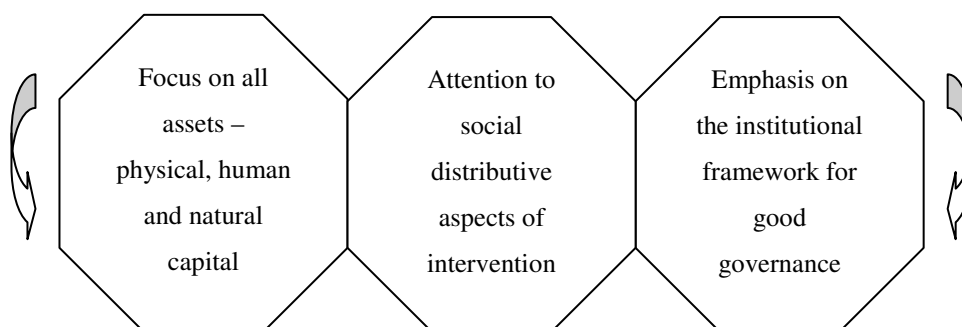
In recent years, economic development policies have been increasingly tied together in a complex network of multi-level governance (Stöhr, 1989; Bachtler, 1997; OECD, 2004a). Changes in the economic structure created a more differentiated pattern of regional inequality, which in turn required new bottom-up forms of regional policy, aimed at addressing the specific problems of the individual locality (Halkier, 2001; EC, 2008). This dominance of 'bottom-up' approaches to territorial development in Western Europe has been well-documented by various researchers (Alden and Boland, 1996; Danson et al, 2000; Häikiö, 2007).

Central to public policies was the need to bring about a higher degree of co-ordination amongst actors on the sub-national level. These 'bottom-up' development activities involved a large number of various organisations, both regional and local, and a wide range of public-private partnerships (Halkier and Damborg, 2000; OECD, 2001). New solutions have included a combination of two approaches, often seen before as alternatives; firstly improving mainstream funding programmes and secondly developing joined-up local interventions. The focus has been placed on developing and legitimising linked approaches to area issues. At the neighbourhood level, such emphasis has been increasingly advocated through the local management and local

strategic partnerships (Adair et al, 2002; Henderson et al, 2007). With regard to public services, the concept is executed through local strategic partnerships and joined-up interventions at regional and national levels (Aase, 1994; Wallace, 2001).

In this context, the contemporary notion of ‘development’ has been seen as a much broader concept than growth, embracing economic, social and cultural well-being (O’Broin et al, 1999). Increasingly, modern developmental models are driven by the key principles: socio-economic and environmental integration, social distribution of growth and traditional top-down institutional framework transformed into the concept of governance (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: Key principles of contemporary development



Source: Author’s compilation based on the World Bank, 2000.

Recent economic, social and technological changes in global economies have particularly resulted in growing awareness of escalating urban problems (Parkinson, 1992; Atkinson, 2001; EC, 2007). While most previous development approaches were dominated by the economic growth imperative, based on competitiveness, urban policy has included both increasing efficiency of business created and spatial mobility of capital and labour (Stewart, 1994; EC, 2008). As economic competition has increasingly

become the driving force behind contemporary debate on new models of urban development, policy requirements have emerged to promote social cohesion (European Economic and Social Committee, 1998; Newman, 2000; EC, 2007).

Urban social exclusion, which has occurred in both declining and prospering locations, is recognised as one of the challenging issues in the area of local economic development (OECD, 2008; Barnier, 2000). In response to these issues, new features of development came forward, such as new approaches to local democracy, fostering area-based initiatives and people-centred ideas (Chatterton, 2002). Increasingly, policies have been promoting a shift in economic interventions from global dependence to local interdependence and the creation of a social economy. The dominant physical strategies of the 1980s were transformed to emphasise the local dimension and generation of local employment (Parkinson, 1998).

Various commentators pointed out that current theories have increasingly focused on the role of the 'local' in economic development (Amin and Malberg, 1994; Sabel, 1994a, b; Lorenzen, 2007). In this context, local economic development has been viewed as a process explaining the reasons behind regional economic growth and emerging disparities. This new perspective, in which competitive advantage is created and sustained through a highly localised process, is in contrast to 'placeless' approaches, which have long overlooked the role of place, despite the evidence that innovation and competitive success are geographically concentrated (Porter, 1990; 1998a,b; Scott and Wesley, 2007).

New agendas of regional policies have emerged, looking for opportunities to improve endogenous development within the local areas. This type of development model is being favoured alongside a market-oriented approach as a tool for improvement of human opportunities (Glon et al, 1996; OECD 2004b, 2008). It is based on the implicit hypothesis that local specific processes and effects exist (Gordon and Murray, 1998). In this sense, the internal coherence of place, based on linkages with local institutional, cultural and industrial organisations, is becoming increasingly meaningful (Malmberg et al, 1996). Formal boundaries are less important and the focus lies on the processes that are responsible for improving the conditions of the place. The nature of these processes includes linkages between industrial, social, cultural, political, economical and physical factors (Strassoldo, 1992; Gaffikin, 2000; Häikiö, 2007).

These new theories highlight the importance of the socio-cultural environment, institutions and networking in economic development. Existing literature on urban development indicates that identification of economic, socio-cultural and political structures can only be understood by taking into consideration the local interests and values. Therefore, the importance of place in reflecting these local interests becomes essential in the path of development (Cabus, 2001; Mohan and Twigg, 2007).

The competitive global economy lies increasingly in local resources – knowledge, relationships and motivation (Porter, 1998a; OECD, 2005). New approaches advocate that the current attention of planning and development policies should be now directed away from business investment and towards people, talent attraction and quality of place (Florida, 2000; Lilja, 2002). In order to sustain economic growth of the city, the presence of human capital is becoming essential (Asheim and Clark, 2001; Lorenzen,

2007). Acquired knowledge, skills and attitudes develop into an integral part of the social capital of a specific locality (Cabus, 2001). The overall local social and cultural climate, as well as the government and other institutions, are seen as important factors in the economic development of an area (Borja and Castells, 1999).

In this context, the notion of local economic development is being substituted by the notion of the 'knowledge economy' and 'area learning'. Therefore, the focus is placed on linkages and interdependencies between various actors involved in the fostering of this development (Asheim, 1999; Ellerman, 2005). New approaches emerge, in which the creation of public and private supporting networks are considered as the main factors for success in local economic development (Cooke, 1993; OECD, 2004a).

When discussing the issue of local processes it should be noted that the globalisation has led to regional level effects - a blurring of boundaries between supranational, national and local control functions. This has involved shifting some of the state decision-making power downwards to cities (Ó Broin, 2010). As a result city regions have been increasingly regarded as the motors of economic activity and the most adequate geographical units for public policy intervention (Rodriguez-Rose, 2009). However, new socio-economic and environmental policy issues evolved around the clarification of boundaries of the city regions (municipality/metropolitan area or functional urban region) and their institutional arrangements in ensuring cohesiveness and competitiveness (Williams, 2006).

In Europe, since the inception of local economic policies in the early 1970s, the critical aspect of change has related to 'economic' and 'social' policy spheres, which are

becoming less distinct and even more integrated (Scott, 1998, Harrison, 1992). In this new strategy a joined-up approach and social programmes, within which the link between 'social' and 'economic' policies, are increasingly made explicit (Jessop, 1990; Mawson and Hall, 2000; OECD, 2005).

In a broader context of globalisation processes, the intensified economic competition between countries has caused a subordination of social policy relative to economic efficiency (Hay, 1998; Driver and Martell, 1998; EC, 2007). This perspective justifies social spending on human capital, empowerment and the enhancement of individual opportunities, as improving the availability and quality of resources (Taylor-Gooby, 1997; Thomson, 1996; OECD, 2004b). The commitment to competitiveness and enhanced economic efficiency also explains approaches in achieving European Union objectives based on 'equality of opportunity', social justice, co-operation and social cohesion (Pierson, 1998; Levitas, 1999; EC, 2008). In a modern global economic system, the policies tackling growing inequality and social dislocation become equally important to those interventions, producing a dynamic and competitive economy. Therefore, the basis of 'policy integration' is perceived as forming a new strategy for competitiveness and linking social policy with economic goals (Valler and Betteley, 2001).

Earlier studies on experiences in North American cities indicated that it is necessary to have a 'people-based' approach in order to respond to those with greatest needs (Mawson and Miller, 1986; Hansen, 1991). Such direction emerges to re-value the skills outside the global market and represents a policy shift from 'investment-centred' approaches to a 'people-oriented' concern (Norberg-Hodge, 1996; Ahlquist, 1999;

Lorenzen, 2007). This new strategy, based on local skills and entrepreneurial strengths, emphasises the need to assist existing companies within an area in order to adapt to the major structural changes occurring in the economy.

The focus has moved from land and property initiatives to employment concerns and from a distribution to a resource creation policy. The policy has emphasised increasingly the need to rebuild social capital, which is understood to be a prerequisite for the creation of institutional relationships with a civil society, economic renewal and competitiveness (Putnam, 1993; Ellerman, 2005). Rebuilding social capital is becoming the rationale for both social cohesion and economic competitiveness (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001; OECD, 2004a). As part of this strategy, policy integration at the local level is associated with changing structural and policy forms. This has resulted in a broadening of local partnerships and comprises a wide range of public service and private interests, such as local authorities, business actors and representatives from the voluntary and community sectors (Oatley, 1998; Ball and Maginn, 2005). Within the context of structural change, new patterns of policy intervention have been emphasising a strategic approach covering economic, social and environmental spheres (Valler and Betteley, 2001).

In an increasingly globalised economic environment, and through the process of European Union enlargement, there is a need for policies to offer transparent responses to common problems in achieving economic sustainability. The preceding section provides an analysis of alternative approaches to the concept of economic development, derived from theories of external stimuli. These theories and concepts form the basis of

this research in providing an empirical insight into the rationale of urban area-based interventions and conditions necessary for their effectiveness.

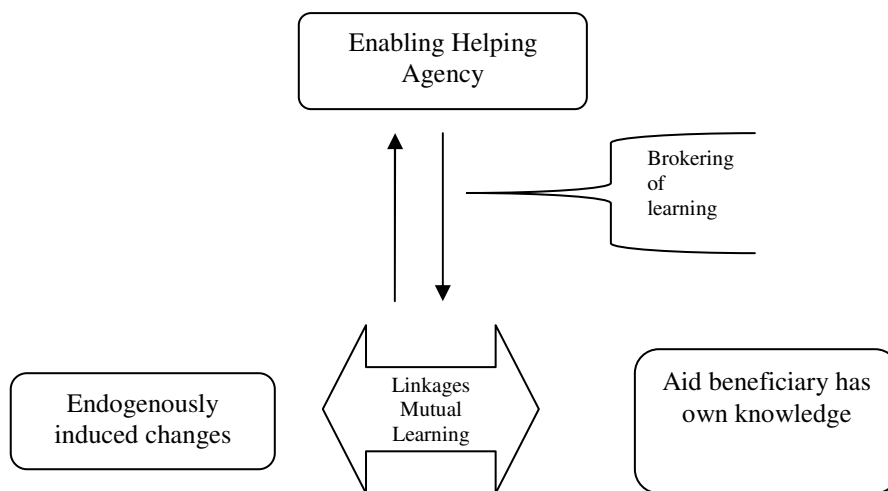
2.2.3 Theories of external stimuli and alternative approaches to economic development

In both traditional and modern theories conventional direct approaches are necessary in order to foster economic development. In this context, external assistance or public intervention is delivered through international, national or local development agencies. The financial aid is conditioned by certain external motivators, known as ‘carrots and sticks’, which are regulated or imposed by the agency. The development opportunity is achieved by transmitting the knowledge and ready solutions of the agency to an aid recipient; however, it is not certain whether such a passive process can sustain the change in the long-term. In this sense, achieving sustainability is understood as ‘owning’ the process by the beneficiaries of the intervention and allows them to actively learn the process through, for example, proposing solutions. This requires transforming the donor agency itself to foster such learning internally within the organisation and externally among the aid recipients (Ellerman, 2007).

Ellerman argues that there have been many local successes in the practice of development assistance, but the aim of their sustainable mainstreaming has been misleading (ibid.). He identifies common principles to effective development, deriving from different theory fields such as economic development, pedagogy, social philosophy and management theory, which arrive at similar conclusions (Hirschman, 1992; Rogers, 1969; Kierkegaard, 1992; Freire, 1970). They form the basis for an alternative, indirect approach to fostering development, called the decentralised social

learning model. In this concept, developmental change is stimulated not by government itself, but through channelling endogenous local strengths in area-based projects that can be scaled up horizontally within society and later to regional and national levels through linkages, benchmarking and a mutual learning process (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2: Ellerman’s Learning and Motivating Scaling up model



Source: Adapted from Ellerman, 2007

This thinking contests traditional concepts of external interventions, described by previous economists as the ‘centre-periphery’ relation (Schön, 1971). In this context, the government is treated as the centre and the rest of society as the periphery. The centre has responsibility for formulation of new policies and their imposition on localities. Learning initiated by the government tends to induce localities to behave in conformity with central policy. Therefore the policy is created ‘for’ not ‘with’ locality. This results in passive transmission of solutions. Hence, they cannot be discovered, learned and owned by the intervention target groups. The knowledge is not grounded in the beneficiary’s endogenous learning experiences, internal values and motives with the result that their sustainability can be questioned:

“In order for learners to have an ‘ownership’ of new knowledge and for the new knowledge to have a transformative effect, the knowledge must be more the fruits of the learner’s own activities [...] Such knowledge comes out [...] of active learning process, not out of [...] transmitting or pouring new knowledge into passive students [...] The teacher is more a coach, guide [...] helping the learners in a more indirect manner to help themselves.” (Ellerman, 2001: 9)

Learning can take place in a decentralised bottom-up manner with centralised co-ordination (e.g., combination of complementary bottom-up and top-down approaches). These arguments are supported by Sabel’s theory of learning by monitoring, which opposes the implicit assumption of an effective governance system, capable of determining co-ordination and collective action by central control and command. Sabel identifies different starting points in small localities, where the problems can be solved by mutually monitoring the actions of others.

The approach considers also how to distribute the gains from this co-operation and alleviate the disparities that can arise (Sabel, 1994a). Therefore, solutions can be adapted and embedded locally, not imposed from the centre. This enables policymakers to discover and clarify local interests and identities. Central government/development agencies further catalyse, assist, broker and guide the process of successful change by scaling it up from local to regional and national levels:

“Social engineering approaches to development have not been successful [...] because both motivation and knowledge are external [...] If actions are undertaken [...] simply to receive aid (external incentives) [...] then the actions will be poorly implemented [...] and most likely will not be sustained when the incentives are removed [...] ‘knowledge’ acquired from outside experts is likely to be ill-adapted to local conditions [...], devoid of tacit skills [...] a borrowed opinion rather than the owned knowledge, which could be the basis for determined policies.” (Ellerman, 2002 :1-2)

While modern development strategies assume national capacities to plan and induce changes that can be pushed through external aid, Hirschman’s and Lindblom’s

traditional approaches to economic development can be applied for alternative solutions (Ellerman, 2001). The ‘Hirschmanian’ approach advocates searching for hidden local energies in small areas and assisting them to spread by using linkages. This creates better adjustment of change to local conditions and therefore achieving policy commitment of those at whom the transformation is targeted. In order to discover local needs, the process of change must start with supporting area-based energies and promoting local opportunities, rather than imposing blueprint and performance incentives, which may curtail local knowledge.

The concept opposes traditional planning and command models of development, based on the ‘carrot and stick’ external motivators, favouring experiential learning (learning by doing) processes and a ‘one size does not fit all’ approach. Learning by experiencing the problems can result in the mutual adjustment of target groups in achieving co-ordination that could not have been centrally planned (Lindblom, 1965). They seem to constitute the necessary requirement in order to ‘fit’ places and people to assure a high level of performance and quality of intervention. In this context, the aid is not imposed top-down, but rather helps to discover what people are motivated to implement and assists them do it better. Moreover, local roots are seen as crucial in finding this motivation and hidden, locally-based energies in the process of economic growth (Hirschman, 1984).

The ‘Ellermanian’ concept also argues that traditional models of growth viewed public policy making as a comprehensive, rational process of surveying the feasible alternatives and evaluated them according to some agreed-upon objectives (Tinbergen,

1956). However, they failed in their assumptions that all locations in the country would simultaneously undergo transformation with the push of external assistance:

“[...] countries cannot just solve all their problems at once. They must start with a few pieces that fit together and try to work outward to find other pieces that fit. Not all starting points are equal [...]”(Ellerman, 2001: 9)

An alternative to comprehensive and balanced strategies is a cumulative and highly focused approach (Israel, 1987). For example, Lindblom’s models highlighted local actions based on the neighbourhood level, when exploring unknown environments, in the situation of conflicting values and uncertainty of policy-making process (Lindblom, 1990). In the context of instability and complexity of development solutions, small experiments are seen as more transparent for evaluation and adaptations of successful approaches at the macro levels (OECD, 2004b).

Ellerman’s argument derives from Hirschman’s theory of unbalanced growth, advocating the dynamics of the development process ‘in the small’- in locally-based embedded environments. As not all problems can be tackled simultaneously, the attention should be primarily placed ‘in the small’ – on the sectors or localities where initiative is ‘owned’ by the target group. Initial, small success should then create linkages to foster learning processes, resulting in change.

As these learning processes are developed on the basis of their own released energies, new demands can be made on central government to reform institutions and provide appropriate infrastructure, emanating from their need for greater profitability, consolidation and further expansion (Hirschman, 1981). The concept of growth could generate unused abilities and mobilise untapped local energies, in comparison to smooth, planned allocation of resources in traditional planning (Hirschman, 1961).

To summarise, alternative policy approaches to effective economic development advocate application of the following, mutually reinforcing models:

1) *decentralised social learning model* - developmental change is stimulated through channelling endogenous local strengths in area-based projects that are scaled up horizontally within society and vertically to regional and national levels through linkages and a mutual learning process. Sustainability of intervention is achieved through owning the process by beneficiary of the intervention and fostering the learning by an external assistance (Ellerman, 2007);

2) *learning by monitoring model* – identifies different starting points in small localities, where developmental problems can be solved by mutually monitoring the actions of others, the solutions are adapted and embedded locally (Sabel, 1994a);

3) *experiential learning by doing model*– learning by experiencing the problems result in the mutual adjustments of target groups in achieving co-ordination of actions (Lindblom, 1965)

All these concepts highlight the importance for searching hidden, untapped local energies and unused abilities in locally based embedded environments by an external stimuli and assisting them in mainstreaming successful solutions through policy of linkages. Such approach ensures better adjustment of change to local conditions and target groups (Hirschman, 1992). They would, however, require further policy deliberations, specifically in the context of public policy evaluation practices. This should involve challenging public authorities' actions and structures as the quality of

structures employed, resourcing and policy' outcomes are becoming the key issues for the application of effective approaches within emerging European Union frameworks and the resultant patterns of economic competitiveness.

2.3 European Union policies and international agendas – implications to local development and urban governance

“The value of public and private institutions does not just lie in providing an adequate range of traditional facilities, efficiency now lies in relationships“
(European Foundation, 1998).

This section considers the theoretical analysis of the external measures for assisting local development and their implications in urban areas internationally. The formation of European Union agendas, as the response to recent globalisation process, affected various policy areas within its member states (Kearn and Paddison, 2000). It is vital, therefore, from the perspective of the research of this thesis, to examine the implications of external stimuli in creating and managing development approaches across different urban areas at European and international levels.

By the early 1990s, most local and regional governance measures were shaped by European regulations (Bongers, 1992; Baine et al, 1992). The role of the nation-states has remained as an important tool in developing and adapting approaches to economic development (Scharpf, 1994; Hooghe, 1996). Following the introduction of the Single European Act in 1986, the European Community approved a set of measures aimed at removing physical, technical and fiscal barriers across the European markets. This impacted upon changes in local and regional planning and development policies, such as local transport, environment and vocational training (Hart and Roberts, 1995). In

1988, administration of the EU assistance funds was devolved to nation-states which catalysed the growing engagement of sub-regional actors in economic development activities. The process included the creation of public-private partnership arrangements among local and regional tiers of governance (Halkier and Damborg, 2000).

Since most of the EU's total generation of wealth has occurred in urban areas, policies have viewed cities as central to the future of economic development and competitiveness (EC, 2001b; 2007). Simultaneously, the globalisation and European integration process, together with a spatial accentuation of poverty and growing socio-economic problems within European cities, have resulted in increasing localism in public policies. Spatial concentration of urban disadvantage has been identified through the EU Poverty Programmes of 1975-80, 1986-89 and 1990-94, followed by the White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Employment in 1994. This resulted in recognition by the EU that economic exclusion and its geographical dimension have been the key constraints to socio-economic integration of policy measures. Consequently an area policy approach needs to be addressed (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001).

Since the 1990s, strategies promoting local experiments concerning development initiatives and the role of local and regional actors in the establishment and implementation of European agendas have been encouraged and assisted at EU level (EC, 2001a). The European policy thrust has been underpinned by the belief that an area's innovation should foster economic sustainability and be capable of stimulating long-term economic demands. This could be achieved through locally-based

interventions, developed and mainstreamed by the wider networks of actors at a regional and national scale (EC, 1995; EC, 1998a).

Such approaches represented a new 'bottom-up' emphasis on governance and management, shifting previous 'top-down' interventions of the 1970s and 1980s. Within this concept, an area-based approach was recognised by the EU as a complementary tool to national policies in exploiting new resources of economic improvement, using methods adapted to the local context, rather than standardised measures (EC, 1998b). Local economic dimensions within European measures were adopted in 1995 by the European Union Strategy of Encouraging Local Development and Employment Initiatives (LDEIs)(EC COM, 1995).

European Union surveys on local development initiatives have shown that they had a high visibility at local levels and the contribution of such interventions has played a pioneering and demonstrative role towards improvement of quality of life and social equity (EC, 1998a,b; EC, 2000b). The European Commission Joint Employment Annual Reports and Regulations governing the Structural Funds highlighted development of the territorial dimension of member states' policies and increasingly complementary role of specific regional and local programmes in the implementation of European measures.

Also the European Employment Guidelines adopted a comprehensive approach advocating partnership arrangements at regional and local levels as a tool for fostering economic activity. The European Social Fund, in its article 6, emphasised the role of local development as a test of innovation and enabling closer co-operation between European institutions, national, regional and local authorities, social partners and non-government organisations (EC COM, 2001). The new approach, advocated by the

Lisbon European Council and more recently by the European cohesion policy stressed the importance of interaction between economic and social policies, involving mobilisation of all policy players and using variable forms of partnerships (EC, 2001b; EC, 2008).

Supranational forces have been viewed by policy commentators as challenging to classical generalisations about urban economics, as interdependence and exchange relations between European, central and local governments have become more complex, multilevel and multi-layered. Previous OECD studies on economic development in urban areas have recognised that it is becoming increasingly dependent on urban institutions and infrastructure (OECD, 1996a; OECD, 2005). As distribution of growth has not been resolved by general economic and social policies it has become necessary to undertake more extensive evaluations on linkages between local economic competitiveness and the existence of urban decline and social exclusion problems (Atkinson, 2001).

The urban focus was underpinned by the experience of previous EU regional policies, which did not provide clear solutions for environmental and social cohesion problems. Past policies addressing urban decline and disadvantage were also found to be reactive and lacking long-term vision. In addition, the European enlargement process has brought new geography with regional disadvantage concentrated in Central and Eastern accession countries resulting in increasing pressures towards further concentration of economic activities and more rapid urbanisation (Newman, 2000; EC, 2008).

Geographical boundaries have become more diluted, and developmental processes are increasingly concerned with the acceleration of the quality of local areas and building wider linkages in order to sustain the growth (Porter, 1998a,b; Cabus, 2001). Therefore, new models for the establishment, management and support for urban development processes are being facilitated (John, 1996; Ansell; et al, 1997; Häikiö, 2007).

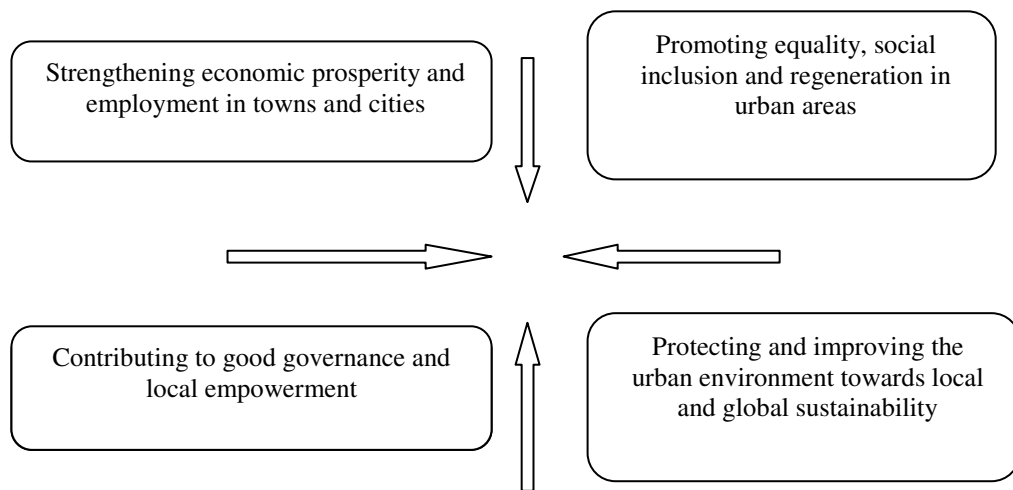
In order to manage a modern and competitive European economy, the European Union has become a key international source of co-funding for urban development initiatives and acts as a stimuli in encouraging a more balanced approach (Roberts and Sykes, 2000; EC, 2008). A range of initiatives attempting to facilitate the adaptation of cities to global changes and to tackle the resulting urban problems were employed under the EU URBAN Programme of 1994-1999. This measure aimed to promote the implementation of innovative development models for economic and social regeneration in disadvantaged urban areas.

Subsequent publications have included two Urban Communications by the EC: 'Towards an Urban Agenda in the European Union'(COM, 1997), 'Sustainable Urban Development in the European Union: a Framework for Action' (COM, 1998), and the European Spatial Development Perspective of 1999 (European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP), 1999).

These wide-ranging policy measures highlighted the specific urban dimension within the EU, which needed to be addressed in a coherent and integrated manner at all levels of urban governance. Atkinson (2001) argues that this is being achieved by co-ordinated action and encouraging co-operation between all levels of governance (vertical co-ordination) and between different policy strands (horizontal co-operation). Development

of a comprehensive approach, which adopts holistic policies and integrates them into the spatial city/region planning, has become a prerequisite for meeting balanced economic development and social cohesion criteria. The European Union's 'Framework for Action' categorises these factors into four interdependent themes, which are considered necessary for a coherent approach to urban problems (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3: Interdependent factors for coherent urban policy



Source: Author's own compilation based on EC COM, 1998

The contemporary debate on modern urban policy approaches was also reflected in the 'New Athens Charter' of 1998.¹ The Charter underlined the priority of the principles of sustainable development in managing of city planning. In particular, it recognised principles of shaping the urban space based on the smallest and most integrated functional elements, with the participation of the community (Scientific Research Committee, 2000; Table 2.4).

¹ The document originates from the Charter of Athens prepared during the International Congress of Modern Architecture in 1933 and designated as the foundation for future spatial reconstruction of towns and cities. The Charter of 1933 was in contradiction to new planning approaches for spatial separation of the city functions, i.e., housing, leisure – recreation and employment. It was the efficiency of dense transport and communication systems that governed its implementation.

Table 2.4: Principles of sustainable urban development

Principles of sustainable urban development	Features
Integrated approach to local economic development	Linking spatial actions with socio-economic issues: economic growth could not be treated equally with quality of life. Without considering social issues, such as the level of integration and participation, the chances for economic growth are lesser.
Quality of an urban area	The value itself and the prerequisite for economic development.
'City for all'	The planning process meets requirements of co-operation and involvement at the local level.
Real participation	The whole community can participate in defining its needs. The innovative forms of participation are to be applied at the lowest possible levels of public governance.
Sustaining of local specifics	Urban design should be based on cultural, functional and historical values, specific to the given area. Various urban area functions are properly localised and strictly linked in space and time. The principle of the functional mixed-use prevails in order to revitalize and achieve diversified urban forms.

Source: Author - based on New Athens Charter, 1998

What was particularly notable with the application of the urban dimension in European development policies was the shift from previous individual local economic initiatives to coherent, integrated strategies of defined territories (EC, 1997). The strategic approach was characterised by specific policy features which include bringing added value, partnership-based, clearly targeted and integrated various policy instruments (Parkinson, 1996; Castells, 1993; OECD, 2004a).

There had been a consensus identified by policy commentators that 'added value' investment was generated through the cross-cutting theme of combining jobs, environmental upgrading and social regeneration (Jackson and Roberts, 1997).

Therefore, emphasis has been increasingly placed on developing stronger urban dimension in employment policies, through the strengthened role of cities as centres for innovation and support for local development initiatives (Alden and Boland, 1996; EC, 1998; EC, 2008). Also, policy integration between various levels of government, policy sectors, citizen empowerment and involvement has been highlighted as complementary tools leading to enhancement of urban innovation and development that is balanced, viable in the long-term and guided by the three key principles of subsidiarity, integration and partnership (Table 2.5).

Table 2.5: Integrated approach principles

Integrated approach principles	Attributes
Subsidiarity	<p>EU actions will be most effective where complementarity exists between national, regional and local initiatives.</p> <p>The EU should proceed an action at the lowest level at which the initiative can be taken with the same effectiveness and cost. Frameworks must be more responsive to urban needs and create tools that cities can use to their benefit.</p>
Integration	<p>Multi-dimensional problems of urban areas require integration of actions among public sector, both vertically between different levels of administration and horizontally between policy sectors.</p> <p>Integrated urban development actions could combine measures, contributing to a diverse and flexible local economy, human capital development, local employment, infrastructure and technology. Emphasis needs to be put on renewal and on mixed uses.</p>
Partnership	<p>Partnership approach is needed to ensure that all possible resources are tapped and that the policy legitimacy is enhanced through ‘ownership’.</p>

Source: Author’s compilation based on: EC COM, 1998

It is argued by various policy commentators that anticipated networks provide the opportunity to exchange knowledge and therefore to learn approaches to urban problems (Asheim, 1999; Ellerman, 2005). In order to reach desirable policy solutions, a new type of urban management has been increasingly required, based on the

combination of bottom-up and top-down approaches, advocating multi-level governance (Martin and Townroe, 1992; Bachtler, 1997; OECD, 2004a).

These deliberations on European urban policy measures have brought challenges in the governance of urban areas. Economic globalisation and the emergence of worldwide economic sectors and supranational institutions have created new forms of urban management. Over the last decade there has been an explicit recognition by international organisations, such as OECD, that problems cut across different levels of government, as well as sectoral and institutional policy domains (OECD, 2004a, 2008).

The government thrust has been based on the policy belief that public authority institutions need to match the emerging economic spaces of the global economy by changing policy patterns from hierarchical and constitutionally defined forms (government) to self-organising networks (governance), lying outside the traditional arrangements (Harding, 1996; Ache, 2000; Häikiö, 2007). Through such arrangements, government actions can become more coherent locally in areas falling between individual policy fields, such as employment and social cohesion (OECD, 2005). Networks and collaboration between various city actors is increasingly becoming a tool for better targeting of economic interventions, therefore contributing to potential reduction of substitution, displacement and deadweight effects (OECD, 2003, Ball and Maginn, 2005). Two mechanisms of these new urban arrangements can be identified: the integrated delivery approach and decentralised decision making (Table 2.6).

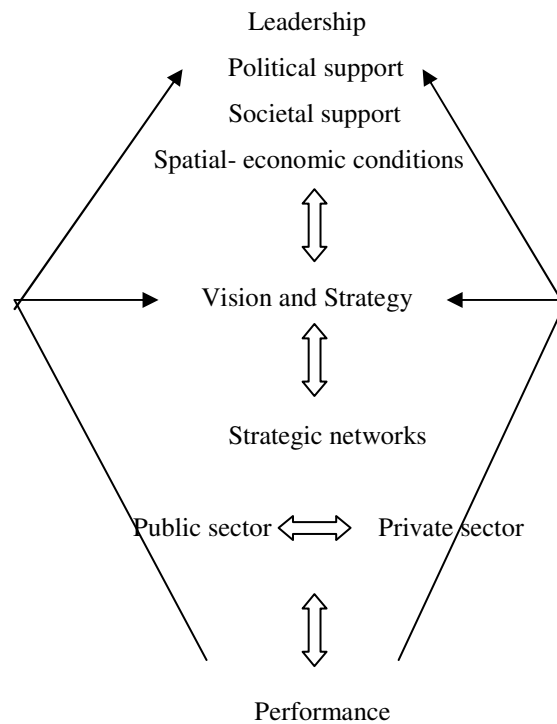
Table 2.6: New forms of urban governance

New forms of urban governance	Attributes
Integrated delivery approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Strategic mechanisms integrating different policy measures and levels of government; – Emphasis on the role of multi-level partnership between all actors affected by urban and economic policies; – Open method of co-ordination.
Decentralised decision making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Shift from traditional top-down regulations; – New process of benchmarking delivering policy outcomes and improvement of policy formation; – Notion of networking as a key factor for policy process supporting integrated approach to policy issues; – ‘Face- to- face’ interactions within urban space; – Flexibility with designation of programmes.

Source: Author’s compilation based on OECD, 1996; Amin and Graham, 1997; Wallace, 2001; Hodson and Maher, 2001; Eurocities, 2001

Knapp (2002) indicates that the modern transformation of national and European urban systems presents the need for application of appropriate institutional and policy-making frameworks. A ‘joined-up’ governance system is advocated in order to bring together the interests of various city stakeholders. This involves building strategic networks between them as a means to deal with specific urban problems, leadership from key players and organisations to utilise and direct the potential of these networks, a vision of city development, producing strategies and political support to assist positive networking and societal support from those involved (Figure 2.4)

Figure 2.4: ‘Joined-up’ governance system



Source: Knapp, 2002

Other authors defined governance as an analytical concept, developed to comprehend the decreasing traditional powers and abilities of the central state in achieving its aims, representing a shift from traditional models of operation of top-down regulations in order to share experience and to encourage the spread of best practice (Stoker, 1996; Cram, 2001; Wallace, 2001).

Jessop (1998) asserted that capital accumulation and competitiveness became increasingly dependent on ‘added value’, obtained from collaboration between institutions, such as partnerships, rather than upon efficiency of production advocated by traditional thought. Urban governance is emerging as a new procedural and policy concept, incorporating a wide range of actors involved, sharing of responsibilities for

coherent agendas based on economic development and social inclusion, and focused on built and natural environmental issues (Harvey, 1989; Imrie and Raco, 1999; OECD, 2004a).

The policy challenge is therefore to determine how this integrated approach would be achieved within the context of more flexible patterns and increasingly informal process, depending on how the targets are set and by whom (OECD, 2003). Existing evidence shows that there is little genuine co-operation and co-ordination related to multi-level governance and the ability of institutions involved at the same level or various levels of governance to work together effectively (Atkinson, 2001; Jones and Evans, 2006).

Various studies on new forms of urban governance have indicated that achieving the desired collaboration and coherence in current socio-spatial segregated cities is proving difficult where no one spatial scale is predominant. Additionally, scales at which socio-economic problems can be solved are becoming more proliferated (Collinge, 1996; Jessop, 1998). In this context, the integrated approach may carry the risk of negative impacts in terms of further fragmentation, new patterns of domination, inequality and the lack of an overall framework for governance (Eurocities, 2001). At the level of sub-national government, frequent inter-and intra-governmental competition were identified, as different authorities pursued their own objectives with little regard for their impact on the activities of other parts of sub-national government or their spatial implications (Barnier, 2000).

Previous evaluation studies on urban policy measures in EU member states have also found little co-ordination between economic and urban agendas (Economic and Social

Committee, 1998). Specifically in the context of the European Union enlargement process and continuing economic competition there has been a gap identified within public policies in tackling problems related to intensifying inequalities between and within urban areas. This may necessitate rethinking the regional dimension of structural interventions by focusing on much smaller areas and concentrating resources on the most deprived areas. Such a concept would require application of policy linkages – combining broader socio-economic policies and more specific urban initiatives (Atkinson, 2002; EC, 2007).

2.4 Conclusions

To summarise, existing knowledge of modern urban development identifies key principles of contemporary policy approaches related to urban issues:

- The relevance of local dimension in urban interventions (Sabel, 1994a,b; EC, 2008);
- Integration of various development measures (World Bank, 2000);
- The importance of learning in fostering development (Ellerman, 2008);
- Combination of bottom-up and top-down interventions within the policy stakeholders and between different levels of governance (Stöhr, 1989, Keating, 1997; OECD, 2004a).

These concepts pose challenges for future policy actions towards achieving greater sustainability patterns. They show that the divergence between economic, social and environmental elements of the development models results in inter-urban inequalities, which in turn requires more demands on national and EU policies directed at declining urban areas and social exclusion (Atkinson, 2001; EC, 2008).

The policy thrust for the market-based strategies may reduce costs and increase efficiency in public service delivery, but simultaneously create greater problems of fragmentation with an emphasis on competition, rather than co-operation. Competition and poor linkages within a state system prevents effective co-ordination with economic development and social inclusion initiatives (Considine, 2001; OECD, 2004a).

Moreover, in the environment of a predominance of business-led interests, desired networks may also result from central government's attempts to reassert control over the sub-national economic development process, rather than attempt to manage and regulate the change (Jacobs, 1997; Atkinson, 1999).

Although recent policy deliberations in Europe and internationally advocate increasingly decentralised models in policy management, it seems that greater flexibility towards desirable change cannot be taken for granted as a result of devolution of powers, as it depends on how the new responsibilities would be assumed and managed, and to what extent their accountability frameworks are politically acceptable to the various government levels concerned.

Managing measures in multi-level governance frameworks increases the administrative burden associated with fulfilling accountability requirements. Being accountable to various administrative layers on a plethora of measures may reduce the local capacity to take a strategic approach to policy implementation from a local governance perspective. Thus, the application of the subsidiarity model can result in transferring responsibilities to different regional agencies or social partners and other organisations in the

management of programmes, leading to a multiplication, which finally may blur responsibility and weaken the performance quality (OECD, 2001, 2005).

Local economic development is therefore increasingly conditioned by the existence of cohesive policies, linking principles of the market forces and social distribution patterns (EC COM, 1998; EC, 2008). This can be achieved by the ability of public policies to structure the whole range of locally-based components, which can strengthen national measures applied towards anticipated sustainability levels (European Foundation, 1998; Ellerman, 2007). The policy co-ordination at local level is often conditioned by the degree of coherence at national level. Thus, the challenge for future policy responses to urban problems is to define factors resting behind long-term viability of such arrangements and to reinforce cross-cutting and integrated approaches (Healey 1997; Kearns and Paddison, 2000).

The subsequent chapter examines the emergence of area-based initiatives, based on European and international examples, advocated by policy agendas and highlighted in the previous interventions. The discussion involves an analysis of their role and justification for application in urban development policies.

Arising from the literature review, an assessment of national, regional and local governance contexts, such as current division of powers and resources between those tiers involved in the governing of service delivery is made, along with the scale at which these arrangements are introduced and the extent of their legitimacy (Scott, 1998; Barnes and Ledebur, 1998; Henderson et al, 2007). The chapter constitutes the basis for further empirical investigation, based on analysis of two international case studies.

Chapter 3: Area-based Initiatives – Genesis and Implications for Urban Policies

3.1 Introduction

The debate over contemporary approaches combining socio-economic and spatial issues in response to the worsening spatial problems of disadvantage in urban areas has resulted in a growing interest in area-based policies at national and international levels (Glennister et al, 1999; EC, 2008). The process of globalisation and the need to integrate different public policies for international competitiveness conditioned the evolution of local urban interventions (Valler and Betteley, 2001). Consequently, the concern for global market forces has been increasingly complemented by simultaneous policy efforts for improving local and regional interrelations (Harding, 1996; OECD, 2004a).

Over the last decade, European government policies have been driven by an international experience of urban economic patterns, which suggest the need for an area-based approach, combining both people and place (Hemphill et al, 2006). Previous OECD research has shown that the adoption of economic interventions is more effective once local spatial conditions and local features of the target groups have been taken into account (OECD, 1996b). Various other studies have also found that area-based initiatives can be diversified with regard to development strategies, policy instruments and organisational patterns (Halkier et al, 1998; Cameron et al, 2000; Jones and Evans, 2006). Furthermore, critical assessments are identified in the existing literature that pertain to justification of the role of area interventions in local economic development

(Meegan and Mitchel, 2001; Carpenter, 2006). Tunstall and Lupton differentiated five rationales on area-based targeting (Tunstall and Lupton, 2003):

- 1) It focuses on efficiency in reaching disadvantaged communities and bases its motive on the process of concentration of deprivation arising from the distribution of specific development indices such as unemployment, quality and type of employment, educational attainment and household income levels;
- 2) It is based on the argument that concentrated disadvantage may have a qualitatively different effect on individuals, organisations and local infrastructure, depending on various factors in experiencing deprivation, such as health, participation in social networks, involvement in political process, economic condition, etc. Therefore, the rationale for interventions includes supports targeted not only at individuals but also organisations and local infrastructure;
- 3) The justification considers the logic of targeting areas as a form of more efficient and simpler choice rather than individuals;
- 4) It relates to the application of area-based initiatives as a form of piloting, where the capacity to innovate and deliver rather than the sole issue of need plays a crucial role;
- 5) It considers added-value benefits arising out of area-based initiatives, such as community participation and the development of local development organisations, which could assist in a more accurate targeting of local needs and priorities. The integration and co-ordination of existing services on the basis of partnership arrangements and identification of needs are of particular importance in areas where disadvantage takes a multidimensional form.

The chapter provides an analysis on how localised area-based actions have evolved at the urban level in Europe and internationally. The inquiry commences in the post-war period and investigates the evolution in line with the general urban economic models highlighted in Chapter 2. International examples are examined in order to underline major trends emerging over time, and to gain knowledge on best practice in the application of local development models.

It is desirable, therefore, when assessing the rationale for local approaches in each individual case, to draw comparable lessons from critical inputs applied in different political, social and economic environments. As Irish public administration structures are aligned historically and politically with the UK experience, the research focus is particularly placed on the UK local development lessons, which further emerged from the US post-war policies.

In contrast, Polish public policy arrangements have been shaped and influenced since 1989 by the economic and political transformation process, as well as European Union development assistance programmes and more recently the European enlargement process. International case study examples are used to assess the success of area-based initiatives and to draw out lessons for policy formulation at the local level.

3.2 The Genesis

In Europe, local development interventions originated due to the declining competitive position of the national economies in the 1970s, and the consequent dramatic rise in unemployment within urban areas (MacLaran, 1981). The policy motivation for this sub-national economic activism was fuelled by practical experience with the decentralised administration of labour market policies in a period experiencing high

levels of unemployment (Jorgensen and Lind, 1987). In urban areas, economic policies started to place an emphasis on area-based interventions in order to tackle urban decline and social deprivation. They were based on co-operation and co-ordination of major sectoral actors and have been used increasingly to complement centralised approaches (Hall and Nevin, 1999).

Traditional local economic development initiatives have over time shifted the emphasis from a narrow-based approach focusing primarily on site preparation, refurbishment of older industrial buildings and estate development in the 1960s and early 1970s, towards a wider range of policy initiatives in the second half of the 1970s (Rees and Lambert, 1985). The early approaches stressed investment in physical capital as opposed to human capital. Carefully planned physical redevelopment was the key to urban revival and people could be moved around to fit within newly built neighbourhoods (Butler, 1991).

From the 1960s onwards, central governments in most countries operated financial incentive programmes, designed to redistribute economic activity by making it more attractive to invest in designated disadvantaged regions. Local programmes were concerned mainly with promoting the advantages of a given local area, in order to attract inward investment and direct the provision of industrial sites and premises. Economic regeneration programmes, pursued by local authorities, gave much higher priority to traditional measures than to manpower programmes (McArthur and McGregor, 1986).

In many local areas, the way in which the physical dimension was used was later criticised by various commentators on the grounds that they gave little attention to real needs and were based on the assumption that employment benefits would automatically accrue to an area through the provision of land and premises (Mawson and Miller, 1986).

In the early 1970s, increasing economic recession and the crisis of the inner cities highlighted the institutional and organisational shortages of economic and social policies within both local government structures and between central and local levels. Therefore, institutional and policy developments sought to introduce corporate planning and management, in order to increase local involvement in economic issues and to recognise social problems in economic transition. New approaches emphasised the need of linking the concerns of the welfare system with more mainstream economic policies (Eisenschitz and Gough, 1993).

In the 1980s, the context of urban policy was substantially changed, as policy came to be dominated by central government ideologies of economic liberalism and the primacy of the market. Consequently the policy emphasis shifted towards the stimulation of private sector property development and investment in the lead role. This resulted in the reduction of the public sector's role and social redistributive programmes (Hausner, 1986). The majority of public sector funding was targeted at the physical improvement of derelict areas in an attempt to stimulate the functioning of property markets.

Policies of the 1980s proved to have fundamental shortcomings in dealing with the broader urban problems, such as poverty, social exclusion, infrastructural weaknesses and labour market problems (Oatley, 1998). In addition, the slump in the property

market in the early 1990s, combined with recessionary conditions, highlighted the fragility of narrowly focused policy frameworks. The weaknesses within central government policies resulted in the fragmentation of urban policies and the ineffectiveness of public institutions. This stimulated local authorities to look for alternative approaches and led to a reassessment of urban policy during the 1990s. Long-term strategies were adopted to reflect the wider needs of the local economy and the problems faced by disadvantaged groups in the labour market (Valler and Betteley, 2001).

Since the 1990s, an integrated approach for economic development and urban regeneration has been pursued as a developing strand in a broader process of political and economic restructuring of urban areas worldwide (Ginsburg, 1999; Harding, 1999; EC, 2008). Such a model represents a government thrust in placing territorial authorities at the centre of urban change in order to build partnership with other agents operating locally and regionally, and to establish long-term legitimacy and credibility with central governments (Valler and Betteley, 2001; Häikiö, 2007).

Although urban planning has been increasingly considered by international policies as a multidisciplinary practice, its social aspects have received little attention anywhere in Europe and internationally (Groth and Corijn, 2005). The challenge for future policies, therefore, is to acknowledge new paradigms of the dynamic processes, which are developed between society and urban environment (Miles and Paddison, 2005). This includes the time and space of interventions, in which people, and their views of these interventions, are involved, as well as enabling relevant local actors to contribute to

government policy formation (ODPM, 2003). The policy insight into physical, social and economic qualities is becoming ever more significant (Lilja, 2002).

3.3 International models

“Planning in the future has to leave more of the environment for those who live in the place to take responsibility for, and to leave their marks on. Everything in the neighbourhood must not be ready-made and done from scratch. There must be empty spaces and possibilities for those who live there to take initiative.”

(Lilja, 2002: 127-8)

Post-war regional policies targeting local problems were first initiated in the US in the 1950s and 1960s, where, in spite of general prosperity and high productivity growth, inner city areas were in decline. US-based urban economic interventions originated from similar European concerns, but operated in a different context. Although existing literature shows little evidence of a coherent, integrated federal, state and local government approach to urban change, US models, in their scope for decentralisation of initiatives and community development, were employed to a greater extent than in Europe (Shutt, 2000). Therefore, US examples represent valuable insights for European approaches, as far as deliberations on public accountability, participation and subsidiarity are concerned.

The first policy response to urban problems was the establishment of President John F. Kennedy’s policy of Area Redevelopment and later Economic Development Administration, which introduced specific local initiatives in order to enhance employment opportunities and encourage expansion of private enterprise in deprived areas. These actions included urban development grants, job creation measures and tailor-made training (Hansen, 1991). In 1964, the US Government Economic Opportunity Act introduced the Community Action Programme with the aim to provide and co-ordinate services in deprived urban areas, based on the collaboration of

governmental and voluntary organisations. The maximum participation of residents in the development and management of the projects was to help to improve existing services and challenge the existing distribution of resources within a new set of priorities, in partnership with the most disadvantaged population. This measure was followed by the Model Cities Programme of 1966, which provided opportunities for new and innovative activities in selected urban areas to tackle combined social, economic and physical problems (Edwards and Batley, 1978).

The unique early US-based approaches, in comparison to European ones, also featured a strong relationship between traditional regeneration initiatives and economic development actions. Strategies introduced new concepts focusing on the development of linkages between job training, job-placement and supportive services with business assistance and related job-generation approaches. Community Development Corporations, operating since the 1960s, extended their role from an affordable housing and community development remit to job creation and economic development, complemented with job training, placement and counselling activities. Much of their efforts were put into enterprise initiatives. They also provided local services, compared to the UK and other Western Europe countries where this provision is still in charge of central or local governments.

Other characteristics included a strong mayoral leadership, partnerships between state, local government, business and philanthropic communities, such as Economic Regeneration Partnerships and Economic Development Corporations, found by policy analysts to be critical to the success of economic development policy (Wolman and Spitzley, 1996). To exemplify this, Houston Economic Development Council was set up

in 1984 to focus primarily on the facilitation of business investment, but simultaneously recognised the importance of education and indigenous community strengths.

Previous urban renewal programmes, facilitating mainly the development of large office complexes with inadequate or even non-existent housing and followed by substantial government tax incentives, had been replaced by public-private partnerships in the face of accelerated movement of corporations and capital investment on a global scale. Alliances have been also forged at local levels of government, between public services and business (Feagin, 1988). Inner City Enterprise Zones, applied for the first time in the 1980s with small impact on wider socio-economic issues, were transformed by the Clinton Administration into Empowerment Zones and the Enterprising Communities Policy (Lemann, 1994).

Since the 1990s, an application for the designation of a Zone required the inclusion of a strategic plan, which ensured co-ordination of actions addressing economic, human, community and physical development. This new concept differed from the original approaches in linking federal, state and city actors, rather than relying exclusively on inward investment and attracting new business investment (Shutt, 2000). Private and non-profit support and involvement has been increasingly perceived by contemporary policies as critical to the success of communities seeking revitalisation (CEB, 1994; Oakley and Tsao, 2007).

The UK-based area policies were modelled on the American Model Cities and the Community Action Programmes. Their origins can be traced back to major post-World War II redevelopment designated under the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. In

1968, in response to social disorder and growing concern regarding the condition of inner city areas, the Local Government Grants Act was enacted, which provided the basis for financial assistance for later urban programmes. Following this were the General Improvement Areas scheme introduced in 1969 and later Housing Action Areas of 1974, both of which focused on an area-based approach to improve housing standards through renovation of older housing in deprived inner city areas in England and Wales.

In the early 1970s, as a response to the economic downturn and increasing inner city decline, various state initiatives, such as the British Community Development Projects of 1969, the 1977 White Paper on 'Policy for the Inner Cities', and 'Local Government and Industrial Strategy' urged for integration of economic development into all local activities (Eisenschitz and Gough, 1993). In the mid 1970s, the UK central government's emphasis on urban policy shifted from a social welfare approach, adopted by the UK Home Office, towards broader restructuring of urban deprivation interventions (Balchin and Bull, 1987). In 1978, the Inner Urban Area Act was introduced, giving local authorities the right to be designated as a partner or programme authority.

It was argued by policy commentators that the Inner Urban Areas Act and the following British Urban Programme of 1978-1983 represented a significant shift in post-war planning policies. The Urban Programme was seen as a stimulant to the development of socio-economic initiatives in order to achieve regeneration of the urban areas. It gave designated authorities economic development powers. This included the right to declare industrial improvement areas, prepare industrial sites, refurbish buildings and make available loans and grants to firms (Mawson and Miller, 1986). The Scottish Glasgow

Eastern Area Renewal Scheme (GEAR) of 1976-1987 was also a relatively comprehensive example of the urban policy intervention to provide amenities and employment for local deprived communities in addition to physical renewal.

After 1979, the focus was shifted from physical standards of buildings to estate management, as the problems observed were much more complex than physical dereliction and included an array of social, economic and educational disadvantages of local residents. Various initiatives, such as Priority Estates Projects, Estates Action and Estates Renewal Challenge Fund, targeted social, employment and cultural issues. The latter initiatives, known as Regeneration Trusts, involved a much wider scope of aims, including the use of business practices to tackle urban problems (Banks and Davies, 1999).

During the 1980s, there was a significant change in the government policy towards neo-liberal approaches and the primacy of the market forces that resulted in the decrease of public sector spending (Oatley, 1998). Typical interventions involved the creation of Enterprise Zones in urban disadvantaged areas, or Urban Development Corporations, run by private sector boards, appointed by the central government, with the aim of refurbishing the infrastructure of derelict post-industrial sites (Robson, 2002).

Existing literature indicates that the concept of Urban Development Corporations did not result in long-term outcomes as they were not locally-based and did not sufficiently consider local consultations in the process. 1980s policy approaches were also criticised for their short-term strategies, the failure to consult communities and the lack of evidence to underpin them (Wallace, 2001). The policy focus concentrated on an

exclusively property-based approach with limited anticipated frameworks for consultation (Thornley, 1993). The idea of Enterprise Zones forced a development ideology onto local authorities, shifting the balance between interests of business and those of local communities, undermining arguments for democratic control, environmental protection and public social intervention (Valler and Betteley, 2001).

A series of highly critical evaluations of the outcomes of previous UK programmes, particularly those adopted in the 1980s, led to the establishment of new approaches from the 1990s onwards, known as the 'patchwork approach', targeted to address physical, organisational, financial and social problems (Social Exclusion Unit, UK, 1998a, Taylor, 1998). The evaluations concluded that physical improvements alone were not sustainable (Hall, 1997; Musterd et al, 1999; Parkinson, 1998).

There was also evidence that isolated efforts to combat social exclusion by trying to encourage residents back into employment had only a limited effect on general area problems. For example, the absence of additional measures to improve the quality of local estates resulted in people's departure to more affluent locations once they were offered jobs (Taylor, 1998; Hall, 1997). In addition, sole policy attempts to create employment by getting new firms to locate in local areas have proved to have little effect on the estates as a whole (Cameron and Davoudi, 1998; Hall, 1997).

Therefore, new approaches adopted regeneration strategies that sought explicitly to integrate economic and social renewal (Edwards, 1997). The policy thrust promoted the decentralisation approach, based on the explicit increase of local involvement in economic issues and recognition of social problems in economic transition (Roberts and

Sykes, 2000). The UK City Challenge Programme (e.g., Hulme City Challenge in Manchester) and Single Regeneration Budget Programmes broadened the focus to encompass social and economic issues, as well as environment-related aims.

With this change of emphasis, two principal features came to dominate modern UK approaches to urban development policies: firstly a focus on partnership working arrangements between local authorities, private and voluntary bodies, and secondly the development of better co-ordination across policy domains (Banks and Davies, 1999; Office of Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM), 2003).

These new area-based approaches were driven by ‘joined-up’ solutions, based upon inter-departmental working and wide-ranging partnerships, and based on the recognition that interconnected problems required linked policy solutions. Individual state projects, such as the British New Deal, Regional Development Agencies and Single Regeneration Budget, sought to pull the diverse elements of the state together within a framework of coherent strategy (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2001).

The UK Urban White Paper of 2000 has changed essentially the core thrust of urban policy by advocating a shift from earlier, almost exclusive dependence on area-based initiatives, to ‘mainstreaming’ interventions. This includes channelling resources from the main spending programmes to targeting locations of special needs and incorporating successful policy lessons into mainstream services (DETR, 2000). More recent Local Area Agreements between central and local government were designed to provide a more flexible framework within which local authorities can find local solutions that at the same time meet national priorities (ODPM, 2005; Lawless, 2006).

In the Netherlands, since the 1970s policy interventions have been targeted at combating problems of social disadvantage at the local neighbourhood level (EC, 2000). One of the main challenges for development strategies was the alleviation of economic development disparities within the Dutch cities that emerged during the 1970s and 1980s.

In 1989 Rotterdam was one of the first European cities to receive EU assistance within the framework of the EU Urban Pilot Projects. Its coherent development was limited by the existence of derelict industrial zones concentrated in the older parts of the city, whilst other districts had flourished. To reverse the decline, an integrated renewal policy, known as 'The New Rotterdam' was devised, employing three key themes: employment, quality of the environment and co-operation. The characteristics of the new approach were the inclusion in the overall programme of a social renewal element with the recognition of collaboration, information and communication between all parties involved (McCarthy, 1998).

Since the mid 1990s, a Big City Policy, has been aimed at the combination of a market-driven urban economy and anti-deprivation policy (Priemus, 2006; Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008). This meant that new intensified economic activity had to benefit the most vulnerable groups in the labour market. In addition to Rotterdam, the city of Amsterdam, although experiencing a thriving economy over the past decade, simultaneously featured increasing socio and spatial development disparities, specifically concerning ethnic segregation.

Development of Amsterdam Southeast became one of the recent policy responses to economic, geographical and social differentiation within urban areas. Regeneration of the Amsterdam Bijlmer district (2000-2010), currently being implemented, seeks to establish new elements in contemporary planning strategies, based on the combination of physical connectivity, cultural recognition, social interaction, multi-economic growth and urban quality (Helleman and Wassenberg, 2004).

In Denmark, area-based approaches in the post-war period began with establishment of public-private partnerships (Barrington, 1993). They had a form of development committees in the 1950s, aimed at attracting firms from outside to locate in the area by means of promotion and advice. From the mid-1980s, local and regional governments gradually became more active in economic development.

Since the early 1990s, all regional and the majority of local governments were engaged in activities aiming to stimulate indigenous economic activity, promote local employment and secure a high level of taxable income. In order to prevent duplication and a waste of public resources, central government launched schemes aimed at coordination of all activities, such as the production of joint regional development plans and setting business nodes, as permanent forums for discussion in a particular geographical area.

From a comparative perspective, Danish regional policy represented a new, multi-level paradigm in spatial economic intervention, which emphasised promotion of indigenous growth and competitiveness, where regional actors played a key role within a broad regulatory framework (Halkier, 2001).

Modern Scandinavian studies on contemporary urban development policies asserted that from the late 1990s the policy focus has shifted from being technical to more human – placing segregation and identity as its core fundamentals, based on a deeper discussion on cultural conditions and values, its physical context and the meaning in people’s everyday-lives.

A new emerging paradigm of Scandinavian approaches to urban planning encompasses the plurality of community forms. Therefore, the question of identity, meaning and boundaries become key elements in planning, targeted towards strengthening the possibilities of gaining genuine local communities’ experiences and simultaneously decreasing social distances. Respect for the history of place, invisible social qualities and human potential are increasingly becoming major policy foundations on which to build future policies. The style and the role of planning is becoming more attributed to new local management approaches advocating generating processes of change in dialogue with communities that live in the local area (Lilja, 2002).

Urban regeneration in Eastern German cities can be instructive for future policy interventions in regard to other Central and Eastern Europe countries, such as Poland, experiencing similar urban and economic transformation within the framework of European Integration process. The strategies of Weimar, Erfurt, Misnia, Brandenburg, Cottbus and Stralsund applied the model implemented earlier in the 1980s in Kreuzberg – a deprived district in Berlin (Billert, 2001). The concept aimed to revitalise large apartment complexes through focusing on mixing land-use functions within single districts. It advocated a shift from the divisions of traditional socialist city structures based on the separation of ‘work-home-services’, protection of social networks, creation

of a variety of social structures and recognising the importance of civil society initiatives.

One of the main constraints identified later on was the social and physical degradation of inner city areas, resulting from its dramatic population decline after the unification process.² The concentration of business activities occurred typically in the newly built centres located in the city suburbs, which damaged traditional trade and indigenous service structures (Dymnicka, 2000).

To summarise, existing literature on area-based initiatives in deprived urban areas in Europe and internationally shows that there is no single model identified for successful urban area policy interventions. The experiences of various countries vary widely due to political, social, economic and public policy administration structures. The pace and scope of local development is also influenced by cultural, historical and demographic patterns. The policy responses to urban problems have evolved from ‘inward-looking’ approaches, focusing on solving internal issues to ‘outward-looking’, which sought to overcome physical and social isolation directly, such as the improvement of access to employment, and placed greater emphasis on strategic, citywide and linked partnership (Hall, 1998).

There has been an increasing recognition that macro-level economic trends are heavily influenced by micro-level developments. While structural changes lie behind the geography of disadvantage, many factors are found in local situations (Glennerster et al, 1999; EC, 2008). In addition, the production of positive spill-over effects has been

² For example during the period of 1990-2000, 80 000 residents left City of Lipsk

conditioned by the use of existing local resources and making complementary investments in interacting local actions (McGregor et al, 1992; OECD, 2004a). In the context of growing disparities within deprived urban locations, an area-based approach has been recognised by policy commentators as an appropriate scale for public policy targeting, based on the assumption that resources concentrated at small localities can assist in alleviating their disadvantage (Lawless, 2002; Carpenter, 2006).

Other researchers asserted that area-related processes compounded the problems that were faced by deprived individuals and there were efficiencies associated with delivery of policy within defined target areas. Spatial targeting may also result in associated administrative benefits in the form of anticipated synergies that can be achieved across different policy domains and application of resources within a limited number of areas (Robson, 2002).

The need for the recognition of an area focus was also explained by the necessity of the interrelationship between micro and macro-levels. Previous studies on social exclusion and disadvantage in Europe indicated that when local impacts deriving from structural factors worsened, macro-level solutions were made more difficult (Glennister et al, 1999). The evaluations of poverty in US cities claimed that while four-fifths of the explanation for concentrations of poverty lay in metropolitan-wide changes, the remaining one-fifth was to be found in area effects (Jargowsky, 1996). From such perspective, there has been a rationale for area-based policies, as long as the political and policy context in which these policies are introduced recognises the interaction between macro-structural and local reinforcing processes (Carpenter, 2006).

Other European surveys on area disadvantage and social regeneration programmes argued that social and economic problems in specific places were not explained fully by globalisation, and there was no direct connection between the development of disadvantaged areas and general socio-economic change at the national or regional levels. They found, for example, that segregation and deprivation continued in situations where the national or local economy was booming (Haase and Pratschke, 2005; Mumford and Lupton, 1999; Gibbs et al, 1998).

Policy deliberations on the functionality of area-based interventions were also influenced by studies that tried to explain social and economic change of place. They emphasised the meaning of geography in the creation of disadvantage, which was found to be multidimensional and also spatial (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001; Lilja, 2002). Space is increasingly viewed as having a major role in integration and segregation of urban society and therefore disadvantage cannot be studied without examining spatial exclusion (Cooke, 1989a, 1989b; Madanipour, 1998; Lawless, 2006).

Various policy commentators have indicated that in order to be responsive to social and spatial structures of individual location, geography matters and policy to address issues of urban development need to involve area-based policies (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001; Pemberton, 2008). In this context, a common policy belief is applied – that where people live affects their life chances beyond social categories and specific disadvantages (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2001; Haase and Pratschke, 2005; Andersson and Subramanian, 2006). Increasingly, understanding localities can only be achieved through a ‘people and place’ approach, identifying social relations articulated within them in order to influence local change (MacLennan, 2000; Hemphill et al, 2006). A major critique of

area effects indicated that any particular feature of urban change has to reflect the wider circumstances and requirements of the city or region in which it is located, and ensure that urban area makes a positive contribution to national economic performance (Hausner, 1993; Roberts and Sykes, 2000).

Policy commentators asserted that linkages between different aspects of urban regeneration cannot be developed when planning and action on a city-wide or regional level is sidelined by the focus on local initiatives that results in a duplication of efforts (Turok and Schutt 1994). Local approaches may also scale down problems and therefore fail to specify accurately processes operating at broader spatial scales (Gough and Eisenschitz, 1996; Lovering, 1997).

It has been further argued that much more emphasis should be placed upon thematic programmes, with a more universal approach, rather than those locked on to particular geographical areas and that the existing plethora of area-based initiatives should be reduced in order to enhance the integration of those remaining programmes (Lawless, 2006). Another criticism over area-based approaches evolved around the fact that the effects of initiatives are time-dependent, as it takes a long time to create the partnerships and community involvement that are essential to success (Taylor, 2007).

Therefore, in order to identify policy measures which could improve existing developments in area-based initiatives, it is crucial to address the following concerns, arising from the comparable approaches analysed:

- Urban disadvantage or city wealth and competitiveness originate from both multi-sectoral factors and area geographical dimension (Madanipour, 1998; Meegan and Mitchell, 2001; Haase and Pratschke, 2005);
- The focus on the small locality is justified for a more efficient allocation of financial assets and achieving synergies across different policy sectors (Green, 1998; Robson, 2002);
- Urban sustainability is conditioned by the use of local capital, followed by corresponding development interventions, employed for scaling it up within the society and to wider levels of governance (McGregor, 1966; Glennester et al, 1999, Ellerman, 2008);
- Local initiatives alone can overcome structural difficulties only when chosen in connection with a comprehensive and integrated strategy (Pacione, 1997; Andersen, 2002; OECD, 2005);
- Planning and action on a city-wide or regional level is conditioned by the existence of linkages between socio-economic and physical aspects of urban development (Lovering, 1997; Eischenschitz, 1997; EC, 2008).

3.4 Application of area-based initiatives in Ireland

“Currently, social policies and services operate on a ‘functional’ or ‘departmental’ basis without any coherent attempt to integrate services at local levels. The scope for area ‘renewal’ and community based co-ordination must therefore be considerable. The more closely involved are local communities in the planning and delivery of area based projects, the more they will reflect local needs and priorities.”
(National Social and Economic Council (NESC), 1991:75).

3.4.1 Local government context in Ireland

Most of the functions of city authorities are derived from legislation and regulations made by the Minister for Local Government. Traditionally, local authorities have had only a narrow range of functions, such as physical planning, with a limited role in economic development, in comparison to other European countries, where local government level is responsible for delivery of a wide range of services, including education, health, welfare, economic development, local transport and safety (Chubb, 1992; DoELG, 1996; Dooney and O'Toole, 1998). Ireland remains highly centralised with little devolution of core service functions to local government and no local taxation or revenue capacity for local administration (Ó Broin and Waters 2007).

Central government has at its disposal a range of organisations and semi-autonomous agencies to deliver public service. Some of them perform roles that are in charge of regional and local administrations in other countries, such as the provision of education (Coughlan and de Buitléir, 1996). Almost all of these agencies are national organisations with regional offices and most do not have regional autonomy. There is a complex pattern of administrative and governance jurisdictions within Dublin City which is highly fragmented. None of the six main statutory agencies, comprising local government, health, policing, education, labour market and social welfare, have common administrative boundaries and none are consistent with local development or social inclusion territorial designations. It has been argued, therefore, that Irish urban governance is hindered by nationally imposed problems of geopolitical fragmentation and the difficulties of working in highly complex patterns of local administrative processes (Murphy, 2008).

Figure 3.1 below illustrates existing institutional structures based on the Greater Dublin Area. There are 48 governance structures directly related to local development issues:

Figure 3.1: Greater Dublin Area governance structures

National Level

Government-led departments (8)

- Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government (oversight of local and regional authorities, Integrated Area Plans, European Regional Development Fund programmes)
- Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment (ESF programmes)
- Department of Tourism, Sport and Recreation (OP-LURD, URBAN)
- Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs (oversight of NDP Local Development Social Inclusion Programme: Community Development Support Programmes and Co-funding to Locally-based Community and Family Support Groups)
- Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform (oversight of Peace and Reconciliation Programme)
- Department of Health and Children (oversight of health and childcare policies)
- Department of Social and Family Affairs (oversight of social welfare policies)
- Department of Education (oversight of education policies)

Sectoral Agencies controlled by central government (6)

- FÁS and VEC (employment and training)
- Dublin Transportation Office

- Pobal (development of disadvantaged areas: oversight of Partnership Companies, Community Groups, Local Drugs Force, Rapid Initiative [Revitalising Areas by Planning, Investment and Development])
- Temple Bar Properties Limited (urban regeneration)
- Dublin Docklands Development Authority
- Industrial Development Authority (inward investment)

Intermediary level

Regional Authorities (1)

- Southern and Eastern Regional Assembly (monitoring of National Development Plan and EU funded programmes)

Co-ordinating Boards (14)

- Dublin City Enterprise Board (CEB) and City Development Board
- Fingal, Dun-Laoghaire-Rathdown, South Dublin, Kildare, Meath and Wicklow CEBs and CDBs

Local Level

Local Authorities (7)

- Dublin City Council
- Fingal, Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown, South Dublin, Kildare, Meath and Wicklow County Councils

Local Partnership Companies in GDA (12)

- Ballymun, Canal Communities, Clondalkin, Tallaght, Finglas-Cabra, Northside, Dublin Inner City Partnership, Southside, Kimmage, Blanchardstown, Ballyfermot, Bray

Source: Marshall, 2007

The Government's publication 'Delivering Better Government: A Programme for Change' in 1996, followed by the 1998 Report of the Task Force on the Integration of Local Government and Local Development Systems, led to the establishment of the Local Government Act in 2001. The Act provided for the key reforms in local governance in Ireland (O'Broin and Waters, 2007). In particular, it introduced a set of principles on integration of local government and development. Special emphasis has been placed on the notion of partnership between local communities, public, private sector and social partners in the design and delivery of local services.

The new policy has also recognised the need to adapt structures and processes to a more area-based and integrated approach. As a result, complex structures were initiated, with City/County Development Boards (CDBs), Strategic Policy Committees (SPCs) and Local Area Committees (LACs). CDBs, including representation of Strategic Policy Committees' chairpersons, the city manager, social partners such as trade unions, employer groups, local development agencies, state agencies, community and voluntary sector, have an overseeing role in the implementation of overall strategies for economic, social and cultural development, which forms the basis for the co-ordination of all services in each area, including health, local development, enterprise and training (DoELG, 2000). SPCs and LACs combine city councillors with representatives of

interest groups for the different committees: urban planning, the environment, housing, roads, community and enterprise development.

These new Policy Committees were to provide councillors with a more meaningful role in policy review and development, as well as an opportunity for the deeper involvement of councillors in the corporate governance of local authorities. SPCs are also intended to act as a vehicle for integrity of local authority interests into local policy.

The 2000-2006 period has seen additional county-based and local partnership structures emerge, such as County Childcare Committees and Area Implementation Teams under RAPID (Government Programme for Revitalising Areas by Planning Investment and Development). Some policy attempts concerning the integration of various public services under the umbrella of one strategic body emerged in 2001, when the Government advocated establishment of a new regional authority to improve co-ordination and delivery of key transport and land use projects under the National Development Plan. This proposal has never come into force. It has been argued that the patchwork of existing Greater Dublin Area governance structures is set to be further complicated with the creation of a new body dealing with issues limited to transportation and land-use (Callanan and Keogan, 2003).

More recent national evaluations have shown that the leadership structures in Irish local government (such as the Strategic Policy Committees) were slow to evolve or reach full functional effectiveness. In Dublin City, the evolution of these structures had proved particularly problematic, with new structures competing in leadership roles with a system that still recognises political party group leaders as the formal political

leadership of the city. This left those in formal policy leadership positions less powerful than envisaged and less able to impact on the policy (Murphy, 2008).

3.4.2 Application of area-based approach – a policy dimension

Along with the evolution of local government arrangements, the introduction of an area-based partnership approach has been imminent in local economic development of urban areas in Ireland. Four catalysts can be identified within this process. The first was the application of a national model of partnership at the local level as a mechanism of policy implementation. A second was the strengthening of the local dimension in economic policy, with a particular focus on micro-enterprise and other employment initiatives. A third factor was the design of locally delivered multi-sectoral strategies in order to enhance the effectiveness of traditional welfare policies. The fourth was central government recognition and support for local communities as legitimate actors in the provision of public services and the promotion of economic self-help (Walsh et al, 1998).

A major transformation of the Irish economy occurred in the early 1960s when the State adopted a strategy of economic development based on foreign industrial investment. The economic performance in subsequent years, particularly after the mid 1970s, featured high levels of unemployment, in particular long-term. One of the first policy responses to persistent levels of unemployment and associated social problems was the establishment of the Community Enterprise Programme in 1983 by the Youth Employment Agency, which provided the primary state support in promoting area-based initiatives. This was followed by the Community Training and Employment Consortia Programme (COMTEC) during the period of 1985-1987 to co-ordinate at a

local level various youth employment services. The Programme was implemented by a number of COMTECs at the equivalent of a county level, comprising of a consultative council, representing local interests' council, and a planning unit, composed of statutory service providers. At a national level the programme was monitored by the multi-agency co-ordination group.

Consequent studies highlighted, however, that these early policy responses were based on ad hoc, short-term solutions designed to tide people over what were regarded as temporary periods of joblessness and failed to address the wider structural issues and to provide a coherent rationale for long-term actions (Faughnan, 1988).

In 1985 urban renewal schemes were introduced in response to the increasing level of dereliction of Irish cities and to promote urban regeneration and redevelopment in designated inner city areas. Local authorities were powerless, however, to participate in the final selection of areas and to decide on the form of the projects to be undertaken, thereby beginning the process of their marginalisation, which remains a hallmark of current Irish policy system (Drudy and MacLaran, 1996). The schemes were driven primarily by favourable tax incentives targeting investors and occupiers of properties and lacked wider strategic and integrated urban design plans.

By encouraging primarily large-scale sector investment, the schemes consequently failed to target the benefits of urban regeneration towards socially-excluded local communities and to address problematic issues central to sustainable development, such as unemployment, education, training and lack of public amenities. In addition, business development created through the schemes had little additional effect in terms of

endogenous employment creation or economic activity (KPMG, Murray O'Laoire Associates & Northern Ireland Economic Research Centre, 1996).

Only during the second half of the 1980s a renewed interest in bottom-up development interventions became a part of a re-assessment of economic policy (Walsh et al, 1998). At that time, economic and urban policy emerged based on the entrepreneurial partnership concept, with the application of a new pluralistic political regime of coalition governments and multi-sectoral partnerships operating at national and local levels (Bartley, 2000):

Table 3.1: Economic and urban policy phases in Ireland

	Phase 1 1921 to 1960	Phase 2 1960 to 1986	Phase 3 1986 to date
<i>Economic Policy</i>	Economic isolationism: indigenous development	Industrialisation and integration into world economy: strategy to attract inward investment	Post-industrial strategy to attract high-growth industries and services
<i>Governance</i>	Centre populist party dominance of central government: weak local government	Centre populist party dominance of central government and emergence of coalition governments: weak local government	Coalition governments and proliferation of partnerships: moderation of central government controls over local government
<i>Urban Planning</i>	Minimal, ad hoc: main focus on housing provision	Local government urban planning introduced but authoritarian control maintained by central government	Adaptive entrepreneurialism: targeted regeneration and flexible planning

Source: adapted from Bartley and Borscheid, 2003

A number of European and associated central government policies have impacted the evolution of area-based initiatives in Ireland through support of innovative actions at

local level using the partnership model and providing the inspiration for the government initiatives (Table. 3.2)

Table 3.2: EU and Irish policy linkages

EU and Irish policy linkages	
European Union : Economic and Social Policy	Ireland : National Partnership Programmes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single European Act (SEA) 1987 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programmes for National Recovery- PNR 1987
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maastricht Treaty (Economic Union) 1991 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme for Economic and Social Progress – PESP 1991
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Employment 1993 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme for Competitiveness and Work PCW 1994
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amsterdam Treaty (Social Union) 1997 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partnership 2000 for Inclusion, Employment and Competitiveness 1996-1997 • Programme for Prosperity and Fairness – PPF 2000

Source: adapted from Bartley & Waddington, 2001

Following a number of innovative and pilot local partnership programmes since 1986, the central government has made partnership-led local development an integral component of economic and social policy. In the early 1990s, the National Economic and Social Council identified measures to be employed in an integrated fashion through locally-based strategies (NESC, 1990). This gave the basis for further establishment of local partnership interventions in disadvantaged areas throughout the country.

A feature of the government strategy has been a succession of national tripartite agreements with employers and trade unions in the 1980s and later in the 1990s with the inclusion of the third sector stakeholders, including representatives of the social ‘pillar’ – the unemployed and voluntary services. Social partnership agreements, devised originally to meet the first set of problems, have adapted in form and content to deal with the new challenges. The Strategy for Recovery of 1986 and the Programme for

National Recovery of 1987 developed an analysis of the nature of the country's economic problems and the priorities that needed to be addressed, and recognised the need of achieving co-ordination among all partners (Hardiman, 2000).

The two further agreements: Programme for Economic and Social Progress 1990-1993 and Programme for Competitiveness and Work 1993-1996 widened the range of issues and became the basis of later introduced locally-based structures, such as local partnership companies.

The new approach began with the establishment of 12 pilot partnerships, set up under the 1991-1993 Area-Based Response to Long-term Unemployment Programme in designated areas of social and economic disadvantage throughout the country. They were charged with development of innovative and locally-based approaches to intervening in long-term unemployment and achieving this through promoting greater integration and co-ordination between all stake-holders. The operations were based on channelling funding and other resources to designated poor groups and drawing together a range of partners and resources to focus on economic and social development in deprived communities.

The Board's membership involved representatives of local communities, voluntary and private sector, training and economic development departments, which gave partnerships some influence over the local activities and expenditures of central government agencies involved in local issues (EC, 2000). This process was followed by the Local Enterprise Programme, initiated in 1993 to support micro-enterprise at the local level. The Programme has been delivered through City/County Enterprise Boards,

which comprised of representatives of state agencies, local authorities, social partners and voluntary groups.

In this new scenario, the quest for economic success has been increasingly viewed by policy commentators as a collaborative effort involving flexible political, administrative and participatory measures, rather than as a matter for governments or their subordinate agencies alone (Bartley and Borscheid, 2003). A growing emphasis on selective, spatially targeted and place-focused approaches that required fewer resources was argued to be a part of the restructuring of the welfare state, increasingly imposed on changing global conditions (Madanipour, 1998; Bartley, 1998).

At both the national and European levels, local actions have been seen as complementing mainstream policy actions, generating local benefits and piloting new strategies in areas of socio-economic development (WRC SEC, 1994). Most of the programmes have been promoted through the structural funds. The delivery mechanism has been employed typically through local partnership structures with the prime focus on local job creation. Under this initiative the European Commission insisted upon partnership structures, as opposed to the government centralised approach. The Area Development Management Agency (at present Pobal) was created to administer funds independently from government and paved the way to relative independence of the partnerships from direct government control. A portion of the EU funding has been allocated outside of the government administrative system through the Global Grant, which gave greater access to the resources by non-governmental bodies.

Area-based interventions emerged, therefore, from a combination of ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ forces, where community pressure coincided with the demands for a less centralised administration system for utilisation of national and European funds.

The Local, Urban and Rural Development Programme (LURD) 1994-1999, and consequent Local Development Social Inclusion Programme 2000-2006, funded primarily through the EU Structural Funds within the Community Support Framework (CSF), extended the piloted number of local partnerships from 12 to 38 locations throughout the country. This was followed by the Programme of Integrated Development in Disadvantaged Areas of 1995-1999, which targeted designated disadvantaged areas in order to promote local socio-economic development through a variety of measures: creation of enterprise, infrastructural works, education and training, tackling unemployment and community development.

In 1995, the Local Employment Service (LES) was created to co-ordinate the work of statutory and community bodies offering employment services. It has been linked with the Local Development Programme through the local partnerships and co-ordinated by FÁS – the National Training and Employment Agency.

The later National Partnership Programme 2000 for Inclusion, Employment and Competitiveness of 1996 and consequent 1998 Urban Renewal Scheme Guidelines programme provided the basis for the introduction of Integrated Area Plans (IAPs) being a subject for state and EU funds for urban regeneration. In this approach, public agencies engaged in regeneration strategies were to enhance effectiveness of their programmes through co-ordination with community-based priorities identified by the

partnership companies, and to demonstrate social inclusion criteria and targets as part of IAPs.

Complementary to this process, the National Anti-Poverty Strategy (NAPS) 1997-2007 was initiated with the aim of supporting disadvantaged urban locations in bringing sustainable social and economic development. It envisaged that local employment service formed a key element in addressing socio-economic deprivation. At the local level, the development of the Strategy was facilitated by the area-based partnerships (Dublin Regional Authority, 1999).

The current National Development Plan for Ireland (2007-2013) recognises that economic and social progress are inter-dependent and almost half of the total funding commitment under this plan is destined for social infrastructure and social inclusion priorities (NDP, 2007). This new policy highlights in particular the commitment to achieving balanced regional development and integrated ‘whole-of-Government’ measures. The Plan is further reinforced by resourcing interventions necessary to give effect to major policy developments over the medium term, including many that are put forward or endorsed in the last National Social Partnership Agreement ‘Towards 2016’. These include funding for area-based community development initiatives.

Earlier European studies on local partnerships in Ireland asserted that the impact of area-based approaches has led to significant improvements in the process of policy formulation and implementation at the local level. This involved setting up local measures in which policymakers interact coherently in tackling problems by

strengthening contacts between partners as well engaging new actors, such as social partners, local associations and groups (Geddes, 1998, OECD, 2004b).

It can be argued that the model of local partnership in the Irish context reflects State policy increasingly dependent upon area-based initiatives, with a plethora of government programmes providing financial and technical support from both EU and national government (Craig and McKeown, 1994). Various policy commentators asserted that in the Irish model local partnerships have offered an institutional framework for policy innovation with a potential to introduce a new and more proactive attitude to local economic development.

This novel role of local partnerships has become complementary to mainstream policies, providing a more effective focus on local issues, communities and areas (OECD, 2004b). A number of studies have argued, however, that the scale of individual approaches in the Irish model has been small and more experimental. There has been also less organisational capacity in the management of area-based structures, as local partnerships relate closely to agencies of central government and are largely independent of local government (EC, 2007; DCGA, 2007).

This exceptional administrative status, reflected by the separation of local partnerships and local government, resulted in isolation of the partnership structures in initiation of local actions and, therefore, limited public accountability and adequate co-ordination of interventions (Walsh et al , 1998; Pobal, 2006b). Area-based structures were given no formal authority and no statutory organisation was required to cede any powers to them. They have been also seen as gradually reduced to the role of a funnel for state services

and European funding, with some concessions to local conditions where the needs have been addressed separately to those of the community as a whole. The outcome gains achieved were distributed differentially, being insufficient to sustain a community-wide response (DCGA, 2003).

Policy commentators further highlighted that in a system of various centralised organisations there has been a weak co-ordinated, holistic approach embracing the principles of sustainable development, which has been unable to respond efficiently when dealing with local issues (O'Neill, 1998; DoELG, 1998; Ó Broin, 2002; OECD, 2005). More importantly, regeneration strategies were not evolved to the local level by central government but local partnerships have developed their own, within local boundaries.

Earlier studies on area-based initiatives in urban areas recognised additional and cumulative effects arising out of clustering of disadvantaged neighbourhoods in a given area. Therefore, it would be critical for future policies to assess whether individual-level approach, concerned with specific target groups, or area-level approach, tackling cumulative, spatial aspects of deprivation, are an appropriate remedy (McKeown et al, 2003; Haase and Pratschke, 2008). Such justification is based on the assumption that high concentration of deprived communities in specific areas facilitates targeting of resources for these areas more efficiently in order to maximise the number of neighbourhoods reached (Watson et al, 2005).

Another motivation for urban area targeting is that general measures to improve employment creation would not be sufficient to have an impact on those experiencing

long-term unemployment, and therefore special ‘targeted’ measures, in the form of integrated locally-based strategies, are required. They should include both physical and socio-economic issues, such as housing, environment, employment and retraining schemes, as they could have an impact above their separate effects (NESC, 1990).

In 2003 Central Government carried out the policy review of the existing community and local development structures in order to address issues of regional and social imbalance as well as securing economic development (DCGA, 2003). The review found that there was a high level of concern, even resentment, at the involvement, as part of the tri-ministerial initiative, of the County and City Development Boards in the endorsing of local agencies annual plans (*ibid.*). It further argued that the ‘autonomy’ of local or community agencies was being diminished because the CDBs were closely linked to the local authority structure. Some policy commentators involved in the review doubted that the CDBs were adequately resourced to carry out significant monitoring. There were also concerned that a move towards the involvement of the CDBs would undermine the integrity of the bottom-up approach to addressing problems within communities; others even questioned the validity of taking a county-based approach at all (*ibid.*).

Arising from the joint Ministerial initiative on the review, the Government agreed a series of measures in 2004 designed to improve arrangements under which community and local development initiative are delivered and improve cohesion and focus across various measures. This included establishment of one integrated local development company that provided a single access point for local communities, setting up the requirements in relation to the membership and mandate of local development bodies involved in delivering programmes on behalf of the central Departments and provision

of new Guidelines to assist local development bodies in achieving the highest standards of governance and accountability (DCGA, 2007).

The aims of the current cohesion process (post-2007) are the roll-out of the Local Development Social Inclusion Programme to full country-wide coverage. The alignment of structures is intended to strengthen local level coordination, while the increase in national coverage will create the opportunity for partnerships to address social exclusion wherever it is found and to respond flexibly and rapidly to the changing geographical distribution of poverty and social disadvantage (Pobal, 2006b).

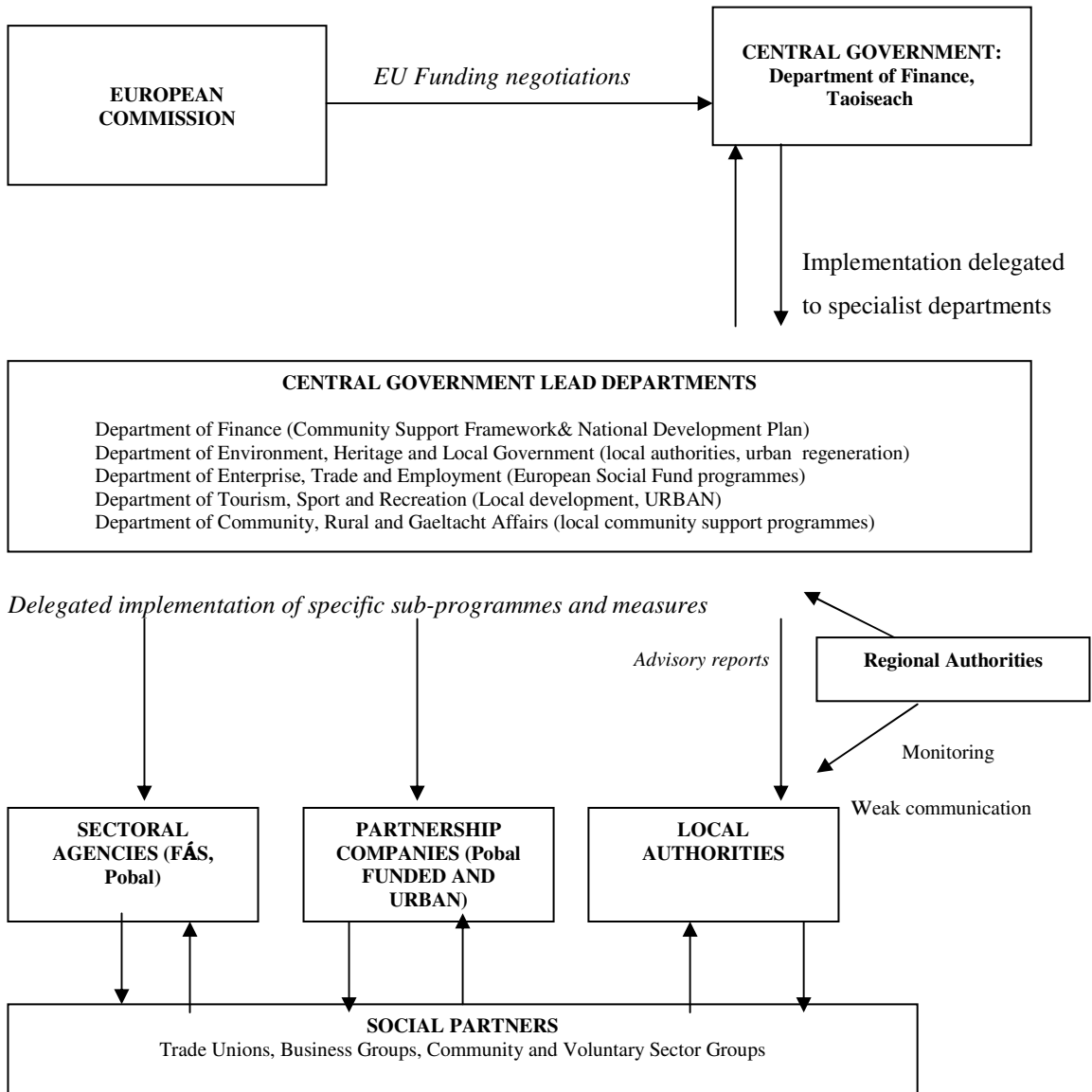
Recent evaluations of the CSF during the period of 2000-2006 revealed that more balanced regional development in Ireland still remains a challenge (Fitzpatrick et al, 2005). It found that the CSF and NDP funding have not brought about convergence between regions in terms of output per capita. More particularly, the gap remained high between counties, especially within the South and East Region where Dublin is located. This challenge highlights the need for serious follow-through on the NSS, and more specifically an appropriate focus on dynamic cities and city regions, considering the emerging socio-economic patterns, such as relatively static performance in previously high growth sectors, static labour productivity on average, continued exclusion of key groups despite overall economic prosperity, continued high population growth, continued high immigration and the onset of ageing of the population (ibid).

Looking ahead, the specific role of Dublin, its demographic and economic changes over the recent years, brings a necessity to determine government arrangements to comply with the city-region needs. Although Integrated Area Plans and City and County Development Board structures were introduced as part of a larger reform aimed at

integrating local government and local development and to address socio-economic and associated physical problems, the concept did not compensate for the lack of wider urban policy and comprehensive planning strategies, such as local employment, social housing, settlement and transport (Bannon 1999; Horner 1999; MacLaran, 1999; Bartley and Saris, 1999; Bartley, 2000).

More recent policy reviews on metropolitan governance and spatial inequalities in Dublin highlight the fact that targeted area-based governance initiatives can bring only limited results unless they are tied into regional or national governance processes with a power to shift mainstream funding or to reform national housing, industrial, employment and development policies that are continuing to cause and reinforce concentrations of disadvantage (NESC, 2005; Ó Broin and Murphy, 2007). In this context, it is believed that Irish local policies are to become increasingly regionalised, which would require far-reaching integration of existing structures and strategies at the local, regional and national levels (Nolan et al, 1998; Bartley and Treadwell-Shine, 1999; Allen, 2000; Breathnach, 2002; Ó Broin, 2002; DCGA, 2007).

Figure 3.2: European, National and area-based linkages matrix



Source: Adapted from Marshall, 2007

3.5 Application of area-based initiatives in Poland

“To the economic policy agendas of the EU cohesion countries, their processes of restructuring and convergence begin to look more familiar to policymakers in the CEE transition economies as they plan supply-side reforms. As policy role models for a transition economy wishing to join the EU in the medium term, the experiences of the cohesion countries such as Ireland have become very relevant after the initial stages of transition are completed.”

(Nolan et al, 2000)

3.5.1 *Area-based governance in Poland – contextual background*

Over the last two decades the transformation process of social, economic and political systems in Poland has resulted in the emergence of new local and regional governance systems. This has led to the creation of new relationships between the state and society. Earlier studies on the Polish transformation process identified linkages between socio-economic changes and spatial issues. They highlighted the fact that the formation of new regional and local structures and area-based interventions pursued by them impacted on the pace of urban development (Furman, 2004; Weclawowicz, 2005; Lorens, 2005).

Various policy commentators argued that the post-1989 transition period was driven by policy misperception of the economic costs and benefits of the change induced. This process resulted in growth of disparities between those communities who lost their standard of living and those who gained from economic changes. There has also been a lack of well-established policy structures that could conduct public interventions based on the local needs approach (Gołębiowski, 1993; Gorzelak, 2006). Thus it is believed that area-based governance requires systematic analysis and evaluation (Swianiewicz, 2003).

Previous policy debates on the evolution of a local governance system in Poland after 1989 highlighted the fact that existing organisation of area-based government structures was shaped by three main streams of policy reforms. The first development of 1989 and 1990 was related to political transition from the centrally-planned policies to market economy and democracy. The second and the third phase, which took place between the mid-1990s and 2000, concerned transformation of institutional settings and emergence of territorial governments, together with the remaining prevalence of the state centralism (Izdebski and Kulesza, 2004).

The development of new local and regional structures commenced with the introduction of the first post-socialist government in 1989, preceding the economic and legal transformation process of the 1990s. Before that period local administration was subordinated to higher tiers of central government; thus there was no room left for self-government and local democratic politics as a highly centralised approach prevailed. In 1990, a new Local Government Act was enacted, which introduced elected local government at the municipal level (called *gmina*).

Further administration reform of the territorial division at the county and regional level was postponed until 1998. A number of competencies held by previous local districts were kept by the *voivodship* (regional) level. In general, central administration lobbying and bureaucracy restrained further decentralisation, although a new bill on central and local administration competencies allowed for devolution of powers. There was also no political support for municipalities from the central levels, and public policy lacked future perspectives regarding transformation of the local finance system (Regulski, 2000).

Under the Local Self-government Act³ municipalities perform public tasks on their own behalf and responsibility, have legal identity and independent budgets⁴, their own fixed assets, and control funds whose value is commensurate with their tasks. Until 2002, municipalities were managed by the executive board, elected by the council, and consisted of the mayor, deputy-mayors and ordinary members. The new reform introduced direct election of a city mayor, who does not need to share power with a collective board.

A general responsibility clause provides that municipalities are responsible for all public matters of local significance which are reserved by law for other entities and authorities. In particular, local governments are in charge of: land management and planning, zoning and local environmental protection, local infrastructure (roads and maintenance, bridges, streets and squares), local transport system, municipal housing, primary health care services, education (pre-school and primary education), social welfare and other services including electricity and heat supply, maintenance of local buildings and public facilities, and promotion of culture.

The Local Self-Government Act initially allowed municipalities to engage in all forms of economic activity under the clause 'If public interests would so require'. The law was changed in 1992, restricting local government economic activity to public utility tasks. However, the term 'public utility' has never been clearly defined and the interpretation was suggested by various public policy associations to be left to individual local authorities.⁵ In general, local economic development does not constitute an obligatory task of municipal government, but has been a major concern for municipalities. In

³ The Local Self-government Act of 08.03.1990, Journal of Laws 96.13.74

⁴ The independence of which is subject to judicial protection

⁵ Such as the Polish Local Government Association

previous surveys related to the local governance system in Poland, both local mayors and councillors mentioned 'economic development', 'creating new jobs' and 'coping with unemployment' among the most important tasks for local authorities (Baldersheim et al, 1996; Swianiewicz, 2003). Specifically, municipalities increasingly emphasised a strategic approach to local economic development, such as attracting new investments and preparing local development strategies.

Municipalities also perform tasks delegated to them by the state administration. These responsibilities may be placed on municipalities by law or through voluntary agreements with state agencies. After 1990, local governments were also granted substantial discretion in deciding on new forms of service delivery, such as outsourcing services to private companies, partial or full privatisation, or companies owned by local government. One of the emerging features of local governance in Poland over the period of 1992-2002 was increasing co-operation between municipalities and local non-government organisations (NGOs) in providing services (Regulski, 2000; Gorzelak et al, 2007).

The new functions transferred to local governments were usually funded through new streams of central grants. This led to the gradual deterioration of local government revenue structures. Between 1992 and 2000, the share of municipal revenues deriving from own resources dropped from almost half to about one-third of total budgets, and at the same time the overall share of central grants increased from 30% to about 50. This increased dependence on central funds resulted in the loss of local policies' accountability and entrepreneurial skills. Although the new Law on Revenues of Territorial Self-Government was introduced in 1999 for an initial period of three years,

no agreement has been reached so far on a devolution of more fiscal autonomy to area-based governments (Swianiewicz, 2003).

In 1996, Poland's largest cities (those with more than 100,000 inhabitants) were granted county (district) functions and in 1998 new upper tiers *poviat* (county level) and regional self- governments were introduced. *Poviat* functions are much less extensive, supported by the aggregate budget of about a quarter of municipal budget, with the predominance of central grants.

Unlike municipality (*gmina*), which is responsible for all matters that have not been explicitly assigned to the other levels of government, the *poviat* implements only those tasks that have been clearly defined in the law. Hence, there is no dependence between the *poviat* and the *gmina*; each of them execute separately public tasks and responsibilities. In particular, *poviat* has a legal identity, which is separated from the state, and *gmina* performs public tasks on its own behalf and responsibility, owns fixed assets, and controls revenues whose value is commensurate with its tasks.

Counties are primarily responsible for: secondary education (post-elementary schools, vocational and special schools); tackling unemployment; organising and providing those social welfare services that extend beyond *gmina's* boundaries, as well as the implementation of other forms of social welfare (family centres and social care houses); general responsibility for the operation of the public health service institutions; and other functions relating to maintenance of *poviat* roads, facilities, public safety, supervision of buildings, water management and environmental protection. Currently *poviat's* budgets are at the discretion of central administration.

Regional structures are based on a mixed model of mutual co-operation of central and regional governments. *Voivodship* self-governments (regions) are directly elected and have independent legal identity, their own budget and extensive power in the area of economic policy. Councils act as regional parliaments (*Sejmiks*) and are decision-making bodies of *voivodship* self-governments. They elect governing boards to exercise the executive authority in self-governing *voivodships* and boards are headed by elected Marshals.

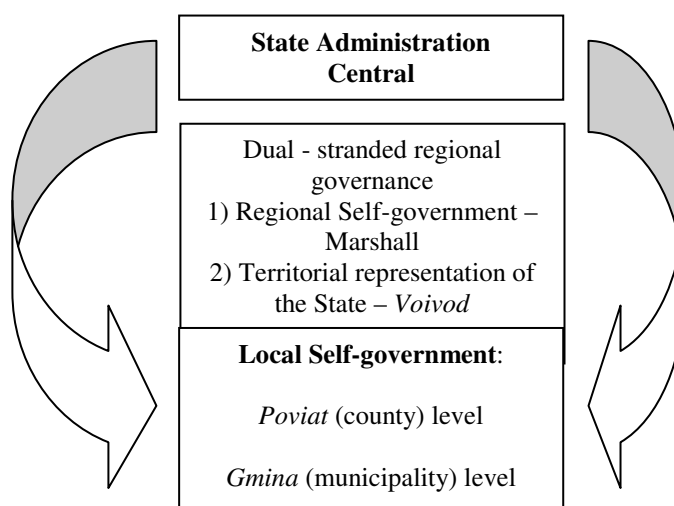
Voivodship self-governments are responsible for the regional development policy programmes and are autonomous in carrying out these programmes. The approach is based on the principle of subsidiarity as only those national development programmes that have been agreed on with the *voivodship* authorities are to be implemented. They formulate and implement development strategies for their territory in three major areas: economic development (stimulating business activities, improving the competitiveness and the innovation of regions); higher education; specialised health services; sustainable development, land use and land planning.

Regional development tasks are subject to so-called ‘regional agreements’ contracted between the central government and regional authorities. Based on such agreements, European Union Structural Funds are being currently transferred to and managed by regional governments. Their major tasks include education (post-secondary and vocational schools, higher education), spatial development, environment protection, regional roads and transport management.

Alongside the territorial self-government structures (in municipalities, *poviats* and *voivodships*), the central administration is represented in the *voivodship* (region) by the *voivod*. A *voivod* is a state-appointed body, responsible for ensuring that national policies are executed regionally and the state institutions operating in the region perform their function in line with those policies. The *voivods* are accountable to the central government and focus on the legal supervision of the activities of municipality (*gmina*), *poviat* and *voivodship* self-governments. *Voivods* are responsible for all services related to law-enforcement and public security.

In the application of a dual-stranded model of regional authorities, the roles of central and regional governments are balanced with respect to designing programmes. However, regional governments are primarily responsible for their implementation, with the central government monitoring and evaluating the performance of the programmes. Such dual structure of public administration at the *voivodship* level is assumed to ensure that the division of powers would guarantee cohesion between the actions of local and regional self-governments and the uniformity of national policies (Gorzalak, 2007).

As a result of public transformation processes over the period of 1992-2002, three tiers of territorial government were established – almost 2,500 municipalities (commune level), 308 counties (in addition to 65 cities with county status) (*poviat* level) and 16 regions (See Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3: Public administration structures in Poland

Source: Author

Both, municipal and county levels are governed under the principles of self-government, while the regional tier (*voivodship*) reflects a dual structure. This structure is based on regionally elected ‘office-holder’ (*Marshall*) and the governor (*Voivod*), appointed by the Prime Minister. These two functions are clearly separated and there is no hierarchical subordination between them. Following the first elections to *gmina*, *poviat* and *voivodships* councils, all levels of self-government assume responsibility for public services and economic development, while the state administration in *voivodships* (*voivods*) together with *poviat* self-governments are endowed with implementation of public policies.

The problem particularly concerns the division of competencies between different public administration levels. The process of decentralisation resulted in a mismatch of regional functions of the *Voivod*. Although legal regulations define its function as being responsible for financial transfer of funds to regional self-governments and *poviats*, the *Voivod* is still involved in regional management as it has discretion in public finances.

Policy commentators also argued that regional policies have been weak and subordinated to sectoral policies of the national governments. Since 1990, until the public administration reform in 1999, regional development was completely absent from mainstream economic policy as it was primarily focused on reshaping economic structures and maintaining social stability (Gorzalak, 2007). While the country has made great progress during the first years of transition in the construction of the economy on the basis of market principles, public administration remained largely unchanged and continues to be highly centralised (Lorens, 2005; Gorzelak, 2006). The most recent public policy frameworks in the area of territorial development only began the process of integration of sectoral and regional policies, since considerable funding assigned to regions has been composed of resources previously spent by central departments and government agencies.

Administration reform and simultaneous moves towards regional and local autonomy resulted in the creation of conflicting hierarchical systems at different levels of governance. New regions and districts created are seen as inadequate in regard to regional policies. Based on the existing structures, policy interventions such as industrial restructuring or regional contracting are still centralised. Although territorial self-governments could create their own development strategies, they have not obtained appropriate economic tools to develop them. Moreover, regional structures' reform devolved certain public policy actions to regional and district levels, without financial consolidation, either functional or political (Boni, 2003; Gorzelak, 2006). *Voivodships* and *poviats* became financially ineffective and, therefore, their role in enhancing effectiveness of policy interventions is substantially limited (Gilowska, 2000; Zalewski, 2000; Swianiewicz, 2004).

Previous studies have shown that fiscal autonomy in Poland remained behind that of most Western countries and lower than even some neighbouring Central and Eastern countries (Gorzelaak, 2006). The current financing approach to local and regional budgeting systems is strongly associated with redistribution patterns. Financial resources are devised based on arithmetical schemes, depending on the number of inhabitants and the scale of developmental problems. The share of national budget transfer in the total income of territorial structures remains at the discretion of central administration and accounts for 40% in municipalities, over 95% in *poviats* and 80% in regional self-governments' income.

In addition, the level of public financial decentralisation shows decreasing patterns, if measured by the total income of local and regional self-government units within the public sector total revenues. The share decreased from slightly over 12% in 1998 (when only municipality level existed) to less than 12% in 2000 (when three tiers of area-based governance were introduced). Simultaneously, the share in spending by these units within the total finance sector's share has increased from over 15% in 1998 to 22% in 2000. This clearly means that self-territorial units were financed through national budget transfers and therefore were not capable of coordinating their pro-development initiatives appropriately (Gorzelaak, et al 2001, Swianiewicz, 2004).

Along with issues relating to financial consolidation across various levels of governance, strategic approaches to policy implementation and partnership process remain areas for future policy considerations in the Polish context. Policy commentators indicated a lack of awareness of strategic approach in implementation of local strategies. They argued that strategies are commonly treated as a formality in order to

attract national or international grants for local investments. Possible conflicts may also emerge between the simultaneous role of local government as entrepreneurs and representatives of local community interests (Swianiewicz et al, 2004). Partnership between local organisations and municipality still remains as an innovative approach rather than a rule. This is often associated with the definition of such an approach, where the notion of partnership is generally accepted as a theoretical concept, but not formally defined in practice.

Previous studies in Poland have shown emerging patterns on policy collaboration that simultaneously were perceived as a competition for public organisations traditionally delivering services (Brud, 2002). Although recent national policies, such as National Development Plan, condition efficient implementation of development strategies based on the partnership principle - between government administration, self-government administration and economic entities, broad co-operation with private sector in the implementation of joint-projects, combining commercial and public funds, were found to be rare (Swianiewicz, 2003).

3.5.2 Area-based interventions in urban areas in Poland

Since the commencement of the transformation process in the 1990s, the area-based approach in public policies has become increasingly meaningful in Poland due to the following factors (Maik, 1995):

- Influence of the transformation processes on the local systems;
- The impact of specific local features on the outcome of the transformation process;
- The use of local features in the area of innovation and economic development;

- The search for new sources that could support local development.

Local initiatives were seen as important factors for development, as they strengthened local linkages to policy changes and actions (Gruchman and Zawisny, 2000; Bagdziński, 1994; Hryniewicz, 1988; Brol, 1988). Within the context of public governance structures during the period of political and economic transformation, local government was found to be one of its most important factors due to its positive role in local development (Gorzalak, 2007).

Previous studies have shown that transformed local government provided opportunities in mobilisation of local potential, and became an effective factor in the development of the market economy, allowing for the introduction of local innovative actions such as enterprise creation, local regeneration strategies and social inclusion programmes. The perception that primary agents of changes taking place in Poland were municipal governments, private entrepreneurs and local leaders, rather than central state administration has become increasingly supported by policy commentators (Gorzalak, 2000, Swianiewicz et al, 2004).

During the first years of the transformation process, the assumption prevailed that market mechanisms would replace central planning in the allocation of resources. Regional policy was concentrated at the central government level and targeted the area of unemployment without regional and spatial considerations. There was no place for strategic regional policies, as macroeconomic priorities remained of prime importance (Bagdziński and Maik, 1994).

Regional policies in Poland evolved only over the last decade, following the introduction of regional self-governance structures in 1999. Within the process of decentralisation, sectoral strategies were substituted by integrated territorial programmes and local and regional authority became a new participant in the market process (Śniegowska, 2000; Sztando, 2000). In general, the rationale for regional and local policies application was explained by their usefulness in situations where market itself is not able to impact on regional convergence, is too slow or when it generates too high social costs in the economic development process (Orłowski, 2001).

Area-based interventions emerged as a result of imposition of legal regulations, which shaped conditions for delivery of local policies such as spatial planning, environmental protection, infrastructure, public services and local tax systems. At present they consist of obligatory and non-obligatory tasks. The first group derives from devolving of powers from central government to municipality in order to implement all actions guaranteed by acts of parliaments which municipality is obliged to fulfil. Active local authorities can create a second group of instruments confined to implementation of non-obligatory tasks such as regulations relating to assisting local labour market, enterprise development, co-ordination and co-operation between various local actors. Such tasks are set within the frame of local authorities' competencies but are formulated and executed as local initiatives (Kozarowicz et al, 1998; Gorzelak, 2006).

In the Polish context, two groups of local interventions can be identified. The first group involves actions that facilitate local economic spheres in order to stimulate local development. The second derives from the first group and focuses on directing the economic sphere in line with local spatial interests, environment, infrastructure and social issues. As they compete with each other, policy commentators suggested that the

policies should seek the best compromises through negotiations between local authorities, residents, business community, other local actors and long-term strategies (Potok and Futymski, 2000, Swianiewicz, 2004). Other authors believed that achieving an optimal proportion of local development measures could solve contradictory interests that typically emerge when various stake-holders are involved in policy making (Sztando, 2000).

It can be also argued that policy approaches to area-based interventions in Poland were, similar to the Irish case, driven by European Union measures, introduced at the outset of the 1990s as a result of political and economic transformation processes. The second driver was the recognition of an integrated approach to local development. The third driver was the recognition of local development as a complementary approach to regional development strategies and the base for the formulation of the 'bottom-up' regional policy (Bagdziński, 1994; Gorzelak, 2007).

These new approaches believed that socio-economic development was shaped at the global level, accepted at the national scale and experienced locally. The increased role was given also to spatial issues reflected by the idea of 'locality', which linked the theme of local community with the concept of local settlement structure (Maik, 1995; Weclawowicz, 2004; Lorens, 2005). In this context, 'locality' constitutes the base, where people could develop their approaches to innovation, brought to local area by external factors; hence the introduction of positive changes would depend on community involvement and the existence of strong local leadership groups (Gorzelak et al, 2007).

Previous studies carried out in Poland argued that successful approaches increasingly depended on the proportion of endogenous and exogenous factors of development. They highlighted external interventions, such as national and trans-national assistance programmes, including European Union, stimulated development of cities (Gorzela, 1999 et al; Gorzela, 2007).

However, endogenous factors were found to play the primary role, as they could not be substituted or created by external stimuli. In some cases, endogenous skills were found to be the main condition for success. Therefore, when European financial inputs complemented endogenous activities and efforts of locally-based structures, they genuinely assisted in development. In this context, endogenous factors of growth, such as existence of local leaders, local skills and values representing various areas of development rather than economic, redistributive measures, could stimulate its pace, in particular when external resources were in shortage (Hausner, 2001; Gilowska et al, 1998, Swianiewicz, 2004). Moreover, integrated actions of all actors involved and their co-operation between public and private spheres conditioned success of local development independently from socio-economic environments of the area.

The practice showed that all these factors had specific influence on the whole process of development and the lack of one of these indicators in the development process could limit achieving sustainability (Gorzela, 2007). Policy commentators also argued that only active areas, with a good tradition of leadership, entrepreneurship and involving existing local institutions in the governance process, had greater potential for successful achievements leading to development of the entire area. Therefore, it is believed that external assistance should primarily target entrepreneurial areas rather than inactive

societies (Heczko-Hylowa, 2000). New issues in economic development emerged, such as local strategic planning and quality of institutional structures, which increasingly became significant factors in achieving developmental progress. More than ever, competitiveness of the city/region depends on functional effectiveness of territorial systems (Gorzela, 1997; Hausner, 2001; Węclawowicz, 2005, Herbst, 2007).

Various authors indicated that the quality of territorial development and institutional frameworks depend on the style of governance, in which civil society plays an influential role in social and economic modernisation, and co-operation is forged between various territorial institutions (Swianiewicz, 2004). In particular, the role of governance at a local level is becoming fundamental in public policies in Poland, within the context of decentralisation process and strengthening of regional structures (Gorzela, 2006). Such an approach has been based on the assumption that social mobilisation, such as high levels of social and political organisations, various groups of interests and the capability of co-operation between them, called ‘collective entrepreneurship’, increasingly impact upon economic development, rather than physical and economic measures. The lobby groups are seen as the source of new ideas and innovation. It is believed that a lack of such indicators within public policies could worsen the functioning of the remaining measures (Małeck, 1997; Grosse, 2002).

It has been argued also that local interventions should not be limited to stimulation of local development alone, but be extended on macro-economic spheres of actions. In this context, local interventions should facilitate ‘bottom-up’ approaches to development, including building up synergies with central state programmes and forging co-operation between various actors. On the contrary, top-down approaches promoting external

investment strategies are seen as creators of passive attitudes to development as they do not stimulate creativity and do not engage most of the local resources (Karpiński, 1992; Sztando, 2000).

In the urban context, previous studies identified new policy trajectories, such as increase of social and spatial differentiation between and within cities and the transformation of employment structure from domination of industry to the service sector (Weclawowicz, 2002; Furman, 2004). Similar to other European countries, Polish approaches recognised that new concepts in local economic development represent a combination of human resources and enterprise development, built environment and spatial development. The process also involves targeted interventions in achieving sustainable local employment levels, where local and central authorities should play a catalyst role in forging partnerships with the private sector (Weclawowicz, 2002, Swianiewicz, 2005).

Policy commentators argued that the introduction of decentralised local governance arrangements impacted on the management of urban areas, as public governance attention has shifted from purely 'place of work' concern, such as focus on the production function, to 'place of residence'. It is believed that the most direct impact on recent transformation of cities was the formation of new social networks, representing interests groups defined locally and regionally. This process, however, created problems, as the new self-government system had not been prepared to deal with the emergence of many new actors competing for space. The introduction and consequences of the market economy increased socio-spatial polarisation. Alongside an overall

increase in economic activity, poverty levels and unemployment disparities within and between the urban areas have been evident (Węclawowicz, 2005, Lorens, 2005).

In the Polish context, the analysis of the impact of policy measures applied in urban areas needs to consider historical evolution of urban areas and spatial dimensions of its development. Since the beginning of the transformation process, no explicit urban policies have been formulated. In addition, the subject of urban regeneration has not been widely implemented as part of economic development process, in contrast to other European Union countries, where various instruments regarding urban disadvantage have been operating since the 1980s. In Poland, regional development policy was assumed to support renewal programmes for cities, including associated interventions relating to enhancement of investments, creation of jobs, development of enterprises and protection of cultural heritage.

The process of urbanisation in Poland did not develop in the classic western European pattern based on endogenous, town-creating factors. Various authors asserted this process as ‘managed urbanisation’, stimulated by imposed industrialisation and determined externally (Morawski, 1980; Musil, 1984; Szczepański, 1993). Social, technical and economic priorities were imposed centrally and led to the formation of the ‘industrial city’ (Węclawowicz, 1996). Within this approach urban space separated ‘place of work’ from the ‘place of residence’, which resulted in the creation of autonomous urban units. They lacked individual and collective identification with the space and conception for the clearly defined city centre (Groenman, 1965, Szczepański, 1991).

At the time, urban problems were not being perceived by policymakers as a priority and directly associated with economic development. Physical planning was conformed to the centralised system of national economy, as well as the whole system of decision-making (Malisz, 1986; Kowalewski, 1990). Reconstruction and development of towns, together with the process of industrialisation, became a symbol of social progress and improvement of living conditions, which were to be accessible for everyone who moved into cities; therefore, endogenous communities of cities played a marginal role in town-making (Szczepański, 1993).

Post-industrial cities in regions such as Upper Silesia Region have in particular experienced polarisation of their internal and settlements networks. This resulted in development of socially separated enclaves. The ‘industrial city’ model was characterised by certain features such as domination of employment in the industrial production sector and a low percentage of the middle class. This resulted in low levels of economic differentiation. The organisation of social life was around the place of work, as workers were usually allocated to particular dwellings, which did not always meet their local needs and therefore created constraints in the development of viable local communities. Social values and ties were disregarded, as urban administration did not anticipate the stimulation process of social integration of compact local societies (Adamczewska, 1962, Szczepański, 1993).

Uniformity of architecture and urban landscape created a higher proportion of waste brown-field land and led to deterioration of older city quarters. Large cities in particular featured homogenous estates with lack of adequate community facilities. They were usually isolated from the old part of the town. This created dual structures, functionally

dependent, as most services were located in the older part of the city. The inner city was typically abandoned from modernisation, as it was assumed to be no longer adequate for the increasing population levels. Housing in the older parts was owned by a communal administration or remained private, with deteriorated and underdeveloped infrastructure. The new part consisted of housing with communal infrastructure, owned by housing co-operatives or by an industrial complex (Węclawowicz, 1992).

Spatial segregation occurred also in regard to certain social groups. The general distribution of urban society featured higher categories within the central parts of towns. There were 'blackspots' identified with both physically deteriorated buildings and socially degraded areas, which included mainly elderly, as well as socially and economically weak, communities. In addition, the city periphery, characterised mainly by large housing estates with poor transport linkages, and inhabited by lower socio-professional groups, simultaneously featured island-like locations of single-family and higher standard housing areas (Węclawowicz, 1997).

Modern literature regarding urban development in Poland associates this process with the transformation of local and regional structures and the combination of capital investments in development projects, including infrastructure, services and jobs. It also points out that in a free market economy, only long-term and complex initiatives being in line with wider urban concepts and local development strategies can assure sustainability (Domanski, 1999; Lorens, 2005).

Traditionally and similar to other European approaches, development of urban areas in Poland was strictly linked to the process of accessing new land for economic purposes,

while environmental and social conditions of local communities remained separated (Furman, 2004). Urban economic growth and increase in the consumption levels were considered as prerequisites for ensuring quality of life. At the outset of the 1990s, alongside the emergence of local self-government structures, urban interventions have shifted towards recognition of space, perceived as a 'community' capable of shaping its living environments. As a result, social aspects have become one of the key indicators of city development. Specifically in terms of Polish transformation process, a city as a 'community', including city residents, companies, local groups and institutions, has been viewed as being in contrast to earlier anti-democratic approaches of local planning authorities, whose activity focused on devising life spaces for their residents.

These new approaches to city development have been considered as a main driver for local communities' development, who previously were left without opportunities to shape their living environments (Kipta et al, 2001). Various authors believe that these new approaches will be successful only in cases where public policies are able to link physical renewal actions with rehabilitation and humanisation processes of local residents, including their continuing education and creation of new employment opportunities; therefore, social mobility and labour market potential are becoming substantial factors for development of the cities (Kropp, 2001; Markowski, 2004).

Over the period of 1992-2002 there were a number of national policy measures pertaining to development of urban areas, such as the National Strategy for Regional Development 2001-2006 (at present National Strategic Reference Framework 2007-2013) , National Employment and Human Resources Strategy for 2000-2006 (currently Operation Programme for Human Capital and Innovative Economy 2007-2013 under

the NSRF), and Poland 2025 Long-Term Strategy for Sustainable Development⁶, which were later incorporated into National Development Plan.⁷ All of these strategic policy documents identified target areas for intervention, whose common characteristics are long-term unemployment, low education attainment and social disadvantage.

Among regions with poor urban networks, actions are to particularly target disadvantaged districts of cities and towns, mainly post-industrial, where inward investments are limited due to its mono-urban functions. These policies emphasise pre-conditions for accessing desired levels of long-term and sustainable development, as well as enhancing cohesion of regional policies with socio-economic aims:

- The need to integrate and co-ordinate economic, social and environmental aspects of economic development with the inclusion of local communities, private sector and NGOs, during programming and implementation of regional development programmes;
- The necessity to link measures targeted at human resources development at the same time as programmes aimed at improving the quality of life. National and regional initiatives are to be complemented by the actions implemented at local levels;
- Delivery of actions in partnership by the state, local governments, NGOs and private bodies at both horizontal and vertical levels, where non-government

⁶ National Strategy for Regional Development 2001-2006 and Poland 2025 – Long-Term Strategy for Sustainable Development; Ministry of Regional Development and Construction, Poland, December 2000.

⁷ Poland – National Development Plan 2004-2006, Ministry of Economy and most recent NDP for the period of 2007-2013. The document determines Poland's socio-economic strategy during the first years of membership in the European Union. It served as a point of reference for development activities undertaken with the use of national resources, and as a basis for elaboration of the Community Support Framework for Poland, determining directions and amounts of support from EU structural funds. The most recent policy document 'National Strategic Reference Framework 2007-2013' agreed in May 2007 with European Commission set up measures for implementation of cohesion policies

institutions are seen as the main partners in delivery of the programmes, and social partners in programming;

- Targeting regions most in need of intervention actions, which are to be measured at both regional and local levels by indicators such as GDP and basic socio-economic measures, such as the rate of unemployment, levels of educational attainment and infrastructure. The actions are to be considered as tackling area-based problems in the context of whole region rather than single selected locality;
- Enhancement of public-private partnerships, where the participation of all levels of governance – central, regional and local – in implementation of national strategies is seen as strengthening the administration and being in charge of regional policy;
- Building up institutions for delivery of services within the regional policy and implementation of national instruments at regional and local levels.

In addition, The National Spatial Development Perspective Poland 2000+⁸ set out the principles of state policy on spatial management. The basic objective of spatial management policy is the creation of favourable conditions for socio-economic development in the country, via creation of appropriate spatial structures. The Spatial Planning Bill of 1994 requires that any local plan shall be employed in line with regional spatial plans.

As far as implementation is concerned, current urban development initiatives are being implemented without any dedicated public state instruments, as no national policy frames, such as Integrated Area Plans in Ireland, exist to deliver them.⁹ In practice,

⁸ Polish Monitor (MP) 26/2001, 26 August 2001, section 432.

⁹ The Bill on Revitalisation was drafted in 1992 but has never come into force

decisions of local authorities form the basis for their introduction, as local urban legislation does not involve any operational measures. For example, existing area-based planning measures, such as 'local area plans' (*'studium uwarunkowań i kierunków rozwoju'*) do not form a part of the local authority legislation. Similarly, 'spatial development plans' (*'plan zagospodarowania przestrzennego'*) are not an obligatory document in terms of financing of operational actions. In addition, the proposal to legally regulate urban renewal programmes, including mechanism for their formulation, implementation and financing, through the Bill on Revitalisation has not yet come into force.¹⁰

It can be argued, therefore local authorities lack sufficient planning instruments for an application of appropriate development strategies. This involves in particular ensuring that the notion of sustainable development is embedded within planning policies (Heczko-Hylowa, 2000; Furman, 2004; Lorens, 2005). At present, local development strategies are not fully integrated with spatial development plans and local area plans. Previous evaluation studies relating to regeneration interventions targeting post-industrial areas in Poland, such as in Silesia Region, found lack of strategic approach, integration of actions under public-private partnership and involvement of local communities when managing the built environment (Gasidlo, 1999; Skalski, 1999).

Other authors argued that urban regeneration process involving both physical aspects of urban renewal and creation of structures enhancing local economic development and

¹⁰ The Bill on Revitalisation advocates cohesion between revitalisation programmes and local spatial plans, including involvement of local communities during all phases of the planning and implementation process. The whole process of revitalisation is therefore strictly granted to local communities and their representative organs. There is no legal requirement proposed to impose an obligation to implement the program of renewal. It is local community and local authority who decide to make or not to make an effort. Similar to European approaches and based on Polish experience, successful urban renewal is understood as a process which brings changes in socio-economic conditions of its residents, enhances the quality of their life, and boosts further economic development of the area that is being revitalised, all of them in the long-term.

quality of life constitute contradictory aims and therefore lead to urban conflicts (Mliczynska, 1996). It is also believed that existing urban strategies in Poland are substantially limited as they require relevant developmental approaches and concepts of how to manage them (Ziobrowski, 1999; Kipta et al, 2001; Furman, 2004).

Policy commentators assert that legal regulations relating to regeneration strategies are indispensable, when addressing the following gaps found in previous urban approaches in Poland (Lorens, 2005; Kudłacz and Markowski, 2002; Kochanowski and Kochanowska, 2000):

- Lack of decentralised mechanisms stimulating local economic development;
- Lack of mechanisms involving local communities in the whole process of management, ownership, implementation and co-financing of local actions;
- Lack of financial support from central or regional governments to enable local authorities to implement revitalisation programmes;
- Lack of strategic planning methods to enable local authorities to become partners for co-financing from other financial resources rather than local budgets;
- Lack of integration of financial and management issues between three sectors: public, non-governmental and private;
- Poor awareness of land users regarding the potential for creation of linkages between the physical conditions of buildings, spatial planning and socio-economic development;
- Lack of integrated approach to the process of urban renewal in the long-term.

3.6 Conclusions

The chapter examined the emergence of area-based interventions in Europe and internationally, followed by an analysis of their role in local economic development and implications for public policies in the selected urban case study areas.

It recognised, based on international and European approaches, that development of urban areas is conditioned by both multi-sectoral factors and geographical dimensions. In this context planning and actions on a city-wide or regional level is based on the existence of linkages between socio-economic and physical aspects of urban development. While the focus on local areas is justified for a more efficient allocation of funding, local initiatives alone can overcome structural difficulties only when applied in connection with a comprehensive and integrated strategy. It is also believed that sustainability can only be achieved with the use of local resources, followed by corresponding development interventions, employed for scaling it up within the society and to wider levels of governance.

The experience of Irish area-based approaches and public policy structures employed to manage these measures shows the lack of a wider urban policy and comprehensive planning strategies, linking policies on local employment with housing, environment and public infrastructure issues. Therefore, it is argued that local policies in Ireland are to become increasingly regionalised, which would require a better integration of the existing area-based structures and enhanced co-ordination between various levels of governance. This could be achieved, as current policy approaches increasingly advocate, through a shared strategy between existing four local authorities and other public agencies, including educational institutions and the private sector. Such '*shared*

approach' should be based on the existing strengths and inter-institutional relations facilitated by systematic interaction between the staff of all relevant organisations involved in the process. Therefore, the critical issue in the formulation and implementation of forthcoming public policies in Ireland would be building public support, recognition and legitimacy for this process (O Broin, 2010).

The implementation of local policies in urban areas in Poland experienced, similar to the Irish case, gaps in relation to the lack of integrated policy approaches to urban development and strategic planning methods, including decentralised financial mechanisms, which would support such development in the long term. Based on the existing structures, policy interventions such as industrial restructuring or regional contracting are still centralised. Moreover, the move towards regional and local autonomy resulted in the creation of conflicting hierarchical systems at different levels of governance. New regions and districts which evolved over the last decade are seen as inadequate in regard to regional policies as they lack appropriate economic and legal tools for development of area-based urban strategies based on local area needs.

The emergence of territorial governments with the prevalence of the state centralism resulted in the increased dependence on central funds and the loss of local policies' accountability and entrepreneurial skills. Although the most direct impact on recent transformation of cities in Poland was the formation of new interests groups defined locally and regionally, the process created problems, as the new self-government system had not been prepared to deal with the emergence of many new actors competing for space. Thus, it is argued that the key task for future public policies frameworks in Poland in local and regional urban development would be facilitation of integrated

sectoral and regional policies, based on *functional* and *financial consolidation* of the existing structures, including, similarly to Irish approaches, all relevant organisations involved in the process and public policy supports towards citizenship and governance.

The next chapter presents the methodology applied in meeting the aims and objectives of this research. The methodology is devised in order to assess in practice how various policy actors, involved in policy making and implementation, adapt to the challenges and goals of an integrated approach identified by previous studies in a comparative perspective.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The core aim of this research is to examine the role, structures and policy outcomes of local economic approaches based on two selected urban case study areas in Ireland and Poland, during the period of 1992-2002, and to assess the impact of European policy stimuli on these initiatives in achieving sustainable development. The period covered by this research reflects the partnership process in Ireland, rapid economic growth and the consequent transformation of the Irish economy. In the Polish context, it concerns the emergence and development of new territorial structures following the economic transition towards the market economy and European integration process.

The methodology is devised to meet the research aim and objectives, involving analysis of the concept of local economic development, the evolution of area-based initiatives in the case study locations, the effectiveness of the structures and interventions employed, and assessment of critical inputs in the delivery mechanism of these initiatives. In order to assess the quality of relationships between different strands of policy and structures employed, responding to challenges of an integrated approach, it was necessary to investigate in practice the difficulties in achieving such integration and how policymakers, service providers and policy recipients adapt to such goals.

4.2 Comparative approach

In evaluating the role of urban intervention in two European countries, comparative public policy research is considered to be the most adequate approach, particularly in understanding the most appropriate structures for designing policies targeted at solving

developmental problems (Øyen, 1990). The comparative approach facilitates exploration of how, why and to what effect different governments pursue a particular course of action, adopt certain positions, what their particular nature is and practical consequences over the long and short term (Heidenheimer et al, 1983). The summary of this investigation approach is illustrated in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: The methodological concept of local economic development

WHAT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An evaluation of local economic development implemented in two European urban localities
WHY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New approaches in international urban economics – integration of three measures : social, economic and physical
HOW	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How does the integration influence effectiveness?
Comparative method	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How different institutional and organisational structures affect the effectiveness of approaches? • Extent to which different governments pursue particular actions • Evaluation at the national, regional and local levels

Source: Author

The methodological concept which underpins this research, evaluates the different perspectives, opinions, attitudes and experiences of the core participant groups from both countries in order to identify major themes affecting the development of policy interventions. Specifically, the comparison of recent practice in area-based economic restructuring enables the research to focus on the interaction between supranational, state and local policy interventions. It also helps to explain qualitative variances in local governance phenomena between places (DiGaetano and Lawless, 1999). This should, in turn, contribute to the development of a relevant knowledge base for both domestic and foreign policies by filling the gaps in knowledge on how other countries deal with

similar situations, as well as the effects of alternative strategies for solving common problems.

By identifying the differences among various national approaches to a given policy problem, structural, institutional and cultural constraints can be specified and therefore provide valuable assistance in terms of public policy evaluation and targeting. International comparisons can also determine the efficacy of various policy alternatives which are represented in national policies. This further enables exploration of underlying dynamics, conditions and concepts under which policies operate and what other policies impact on the policy under comparison (Dierkes et al, 1987). Structural comparisons also provide a framework for determining those aspects of initiatives which are more generally applicable and therefore possibly appropriate to consider for transferring to different jurisdictions (Berting et al, 1979).

Comparative evaluation can be targeted at assessing, in an exploratory way, the impact and effects of urban economy policy measures, including distributional consequences and qualitative issues. In seeking to obtain a deeper understanding of explanatory factors for the outcomes of certain policies, the research is aimed at ‘understanding and explanation’ in order to explore the reasons why and how local development interventions had emerged in different geographical, economic and historical settings (EC, 2000).

4.3 Conceptual framework

The methodological framework of this investigation is embedded in grounded theories of research (for example Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990), by using multiple stages of data collection, as well as the refinement and interrelationships of categories of information sources.

Due to the involvement of a number of agencies at various levels of governance and multiple policy recipients in the research, the selection of the survey groups and areas for investigation was developed in an ongoing and systematic manner as the researcher's knowledge of the realities of the local development progressed. Such a method was assisted by triangulation links of data from a range of different sources, which also assured accuracy of the collected information and assisted in convergence of the results and therefore development of a cogent analysis (Creswell, 2003).

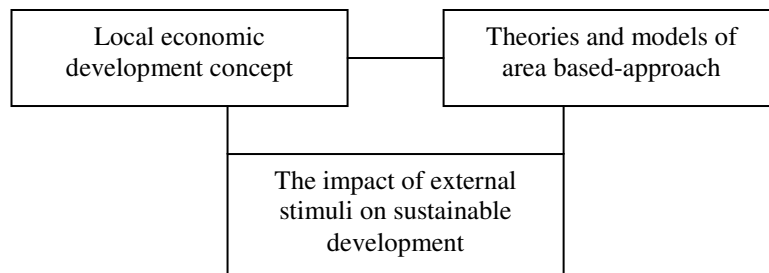
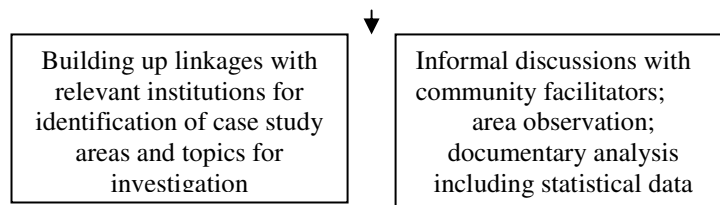
The concept of triangulation is based on the assumption that any bias inherent in particular data sources would be neutralised when used in conjunction with other information sources, investigations and methods (Greene et al, 1989). By building upon each phase of the research process, concept development, data collection and analysis took place in close conjunction with each other (Blaxter et al, 2001).

The initial phase of the research commenced with conducting a relevant literature review relating to theories and models of area-based approaches and the impact of external stimuli on sustainable development in urban areas. The theoretical review continued during the entire process of investigation in order to ensure the most current knowledge on policy issues.

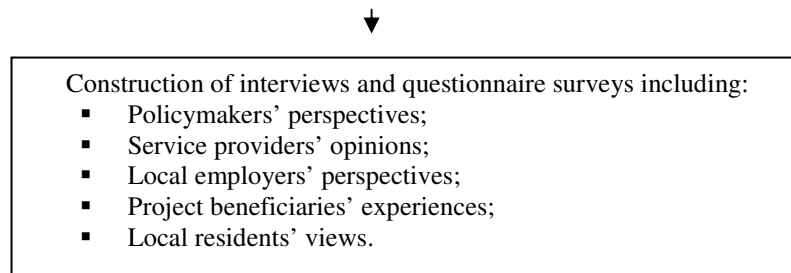
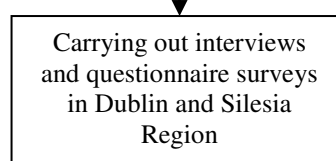
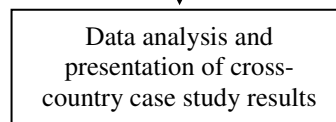
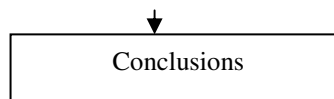
Having identified key policy approaches from the literature review, being applied in both countries and internationally, the second phase involved building up linkages with relevant organisations and institutions in order to determine case study areas and topics for investigation. This stage was complemented by informal discussions with community facilitators of the selected case study areas and local service providers, including area observation and analysis of statistical data.

The phase formed the basis for the ‘evaluation’ stage of the study – the construction and carrying out of semi-structured interviews and questionnaire surveys in both case study areas. This stage was completed with the identification of key policy themes and subsidiary issues arising from the perspectives of the research informants, involved at various levels of local development: policymakers, service providers, local employers, participants of the selected area-based programmes and local residents. The idea behind such an approach was to explore the quality of linkages between different levels of governance and any practical constraints of these groups in adapting to policy goals.

The last stage of the research comprised comparative data analysis, including presentation of cross-country case study results upon which the final conclusions were drawn. The conceptual framework embedded within the context of methodological stages is illustrated in Figure 4.1 below.

Figure 4.1: Research Conceptual Framework**STAGE 1: LITERATURE REVIEW**

**STAGE 2 : IDENTIFICATION OF CASE STUDIES
DETERMINATION OF MAIN THEMES AND ISSUES
FOR THE ANALYSIS**

**STAGE 3 : EMPLOYMENT OF EVALUATION TECHNIQUES****STAGE 4 : APPLICATION OF THE CASE STUDY APPROACH****STAGE 5 : APPLICATION OF COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY EVALUATION****STAGE 6 : FINAL OUTCOMES**

4.4 Case study selection process

Existing research literature and recent European-based studies on area-based initiatives demonstrate that macro-economic models are not sufficient for the assessment of developmental effects in small territories (Yin, 1984; EC, 2000). Therefore, a case study approach was adopted within the methodological framework, in order to explore in detail the selected areas and to develop particular insights into current implications of the policies applied during a sustained period of time. In both cases, the research focused on one local area within the selected region (Map 4.4 - 4.6).

The selection process of the case study areas is based on five common and interlinked criteria:

- The selected area displays considerable disadvantage in terms of economic, social and environmental issues;
- The chosen area is active in applying locally-based approaches addressing socio-economic and environmental problems which similarly occur in other parts in each of the regions selected;
- The selected area had been a subject of interventions including all dimensions of local economic development: physical, economic and social;
- The selection allows for reflecting on specific attributes of the case study areas' approaches;
- The selection ensures common ground for comparative analysis of successful factors.

In the Dublin case study, this procedure was complemented by observation and analysis of the existing activity within community boundaries with the support of local facilitators of area-based development companies. Ultimately, the Dublin Northside Partnership Area (with 100,000 inhabitants at the time of the survey) was selected firstly on the basis of its proactive and long-standing experience in local economic development, and secondly as it reflected similar socio-economic and environmental features to all suburban areas within the Region (Map 4.4).

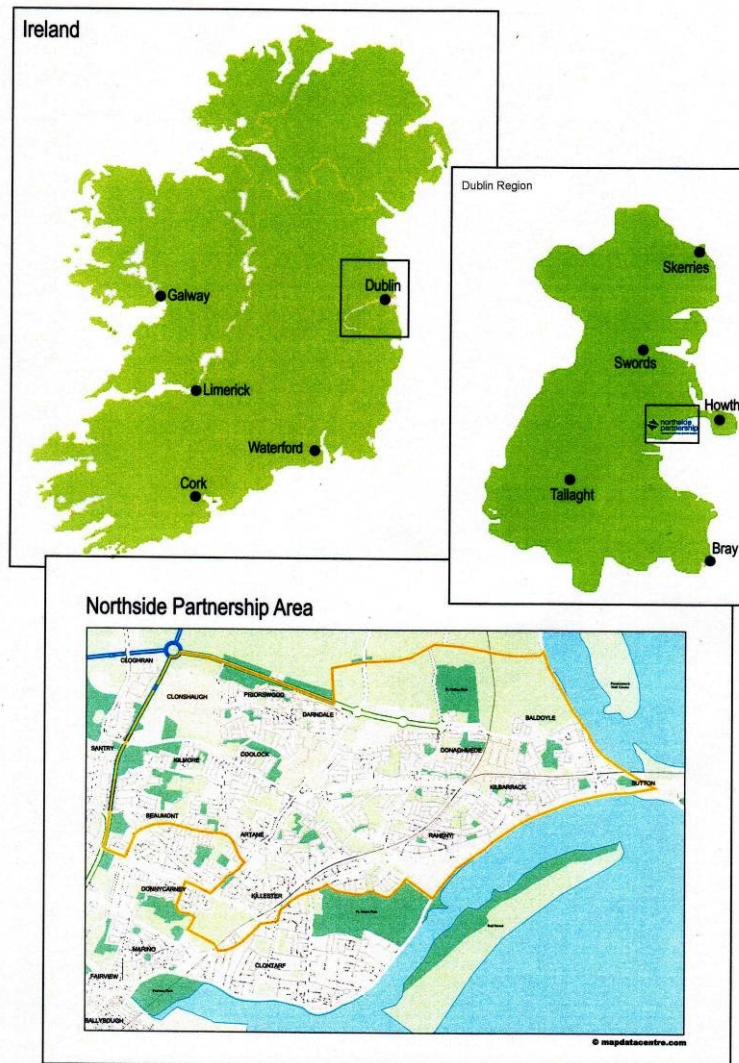
In contrast, the process of area selection in Poland drew in the first instance on the information provided by the leading representatives of the Urban Renewal Forum Association (URFA), which at the time of the survey was the only state-wide organisation promoting and specialising in town and city regeneration issues. Extensive examination of all cities associated with the URFA was made in order to best match the defined methodological criteria. Most of the cities considered were implementing urban regeneration programmes, but their prime focus was on housing and physical development. Finally the city of Siemianowice Śląskie located in the Upper Silesia Region (with 76,000 inhabitants at the time of the survey) was chosen as it corresponded in the most appropriate way with the agreed selection principles (Map 4.5 - 4.6). The city was also the first locality within the actions of the URFA to have initiated social regeneration approaches in contrast to prevailing physical renewal models.

The above criteria used for the selection of the case study areas have been supported by the common literature relating to defining priority areas, where it has been suggested that they are devised on the basis of economic potential or of community boundaries

(EC, 2000). This enabled the research to focus on the functioning urban areas rather than administrative units in order to present the genesis of the programmes and their role in community regeneration (Map 4.7-4.10).

Map 4.4 Selected case study areas

Dublin case study



Source: Northside Partnership, Dublin, Ireland

Polish case study

Map. 4.5 The position of the Region within which the city of Siemianowice is located



Source: <http://regiony.poland.gov.pl/>

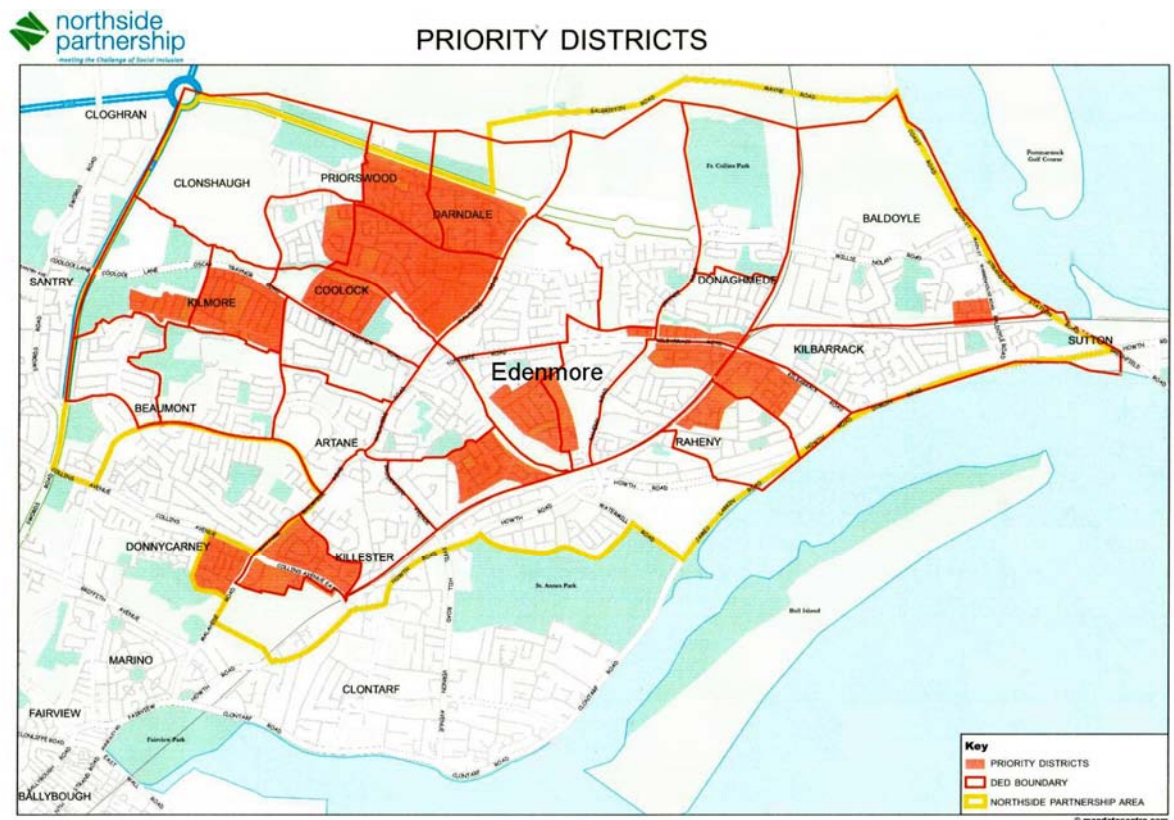
Map. 4.6 The location of the city of Siemianowice in the Silesia Region



Source: <http://regiony.poland.gov.pl/>

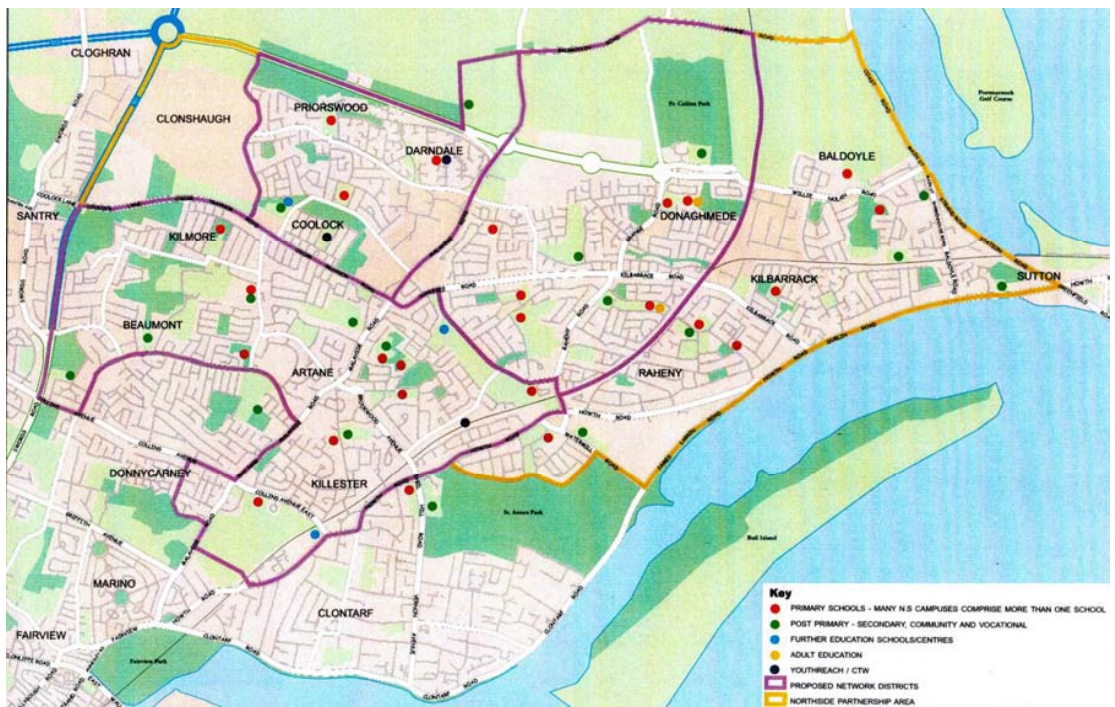
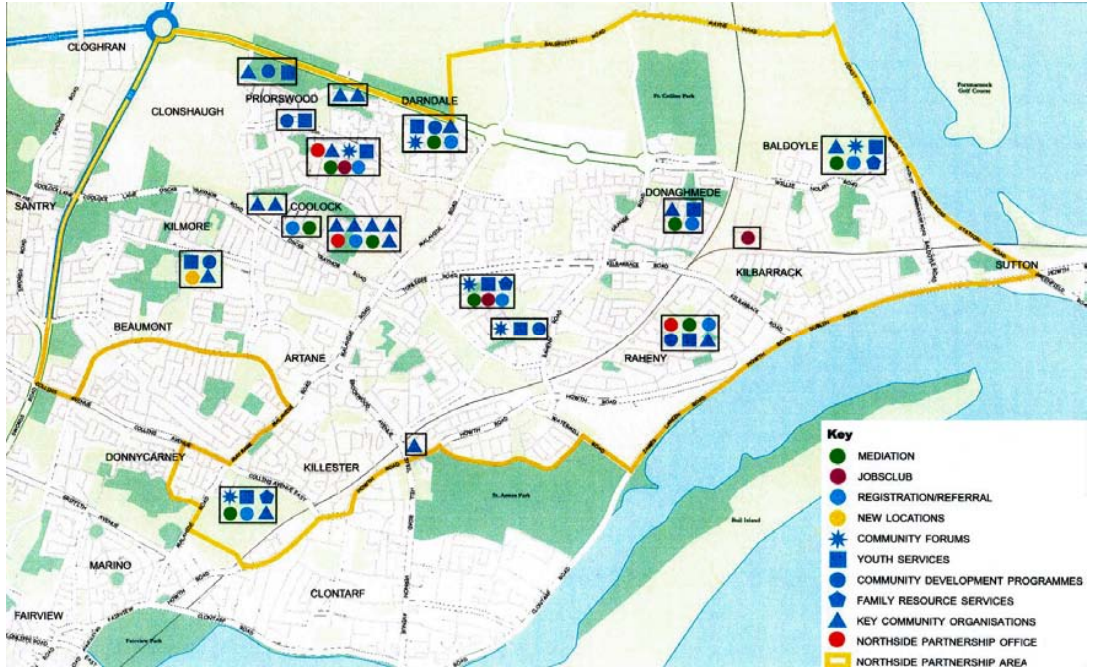
In the case of the residents' surveys, smaller areas (neighbourhoods) within the selected case study locations were taken into consideration in order to reflect on the targeted area-based interventions relating to housing and environmental policies being applied. Within the Dublin Northside Partnership boundaries, the Edenmore area and two neighbourhoods, Kołłątaja/Deji and Komuny Paryskiej within the city of Siemianowice Śląskie were identified (Map 4.7 and Map 4.10). All three neighbourhoods were targeted by the specific policy programmes at the time of the research.

Map. 4.7 Priority Areas in the Northside Partnership Area, including Edenmore neighbourhood



Source: Northside Partnership, Dublin, Ireland

Map. 4.8 Local Employment Service Network, key Community Organisations, Education Facilities and Network Districts in the Dublin Northside Partnership Area



Source: Northside Partnership, Dublin, Ireland

Map. 4.9 Location of the local council, social welfare and district labour office in the city of Siemianowice, including local residents' survey neighbourhoods



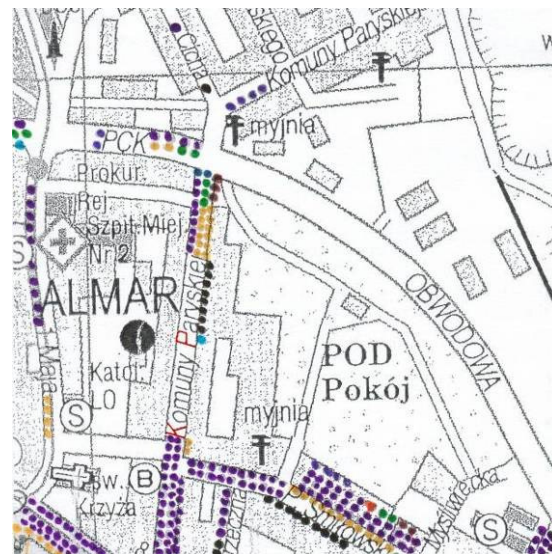
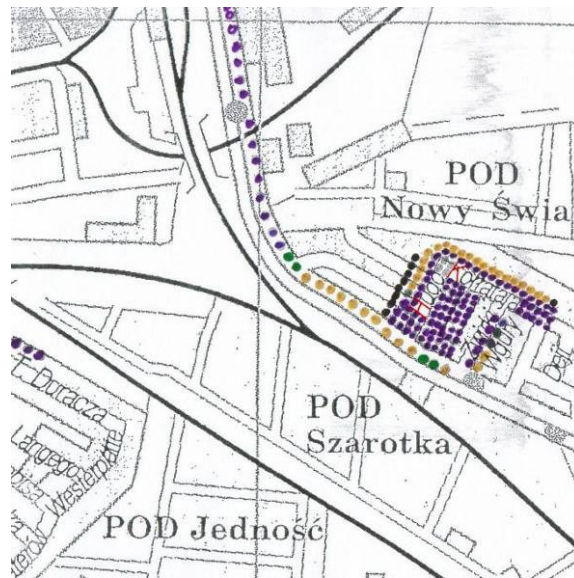
Source: <http://regiony.poland.gov.pl/>

Map. 4.10 Examples of identified priority neighbourhood areas in the city of Siemianowice, including Kołłątaja/Deji and Komuny Paryskiej neighbourhoods

Place of residency of local communities availing from local social service assistance

including:

- Unemployed
- People with disabilities
- Living in poverty
- Lone parents
- Long-term illness
- Drug addicted



Source: Internal documents of local welfare office, the city of Siemianowice Śląskie, Poland

4.5 Data collection and analysis

4.5.1 *Quantitative analysis*

Quantitative methods were used in the research in order to take into account the economic and geographical context in which local economic development is created in both case study areas and to determine the rationale for policy intervention. The quantitative measures were also used to assist in the selection of individual case studies in each of the two regions. This involved mapping of socio-economic trends at both regional and local levels, used in the identification of areas for policy interventions, and the employment of relevant quantitative indicators for urban regeneration and local economic development. Consequently, such a method facilitated the tracking and analysis of the performance of selected localities against national and regional figures.

The quantitative evaluation of the Irish case study was based on the Trutz Haase Index of Relative Affluence and Deprivation, which provided a single measurement of the overall deprivation of an area at the smallest administrative unit level - District Electoral Division for which Census information is available. Other surveys on area-based disadvantage, such as SAHRU Index, were examined (Nolan et al, 1998; NIRSA, 2000; Watson et al, 2005) to identify the most useful source for the quantitative analysis of the research case studies. The Haase approach was proved to be most useful drawing on three main motives:

- The Index has been employed as an official tool by central agencies to facilitate the designation of areas for targeting funding and serves as the basis for further analysis of its effectiveness;
- The Index is able to take account of the genuine differences that exist at a local level;

- The Index is robust in its approach as it enables, in contrast to other methods reviewed, the comparison of variables used between Censuses and facilitates the measurement of absolute and relative change over time.

This measure was first established to facilitate the designation of Partnership areas in the EU Operational Programme for Local Urban and Rural Development (1994-1999). For the purpose of developing a general index, the nature of deprivation was conceptualised in broader terms, including social and environmental problems, which were particularly significant in the context of the development of area-based policies. The Index considers social class composition, level of education, unemployment and long-term unemployment, proportion of lone parents and age of dependency rate. It includes variables beyond standard measures of material deprivation, such as levels of car-ownership and number of medical card holders, and captures some of the structural weaknesses within local communities.

As the Index does not provide environmental variables, which were important for the study from the perspective of an integrated approach, the research was complemented by the use of indices deriving mainly from the Irish National Survey of Housing Quality. The original measure itself was based on the information provided by the 1996 Census of Population – Small Area Population Statistics (SAPS). In order to analyse change that occurred between 1992-2002 it was necessary to include more updated information deriving from the Census of Population 2002 released in 2003, including CSO Quarterly Household Surveys and the new Haase Index, published in 2004 (Haase and Pratschke, 2004). Such an approach is suitable for carrying out relevant comparisons of developmental changes occurring over time.

In Poland, it was not possible to identify longitudinal socio-economic measurement at the smallest administrative level, similar to the Irish case; therefore, the research examined earlier studies that applied socio-economic and environmental variables in order to elicit the level of economic potential, considering spatial disaggregation.

The analysis was complemented by quantitative data derived primarily from the Central Statistics Office; databases of the Regional Labour Office in Katowice; existing research of the Population's Economic Activity, available quarterly from the Central Bureau for Statistics; and the District Employment Office in the city of Siemianowice, whose information is released on a monthly basis. Other quantitative data related to socio-economic and environmental issues of the case study area derived from other existing policy documents, such as the Regional Development Strategy and Regional Spatial Plan, as well as a socio-economic study on disadvantage areas in the City of Siemianowice, commissioned by the social welfare office of the Siemianowice City and carried out by the University of Silesia in 2000.

4.5.2 Qualitative analysis – structured interviews and questionnaires

The formative element of the research encompassed comparative qualitative analysis into the actual operation and implementation of urban area-based initiatives in both case study areas. Four main sources were used to generate qualitative data: semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, direct observation and written documents. The process was combined with an action research approach, based on direct observation and field work.

The table below provides a summary of the approach to the selection of research respondents, the development of key topics discussed with different groups of stakeholders in both countries and the role of various institutions associated with the research in this process.

Table 4.2: Summary of the methodological approach

IRELAND	POLAND
<p>Stage 1</p> <p>Observation and analysis of the existing interventions within community boundaries with the support of local facilitators of area-based development companies</p>	<p>Stage 1</p> <p>Analysis of the information provided by the National Urban Renewal Forum Association, Association of Municipal Economic Development, Polish Association of Local Government and individual local development agencies</p>
<p>In both countries the research focused on functioning urban areas rather than administrative units</p>	
<p>Stage II</p> <p>Pilot discussions with the Dublin Employment Pact, exploratory data provided by the Northside Partnership Company's co-ordinators - selection of survey participants</p>	<p>Stage II</p> <p>Pilot discussions with the European Institute of Local and Regional Development, Institute of Public Affairs of the Jagiellonian University of Krakow, local social welfare office in the city of Siemianowice – selection of survey participants</p>
<p>Stage III</p> <p>Both countries : interviews and questionnaire surveys</p> <p>I. Interviews with <u>policy makers</u>. Issues addressed were set against the research objectives and included the main topics which were further complemented by the subsidiary points.</p> <p>II. Policy makers' interviews complemented with an examination of attitudes and perceptions of local <u>service providers</u>. Topics sought to analyse the impact of local employment services and other related initiatives on current development demands in the selected case study area. Interviews complemented by an observation of the built environment of the case study area, informal discussions with the staff of locally-based offices and their internal material to reflect on the background and rationale for the service delivery.</p>	
<p>III. Interviews with <u>local employers</u>:</p> <p>Interviews based on the list of companies, developed through the Northside Partnership Area Mediation Service and Local Business Network for the purpose of the JobMatch – an Employer Advice and Recruitment Service Initiative. The sample group selected on the basis of employers' involvement in the Expanding the</p>	<p>III. Survey of <u>local employers</u>:</p> <p>Employers selected on the basis of activity levels and 'collaborative factor', measured accordingly by the experience of the staff of the District Labour Office in the city of Siemianowice.</p>

Workforce Programme, which was included in the analysis.	
<p>IV. Survey of <u>selected project participants</u></p> <p>Selection of the Expanding the Workforce (ETW) programme. Questionnaire survey prepared with the assistance of the Jobs Club, FÁS Centre Baldoye with the pilot survey carried out with the Centre's staff, formerly participant of the programme. The examination complemented by an analysis of additional quantitative data related to the overall programme delivered by the project provider.</p>	<p>IV. Survey of <u>selected project participants</u></p> <p>Selection of Tripartite Training Agreements (TTA) programme. The survey supported by the local employment office in designing the contents of the questionnaire.</p>
<p>In both countries the programmes selected involved participation of all stakeholders in area-based development, including policymakers, service providers, local employers and local communities. These programmes were completed at the time of the survey and most of their participants were contracted into employment.</p>	
<p>V. Survey of <u>local residents</u></p> <p>Analysis of the newly published report on 'Edenmore Social Needs' by the local community office. The evaluation complemented by the discussions with local service providers responsible for environmental projects, together with an examination of earlier documents on environmental issues commissioned by the local partnership company.</p>	<p>V. Survey of <u>local residents</u></p> <p>The questionnaire and the type of the survey designed used a similar approach to the study conducted in Edenmore area in Dublin. 'Social and Ecological Regeneration Workshops' project selected on the basis of a locally-based innovative approach to solving developmental and social integration problems. A survey of local residents carried out with the assistance of local non-government organisation and social welfare office. A sample of households selected from neighbourhoods which were recipients of regeneration workshops.</p>
<p>In both countries smaller areas (neighbourhoods) within the selected case study locations were taken into consideration in order to reflect on the targeted area-based interventions, relating to housing and environmental policy measures being applied. Evaluation involved analysis of the interaction between spatial, economic and social renewal of area-based development through responses from communities experiencing problems concerning their living environments.</p>	

The entire process of investigation involved primary assessment of perceptions and attitudes of the five core research groups, involved at various levels of local development and governance in both countries, including:

- (i) Policy makers
- (ii) Local service providers
- (iii) Local employers
- (iv) Selected programme beneficiaries
- (v) Local residents.

The idea behind such an approach was to examine the quality of linkages between different levels of governance, involving various groups representing policy and policy recipients, and practical constraints of these groups in adapting to policy goals. This also enabled triangular verification of the results, increasing validity and reliability of the outcomes.

Qualitative analysis was based on the identification of relevant categories of the themes highlighted by all research participants in accordance with the perception of 'importance' in policy planning and development. Transcripts from interviews, field notes from informal meetings and questionnaire survey responses, including tensions and critical attitudes were coded in terms of key concepts by categories and sub-categories.

Similar cases across different categories were grouped together under the key themes and conceptual headings. Such categorisation formed the basis for identification of the nature, success and obstacles of the policies surveyed. Based on the responses received,

key comparative criteria were identified. These broad criteria represented the basis for specific indicators and measured the relevance and feasibility of the interventions applied in each of the case study areas. The analysis involved a discursive approach – analysis of the process by which socio-economic development is achieved (Novak and Gowan, 1984; EC, 2000).

For comparison between countries examination was built on the following criteria:

- Integration of actions;
- Sustainability (the extent of the use of existing resources, flexibility to changes occurring during the life-span of the project);
- Public accountability.

4.5.2 (i) Interviews : policy makers

In order to gain a detailed understanding of policy approaches to area-based interventions in the Dublin and Silesia Region, a number of semi-structured interviews, including twenty two policy makers in Ireland and seventeen in Poland were carried out.

Table 4.3: Policy makers

Dublin	Siemianowice
N=22	N=17
Number responded = 22	Number responded = 17
Response rate = 100%	Response rate = 100%

These interviews targeted senior officers and managers of central departments, regional and local agencies involved in the creation and implementation of public policies ranging from areas of urban planning and development, labour market strategies, enterprise creation, programme monitoring and evaluation. In addition, representatives

of research/academic institutions specialising in area-based approaches were surveyed to obtain an overall, theoretical insight into the inquiry topic. The selection process of relevant survey participants was carried out following pilot discussions with the Dublin Employment Pact in Ireland and the European Institute of Local and Regional Development in Poland. Both institutions have long-standing expertise in the subject researched. The list of the relevant departments and agencies selected for this investigation in both countries is attached in Appendix 1.

Due to the strong level of co-operation developed at the initial stage of the investigation the survey achieved a high response rate, as all policy institutions identified for the research agreed to participate. Interviews with policymakers in Dublin were carried out between October 2002 and June 2003. The Polish survey of seventeen policy representatives, was conducted during the period of December 2002 and April 2003. The average interview time was one hour and interviews ranged from 40 minutes to two hours. Each interview was recorded and transcribed verbatim. The issues addressed during the survey were set against the research objectives and included the following main topics, which were further complemented by the subsidiary points (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Interview topics - policy makers

1. What are the current general trends of policy at the European, state and local level relating to area-based initiatives and local economic development?
At what administrative levels are specific actions appropriate, considering existing government structures?
2. What are the origins of the existing programmes relating to area-based initiatives and local economic development? What is the role of EU and other international agendas in their creation and resourcing?
3. In terms of your organisation's involvement what structures were put in place and what resources were available to achieve the objectives of the specific policy initiatives? What were the linkages/relationships between existing structures involved in the provision of these programmes?
4. Critical inputs. Which initiatives are considered to be successful and why? Are there any meaningful indicators for the estimates of progress achieved, in terms of:
 - resulting community/individual benefits
 - integration of measures in achieving social, environmental and economic improvements.
5. Has there been an assessment of the performance of various programmes in reaching objectives set within time frame/in terms of initial targets set?
6. Effectiveness of existing programmes. What is the outcome of these initiatives? Does the policy deal with the wider needs of the urban areas? Did the approaches developed suit the needs of local areas? What was the quality of development produced? Did other community benefits result? Was there a capacity within the initiative to sustain and extend the innovations achieved? Is there a need to mainstream, change or replace specific initiatives?
7. What is your expectation of the future policy directions in the subject? What issues need to be explored in further research?

4.5.2 (ii) Service providers

The investigation of key representatives of public development policy was complemented with an examination of attitudes and perceptions of local service providers, which enabled triangular verification increasing validity and reliability of the outcomes (Creswell, 2003). The objective of these interviews was to analyse the impact of local employment services and other related initiatives on current development demands in the selected case study area. Based on the outcomes, the core subject of the revision is the assessment of the approach used in such interventions towards the creation of sustainable employment.

Table 4.5: Service providers

Dublin	Siemianowice
N=15	N=6
Number responded =15	Number responded = 6
Response rate = 100%	Response rate = 100%

The selection of interviewees in Dublin was based on exploratory data provided by the Northside Partnership Company co-ordinators, who supplied the list of relevant contacts. In Poland initial contacts were developed with the national Urban Renewal Forum Association and Institute of Public Affairs of the Jagiellonian University of Krakow, which provided information on existing and anticipated projects on social inclusion and city regeneration in the Silesia Region. Further linkages were made with the local social welfare office in the city of Siemianowice, which ensured support for the research and supplied relevant contacts of other local service providers. The list of relevant local services selected for this survey in both countries is attached in Appendix 2.

Interviews with service providers in Dublin were carried out from April to June 2001. The Polish survey in the city of Siemianowice was conducted between December 2002 and January 2003. In both cases investigation targeted selected senior officers, managers and service co-ordinators - fifteen in the Northside Partnership area and six service providers in Siemianowice involved in the creation, delivery and development of community, employment, enterprise and built environment services. Similar to the policymakers' survey, a high participation rate was achieved as all agencies identified agreed to take part in the structured discussions.

The survey took the format of a structured, open-ended series of questions, which facilitated obtaining additional comments and attitudes of those interviewed. The average time of the interview was one hour, and interviews ranged from 45 minutes to one hour and a half. In order to meet the research objectives and triangulate responses with other survey participants, the interview focused particularly on the following issues, which were further complemented by the subsidiary points (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6: Interview topics – service providers

1.	How were the programmes initiated and why were they set up in this manner/structure?
2.	What were the key objectives in relation to this particular area? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qualified targets • General
3.	What resources were in place/were needed to meet the objectives? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical • Human • Financial
4.	Level of integration with other initiatives and relevance of such integration
5.	Successful results of initiatives to date – objective analysis
6.	Weaknesses/less successful initiatives – objective analysis
7.	Recommendations for future improvement – priorities in terms of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structures • Processes

The interviews were complemented by additional observation of the built environment of the case study area and informal discussions with the staff of major locally-based offices. The information provided by the interviewees was accompanied by internal material, mainly annual and evaluation reports, promotional leaflets, and other local documentation, in order to reflect on the background and rationale for the service delivery.

4.5.2 (iii) Local employers

Interviews with local employers in Dublin were held during the same period as with local service providers, i.e. April-June 2001. Employers' interviews were based on the list of sixty companies, mainly from the Northside Partnership area, which was developed through the Northside Partnership Area Mediation Service and Local

Business Network for the purpose of the JobMatch – an Employer Advice and Recruitment Service Initiative. It aimed to provide placement service as well as information to employers in order to assist them to make use of the vast and complex range of employment supports and to negotiate the tax/social welfare system more efficiently.

The sample group comprised of eighteen employers was finally selected on the basis of their current participation and involvement in one of the area-based projects, the Expanding the Workforce Programme, which was selected for this research for an analysis. This was followed by the phone calls made for the purpose of assessing availability of the companies' human resources representatives. Out of the eighteen participating companies fifteen took part in the survey (Table 4.7).

Table 4.7: Local employers

Dublin	Siemianowice
N=18	N=110
Number responded =15	Number responded = 42
Response rate = 83%	Response rate = 38%

Interviews ranged from half-an-hour to one hour and took the format of structured, open-ended series of questions. All interviewees held the position of Human Resources Managers with responsibility for group employee recruitment and retention, production line and operational management. The list of local companies that participated in the survey is enclosed in Appendix 3. The interviewer deliberately led the conversation around specific research objective areas (Table 4.8).

Table 4.8: Interview topics – local employers, Ireland

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Comments on importance of local initiatives/programmes for the company development. 2. Level of involvement in the Northside Partnership sub-groups: education, community, physical regeneration. 3. Level of in-take from the area-based employment programmes: importance of in-take and estimated percentage of persons employed. 4. Profile of employees taken. 5. Level of assistance to employees during employment and period of such assistance in terms of following : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Childcare; • Transport; • Up-skilling training courses; • Flexibility of working hours. 6. The in-take of special applicants such long-term unemployed, women returning to work, lone parents and experience with such employees. 7. Recommendations for improvement of the scheme.
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In order to select local employers for the Polish case, relevant contacts were made with the District Labour Office in the city of Siemianowice Śląskie. The Polish survey was driven primarily by the developing needs of the newly established employment office, which at the time of the survey, has been operating one year since its creation. One of its urgent tasks was to monitor the process of creation of good conditions for collaboration with local employers in the area of labour demands and their anticipated long-term business plans. It was expected that such assessment would enhance the quality of local employment services as it would draw on the endogenous knowledge, essential for adapting relevant training and retraining programmes in line with the needs of local labour markets. The service has been increasingly struggling with the rapidly changing socio-economic profile of the local area, caused by the pace of the

transformation process, involving the closure of major local industries as analysed in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

Hence, based on the practical needs of area-based services, the intention of this research was to design a survey, similar to that carried out in Dublin, attempting to assess local labour market conditions, which could serve as a potential example for any future investigations, conducted by the office for its own requirements and in line with changing needs of the area in question. Like the Dublin survey, the study in Poland involved local employment office staff in designing the questionnaire. The questionnaire was completed in December 2002 and the survey of 'local employers needs' was conducted within the period of January and February 2003. A copy of the questionnaire and covering letter is attached in Appendix 4.

Questionnaires were forwarded by post, from the District Employment Office in Siemianowice, to one hundred and ten local employers, representing mainly small and micro-enterprises. They were selected on the basis of activity levels and 'collaborative factor', measured accordingly by the experience of the staff of the employment office and recorded as "often contacting the office in regard to local labour market." Forty-two questionnaires were received by the end of February, accounting for 38% of the response rate.

The following areas were investigated during the survey in order to match the research objectives (Table 4.9):

Table 4.9: Survey topics – local employers, Poland

1. The extent of collaboration between local employers and available local services.
2. Type of the current and desired supports from local employment office in line with the company needs.
3. Type of current labour demands.
4. Type of qualifications required and problems with matching appropriate skills.
5. Assessment of the quality of candidates deriving from local employment services.
6. The level of local recruitment deriving from employment services and experience with long-term unemployed.
7. Additional development supports during the period of employment.
8. Barriers with company development.
9. Anticipated changes in the level of the company recruitment.

4.5.2 (iv) Selected project participants

Two labour market programmes: Expanding the Workforce (ETW) in Dublin and Tripartite Training Agreements (TTA) in Siemianowice were chosen to receive views and opinions of the selected project participants in both countries. Both programmes involved the participation of all stakeholders in area-based development, including policymakers, service providers, local employers and local communities.

The Expanding the Workforce Programme was developed by the Northside Partnership Employer Network in association with the Irish Business and Employers Confederation under the 1994-1999 EU Local Development Programme. The Tripartite Training Agreements programme was based on the model of tripartite training agreements, reached between local authority, employer and training institution, and was one of the first programmes implemented by the newly established district employment office in

the city of Siemianowice as an active measure targeted at tackling unemployment levels.

The rationale behind the selection of both projects for the evaluation purpose was twofold. Firstly, the programme was completed at the time of the survey and secondly, most of the programme participants were contracted into employment. This enabled the researcher to collate relevant data relating to the effectiveness of the intervention in question. Such an approach was considered as allowing for adequate assessment of the level of co-operation and integration between all parties involved and consequently the extent to which it was essential to achieve the programme objectives (Table 4.10).

Table 4.10: Selected programme participants

Dublin	Siemianowice
N=50	N=30
Number responded =25	Number responded = 18
Response rate = 50%	Response rate = 60%

The following topics were covered in the survey (Table 4.11):

Table 4.11: Survey topics – selected project participants

1. Reasons for participation in the programme.
2. Anticipated and actual outcomes deriving from participation in the programme.
3. Assessment of assistance gained from the programme.
4. Quality of support received from the programme.
5. Value to other members of the family through participation in the programme.
6. Strengths and weaknesses of the programme.
7. Life situation of the participant if not involved in the programme.
8. Life situation of the participant after the programme completion.
9. Level of collaboration with local services after the programme completion.
10. Type of work and terms of employment offered in comparison to previous employment.
11. Anticipated and actual satisfaction of the job offered.
12. Location of job (whether the workplace is located in the area of residency).

The questionnaire survey in Dublin targeted fifty participants, and was prepared with the assistance of the Jobs Club, FÁS Centre Baldoyle in July 2001. The pilot survey was conducted on a face-to face basis at the FÁS Jobs Club premises to refine the original survey questions with one of the Programme participants, who after the programme completion progressed into the Club Assistant position.

The remaining forty nine questionnaires were forwarded through the FÁS office in order to meet the confidentiality requirements for all remaining participants of the ETW Training Programme. They were, according to the Programme Co-ordinator, the first group that completed the course at the time of the survey and placed into employment. At the same time participants were asked to meet the interviewer to encourage for further discussion to obtain additional data or clarification of data. The collection of the questionnaires took place throughout August and the first week of September 2001.

Twenty-five questionnaires were returned in total which accounted for 50% of the response rate. The examination of the survey was complemented by an analysis of additional quantitative data related to the overall programme, delivered during the period of 2000-2003 by the project provider. The copy of the questionnaire and covering letter is attached in Appendix 5.

The study in Poland, similarly to the local employers' survey, was supported by the local employment office in designing the contents of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was elaborated in December 2002 and the survey conducted within the period of January and February 2003. Questionnaires were forwarded by post from the District Employment Office in Siemianowice to all thirty participants of the training course who completed the programme. Eighteen questionnaires were returned, accounting for 60% of the response rate. The copy of the questionnaire and covering letter is attached in Appendix 6.

4.5.2 (v) Local residents

In order to evaluate the interaction between spatial, economic and social renewal of area-based development it was necessary to get responses from communities experiencing problems concerning their living environments. The examination of the physical context of area-based development in Dublin followed interviews with local service providers and was carried out through the field work.

This stage of the research coincided with the community survey, commissioned in October 2001, by the Edenmore Community Development Group. The survey aimed to gather information on community needs, which would form the basis of the local action

plan, under funding from the Community Development Programme. The outcomes of the survey were released in January 2002 and the investigation mainly involved analysis of the newly published report on ‘Edenmore Social Needs’.

The evaluation was complemented by the informal discussions with local service providers of the Northside Partnership responsible for the area of environment, together with an examination of earlier documents on environmental issues commissioned by the Partnership (Table 4.12).

Table 4.12: Local residents

Dublin	Siemianowice
Edenmore survey analysis	N=49
	No responded = 41
	Response rate = 80%

The Polish survey was particularly stimulated by experiences emerging from interviews with policymakers and local service providers in Ireland. The survey was preceded by a presentation by the researcher of Irish approaches during two seminars on ‘Polish and Silesian values in an enlarged European Union’ in the city of Siemianowice, held in December 2002 and April 2003.

The intervention called ‘Social and Ecological Regeneration Workshops’ was selected on the basis that it featured a locally-based innovative approach to solving developmental and social integration problems. The primary idea of the intervention was to create conditions for creative development of the youth in the city experiencing

deep restructuring of the local industry, resulting in escalating levels of unemployment. The workshops were based on the volunteer work of multigenerational community residents of neglected streets and targeted at creating street gardens and playgrounds as a way of protecting or shaping the natural and built environment.

The project aims were twofold. On one side it aimed at the creation of conditions for better involvement of the most disadvantaged communities in shaping their living environments through changing social and pro-ecological attitudes, strengthening ties between families and neighbours. On the other side it focused on facilitating collaboration between residents, non-government organisations, local schools and authorities.

Overall, the intervention represented a multidisciplinary approach to solving developmental problems of cities experiencing industrial decline based on:

- 1) A holistic approach – linking environmental issues with the creation of social ties and local community development (workshops are extended beyond the initiative itself throughout the year through cyclical meetings concerning ecological issues with families and children from disadvantaged neighbourhoods participating in the intervention);
- 2) Co-operation between various local and regional institutions working in the area of environmental protection, education and culture;
- 3) Integrating ecology with human development, through creation of ties with the natural environment among various age groups;

- 4) Personal communication in small, selected groups, as well as entire society, facilitates and enhances learning of co-operation;
- 5) A revitalised approach to the most disadvantaged and ghettoised urban districts aimed at social inclusion within the city development process.

During the research field work it emerged that no qualitative survey had ever been carried out prior, during or after commencement of this initiative. Local development organisations involved in the intervention also revealed that information deriving from such a survey could form a base for continuation of this research, to be potentially carried out by existing educational institutions, such as local ecological school in the city of Siemianowice and University of Silesia in Katowice.

Moreover, information deriving from the survey could potentially support preparation of applications for future national or European funded development programmes. Therefore, the questionnaire and type of the survey was designed using a similar approach to the study conducted in Edenmore in Dublin. A copy of the questionnaire used in the study is attached in Appendix 7.

A survey of local residents in the city of Siemianowice was carried out between the 4th and 30th of April 2003 with the assistance of a local non-government organisation, the 'Palace' Foundation and local social welfare office. The study aimed to assess perceptions and attitudes of residents to their living conditions, needs and desires concerned with future local revitalisation programmes. A sample of 49 households was selected from three disadvantaged neighbourhoods, namely: Kołłątaj, Deji and Komuny Paryskiej, which were involved in social and ecological regeneration

workshops. Forty-one questionnaires were returned, accounting for over 80% of the response rate.

In both countries the research addressed the following topics (Table 4.13):

Table 4.13: Survey topics – local residents

- | |
|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Desired short-term changes in the residents' living environment. 2. Anticipated long-term changes in the residents' living environment. 3. The level of residents' involvement in physical upgrading of the area. 4. The most significant problems of the area. 5. Proposed initiatives addressing the needs of the area. 6. Awareness of local support institutions. |
|---|

4.5.3 Primary sources used in the research study

4.5.3 (i) Legislation and official government documents

In order to understand European and public policy goals extensive examination of the existing international and state legislation, as well as government official strategic documents in both countries was conducted to complement the empirical stages of this research. The diverse array of information sources impacting on the area of urban economic development was reviewed and categorised as falling within the following groupings: European Union, regional and local development, employment and urban renewal. The primary sources are listed in the Appendix 8.

4.5.4 Secondary sources used in the research study

4.5.4 (i) Institutional sources

Professional institutions and bodies from both countries involved in the area of economic development in urban areas provided information sources relevant to the

research. The information made available was based on published documents, such as annual reports and conference/seminar papers.

Substantial assistance from the research partner organisation – the Dublin Employment Pact – was received in relation to the Irish quantitative and qualitative data sources, which formed background material for the study and was later used in the evaluation component of this investigation. The information analysed was based on the partners' latest annual reports and strategic action plans for the period of 2000-2003. The Dublin Employment Pact was of particular assistance in the arrangement of the interviews. The list of agencies and programmes consulted in Ireland is contained in Appendix 9. The collated data was categorised as falling within the subsequent groupings:

- (i) Addressing long-term unemployment
- (ii) Assisting equal opportunities
- (iii) Social Economy
- (iv) Training
- (v) Promoting Foreign Investment
- (vi) Integrated Urban Renewal

The investigation in Poland commenced with forging links with the Urban Renewal Forum Association, which provided valuable assistance in the selection of the research case study area and relevant information sources related specifically to urban regeneration. Other professional bodies consulted included the Association of Municipal Economic Development, Polish Association of Local Government and individual local development agencies.

Research institutions

Ongoing contacts with the research bodies, based on the participation in various local seminars and examination of available academic papers from both countries was an important source of information (see Appendix 9). The ongoing collaboration in Poland during the entire period of research was developed with the European Institute of Local and Regional Development which provided background information sources and valuable contacts for carrying out interviews. Other bodies consulted are contained in Appendix 9.

Research periodicals and publications of international development institutions

A valuable insight into a wide range of international experiences in the area of local economic development was made available through ongoing examination of the OECD, World Bank and Open Society Institute (Budapest) publications. Additionally, a review of international and local research journals was undertaken in regard to both case study areas (Appendix 9).

4.5.4 (ii) Media- newspapers and magazines

The business supplement of the Irish Times and other Irish newspapers were examined throughout the whole period of the research with particular focus on the information sources regarding Dublin's competitiveness, employment and local development. The information provided enabled the researcher to be up-to-date with the emerging domestic and international policy issues. The 'Wspólnota' ('Commune') periodical was of particular assistance, allowing for the examination of the latest news, particularly in regard to local economic development and European Union funding assistance for local communities in Poland.

4.5.4 (iii) Media- Internet websites

An extensive review of the existing websites of European and international development organisations was carried out throughout the whole period of the research. This involved, in particular, the European Union, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, United Nations and the World Bank. Such analysis was significant in regard to the process of application of external stimuli to territorial development interventions at European and international levels.

4.5.4 (iv) - International conferences

A significant part of the research, both at the outset and in the course of the investigation, was participation in various international conferences, seminars and workshops which enabled the researcher to collect background documents, opinions and experiences on worldwide trends emerging in the area of local economic development and make comparisons with the case study areas. The list of major conferences and seminars attended during the course of the research is attached in Appendix 9.

4.6 Conclusions

Developing a clear understanding of the role and effectiveness of locally-based actions on the economic performance of urban areas was the prime purpose of this study. The analysis of critical inputs in the delivery of interventions was therefore embedded within the context of public policy measures employed at the local, state and international levels. The samples of the main parties involved in the creation and implementation of local economic initiatives were selected to generate data upon which the objectives of the study are reflected and to enable examination of policy priorities.

Due to the multiple agencies and participants involved it was necessary to adopt a multi-layered approach based on grounded theories of the research (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). This included establishing representative samples of participating groups involved in an often transitional policy process, which presented a significant challenge. The selection of interviews and groups was therefore developed in an ongoing and systematic manner as the researcher's knowledge of the realities of the local development process progressed. This was supported by the author's involvement in the Dublin Employment Pact review, and analysis of the Dublin area-based initiatives provided an action-based research dynamic to the survey. While it is unlikely to provide fully scientific evidence, it is possible to develop a comprehensive insight into the perspectives of the various participants. From these original qualitative and quantitative explorations it is then possible to compare and contrast evidence and experience from the international policy approaches, as from the literature review.

The methodology adopted in this research provides a framework within which the evaluation of area-based initiatives can be carried out and conclusions drawn on the rationale and sustainability of local interventions.

Chapter 5: Quantitative Analysis of Case Study Areas

5.1 Introduction

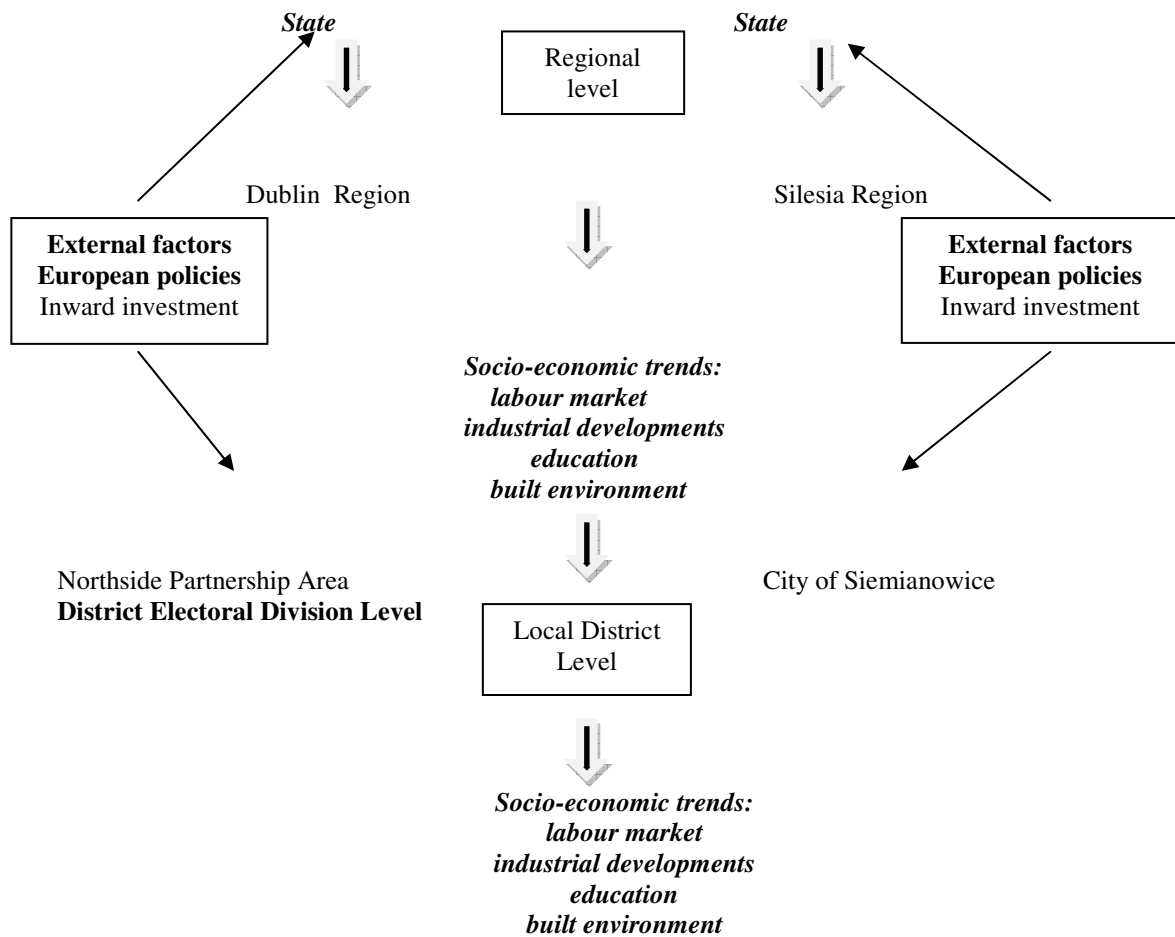
This chapter provides detailed analysis of the case study areas including the rationale for their selection. The identification of case study locations represents a challenging issue for the analysis of local development approaches. The research areas examined feature considerable variation in size, historical background, urban and social structure, economic growth and geographical setting. These differences between the countries and complexity of the programmes analysed were taken into account. This resulted in a more extensive examination of the Dublin case study area, which forms the primary focus of the research, with the issues raised being applied and analysed in the Polish case study.

The chapter commences with a review of socio-economic patterns during the period of 1992-2002 at the regional level – spatially wider units of the analysis. The figures quoted in this chapter relate to the study period of analysis and, where appropriate, recent figures will be used. This is further followed by a review of area-based indices to investigate urban change at a more disaggregated level – district electoral division in Ireland and local district in Poland – in order to reflect on intra-regional differentiations and to demonstrate the *raison d'être* for area targeting (Figure 5.1).

Further in-depth analysis of socio-economic and environmental features of the case study areas at the local level in the Northside Partnership, Dublin and Siemianowice city is conducted. It concludes with identification of key socio-economic and

environmental patterns, pertinent to both country case study areas, which set the context for the formative part of the research presented in Chapters 6 and 7.

Figure 5.1: Case studies analytical framework



Source: Author's own analysis

5.2 Mapping socio-economic trends within the case study areas – the case of Dublin

Regional context

Since the 1990s, Ireland has emerged as a ‘paradox’ country with its high economic growth, simultaneous social division of Irish society and consequent appearance of ‘polarisation’ effects (Drudy and Punch, 2000).

Although the Irish GDP per capita has grown compared to the European average in a relatively short period of time¹¹ and overall unemployment levels have decreased, inter-regional disparities and specifically intra-regional inequalities at the local levels have persisted. According to UN World Economic Forum surveys, which aimed to measure whether economic growth is sustainable over a long period of time, the Irish economy has slipped from 5th place in 1998 to 30th in 2003 and to 22nd in 2008, still falling behind Scandinavian countries, Germany and France (World Economic Forum (WEF), 2008).

The key barriers highlighted by the survey were high labour costs and poor infrastructure, in particular public transport and a weak territorial governance system (Molloy, 2004). More recent analysis of future forces in economic change by Forfás identifies quality of life, governance, education and infrastructure as key policy challenges to be addressed in ensuring sustainable development in Ireland (Forfás, 2008).

¹¹ The GNP grew by an estimated 7.25% in 1999 and by an average of 8% over the period 1996-2000 (DCC, 2000). Irish GNP per capita as a percentage of the EU-average has increased from 69% in 1992 to 125% in 2003 (Butler, 2004).

The Dublin Region¹² illustrates the unevenness of development at the area-based level. During the past decade the Irish state experienced continuing economic growth, high levels of inward investment and acceleration of the financial services sector, general business services and the construction industry (Drudy et al, 1997; DCC, 2000). In 2002, labour force participation rate (which indicates deprivation when the figure is low) for the region accounted for 61.2 %, in comparison to the state rate of 58.3%, and was also higher than the regional figure of 58.6% in 1996 (CSO, 1996; 2002).

In terms of economic sustainability, Dublin encountered a range of serious developmental difficulties in the late 1990s. Earlier studies indicated that by supplementing the GDP measure by other indicators, such as unemployment (specifically long-term), changes in the labour force, industrial and service employment growth, as well as factors relating to social and educational disadvantage, it appeared that the Dublin region did not fare significantly better than other regions (Fitzgerald et al, 1999). CSO figures for 2002 show, for example, that while there was 70% national growth in the building and construction sector since 1996, the Dublin Region accounted for only 50% of the increase and 45% in Dublin City.

Between 1996 and 2002, the Dublin Region accounted for 24% of growth in industrial jobs in comparison to 26% of the increase in all other regions (CSO, 2002). In addition, Forfás Employment Survey data of 1999¹³ on share of employment in Dublin in the five fastest¹⁴ and the slowest growing sectors¹⁵, involving low-skill jobs in contrast to higher skilled technology and service sectors, indicated that the region did particularly

¹² For the purpose of this research, the Dublin region is defined as the geographical area corresponding to four local councils: Dublin City, Dublin South, Fingal and Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown.

¹³ Based on the CSO Industrial Production Index, 1999

¹⁴ High technology industries, such as chemical products, electrical machinery, medical instruments, publishing and printing

¹⁵ More traditional industries, such as textiles, mining and quarrying

well in terms of employment in the top growing sectors, but it also had a high share of employment in the five slowest growing and less profitable sectors (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Forfás Employment Survey, 1999: Percentage of employment in Dublin Greater Region in the five fastest and slowest growing sectors

	Top 5	Bottom 5
Dublin	28.6	9.8
Kildare	16.5	4.9
Meath	3.6	6.7
Wicklow	18.3	3.4

Source: Morgenroth, 2001

The 2002 Census shows that non-manual and skilled manual occupations made up more than a quarter of the total labour force at 34%. The proportion of high professionals was represented by only 8.5% (CSO, 2002). The most striking feature was the large concentration of unemployment and particularly long-term unemployment in the Dublin region (Table 5.2). In 1996, in a comparative perspective, Irish long-term unemployment was higher than the overall unemployment rate in most OECD countries (Fitzgerald et al, 1999).

Table 5.2: Long-term unemployment in Dublin Region, 1996

1996	Long-term unemployed (over 3 years)
State	47.5%
Dublin Region	49.9%

Source: CSO, 1996

In 2000, an Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) study estimated that the number of long-term unemployed in the Dublin region amounted to over 41% of all

unemployed in Dublin (Morgenroth, 2001). This shows that unemployment and long-term unemployment remained stubbornly high, despite the rapid decline in the unemployment rate, which halved over the period between 1996 and 2002 (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: Number of unemployed people and unemployment rate 1996- 2002¹⁶

Definition	Census 1996 (April)	Census 2002 (April)	QNHS 1997 (Q4)	QNHS 2002 (Q2)
Dublin %	66,514 (15,5%)	47,276 (8,5%)	56,400 (10,7%)	20,400 (3,6%)
State %	199,136 (14,8%)	159,346 (8,8%)	171,2 (10,4%)	74,900 (4,3%)

Source: Based on Quarterly National Household Survey, 4th Quarter 1997 and QNHS 2nd Quarter 2002; Census 1996 and 2002

The data provided by the Quarterly Household Survey (QHS)¹⁷ show considerable improvement in this category, but the problem persisted, as over a quarter (28%) of the total number of unemployed nationally was still registered in a long-term unemployed cohort in 2002. The figure for the Dublin region accounted for 25% and was similar to the national level (26%) (CSO, 2002)¹⁸.

Although Census figures of 2002 indicate progressive patterns in terms of employment – there was an increase of those at work in the Dublin Region by 24% between 1996 and 2002 – the absolute number of unemployed remained high and accounted for over a quarter of all unemployed in the State since 1991. Based on the data provided by the

¹⁶ Table 5.3 provides comparable data deriving from both Census and Quarterly Household Survey (used since 1997). The Census unemployment rate for 2002 is more than twice the quarterly survey rate for the same period. This indicates that a substantial number of people defined themselves in the Census as unemployed and not actively seeking work, as opposed to QHS results, which counts unemployed but actively seeking work.

¹⁷ Quarterly Household Survey, Mar-May 2002, CSO

¹⁸ Live Register (LR) – April 2002. The Register counts the number of individuals who sign on at a particular local Office of Registration, which are not necessary the areas of their residency. The measure also includes part-time workers and may include those working in the black economy, which can lead to overestimates. However, as Census 2002 did not include data on long-term unemployment, the figure deriving from the LR is used in this analysis in comparison to previous estimates.

Census, there were 47,276 unemployed in 2002 (29% of the national figure) in comparison to 66,514 in 1996 (29% of the national figure) and 66,124 in 1991 (28% of the national figure) (CSO, 2002)¹⁹.

Spatial context of disadvantage

There was a continuing trend of difference between the unemployment rates²⁰ across different areas. Table 5.4 provides data on unemployment rates change within the Census period of 1996-2002 by each Local Authority Area. Unemployment was spatially concentrated, which had been evident in particular in the case of Dublin City, where the unemployment rate for 2002 (10.3%) was almost twice as high as that of Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown (5.7%).

Table 5.4: Unemployment rates by each Local Authority Area in 1996 and 2002

	Unemployment Change Rate 1996/2002	
Dublin	1996: 15.5%	2002: 8.5%
Dublin City	1996:19.3%	2002:10.3%
Fingal	1996:11.3%	2002:6.8%
South Dublin	1996:14.9%	2002:7.9%
Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown	1996:9.6%	2002:5.7%
State	1996:14.8%	2002:8.8%

Source: Census, 1996 and 2002

There was also a high correlation between areas of high unemployment and areas of poor educational attainment. Table 5.5 below illustrates the percentage of unemployed

¹⁹ The Census of Population employs the Principle Economic Status (PES) to measure unemployment based on the subjective description of the employment status. As opposed to Quarterly National Household Survey based on a national sample of households (which only counts unemployed if they are available and actively seeking work) it allows for the calculation of unemployment rate at a spatially disaggregated level.

²⁰ Defined as total unemployed population (unemployed and first time job seekers) expressed as a percentage of the total active labour force (those at work, unemployed and first time job seekers).

persons who attained primary level education only (including those with no formal education), and percentage of unemployed early school leavers (those under 15 years of age when full-time education ceased) classified by each Local Authority Area (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5: Unemployment by educational attainment, 2002

Local Authority Area	Unemployment by primary level education %	Early school leavers %
Dublin Region	23%	14.2%
Dublin City	26%	15.8%
Fingal	19.8%	12.6%
South Dublin	24%	13.4%
Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown	18.5%	9%

Source : Author based on CSO (2002) special tabulations supplied

Similar patterns were observed within Dublin City, which was found to be in the least favourable position across all Dublin local authority areas, and, in comparison to regional figures, had the highest number of unemployed, early school leavers and unemployed persons who attained primary education level only.

The Censuses of 1991, 1996 and 2002 all identified a number of disadvantaged areas with regard to unemployment, educational attainment, lone-parents households, dependency and local authority housing (Haase, 1993 and 1999, CSO 2002). By 1996, there were 110 unemployment blackspots with average unemployment rates of 37.6 %. The vast majority of these were found in the Dublin region (47, which constituted 40 % of all blackspots), and other major urban centres, compared with 12 in Cork City, 11 in Limerick and 5 in Waterford. In 2002 Dublin City was the second location, after

Donegal, with the highest number of blackspots (15 and 18 respectively) with an average unemployment rate of 24% (CSO, 2002).

Map 5.1 below illustrates areas where these ‘blackspot’ localities were identified throughout the country, with the majority located in the Dublin Region, being a subject of the national programme RAPID since 2001.

Map 5.1 RAPID areas, 2001



Source: Pobal, 2001

Spatial tenure

Spatial accumulation of disadvantage could be also associated with spatial concentration of poor households. Earlier studies on area deprivation – The ESRI Living in Ireland Survey of 2000 and the National Survey of Housing Quality of 2001/2002 – found significant variation in poverty rates across both Regional Authorities and Local Authority Areas (Watson et al, 2005). They particularly indicated that poverty rates²¹ for Dublin City and County were almost twice those for other areas in Ireland and as a consequence the Dublin City and County contained the highest number of poor households. Environmental problems (such as housing deterioration and environment) were found clearly at their worst in urban areas, and Dublin occupied the least favourable position, taking significant intra-regional variations into account (Table 5.6 and 5.7).

Table 5.6: Disparities in risk of housing and environmental deprivation by Regional Authority Area

Regional Authority Area	Housing deterioration	Environment
Border	1.0	0.5
Dublin	1.2	2.1
Mid-East	0.9	0.8
Midland	1.1	0.4
Midwest	1.0	0.7
Southeast	1.0	0.7
Southwest	0.9	0.6
West	0.8	0.2
State	1.0	1.0

Source: Irish National Survey of Housing Quality 2001/2002

²¹ defined as below 50 and 60 % of mean equivalent income line

Table 5.7: Disparities in risk of housing and environmental deprivation in Dublin Region

	Housing amenities	Housing deterioration	Environment
Dublin City Council	1.0	1.3	3.0
Dublin Fingal	0.3	0.9	0.9
Dublin South	0.3	1.1	1.6
Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown	0.4	1.0	1.0
State	1.0	1.0	1.0

Source: Irish National Survey of Housing Quality 2001/2002

In addition, Local Authority tenants experienced the highest levels of relative disadvantage in Dublin compared to other regions, when comparison was made across tenure types and within the Dublin region versus elsewhere. For example, Dublin local authority tenants exhibited thirty times higher ratios of poverty than private purchasers in Dublin (Table 5.8).

Table 5.8: Gross and Net ratios of being poor versus non-poor at the 50% income line by tenure comparing Dublin versus elsewhere

Tenure	Dublin Gross	Elsewhere Gross	Dublin Net	Elsewhere Net
Private Purchasers	1.0	2.43	1.0	2.12
L.A. Owners	6.67	10.25	1.77	2.93
Private Owners	4.56	7.91	1.39	3.09
L.A. Purchasers	6.77	7.61	3.98	3.96
L.A. Tenant	29.89	35.45	5.84	6.80
Private Tenant	8.15	13.50	2.74	4.21

Source: (Watson et al, 2005)

Intra-regional disparities in the Income Poverty Risk category were also found to be highest in the Dublin Region. Dublin City had a risk measure identical to the national

average, but it was well below the national figure in the surrounding counties of Fingal, Dublin South and Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown (Table 5.9).

Table 5.9: Disparities in Income Poverty Risk by Local Authority Area in Dublin Region and poverty rates

	Income Poverty Risk (50%)	Income Poverty Risk (60%)
Dublin City Council	1.0	1.0
Dublin Fingal	0.4	0.5
Dublin South	0.5	0.6
Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown	0.4	0.5
State	1.0	1.0

Source: Watson et al, 2005

Implications to economic development

The review of socio-economic and environmental patterns in the Dublin region during the period of 1992-2002 shows two key emerging trends:

1. The imbalance of continuing economic growth on both a socio-economic and spatial basis. This was specifically reflected by the substantial acceleration of labour force participation rates, the growth of higher skilled technology and the services sector on one hand, but also the persistent existence of long-term unemployment and high share of employment in the slow growing, low-skilled sectors on the other.
2. Unevenness of economic development at different levels of administration structures – in particular existence of persistent inequalities at the local level. This was specifically pertinent to variations between unemployment rates, educational disadvantage, housing and environmental deprivation, and the number of socially excluded households across local authority areas.

5.2.1 *Measuring urban change at the local level*

Haase Index

The Haase Index, used in the Irish case study to determine socio-economic changes at the local level, identifies principal indicators and dimensions for measuring the change and level of area affluence and deprivation. These indicators are social class disadvantage, labour market deprivation and demographic decline. Table 5.10 presents definitions of indicator variables used in the Index:

Table 5.10: Definitions of indicator variables used in Haase Index

Principal Dimensions	Types of Areas Affected	Description
Demographic Decline + Social Class Disadvantage	Both urban and rural	Percentage of adult population with a Third Level education
Social Class Disadvantage	Both urban and rural	Percentage of persons in households headed by 'Professionals' or 'Managerial and Technical' employees, including farmers with 100 acres or more
Social Class Disadvantage	Both urban and rural	The mean number of persons per room
Labour Market Deprivation	Especially deprived urban	The percentage of households with children aged 15 years and under headed by a single parent
Social Class Disadvantage + Labour Market Deprivation	Mainly urban	The percentage of persons in households headed by 'Semi-skilled Manual' and 'Unskilled Manual' workers ²²
Labour Market Deprivation	Mainly urban	The male unemployment rate according to the Census of Population
Labour Market Deprivation	Mainly urban	The female unemployment rate according to the Census of Population

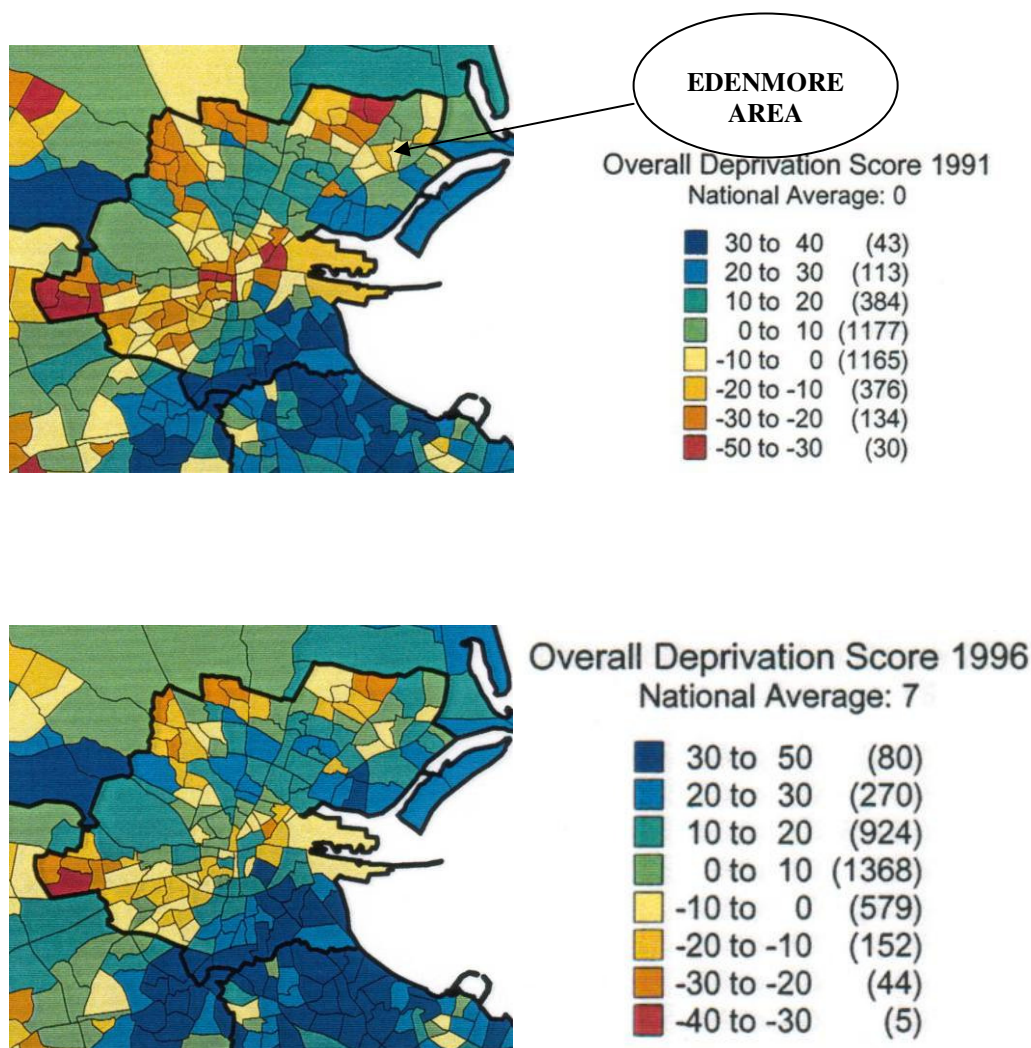
Source: Haase and Pratschke, 2005

Based on the aggregation of these dimensions, the spatial analysis of change at the lowest disaggregated level available – District Electoral Division (DED) – is

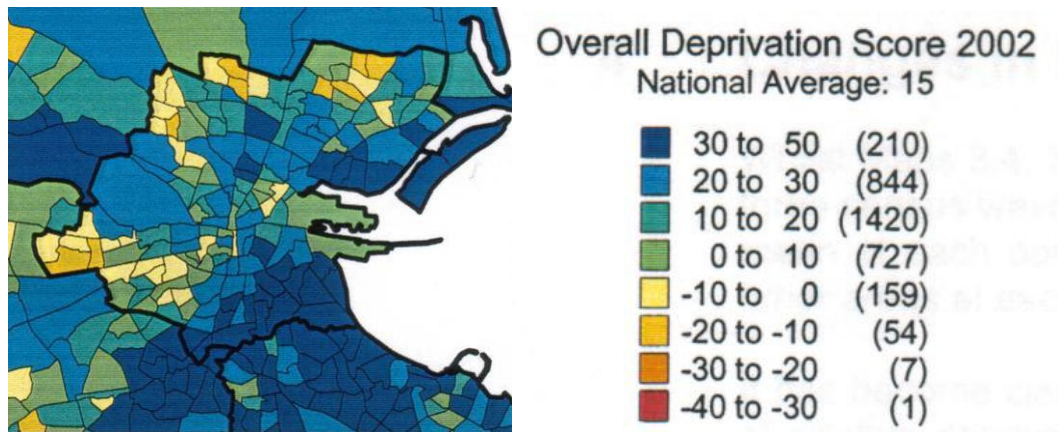
²² All people whose social class position is 'Unclassified' have been excluded from the denominator of this percentage, as, according to Haase and Pratschke, including them would lead to artificially-reduced scores in disadvantaged urban areas.

demonstrated through the mapping approach. Map 5.2 shows the actual level of overall affluence and deprivation in 1991, 1996 and 2002 for Dublin City, with higher values indicating greater affluence and greater deprivation (the scores range from -50 to +50)²³.

Map 5.2 The actual level of overall affluence and deprivation in Dublin in 1991, 1996 and 2002



²³ In order to ensure that the Index would reflect substantial economic growth that occurred over this period of time, the measurement defines the mean for 1991 as zero, while the means for 1996 and 2002 are 7 and 15 respectively.



Source: GAMMA, 2004

Although in overall terms there has been a substantial improvement observed in the reduction of deprivation levels in all areas in Dublin since 1991, it has been argued that the relative measurement – providing the position of each individual area *relative* to all other locations – is more relevant when measuring urban change as it draws more attention to areas experiencing *persistent* levels of deprivation (Haase and Pratschke, 2005). This could be further justified by the fact that these areas were the subject of area-based interventions and therefore it is essential to measure whether and to what extent they progressed over time.

In order to diminish the extent of differentiation between areas with scores close to the mean and to draw sufficient attention to areas experiencing high levels of disadvantage, the Index employed relative deprivation measurement based on the actual deprivation scores²⁴. Table 5.11 presents ranges and naming labels for mapping of relative deprivation.

²⁴ Haase and Pratschke argued that previous analysis of change by using a rankings or percentiles approach proved to be unsatisfactory as the majority of areas had scores relatively close to the overall mean. Therefore, a small change in deprivation score could result in a shift of one, two or three deciles, despite the little importance of change and in contrast – a very significant improvement at extreme levels of deprivation may fail to have any impact on the percentile ranking of a disadvantage area. Inter-temporal comparisons of percentile rankings thus draw attention to random variations around the mean, whilst minimising or overlooking the changes that are actually of greatest interest.

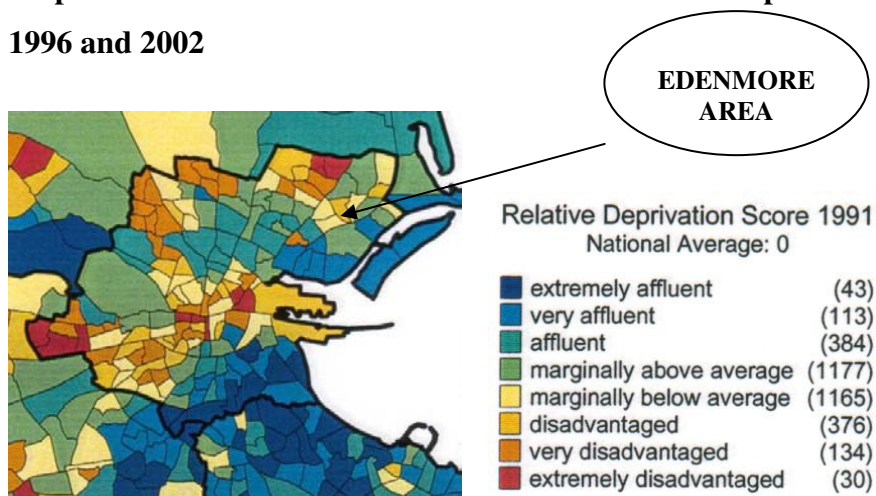
Table 5.11: Ranges and naming conventions for maps of relative deprivation

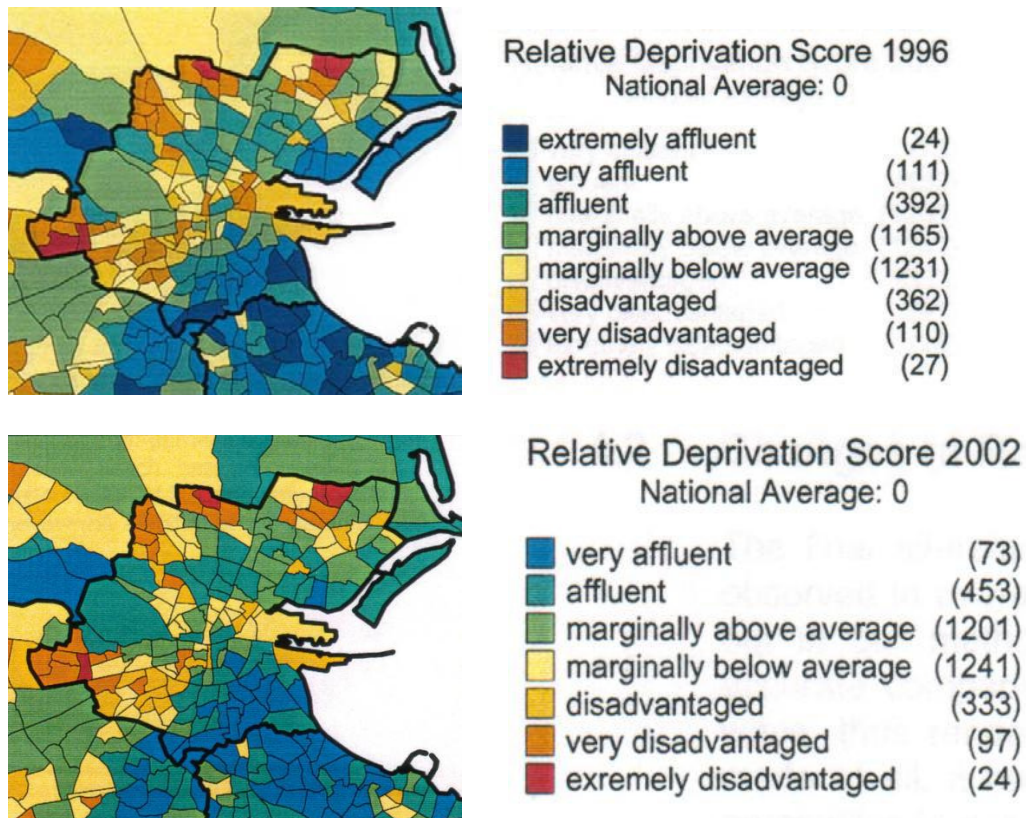
Legend Label	Range
Extremely affluent	30 and over
Very affluent	20 to 29.99
Affluent	10 to 19.99
Slightly above national average	0 to 9.99
Slightly below national average	-9.99 to 0
Disadvantaged	-19.99 to -10
Very disadvantaged	-29.99 to -20
Extremely disadvantaged	-30 and under

Source: Haase and Pratschke, 2005

Map 5.3 displays similar data used for the overall deprivation scoring model expressed as deviations from the mean at each point in time, demonstrating the level of deprivation and affluence of each area relative to all other locations.

Map 5.3 The relative level of overall affluence and deprivation in Dublin in 1991, 1996 and 2002

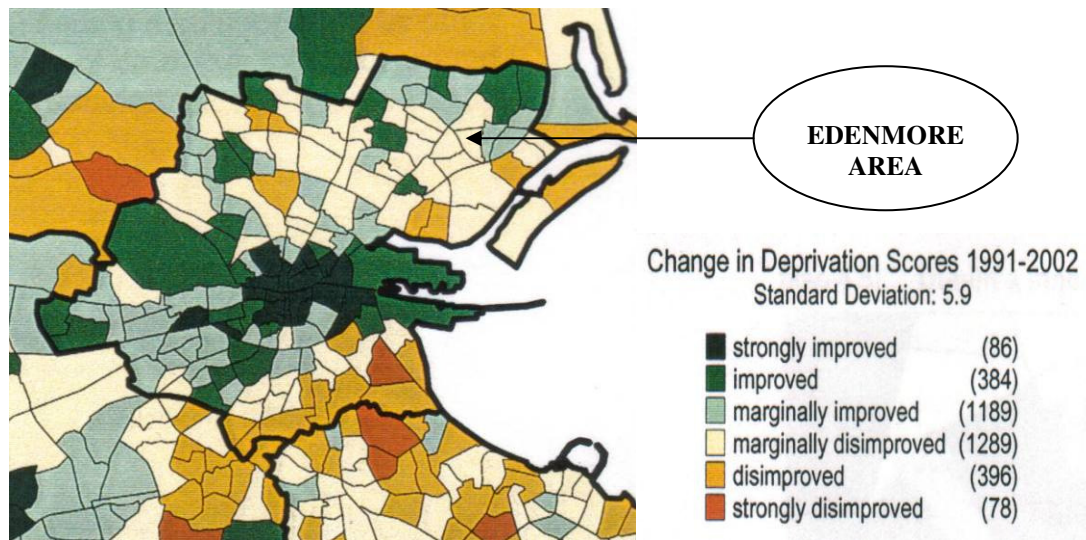




Source: GAMMA, 2004

By analysing the level of relative deprivation change at the DED's level, it would appear that the degree of relative disadvantage changed comparatively little, and the most deprived areas in 1991 were also amongst the most disadvantaged in 2002. As indices used in this model had identical structure and common units of measurement for each census wave, the Index also provides measurement of change in the level of deprivation over a 10-year period. This could give a statistical indication of the extent to which deprived areas, being a subject of public policies initiatives, had changed over a longer period of time. Map 5.4 shows changes observed in overall levels of affluence and deprivation between 1991 and 2002:

Map 5.4 Changes observed in overall levels of affluence and deprivation between 1991 and 2002



Source: GAMMA, 2004

In overall terms, the majority of local areas improved over the period of 10 years, but only to a marginal extent (these DEDs are marked in cream and grey on the map). The only contrasting (and the most striking) exceptions are Dublin Inner City Quays DEDs, which strongly improved (marked in dark green), as well as the Dublin Docklands area (marked in green). It could be argued, however, that as these areas were the subject of large-scale private housing developments, the process resulted in gentrification and displacement effects, which changed entirely the social composition of its population.

Tracking urban changes at the local level

In order to understand the dynamics of case study areas and specifically the units at different levels of spatial aggregation, the Index allows for generation of the aggregated scores from each DED's estimates. The overall disadvantage scores are then aggregated across DEDs for each Census wave.

Table 5.12 provides the overall disadvantaged scores at the local authority area level against state and regional figures for the three Census waves of 1991, 1996 and 2002, indicating changes that occurred between 1991 and 2002.²⁵

Table 5.12: Breakdown of overall deprivation scores at Local Authority, Regional and State level

Local Authority Area	Population 2002	Factor Score 1991	Factor Score 1996	Factor Score 2002	Change 1991 -2002	Zero-centered Score 1991	Zero-centered Score 1996	Zero-centered Score 2002
Dublin City	495,781	-3.1	5.1	15.3	18.4	-3.1	-1.9	.2
South County Dublin	238,835	3.0	10.8	20.3	17.3	3.0	3.9	5.2
Dublin Fingal	196,413	11.8	18.6	26.0	14.2	11.8	11.7	10.8
Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown	191,792	20.6	26.3	31.2	10.6	20.6	19.4	16.0
Dublin Region	1,122,821	4.7	12.2	21.0	16.3	4.7	5.3	5.8
Ireland	3,917,203	1.9	9.1	17.4	15.4	1.9	2.2	2.2

Source: Haase and Pratschke, 2005

Drawing from the data sets provided by the Index, it is evident that while the absolute changes between the period of 1991 and 2002 were significant, specifically for the Dublin City area, and in comparison to other local authority areas, as well as regional and state figures, the degree of relative deprivation at all levels of spatial aggregation changed comparatively little.

Table 5.13 provides a breakdown of data at the local partnership level – designated areas being a subject of dedicated area-based interventions. In overall terms there was a considerable improvement in the reduction of disadvantage in all local partnership areas with a change by several units compared to a national average. The degree of

²⁵ A measure of relative disadvantage is centered on 'zero'. The two sets of data are identical for 1991, as the disadvantage scores have their zero point at the 1991 values. The first three columns of data represent the overall disadvantage scores for the three census waves of 1991, 1996 and 2002. The fourth column indicates the change in scores between 1991 and 2002. The final three columns of the table represent the relative level of affluence and deprivation in each area at each point in time, with positive values indicating above-average affluence and negative values representing above-average deprivation.

deprivation relative to the state figure indicates however, that although the gap was gradually diminishing, the most disadvantaged designated areas still remained deprived. All partnership areas, except Blanchardstown and Southside, exhibited above average deprivation values for all census waves, as opposed to regional and state figures which displayed slow change but constant positive values.

Table 5.13: Overall Deprivation Scores for Area Partnerships, Dublin Region and Country

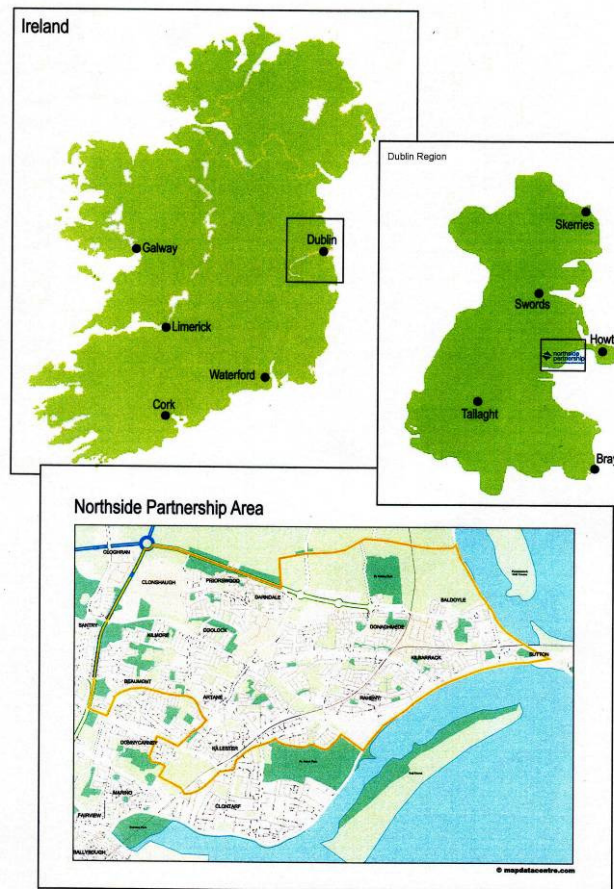
Area Partnerships in Dublin	Population 2002	Factor Score 1991	Factor Score 1996	Factor Score 2002	Change 1991 -2002	Zero-centered Score 1991	Zero-centered Score 1996	Zero-centered Score 2002
Ballyfermot	20,699	-29.6	-23.2	-10.6	19.0	-29.6	-30.2	-25.8
Ballymun	15,233	-26.9	-20.5	-10.8	16.1	-26.9	-27.5	-25.9
Blanchardstown	50,607	-1.3	7.2	19.6	20.9	-1.3	.3	4.5
Clondalkin	51,168	-8.0	.9	11.1	19.1	-8.0	-6.0	-4.1
Crumlin/Kimmage/Walkinstown	57,093	-6.9	.0	10.3	17.2	-6.9	-6.9	-4.8
Dublin Inner City	109,734	-12.7	-.3	14.6	27.4	-12.7	-7.2	-.5
Southside	191,792	20.6	26.3	31.2	10.6	20.6	19.4	16.0
Finglas/Cabra	52,925	-13.5	-6.0	5.3	18.8	-13.5	-12.9	-9.9
Northside	100,042	-3.4	4.9	13.0	16.4	-3.4	-2.0	-2.2
Canal Communities	12,580	-14.7	-7.3	8.1	22.8	-14.7	-14.2	-7.0
Tallaght	75,891	-9.3	-.1	11.7	21.0	-9.3	-7.0	-3.5
Dublin Region	1,122,821	4.7	12.2	21.0	16.3	4.7	5.3	5.8
Ireland	3,917,203	1.9	9.1	17.4	15.4	1.9	2.2	2.2

Source: based on Haase and Pratschke, 2005

5.2.2 Dublin Northside Partnership Area – socio-economic and environmental analysis

The Northside Partnership Area, situated in North Dublin (Map 5.5), comprises of 27 District Electoral Divisions (DEDs) located within the Dublin City Council administrative area and two DEDs (Sutton and Baldoyle) belonging to Fingal County Council.

Map 5.5 Selected case study areas



Source: Northside Partnership

Built environment

The Northside Partnership Area could be portrayed as mainly suburban residential, with three industrial zones. The old village centres of Coolock, Raheny and Baldoyle (Map 5.6) had not been developed as major service centres and there was no focal point for these communities around which administrative, service and commercial facilities would naturally cluster. None of the new districts had developed a central place. Due to the absence of any consistent district focus, each agency and service provider defined its administrative boundaries independently.

As the past planning process for the new developments did not take account of the social and infrastructural needs, the provision of sports, social and community facilities depended on the local community to generate necessary resources (Northside Partnership (NSP), 2001). A typical feature of the area was the scarcity of developed open space and recreational facilities. Social and economic infrastructure was limited to provision of schools and a few shops. The main centres of commercial activity were two shopping centres and malls in Coolock and Donaghmede. There were also smaller shopping complexes in Edenmore, Kilbarrack and Greendale.

The transport infrastructure had focused on access to the city; internal transport infrastructure had been poor. This has impacted on commuting patterns and consequently the economic development of the local areas, as residents living in more isolated estates would be reaching city centre services, rather than any of the local shopping centres or other community facilities. The 2002 Census showed that the number of residents travelling to work by car in the Dublin city area was twice those travelling by public transport (CSO, 2002).

Socio-economic characteristics and spatial distribution of disadvantage

The majority of residents formed part of communities that grew up in recent times. The 1996 Census indicated 101,449 people living in the Partnership area, which represented a fall of 10% since 1986. The figure slightly decreased further by 1% to 100,042 in 2002 (CSO, 2002). The youth population (0-14 age group) fell by 36% in the area (CSO, 1996). In 2002, this age cohort represented only 6.7% of the total Partnership population. The 25-44 age group were the most numerous at 28.1% in 1996 and 29.4% in 2002, followed by the 45-64 age group at 22.2%, which remained at the same level in 2002 (CSO, 2002).

The youth population at 21.6% was still above the regional figure of 18.3% in 1996 but the numbers decreased to 12.8% in 2002. The population of over 65 years of age at 8.3% was below the regional figure of 13.1%. Census 2002 registered an increase of this age cohort, which accounted for 11.3% (CSO, 2002).

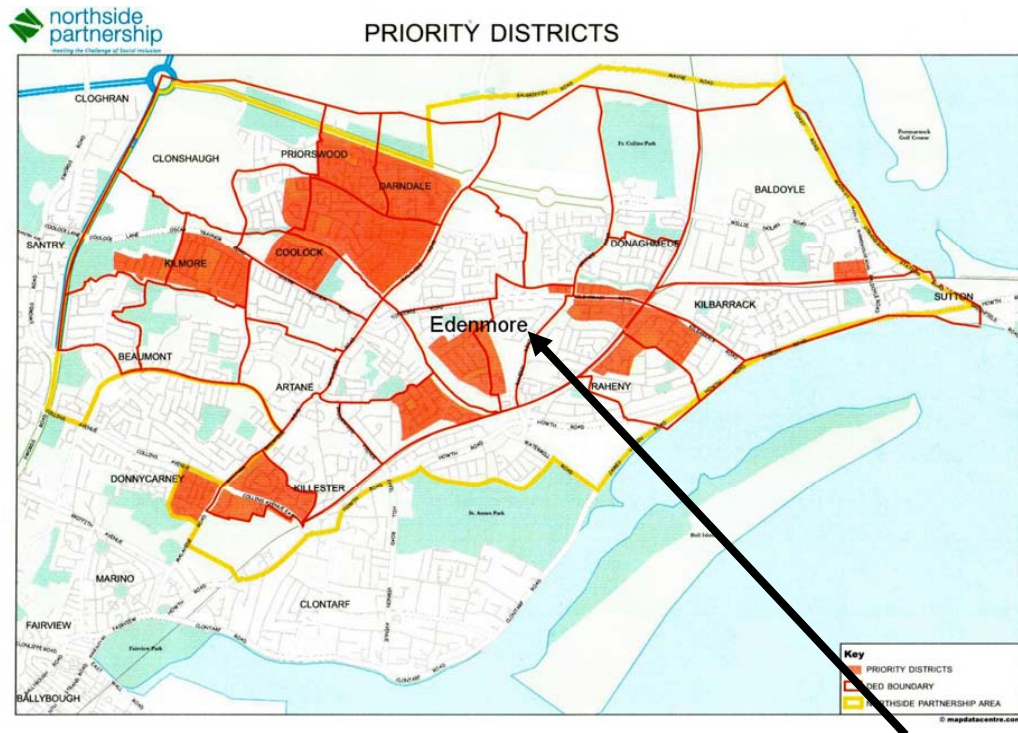
In overall terms, these figures suggest that the area population has been adjusting from a young profile to a flatter age structure. In 2002 there were more people in the productive age range and the number of elderly people was increasing. The 2002 Census also noted that the number of lone parents in the NSP accelerated from 17.4% in 1996 to 20%, which was higher than regional and national figures of 19.4% and 16.6% respectively.

Although the area enclosed industrial zones located close to both the port and airport and along the North-South Economic Corridor, it reflected a complex mix of socio-economic status, which ranged from districts of relative affluence to those categorised as severely disadvantaged (CSO, 1996 and 2002; NSP 2000).

Similar to all other parts of the Dublin Region, the area contained pockets of severe poverty, long-term unemployment, and low level of education attainment. By 1996, there were districts with more than 60% of the population registered as unemployed and 59% of them were long-term unemployed. Six of 29 districts were ranked among the most deprived districts nationally (CSO, 1996). The GAMMA Report commissioned by the Dublin Employment Pact in 1998 classified 8 of 29 districts of the Partnership among the most disadvantaged in comparison to 14 under the Haase Index of Relative Affluence and Deprivation in 1994; this showed a significant rise in prosperity. However of the six districts classified among the most disadvantaged, only one displayed marginal improvement.

Map 5.6 shows designated districts defined by the Local Partnership that are the subject of local initiatives to combat area disadvantage and target community needs.

Map. 5.6 Priority Areas in the Northside Partnership Area

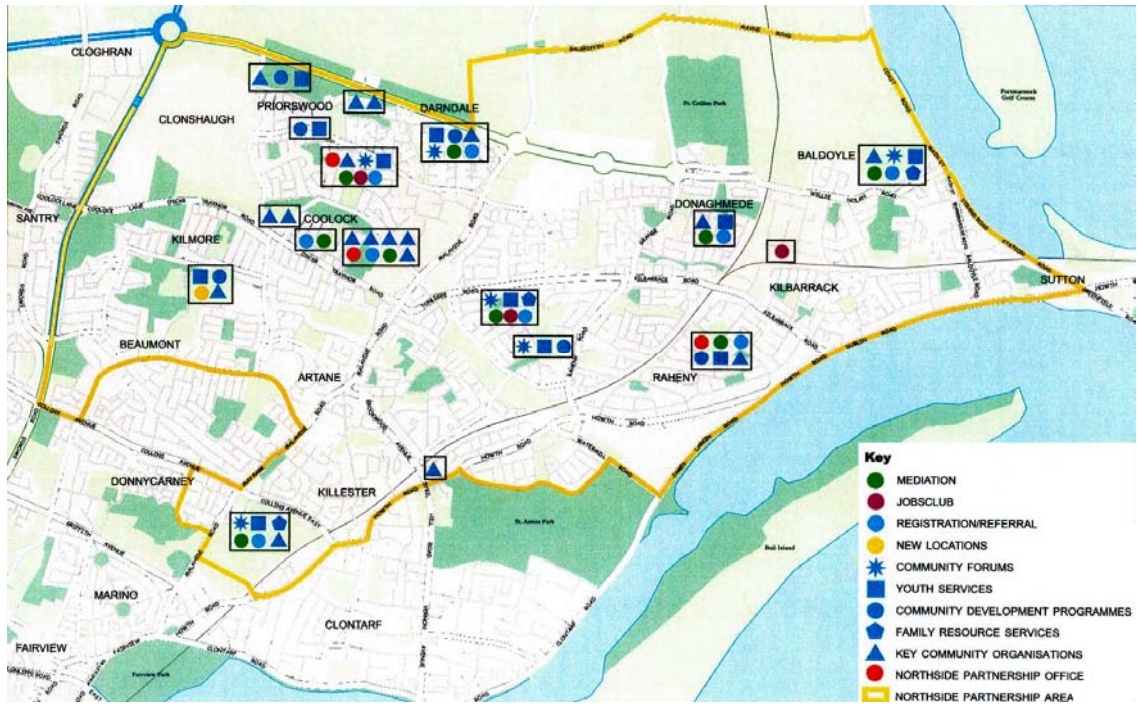


Grange E&D

Source: Northside Partnership

In particular, Map 5.7 indicates local development facilities for the area provided by the community and employment services. The Northside Partnership Local Employment Service Network co-ordinates a matrix of employment services and facilities tailored to the needs of the people and businesses of the Partnership area. There are a number of adult education services, such as an Adult Education Centre, two Further Education Centres, two Independent Adult Learning Centres and two Youth-reach Centres.

Map 5.7 Local Employment Service Network, Key Community Organisations, Education Facilities and Network Districts in the Dublin Northside Partnership Area



Source: NSP, 2001



Source: NSP, 2001

The Index of 2002 shows that the actual deprivation score for the Northside Partnership changed substantially from a negative value of -3.4 in 1991 to a positive one of 13.0 in 2002. Thus, in overall terms it could be argued that the level of actual disadvantage diminished between the Census waves (Table 5.14).

Table 5.14: Key socio-economic characteristics change of the Northside Partnership for 1996 and 2002

	Labour Force participation rate	Male	Female	Unemployment rate	Male	Female	Higher +Lower Profess.	Unskilled Manual	Primary education only	3 rd level	Leaving school under 15	Lone parents
1996												
NSP	59.7	73.3	47.1	16.2	18.5	12.8	20.7	7.2	29.2	14.6	38.9	17.4
Dublin Region	58.6	72.0	46.7	15.5	17.6	12.5	30.5	6.4	25.0	25.4	32.1	18.8
State	55.4	70.7	40.7	14.8	16.4	12.0	27.3	8.5	29.5	19.7	35.0	13.8
2002												
NSP	60.0	70.4	50.6	9.1	9.9	8.0	26.8	5.0	22.7	18.6	15.1	20.0
Dublin Region	61.2	71.5	51.8	8.5	9.2	7.5	40.0	4.0	17.4	31.2	18.0	19.4
State	58.3	69.9	47.0	8.8	9.4	8.0	33.4	5.0	21.2	23.5	20.7	16.6

Source: CSO 1996, 2002, Haase, 1999

The most visible was the unemployment rate for the entire Partnership area, which substantially decreased from 19.9 % in 1991 to 9.1 % in 2002 (Figure 5.2). However the figure remained higher in comparison to regional and state patterns and disparities between the male and female cohort persisted (the figure for males continued to be even greater since 1996).

Figure 5.2: Unemployment rate change 1991-2002 in the Northside Partnership

1991	1996	2002
19.9	16.2	9.1

Source: CSO SAPS, 1996 and 2002

Disparities in the labour force participation rates between male and female cohorts endured. The rate for men did not change considerably since 1996 and similar to regional and state patterns remained higher by over 20 % compared to the female cohort (Table 5.14). Furthermore, Census data noted 10,930 women in the Partnership area (which constituted 24.7% of all females in the labour force) who were on home duties and who generally did not sign on the unemployment register. In addition, 8,445 persons (representing 10 % of the total population in the labour force) were registered as those with disabilities and not economically active. Therefore, they may all have represented additional, hidden unemployment.

By 1996, the labour force in the area represented mainly the non-manual and skilled manual occupations, which made up 46.7 % of the total in comparison to the regional figure of 41% (CSO, 1996; NSP, 2001). It is important to indicate that the area contains industrial zones located in three areas: Clonshaugh, Coolock/Newton and Baldoyle).

Many of the new jobs created in these zones were in high-technology occupations and required a strong education and skills base. There was an acceleration of jobs in telemarketing, software and financial services in the Partnership area and its hinterland (NSP, 2001). According to Dun and Bradstreet database (1997²⁶), there were 417 companies employing 13,660 people. Of these, 124 companies (30% of the total) were engaged in manufacturing, 120 (27%) in wholesale, 60 in retail (14%) and 32 providing services (8%).

The 2002 Census indicated that low-skilled occupations still made up more than a quarter of the total labour force in the NSP area, with the figure of 36%, which was similar to the regional figure of 34%. The proportion of high professionals – 2.9% – was below the regional level of 6.9%. In 2002, this group was represented by only 3.5% of the total labour force, in contrast to the regional figure of 8.5%. The overall figure for skilled labour of 26.8% was much lower compared to regional numbers of 40% and a state figure of 33.4% (Table 5.14).

In 1996, the profile of educational attainment by the residents of the Partnership area was similar to the population of the region and the country as a whole. Over a quarter – 29.2 % of those aged 15 or over had no formal or primary education, and more than 40% of the residents completed their education at a primary level only. The data deriving from Census 2002 has shown that the percentage of those with no formal and primary education diminished slowly by 6% since 1996 and accounted for 22.7%.

²⁶ More current data was not available at the time of this research. It has emerged, during the data collection phase, that NSP has lost research and data monitoring capacity in the last round of cutbacks (2003) and therefore the level of knowledge on the overall area has become limited. The most current information that was made available from the NSP Strategy Co-ordination Unit was that a 'considerable' number of firm closures occurred between 2000 and 2004, in particular in the Clonshaugh estate (NSP, 2004). However no research on the causes of the closures and the number of the local labour force that were made redundant has been carried out since.

Similar to regional patterns, when higher level of educational attainment were observed the chances of being unemployed were lower. Census figures for 1996 indicated that 33% of the total unemployed were educated to primary level and 25.5% only completed upper secondary education. These figures fell in 2002 and accounted for 23.7% and 17.21% respectively. As few as 14.6% of adults in the Partnership Area attained a Third Level education against 25% in the region in 1996, which was the main divergence from regional levels.

The data for 2002 showed a slight increase of those with third level education, by 4% to 18.6%, in comparison to the regional increase by over 6% (31%). The Census also showed considerable decrease of early school leavers in the NSP area (by over 23%), which in this case was much higher when compared to regional and state figures, represented by a fall of 14% and 15% respectively (Table 5.14).

As far as relative level of deprivation is concerned, it remained above average (-2.2 in 2002) and did not improve considerably over the period of 1992-2002. By using the Index measurement, it progressed from -3.4 in 1991 to -2.0 in 1996 and slightly decreased again to -2.2 in 2002 (Table 5.14).

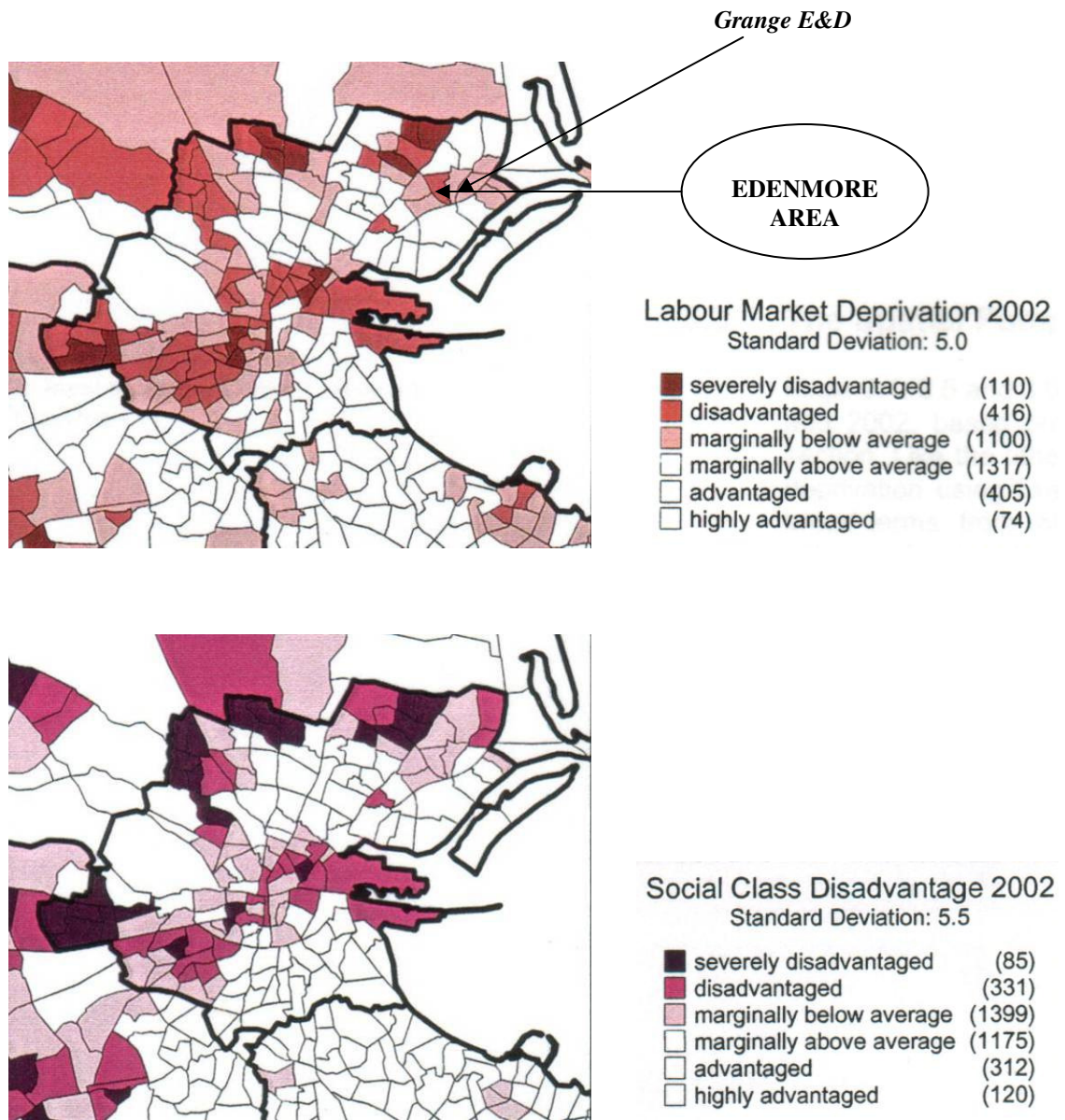
The majority of districts located within the borders of the Partnership only marginally improved or even marginally declined during the 1992-2002 period (Map 5.4, areas marked with cream and grey colour). To exemplify, relative deprivation scores for Edenmore, one of the priority districts in the Northside Partnership, did not change to any greater extent within a period of 1991-2002 (Map 5.4). The area was equally disadvantaged in 1991, 1996 and 2002 (Map 5.3 – area marked in orange) and even

marginally declined in terms of relative change between 1991 and 2002 (Map 5.4 - area marked in cream).

Furthermore, if we include two adjacent, more affluent neighbourhoods – Grange E and Grange D – which are considered part of an Edenmore community, and therefore providing a wider and more mixed unit for the analysis, it would appear that in overall terms they only marginally improved (Map 5.4 – areas are marked in grey) and remained constant in terms of relative change over time (they were marginally below average and above average, respectively, during the Census waves of 1991, 1996 and 2002) (Map 5.3 – areas marked in cream and green).

The 2002 Census figures show that the pockets of labour market deprivation and social class disadvantage in the Partnership Area were still identified, ranging from disadvantaged to severely disadvantaged (Map 5.8). Taking Edenmore as an example, the area was still identified as being disadvantaged and marginally below average, when two adjacent neighbourhoods of Grange E and D were considered.

Map 5.8 Pockets of labour market deprivation and social class disadvantage in 2002



Source: GAMMA, 2004

Key patterns identified

The analysis of the core study level in Dublin shows that spatial considerations emerge as a critical element when analysing socio-economic and environmental patterns in urban areas in Ireland, and therefore justifies the targeted approach employed by public policies. The Dublin case demonstrates the critical development whereby rapid

economic growth occurred at the regional level but intra-regional disparities regarding social, economic and environmental disadvantage persisted.

In this context key patterns were identified:

- Significant variations were found in poverty rates across both Regional Authority and Local Authority Areas;
- There was continuing trend of disparities between the unemployment rates across Local Authority Areas;
- Unemployment was spatially concentrated and there was a high correlation between areas of high unemployment and areas of poor educational attainment;
- At the local level a number of disadvantaged areas in regard to unemployment, educational attainment, lone-parents households, dependency and local authority housing were evident with substantially higher rates of unemployment in comparison to the national figure;
- The degree of relative disadvantage at the smallest administrative level (ED) changed comparatively little and the most deprived areas in 1991 were also amongst the poorest in 2002.

5.3 Mapping socio-economic trends within the case study area – the case of Silesia

Regional dynamics

The Silesian Region, traditionally dominated by the state-owned heavy industry, during the period of this research was targeted by public policies as a priority area for economic development and regeneration strategies (Spatial Development Strategy (SDS), 2001; NDP, 2003). It could be argued that the present situation in the region was influenced by the past 18 years of transformation, following a political transition in 1989. The rapid restructuring process of the region's economic structure, initiated in 1998, led to a dramatic fall in employment and was followed by substantial changes in its social, economic and spatial environments (NDP, 2003).

After 1989, the situation in the region was argued to be affected by its peripheralisation, resulting from disproportionate exchange with the rest of the country. The economic surplus of the area, produced mainly by an economy based on low technological levels of industrial processing, did not return over time in the form of investments that would have raised the levels and the efficiency of the economy (Szczepański, 2004; Błasiak et al, 1994).

The region lagged behind the leading Mazowieckie Region, and was about average for the country, taking into consideration the creation of high-tech companies, which suggests the transition from an industrial region into a knowledge-based economy (Table 5.15). The research and development (R&D) expenditures, as well as employment in this sector, remained constant (Table 5.16).

Table 5.15: High-tech enterprises according to OECD

Region	Number of high-tech companies	Share of the country's high-tech companies (%)	Number of high-tech enterprises per 1 million urban inhabitants	Number of high-tech companies per 1000 production companies
Slaskie	38	40.69	9.8	2.4
Mazowieckie	273	33.70	83.9	11.6
Poland	810	100	33.9	606

Source: Gawlikowska-Hueckel and Dutkowski, 2000

This pattern developed due to the strong role of public property, which in 2002 accounted for 45% of the investment expenditures and almost half of the employment in the Region.

Table 5.16: Forms of ownership in the Silesian Voivodship

Property	Investment Expenditures	Employment	Export
Public	45,3	48,9	40,3
Private	40,5	47,5	52,3
Foreign	14,2	3,6	7,4
Total	100	100	100

Source: Statistical Year Book (SYB), 2002

By the late 1990s, the Region produced 14.6% of Poland's GDP, which higher than the national average (Silesia Regional Development Strategy (SRWS), 2000). This was related to a relatively low unemployment rate of 10.9%, compared to the national average of 13%, as the industrial sector accounted for over 40% of the total employment in the area against the state of 29% (SYB, 2002). However, the structure of employment was changing to a very small degree. In 2002, 36.6% of all employees were still

engaged in the industrial and construction sector, with 34.4% working in market services and 16.4% in non-market services (SYB, 2002).

Due to the domination of traditional industry, functional knowledge, demographic resilience and mobility of the labour market were not favoured in the Region. One of the significant socio-economic patterns of the Silesia Region resulting from this trend and impacting on its slow developmental dynamics was the unfavourable structure of educational attainment. Although the overall level of educational attainment progressed since the late 1980s, in 2002 over half of the population attained primary and secondary education only. The percentage of those with higher education was lower in comparison to the national figure and the number of those with incomplete or no education actually increased (Table 5.17).

Table 5.17: The structure of educational attainment in the Silesia Region during last Census waves of 1988 and 2002

Region		Level of educational attainment				
		Higher education	Post-secondary education	Secondary education (including basic vocational)	Primary education	Incomplete primary and no education
State	1988	6.5	24.7	23.6	38.8	6.5
	2002	10.2	32.6	24.1	28.2	4.9
Silesia Region	1988	5.8	24.9	30.2	36.0	3.1
	2002	9.2	32.8	27.7	24.7	5.6

Source: SYB, 2002

This trend was firmly linked to the structure of unemployment and the labour force in the Region. Table 5.18 indicates that 12.7% of those who attained primary education were economically active and in the cohort with the highest level of unemployment rate (37.4%). Those with 3rd level educational attainment contributed to the highest level of

labour force participation rate (76.7%) and the lowest unemployment rate (6.4%). This trend showed, similar to other European patterns, the lower the level of educational attainment, the lower chances were in the labour market.

Table 5.18: The structure of unemployment and labour force participation rate by highest level of education attained in the Silesia Region, 2002

Highest Level of education attained	Labour Force Participation Rate	Unemployment Rate
Higher	76.7	6.4
Postsecondary	63.9	14.7
Secondary vocational	55.4	17.8
Secondary general	37.0	23.7
Primary vocational	48.0	24.7
Primary including incomplete primary	12.7	37.4

Source: SYB, 2002

The process of economic restructuring, which had not been completed to a great extent until recently, resulted in rapid acceleration of unemployment, which, similar to national patterns, doubled since 1999 from 10% to 20% in 2002 (Table 5.19).

Table 5.19: The Unemployment and Labour Force Participation Rate in the Silesia Region in 2002

	Labour Force Participation rate	Unemployment Rate
State	43.7	21.2
Silesia region	41.9	20.8

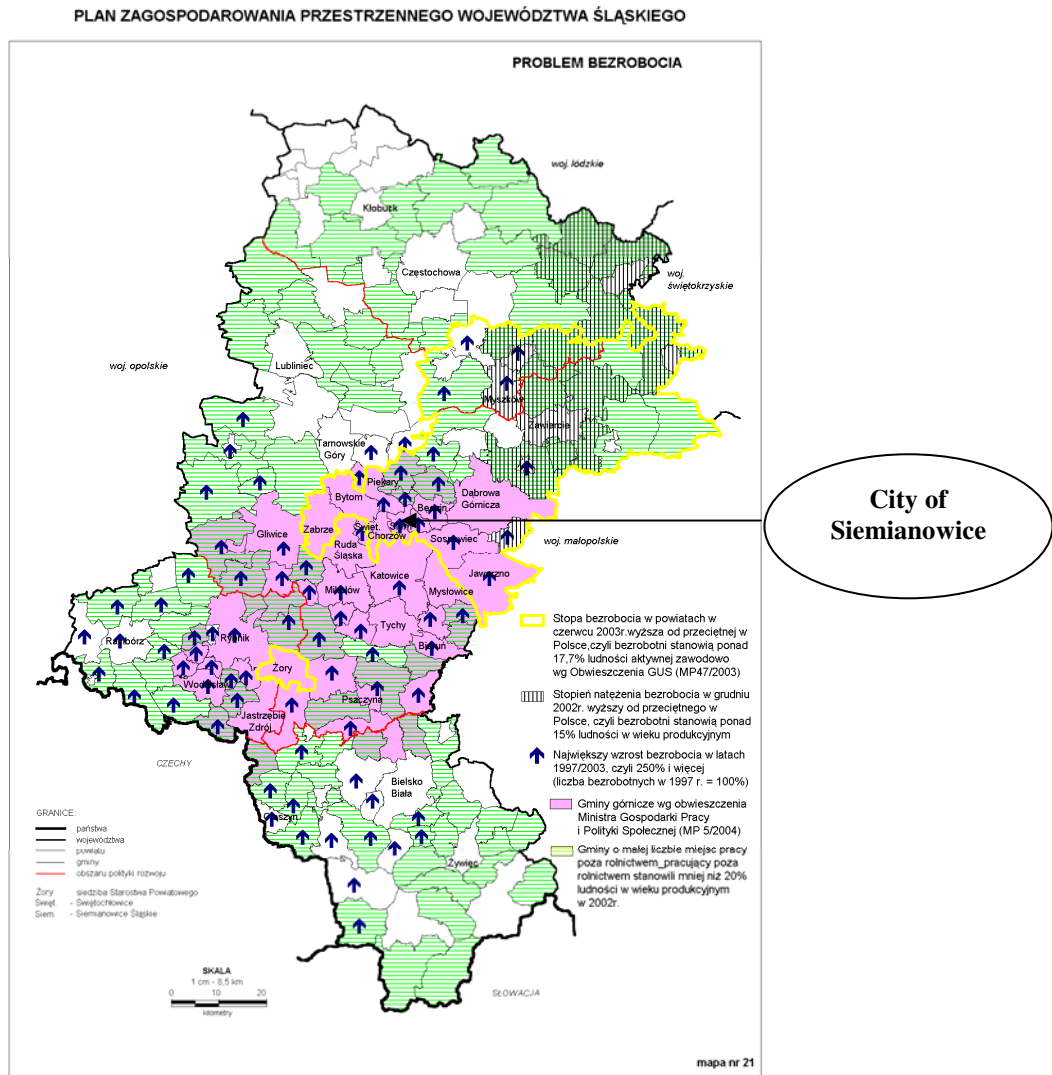
Source: SYB, 2002

While it was not possible to directly compare these figures with the situation of the Region in the early 1990s, as the state administration reform in 1999 had considerably extended its overall area, it is important to note that the former Katowice Voivodship, where the Silesian Industrial Region was located, experienced, in absolute terms, the

highest number of unemployed in the country in 1993 and was fourth in the State in the unemployment figure share (Frąkiewicz-Wronka et al, 1996).

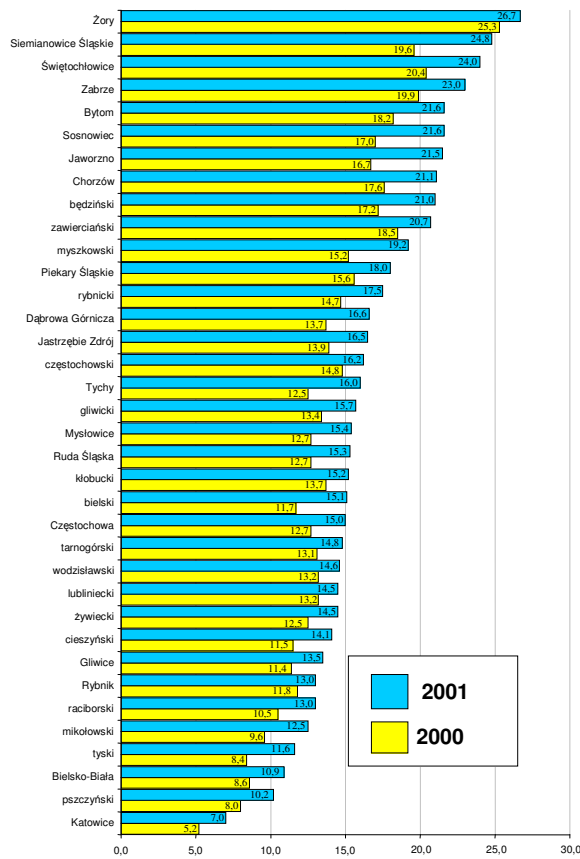
In 1999, long-term unemployed (at least 24 months) reached 15% of the total unemployment level. This trend accelerated to 25%, and was as high as 46% for the unemployed cohort of 1 year and over in 2002, in comparison to 41% in 1994 (Frąkiewicz-Wronka et al, 1996; SYB, 2002). Unemployment, similar to Dublin's case, was spatially distributed across the area, specifically in the declining post-industrial urban districts of the Region. It ranged from 5% to 26%, and was experiencing growing patterns of disadvantage (Map 5.9 and Figure 5.3). The long-term unemployment levels also varied across districts, reaching between 41% and 55% of the total unemployment figure (SYB, 2002).

Map 5.9 Spatial distribution of Unemployment in the Silesia Region*



Source: SSDS (2004) Silesia Spatial Development Strategy, Silesian Regional Office

* The yellow border line represents those districts where unemployment rate was higher than the state average. The red border denotes areas targeted under regional development policies. Blue arrows mark those districts that experienced the highest acceleration of unemployment (by 250%) between 2000 and 2003. Declining industrial (coal mining) municipalities are marked in pink.

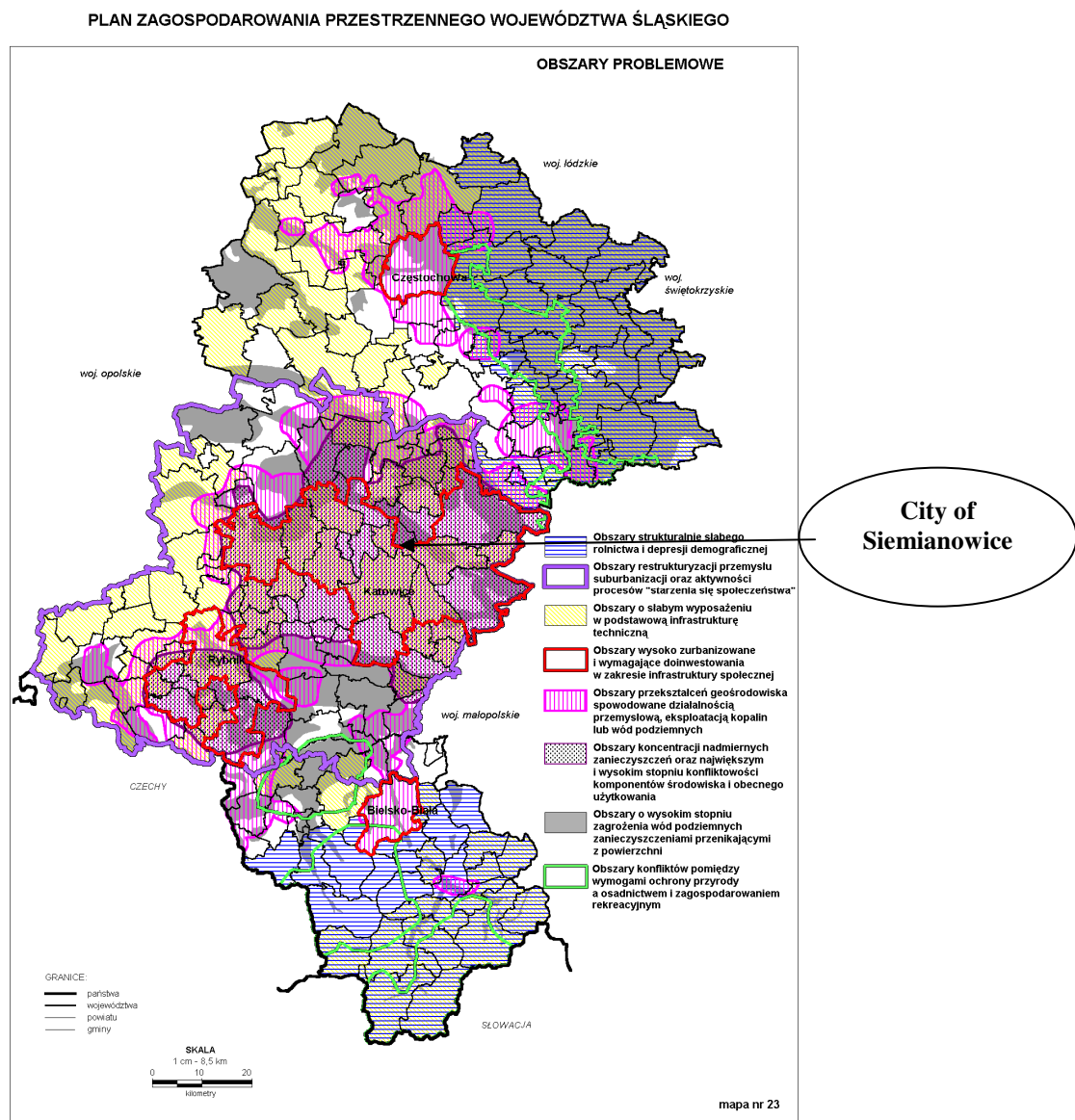
Figure 5.3: The unemployment rate at district level between 2000 and 2001

Source: SYB, 2002

Built environment

Similar to social and economic patterns, the quality of the built environment became one of the emerging issues in the Region. Likewise, unemployment, social and environmental infrastructure shortages were spatially concentrated across the Region (Map 5.10). Urban, post-industrial declining areas of the Region in particular experienced multiple deprivation, including variables such as ageing population levels, and poor social and technical infrastructure.

Map 5.10 Spatial distribution of areas experiencing social, environmental and infrastructural disadvantage in the Silesia Region*



Source: SSDS (2004)

* Violet border represents districts under industrial transformation and ageing population patterns. Red border denotes urban areas suffering from the shortage of social infrastructure. The yellow striped colour marks those areas poorly equipped with technical infrastructure.

In general, worsening overall living conditions of the Silesia households were observed due to the growing shortage of the affordable housing supply, which, similar to national patterns, accelerated since 1988 by over 40,000 housing units (SYB, 2002). In total, there were 88 available housing units per 100 households in 2002, which resulted in an increase of the households per housing unit. This was particularly evident in urban areas of the Region among families with low income levels (Table 5.20).

Table 5.20: Number of households per 100 housing units in 1988 and 2002

	Silesia Region	State
TOTAL		
1988	111	112
2002	114	115
<i>Urban areas</i>		
1988	110	112
2002	113	114

Source: SYB, 2002

There were also more families in urban areas of the Region sharing the same housing unit with other relatives (an increase of 5% since 1988) who were unable to purchase or rent their own property due to their low income levels (Table 5.21).

Table 5.21: Percentage of households in the Silesia Region by families living independently and by accommodation sharing with immediate relatives in 1988 and 2002

	Living independently	Accommodation Sharing
<i>Urban areas</i>		
1988	83.4	16.6
2002	78.4	21.6
<i>Other areas</i>		
1988	74.3	25.7
2002	70.3	29.7

Source: SYB, 2002

Specifically, lone parents with low educational attainments, children and those living in shared accommodation experienced worse living condition standards when compared to other members of the society (Table 5.22)

Table 5.22: The level of housing infrastructure in urban areas by family structure, income level and educational attainment in 2002

Family structure	Flats equipped with bathroom and pipeline (%)	Flats without pipeline (%)
Total	94.6	0.3
Couples in employment	97.0	0.1
Unemployed lone parents	83.4	1.1
Couples with primary or no educational attainment with four children or more	68.3	1.7

Source: SYB, 2002

Implications of economic development

Analysis of socio-economic and environmental data pertaining to the Silesia Region during the period of 1992-2002 shows the following patterns:

- The accelerating peripheralisation of the Region reflected in the constant higher share of employment in sectors based on the low technological levels, such as industry and construction, as against knowledge-based sectors, such as services;
- Unfavourable structure of educational attainment, with over half of the population having attained primary and secondary levels only;
- Rapid acceleration of unemployment, particularly long-term unemployment, which affected those cohorts with low education attainments and employed primarily in low-skilled sectors;
- Uneven distribution of unemployment and other forms of deprivation across the area, such as ageing population levels, and inadequate social and physical infrastructure. These patterns were particularly evident in the declining post-industrial districts of the Region.

5.3.1 Measuring urban change at the local level

Index of economic potential

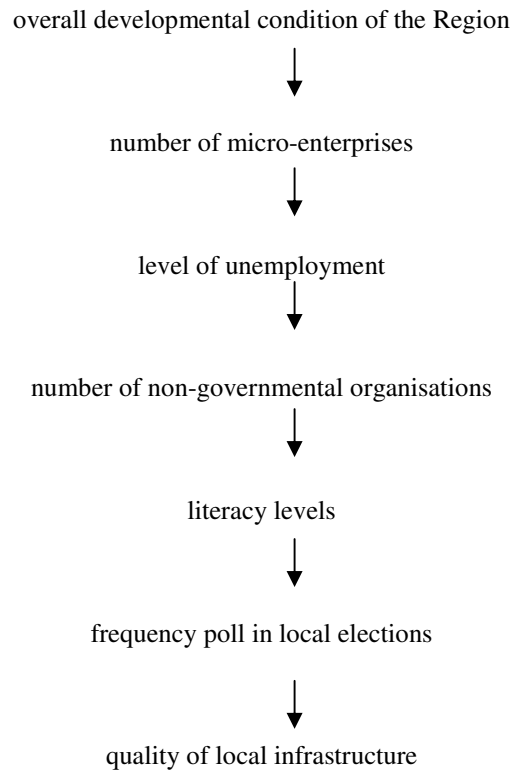
Although it was not possible to identify similar longitudinal socio-economic measurement at the smallest administrative level as exists in Ireland²⁷, this research

²⁷ While the Hasse Index presented in this study has been specifically used in Ireland for area targeting under EU funding, in Poland no analogous nationwide index has been developed at the time of this research and the major EU dedicated programmes commenced their operations in 2007. Key public policy documents, such as the NDP, 2000-2006 or National Action Plan for Social Inclusion 2004-2006, generally referred to UNDP Social Development Index (HDI) variables and CSO statistics, which do not provide equivalent, disaggregated data. The spatial comparability is commonly conducted between rural and urban areas. Also, the administration reform of 1999, which reduced the number of regions and extended their geographical size, complicated comparability of the data over time.

looked at earlier studies that employed socio-economic and environmental variables in order to examine the level of developmental potential in selected localities, considering spatial disaggregation (Gorzalak et al, 1999; Centrum Badań Regionalnych (CBR), 2000).

Interestingly, and in contrast to the Irish Deprivation Index, the economic potential was measured by including both quantitative and qualitative types of indicators, such as the rise in the number of jobs, the net increase in the number of enterprises, the rise in investment expenditures out of the local budgets, the quality of the local infrastructure, frequency poll at the local elections, existence of NGOs, and community opinions on the local authority area attractiveness as a living place and a place of conducting business activities. Such variables, it could be argued, are all geared towards seeking area-based advantageous measures, rather than those reflecting local poverty and disadvantage (Figure 5.4).

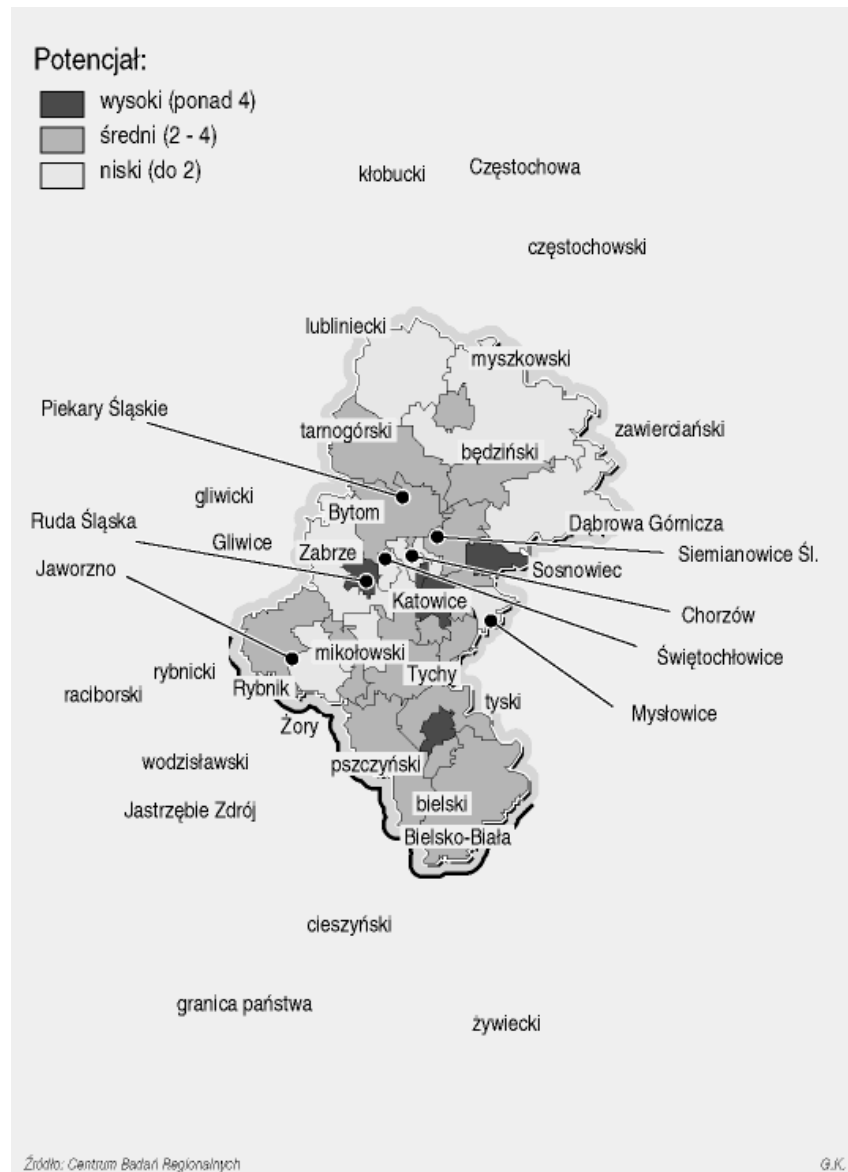
Figure 5.4: Variables used in deriving the level of economic potential in Regions



Source: Centrum Badań Regionalnych (CBR), 2000

Earlier studies on economic development potential in the Silesia Region have shown that it was unevenly distributed across the area (CBR, 2000). The research particularly demonstrated that out of 22 towns in the Region, 12 were found to have the smallest economic development potential in the country and only two scored with high potential rates (Map 5.11).

Map 5.11 Spatial distribution of economic potential in the Silesia Region in 1999 *



Source: CBR, 2000

* The black shading denotes those districts with high economic potential, the grey medium, and the white low potential.

5.3.2 The city of Siemianowice Śląskie – socioeconomic and environmental dynamics

Siemianowice Śląskie city is located in southern Poland in the central part of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region (Map 5.9). The local labour market and other socio-economic features, such as the level of unemployment, were determined by linkages with the neighbouring areas of the Region, as a number of residents were employed in these adjacent localities (Zralek, 1996). Earlier studies identified similar issues across all cities of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region resulting from the economic transformation process (ibid); therefore, it could be argued, the city of Siemianowice constitutes a good model in providing insights into urban development problems for the entire Region. Specifically, the area exhibited the following trends at the time of this research (Maps 5.9 and 5.10):

- The unemployment rate was higher than the state average;
- The area was targeted under the regional development policies;
- The area experienced the highest acceleration of unemployment (by 250%) between 2000 and 2003;
- The area is located in the declining industrial region and has been experiencing ageing population patterns;
- The area suffered from the shortages of social infrastructure;
- The area was poorly equipped with technical infrastructure.

Local economy

In 1999, the city was ranked among those districts with a low level of economic potential (Map 5.11). Declining heavy industry, such as the steelworks and mining works, which dominated the local economy until recent years, formed the largest industrial plants in the city economy. Almost half of the working population of the city was employed in the industrial sector.

In 2002, the city had more than 5,000 economic units, which were gradually replacing the previous industrial giants (City Council Siemianowice (CCS), 2002); however, between 1999 and 2002 there were 2,499 companies closed down in comparison to those created (2,724) during the same time period (Table 5.23). This indicates a lack of appropriate diagnosis of the labour market demands and that local economy was not sustainable, as no area-based policy measures existed to support those enterprises in the long-term.

Table 5.23: Small and medium enterprise statistics 1998-2002

Year	Number of businesses registered at the end of the year	Number of businesses included in the register during the year	Number of businesses that closed down their economic activity during the year
1998	5451	796	510
1999	5383	579	647
2000	5386	311	308
2001	5731	1347	1002
2002	5676	487	542

Source: CCS, 2002

Labour market and social trends

In the year 2001, the city was ranked in 21st place out of 36 districts of the Silesia Region in the number of persons employed in the national economy (for every 1000 persons there were 184 employed) (Siemianowice Welfare Development Strategy (SWDS), 2002).

As far as unemployment is concerned, the city was ranked at 10th place out of all districts of the Region in the number of registered unemployed (*ibid*). In general, the unemployment level in the city doubled over the period of 1994-2002 (Figure 5.5). In 2000, Siemianowice was among those areas that experienced the highest concentration of unemployment in the Region (Figure 5.3). It further accelerated to the peak level in year 2002 (26%), and was also higher than the regional average of 20% (Siemianowice District Labour Office (SDLO), 2002).

Figure 5.5: Unemployment levels in city of Siemianowice 1994-2002



Source: SDLO, 2002

Similar to regional patterns, the majority of unemployed persons gained primary education only, or did not complete the primary level (Table 5.24.) They represented nearly half of all registered unemployed (49%). They were also found to be mainly lone parents or single (Czekaj et al, 2001).

Table 5.24: Educational attainment profile

Labour Office clients – Education Profile	Numbers	%
No primary or primary but not completed	27	0.6%
Primary	2287	48.5%
vocational primary	1360	28.8%
4 year vocational secondary	25	0.5%
Vocational secondary	716	15.2%
Secondary –general	151	3.2%
2 year post-leaving certificate	60	1.3%
Third level degree (Bachelor and Masters)	90	1.9%
TOTAL :	4716	100.0 %

Source: (Czekaj et al, 2001)

The majority of the unemployed were in the labour force age cohort – almost 60% were found to be under 30 years of age and over 50% were between 40 and 50 years of age. Approximately a quarter was long-term unemployed (13 months to 2 years) (ibid). Information provided by the local social welfare office revealed that the unemployment problem was the major reason for local residents becoming social welfare recipients, as over 80% of them were not entitled to unemployment benefits (SWDS, 2002 and Table 5.25).

Table 5.25: Social Welfare Centre clients by activity in 2000

Social Welfare Centre clients in the year 2000	%
At work	8
Working temporary	0.3
Student – third level	0.1
Retired	3.3
Unemployed receiving unemployment benefit	2.3
Unemployed with no unemployment benefit	86

Source: (Czekaj et al, 2001)

Similar to the Irish case study patterns, unemployment was spatially differentiated across local areas with the highest numbers located in inner parts of the city (Table 5.26).

Table 5.26: Spatial distribution of unemployment in the city of Siemianowice across all five local areas (districts)

Distribution of unemployment in 2000	Bańków %	Bytków %	Michałkowice %	Przełajka %	Siemianowice inner city %
Total %	1,2	12,3	13,9	0,4	72,2

Source: SWDS, 2002

The city was ranked at 26th place in 2000, in terms of accessibility to social infrastructure and social assistance among all districts of the Silesia Region (SWDS, 2002). In addition, the generated income of the municipal budget in 2000, calculated per one inhabitant, was lower than expenses incurred (ibid).

Earlier studies relating to socio-economic dynamics of the City of Siemianowice post-2000, drawn on the Silesian Region Development Strategy 2000-2015, indicated unemployment as the key factor impacting on the entire socio-economic and environmental development of the city (Czekaj et al, 2001). They argued that unemployment levels would be accelerating, especially among those in the working-age cohort, as the national programme for industrial restructuring was at the initial implementation phase. It highlighted the importance of creating local policies based on long-term strategy, complementary to national and regional interventions, and targeting labour market and economic interventions with social and environmental regeneration measures (ibid).

Built Environment and spatial distribution of disadvantage

Earlier studies on poverty distribution in the city found that most of the local authority housing featured low standards, as over half of the stock (58%) was built before 1945 (Zralek, 1996). It was shown that although rent rates were low, almost 68% of tenants were delayed with payments. Such a high number was argued to result from increasing levels of unemployment among all city residents, as the overall number of inhabitants who were overdue with the rent payments, in all types of housing, was high and accounted for 49%. The study also found that socio-spatial segregation and the resulting process of 'ghettoisation' within the city was accelerating. More affluent families tended to move out to new housing areas and their flats were occupied by those evicted as a penalty for not paying the rents. This process resulted in the emergence of new socially disadvantaged districts, having mainly old, sub-standard housing profiles and accelerating poverty levels (Map 5.12).

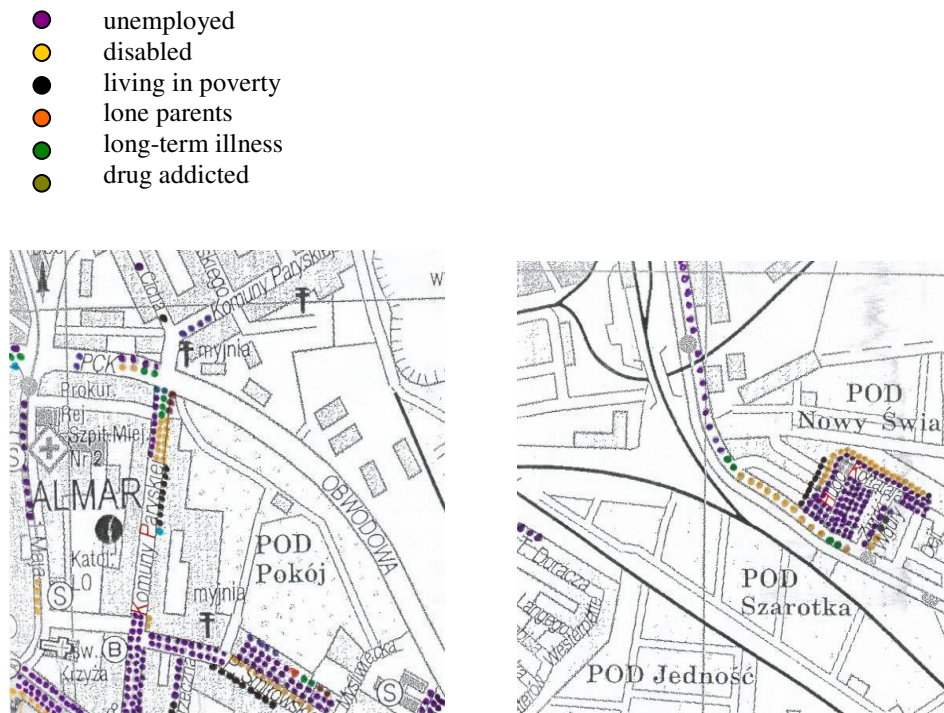
The study commissioned by the local social welfare office in 2001 indicated that the city was ranked in 22nd place in 2000, out of 36 districts in the Silesia Region, in terms of the number of new houses built for every 1000 inhabitants (0.8%), and 24th in relation to the average flat area-use. In the year 2001 this trend worsened rapidly, as the city ranking slipped to 30th place and 27th respectively (Czekaj et al, 2001). It further noted that approximately two-thirds of social welfare office clients were spatially concentrated within the city, living commonly in old social housing flats of inner city areas. Notably, Siemianowice Welfare Development Strategy (SWDS) (2002) identified priority districts and smaller units of local analysis (streets) experiencing accumulation of disadvantage patterns (Map 5.12). Specifically, various types of social disadvantage such as poverty, disability and long-term illness were found in all areas of the city; however the highest accumulation occurred within its inner parts (Tables 5.27).

Table 5.27: Spatial distribution of disadvantage across local areas in the city of Siemianowice

Types of disadvantage - experiencing by Welfare Office clients	Bańgów %	Bytków %	Michałkowice %	Przełajka %	Siemianowice inner city %
Poverty	8,8	8,8	21,0	0,4	61,0
Disability	2,6	11,8	18,1	0,6	66,9
Long-term illness	2,5	18,4	15,8	0,6	62,7

Source: SWDS, 2002

Map 5.12 Examples of neighbourhoods located in inner city Siemianowice in which majority of residents are clients of social welfare services and subjects of locally based programmes:



Source: SWDS, 2002

Key issues identified

Based on the quantitative analysis of the case study areas, it could be argued that Silesia Region, although embedded in different historical, geographical and economic settings, demonstrates similar developmental dynamics, in which space emerges as a vital issue. As in the Irish case study, intra-regional disparities relating to socio-economic and environmental disadvantage were apparent. In particular:

- The level of economic development potential was unevenly distributed across the Region, with the lowest figure found to be the most visible in the post-industrial urban districts;
- Unemployment was spatially distributed across the area, specifically in the declining post-industrial urban districts of the Region;
- There was high correlation between areas of high unemployment and areas of low educational attainment, including poor social and environmental infrastructure, with the domination of urban, post-industrial districts that experienced multiple deprivation;
- Worsening living conditions were observed in urban areas of the Region among lone parent and single households with low income levels, low educational attainments and residing in accommodation sharing;
- At the local level, social welfare dependants were spatially concentrated within the city, living commonly in old social housing flats of inner city areas;
- Socially disadvantaged districts with old, sub-standard housing profiles, featuring socio-economic problems such as poverty, disability and long-term illness, were evident.

5.4 Commonalities and contrasts between case study areas

Responding to the primary objective of this research, which was to analyse the impact of local economic interventions in urban areas in the selected localities, the table below summarises key socio-economic and environmental patterns pertinent to both case study areas (Table 5.28).

The summary shows the positive experience of the Dublin Region in accelerating labour force participation rates and the significant growth in the higher skilled technology and services sector during the period of 1992-2002, which was associated with the economic boom in Ireland that occurred in the second half of the 1990s. The Silesia Region, in contrast, experienced economic growth based on low technological levels and dramatic fall of labour force during the period in question, due to the economic transformation process. In both countries, however, area-based negative commonalities are evident, such as existence of long-term unemployment, unfavourable structure of educational attainment, high share of the labour force in the slow-growing, low-skilled sectors, spatial concentrations of unemployment rates, educational disadvantage and socially excluded households across local authority areas.

The quantitative patterns identified in both countries set the basis for qualitative examination, presented in Chapter 6 and 7, on how public policies and policy recipients adapt to these challenges in order to identify the nature, successful approaches and obstacles of the measures employed.

Table 5.28: Identified commonalities and contrasts between case study areas

Socio-economic and Environmental Patterns	Dublin	Silesia
• Acceleration of labour force participation rates	√	
• Growth in higher-skilled technology and services sector	√	
• Existence of long-term unemployment	√	√
• Unfavourable structure of educational attainment	√	√
• High share of employment in the slow-growing, low-skilled sectors	√	√
• Spatial concentration of unemployment rates, educational disadvantage and socially-excluded households across local authority areas	√	√
• Existence of disadvantaged areas in regard to unemployment with higher rates of unemployment in comparison to the national and regional figures, educational attainment, lone-parents households, dependency, and inadequate social and physical infrastructure	√	√

Chapter 6: Formative Analysis of Irish Case Study

6.1 Introduction

Following the quantitative review of socio-economic and environmental patterns of case study areas in the Dublin and Silesia Region for the period of 1992-2002, this chapter examines in detail various policy themes identified during the formative part of the research in Ireland and addresses primary objectives of the research, which were to analyse structures employed in pursuance of selected urban development programmes and to assess critical inputs necessary to the delivery of future approaches. The period covered by this investigation reflects partnership process in Ireland, rapid economic growth and consequent transformation of the Irish economy.

The table below summarises the approach employed for presentation and analysis of the formative data.

Table 6.1: Approach employed in analysis and presentation of the formative data

Analysis: Built on the research conceptual framework (Figure 4.1). Exploration of key policy themes and issues identified by core research respondents: policy makers, service providers, local employers, selected project's beneficiaries and local residents:

- evaluation of themes identified by the respondents at a *policy level* based on specific criteria set up for comparison between countries: integration of actions, sustainability and public accountability;
- examination of attitudes and perceptions of *service providers* with the objective of analysing the impact of local employment services and other related initiatives on development demands in the case study area; assessment of the approach used in such interventions towards creation of sustainable employment;
- analysis of the importance of area-based programmes in *local companies'* development; evaluation of the level of policy measures employed for co-operation between service providers and local employers;
- analysis of the views and opinions of the selected area-based *labour market programme's participants*;
- examination of the *local community* responses experiencing problems in their living environments; evaluation of the interaction between spatial, economic and social renewal measures.

Examination of the quality of linkages between different levels of governance and practical constraints in adaptation to policy goals. Investigation of the process by which local economic development is achieved.

Presentation: relevant categories of themes classified according to the perception of 'importance' in policy and planning. Major concepts presented in categories and sub-categories of policy themes. Similar cases across different categories grouped under key conceptual headings. Key comparative criteria across the two countries identified for setting up specific indicators measuring the feasibility of area-based interventions.

Building on the research conceptual framework (Figure 4.1, Ch. 4), this section explores the main policy themes and issues identified by five key groups involved at various levels of local development Ireland: policymakers, service providers, local employers, selected projects' beneficiaries and local residents. Due to the involvement of a number of agencies at various levels of governance and multiple policy recipients in the research, the selection of the survey groups for this investigation was developed in an ongoing and systematic manner as the researcher's knowledge of the realities of the

local development progressed. The idea behind such an approach was to examine the quality of linkages between different levels of governance, involving various groups representing policy and policy recipients, and practical constraints of these groups in adaptation to policy goals. This also enabled triangular verification of the results, increasing validity and reliability of the outcomes.

This stage of the research commenced with pilot discussions with the Dublin Employment Pact in Ireland and the European Institute of Local and Regional Development in Poland, who identified relevant survey participants at the policy level and determined main themes and issues for an analysis (Figure 4.1 – stage 2). These pilot discussions set up specific criteria for comparison between countries, which were identified as integration of actions, sustainability (including the extent of the use of existing resources and flexibility to changes occurring during the life-span of the selected programmes), and public accountability.

The pilot was complemented by an exploratory data provided by the Northside Partnership's co-ordinators, which identified appropriate survey recipients at the local level. In Poland, initial contacts were developed with the national Urban Renewal Forum Association and Institute of Public Affairs of the Jagiellonian University of Cracow, who provided information on existing and anticipated projects on urban development and regeneration in the Silesia Region and nationally. Further linkages were made with the local social welfare office in the city of Siemianowice, who supplied relevant contacts to other local service providers.

Following the initial stages of this investigation (Figure 4.1 - stage 2), a number of semi-structured interviews with policymakers in Ireland and Poland were carried out in order to gain a detailed understanding of policy approaches on area-based interventions in case study areas (Table 4.2 and Figure 4.2). They were complemented with examination of attitudes and perceptions of local service providers, with the objective of analysing the impact of local employment services and other related initiatives on current development demands in the selected case study area. Based on the outcomes, the core subject of the revision was the assessment of the approach used in such interventions towards the creation of sustainable employment (Table 4.3 and Figure 4.3).

Complementary inclusion of the business sector in the research aimed at analysis of the importance of area-based initiatives/programmes in company development. The investigation intended also to evaluate the level of policy measures created for collaboration between service providers and local employers. It was expected that such assessment would enhance the quality of local employment services as it would draw on the endogenous knowledge necessary for adaptation of relevant training and retraining programmes in line with the needs of local labour markets (Table 4.4 and Figure 4.4 /4.5). Surveys of two labour market programmes implemented in both countries were carried out to gain views and opinions of area-based programmes' participants. Both projects involved participation of all stakeholders in area-based development, including policymakers, service providers, local employers and local communities (Table 4.5 and Figure 4.6). Local residents' surveys aimed to gain responses from communities experiencing problems in regard to their living environments and to evaluate the

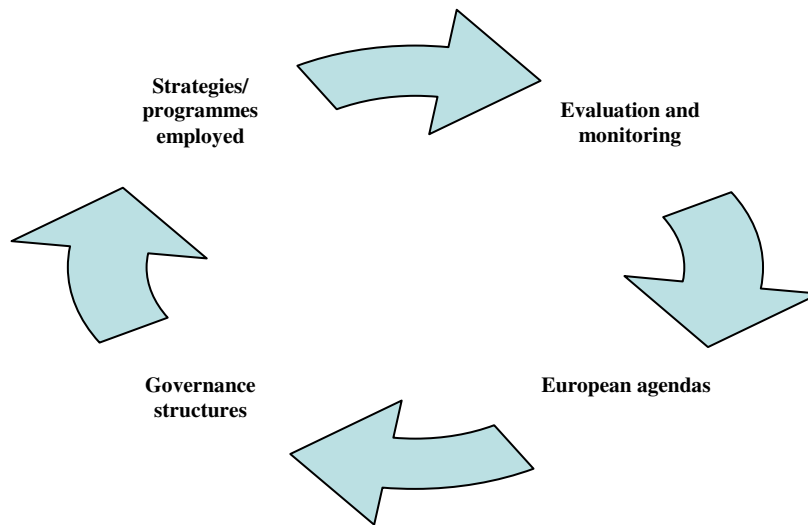
interaction between spatial, economic and social renewal of area-based development (Table 4.5 and Figure 4.7).

The chapter investigates, in particular, the process by which local economic development is achieved, and is based on the classification of relevant categories of the themes highlighted by the research participants according to their perception of ‘importance’ in policy planning and development. The key concepts, elicited from the interview and questionnaire survey responses, are presented in categories and sub-categories of policy themes. Similar cases across different categories are grouped together under the key themes and conceptual headings. Based on the responses received, key comparative criteria across the two countries are identified. These broad criteria represented the basis for specific indicators measuring the relevance and feasibility of the interventions applied in each of the case study areas.

6.2 Identified policy themes – policy makers

In both countries, four key general themes were identified through the pilot discussions (Figure 4.1 – stage 2) as equally important areas required for an understanding of urban area dynamics and for informing future policy approaches on local economic development (Figure 6.1):

- The quality of public governance structures;
- The implementation of current policies and programmes;
- The emerging new attributes and constraints of the existing evaluation and monitoring approaches to measure the effectiveness of area-based interventions;
- The impact of European Union agendas in shaping, implementing and assessing national policy measures.

Figure 6.1: Key policy themes relevant to urban economic development

Source: Author

While each of these themes could be treated as individual areas for policy analysis, it has emerged from the structured surveys carried out at the later stage of this investigation (Figure 4.1 – stage 5) that they are clearly related. The characteristics of the governance structures, for example, had a major impact on the quality of the programmes implemented and therefore their effectiveness. In addition, the attributes and limitations of existing evaluation approaches were influenced by the values of the current policy strategies employed. Finally, the European Union measures have shaped new thinking in public policy making and brought innovative approaches to local level initiatives.

Nevertheless, the issue of *the quality of the public governance arrangements* at all levels – central, regional and local – was seen by the majority of respondents in both countries as the leading, crucial condition in achieving long-term, sustainable economic development. In this context the type of the administration structures have had a major influence on the nature of the programmes implemented and their outcomes, while the

impact of European Union measures would have a complementary role to the existing structural arrangements and policies employed.

The following section commences with an analysis of Irish policy issues identified by each of the five groups participating in the research. The analysis examines in particular whether integrated thinking occurs between various levels of governance, including experiences of policy recipients in order to detect its relevance in policy making. It concludes with a summary of critical areas in the implementation of policies, which forms the basis for the final chapter exploring recommended policy directions in a comparative perspective.

6.2.1 Quality of the governance structures in Ireland

In addressing the theme of the governance structures, three distinct areas were identified from the 22 interview responses:

- 1) Rationalisation of public government structures;
- 2) Inter and intra-relations between central and local level of government;
- 3) Spatial variations in local economic development.

Table 6.2 demonstrates the major subsidiary themes identified within the above areas and the percentage of respondents who referred to the particular theme:

Table 6.2: Identified key policy themes – governance structures, Ireland

Major themes raised	Percentage of respondents referring to particular theme out of the total number surveyed (N=22)
Rationalisation of the existing public governance structures at both central and local levels	48%
Transparency within the public service structures	80%
Existence of formal linkages developed between the new locally-based structures and central government level	36%
Coherent governance structures as key determinant of economic development	36%
Recognition of existing endogenous resources	36%
Spatial considerations in public management	50%

Rationalisation of public government structures

The need for policy justification of existing territorial structures, particularly with regard to the roles and responsibilities of local partnership companies, city/county development boards and their interplay with the local and central government system, emerged as a key issue when discussing the theme of the quality of public governance arrangements.

Rationalisation of the governance structures was perceived by almost half of interviewees (48%) as a process whereby appropriate policy changes are employed by transforming performance at both levels of governance: central and local. These respondents asserted that there has to be a policy agreement on whether the structures are appropriate at existing administrative levels:

“If I were a dictator tomorrow my interest would be on structures rather than on funding, because there is a lot of wasted resources in both: centrally as funders, and communities chasing money that is available and tailoring applications to fit those [...] The government’s focus of the last ten years should have been on the structures rather than the funding. Given the level of the funding available the gap is in the delivery and it is due to the absence of appropriate structures.” (P11)

The argument behind this concept was that transparency regarding the roles and responsibilities of administrative arrangements would rationalise directions of public spending in the long term.

As outlined in Chapter 3, there is a common approach within Irish local development policies of involving a large number of various agencies, dedicated to similar actions but reporting to different central departments. All respondents (100%) believed that the key rationale for the introduction of local partnership companies should be to address the needs of disadvantaged communities at the local area level through co-ordination and development of interventions targeting long-term unemployment and other problems of disadvantage. However, over time, there has been a perception that partnerships “existed for their own sake” (P6), had become another layer of administration, and “started to miss an overall picture of the city.”(P2)

A minority of respondents (9%) contested that local partnerships have built much of the skills capital and bridged the gap in delivery of more targeted area-based services, which could not be provided by local authorities:

“It was not always transparent what they were doing, but at least local communities recognised their jobs as good. They are doing different things and maybe they are not co-ordinated. But they are putting things like disadvantage on the map.” (P3)

However, in the long-term, they were not able to influence other local agencies to deliver coherent initiatives due to the relatively small national expenditure devolved to local areas. As a consequence, accountability and public ownership of the area-based interventions were not achieved.

Similar to local partnership companies, the rationale for the introduction of the city and county development boards was quoted by half of respondents (50%) as a key issue that needs to be addressed by future policies. The discussion overlapped with the policy debate on implementation of their development strategies at the time of the research:

“On paper it looks like an integrated initiative, the reality is very different, where you have no sanction over other state agencies. They spent a substantial amount of money and time developing these plans, but at the end of the day the plan is only as strong as it is an enforcement mechanism. The sanction, enforcement, is really missing here. If you have different agencies to sign up the plan and if they do not follow the commitment within the plan, what can you do then? All programme areas are actually in local partnerships’ areas. Therefore, you have the situation where you have a partnership company that has just come through the planning process, put together a strategic plan and suddenly the new initiative is announced; basically the same process is gone through again for no particular reason. It seems to be what has been already decided. I think it has been a waste of money.” (P1)

Over one-third of interviewees (36%) indicated that there was a lack of clear focus on the role of these initiatives and justification as to what extent they could complement already existing structures, such as local area partnerships. These interviewees expressed their concern that the original concept of county development boards “was supposed to be based upon balancing actions at the local level” (P6) and not to deliver instruments, but due to the discretion of European and other public funding they became programme deliverers and built up their staff “for pragmatic reasons.” (P3)

Almost a quarter of interviewees (20%) argued that the city and county development boards were appropriate structures, based on the partnership approach, established to act as a tool for bringing together different interests at the county level. These respondents explained that the role of the boards was still at the expansion phase and that “long-term

co-operation needs to be facilitated between them and central departments to ensure their sustainability.”(P11)

Discussing the issue regarding relations between existing area-based structures and local authority systems, over one-third of respondents (36%) argued that there had been no political will so far to devolve responsibilities to the local level to any great extent:

“There is a fundamental point that it has to be at political level. Service providers are just instruments and policy is at the political level. I would have thought that more organic engagement at the local level would have more radical engagement at the political level in the notion of local development.” (P6)

Two informants (9%) were of the view that due to regional contribution to economic development by the entire Dublin Region, it is unlikely that central departments would devolve any significant powers to lower level authorities.

The proposals with regard to rationalising the roles of area-based structures were expressed by two interviewees (9%) who asserted that future viability of local structures may depend on the ability of such initiatives “to subsume into the city and county level arrangements.”(P12) In such a scenario, area-based activities of local agencies could be managed by a local development section, set up within a city/county council, rather than the central government agency Pobal, as is the case at present.

Inter and intra relations between central and local level of government

Over one-third of respondents (36%) pointed out that it was very difficult to integrate common actions among various locally-based agencies and to fulfil their commitments, since no policy sanction mechanism has been embedded into the public management system:

“The structure is not dysfunctional but in terms of getting things done the managers of the four local authorities and all other organisations are talking to each other. I think eventually they got frustrated trying to get things done and pulling people together to talk.” (P2)

At present, all local authorities have their own city and county development strategies and due to a lack of unification and formal linkages between them no coherent policy exists for the entire Dublin Region. In particular, a lack of a specific institutional framework for the governance relationships in the Region resulted in various components of Dublin’s public institutions being engaged in continuous consultations with multiple stakeholders at multiple levels. This prevented local authorities from pursuing common objectives across city/county areas and, therefore, responding promptly to local community needs.

A minority of respondents (13%) commented that the improvement of urban governance depends on very intangible factors, such as perceptions of area-based agencies with regard to their roles and responsibilities:

“County Development Boards plans – they are all broadly in one area but the remit of each of the agencies drives the agency. It is not the County Development Board that drives it, even though what is needed will appear in both plans. It is not that County Development Boards are here and the other agencies fit in. Just elements will appear in each.” (P9)

These informants believed that it was difficult to create long-term co-operation while each agency had its own core priorities, and therefore no common developmental interests could be identified for the entire Dublin-city Region.

Over one-third of interviewees (36%) highlighted that having appropriate structures is one of the key determinants of economic success. These respondents argued that governance structures impact on the quality of co-operation with the business sector

when dealing with various bodies and development plans, as they are uneven across the Dublin Region:

“The fact is they do not co-operate well together. In the business sector there was no one person you could go to talk to. There are many different bodies that represent them [...] It is about how they are interconnected. And that interconnection is not there.”(P5)

The major difficulty highlighted by interviewees was that the territorial structures originate from 19th century legislation and there has been no policy attempt identified so far by the policymakers to develop them, based on different models exercised in Europe or North American states. These policymakers further argued that Irish traditional, centralised approaches hampered effective thinking and interaction between all stakeholders involved in the development of the entire city-region, as “local partnerships were picked up and treated as charities, not as business partners.” (P5)

Two interviewees (9%) also pointed out that co-operation with the business community and a focus on improving the attractiveness of the city are the key issue for economic development, but these measures were often lost, particularly among elected councillors, as no charge existed for their actions to their constituency:

“We are all in the same boat together, in the sense that the city draws its income from business. If it is a bad city for business, it would disappear. There is much untied business attitude among elected councillors. A lot of them see that business is not contributing enough. Very few of them do actually see the big picture, that when you take away the business, you are actually downgrading the city and simply losing the revenue.” (P2)

Almost a quarter of interviewees (20%) also stated a lack of ‘top-down’ interconnection, between local and central governance levels, which resulted in national issues being lost during implementation phase at the local level: “We started to develop these agencies to deal with specific problems. And what has been found is that you

cannot deal with the problems by one agency. It is usually multiple factors that are causing these difficulties.” (P5) Two respondents argued in particular that existing horizontal and vertical arrangements had not been flexible enough to comply with socio-economic changes, which occurred particularly over the period of 1992-2002 in Ireland and internationally.

A majority of respondents (80%) also argued that existing arrangements did not ensure appropriate communication between various levels of government and therefore transparent co-ordination of actions:

“One of the developments that has been taking place since the last elections is that there is a new Department for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, which arranges local initiatives, such as community development projects and LEADER groups. Local development groups that we fund are all brought together under the one Department. Interestingly enough it is not the same Department – it is the Department of Environment and Local Government. Local authorities are also linked to the Department of Environment. We are linked again to the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs.” (P21)

Over one-third of informants (36%) stated further that existing policy patterns of ‘one size fits all policy’ results from the fact that existing local resources are not appropriately utilised, through mainstreaming of area-based services, which have long, well-established structures and experience in the service delivery:

“The situation with the structures is like fighting over the territory, as far as various measures are concerned. The Department of Environment would like to have money. You could merge renewal programmes with social inclusion, but who would operate it? There is no way that the Department of Finance would give it up. They want their own territory. I think people using public services should know exactly who they are, what they do.” (P18)

Half of interviewees (50%) indicated that no policy agreement has been reached about future approaches to local economic development due to a trade-off between various area-based agencies and central departments when negotiating new interventions:

“When we look at the client groups sometimes they overlap. Some of the people the partnerships we would be working with are also people who could equally come to us and local employment services would be working with. So we do have to be careful about focusing on being effective and in the sort of relationships we have. We have different reporting lines and maybe slightly different priorities. The original perspective of the strategy was very clear that there was a need for integration and democratic accountability at the city-wide level. And at the sub-city level there is a need for similar integration.” (P19)

Two respondents (9%) referred to the policy proposals, presented in Chapter 3, which were to integrate area-based actions through setting up the Greater Dublin Area Authority:

“The population has increased by almost 40% in the last 40 years. And that 40% increase has occurred mainly in the Dublin area. So we are certainly faced with major pressures and hence the need to have another political and administrative authority, so as to efficiently run and manage that growth.” (P7)

This new body was to act as an umbrella authority for the existing structures and programmes in the area of transport and land use, being delivered at the local level, in response to rapidly changing socio-economic patterns of the entire region.

The Greater Dublin Area Authority initiative was seen by all respondents (100%) as controversial, because of its exclusive transport and land use management focus: “It is physically orientated, what has been always a weakness of local authorities in Ireland” (P5). The proposal also meant that social planning was not mentioned by the policy to be included at the regional level: “We want to see integrated governance at the regional level.”(P4) Criticism further concerned the formation of an additional administration layer, which according to respondents would create “a more diluted effect” (P10) rather

than efficient integration of localised actions: “I am not sure if the new regional authorities would not be another layer of administration and whether they would be effective. Development of the ground level is another issue.”(P11) Specifically, one interviewee ascertained that as localised approaches were not developed, it would not be appropriate for the policy to focus on the regional level.

Moreover, all interview informants (100%) were of the view that local politicians were not willing to surrender powers to any proposed regional authority:

“The other issue is to see if the jealously guarded powers of individual counties can now be somewhat managed, so they will be prepared voluntarily to co-ordinate themselves into a proper region. That means to some extent that individual counties will have to surrender power to the regional authority. And we are not sure if there is a political will to do that. Very much Ireland is still at the ‘selfish’ stage, that each individual county wants to have its share of the pie.” (P7)

These respondents believed, therefore, that the future of ‘regionalised’ developmental policies will be difficult to implement in the context of the existing dispersed ‘pie philosophy’, operating against the reality of Dublin’s growth.

Summarising the issue of linkages within and between various levels of governance, over one-third of respondents (36%) would see a challenge for future policies in the ability of having appropriate levels of communication between different sections of the government in order to achieve a common compromise. The proposed solution to this issue expressed by one-third of respondents (30%) was to ensure that linkages within the structures: inter-government departments at the central level, between local authorities and area-based agencies acting at the local level, are enhanced.

One interviewee specifically highlighted that policy of ‘linkages’ approach assists policy making in “being capable to adapt thinking in order to become more connected to communities and to enter into dialogue with all the partners involved.” (P21) Therefore, the challenge for future approaches in rationalising administrative structures is to consider the ability of public policies in connecting knowledge and capabilities through the social networks.

Over one-third of respondents (36%) prioritised strong linkages between local spending decisions and locally-raised taxation, which would serve to strengthen the democratic process, enhance accountability on the part of local representatives, and provide a stronger input from citizens to local government.

Two interviewees (9%) proposed that by establishing a central co-ordinating group for the city and county development boards, equivalent to Area Development Management,²⁸ better synergies between local implementation and national policies would be ensured. This approach could also assist in establishing cross-over strategies and generating additional funding on a common basis. They highlighted that in order to create viable structures, policy should be based on linkages, combining two approaches simultaneously: top-down and bottom-up, because “if there is one without the other, everything fails.” (P17)

Some respondents (18%) also proposed that by combining area-based development agencies’ tasks with local and central government responsibilities, such as social welfare and housing, all services could be delivered in a more coherent manner.

²⁸ In 2005 ADM Ltd., which oversees local partnership companies, was renamed ‘Pobal’ (which denotes ‘community’ in Irish)

Similarly, existing local authorities, apart from their traditional duties such as municipal infrastructure and planning, would have to conduct tasks in line with the ‘new’ arrangements, such as city and county development boards’ plans, which aim to target social, cultural and economic regeneration in order to become effective.

Spatial variations in local economic development

According to half of respondents (50%) spatial considerations are increasingly becoming a policy issue for the Dublin Region governance. This concern reflects different levels of local economic development and, therefore, different needs of communities.

Over one-third of interviewees (36%) believed that although there had been a growing attempt by current policies to integrate the city and sub-city/sub-county level, based on the partnership approach, the process was restricted by the lack of appropriate public sector management, which “undermined the issue of an area size, its identity and designation for developmental intervention.” (P2) These policymakers highlighted that there has been a conflict between targeting specific groups in need and overall spatial environment:

“If you take partnership boundaries – they were modelled on a mixture of needs in terms of numbers and perceptions going back 10 to 12 years. Likewise Cabra, which is a totally different community to Finglas, was combined with Finglas to create Finglas-Cabra Partnership, because Finglas on its own was perceived not to be viable for funding. So you have these arbitrary decisions set in without endogenous argument about bottom-up versus top down. All these boundaries were top-down given, with total ignorance of their natural growth and change.” (P19)

Although some of the target groups underwent economic and social progression through partnerships’ interventions, the size of the partnerships’ functional boundaries had not

been changed to any great extent since they were created in the early 1990s. Some of these designated areas were expanded to match the criteria for funding. This often resulted in an inclusion of affluent population cohorts, who did not have any common historical linkages, within original areas of disadvantage.

These informants further argued that no coherent policy was created within area-based functional boundaries and central administration, as local authority boundaries do not correspond to functional areas of the city/county development boards and partnership companies, which were designated on the basis of specific socio-economic indicators:

“We have done many efforts around the place of drawing areas, boundaries and maps and you would have, for example, refugee and travellers communities located outside those designated areas boundaries. If you look at all city boundaries – they are artificial. Current boundaries of DEDs were modelled on the constituency boundaries, and their data remains static.” (P19)

For example, city and county development boards and partnership companies are not equally linked to all operating areas of FÁS, Garda and Health Area Executives servicing local communities in training, policing and health. Therefore, gaps were identified within the geographical dimensions of all local services being provided.

Half of the respondents (50%) believed that a lack of coherent local statistical baselines for the entire region prevents the carrying out of a proper analysis of area-based interventions, and that consequently causes inconsistency with the local services delivery:

“No common agreement has been reached so far on what these units are [...] We have a Business Network operating here but the level of knowledge we have on the overall area is limited. It has manifested itself in the lack of the entire area’s common research. County development boards are often doing their own piece around that.” (P5)

These respondents further asserted that previous approaches, which localised development initiatives within the borders of designated areas, neglected other locations within the context of the entire Dublin Region: “When you isolate small areas for development, you are in fact neglecting other areas. When you draw a line on a map, which indicates the boundaries of such development, it has consequences.” (P7)

Over one-third of interviewees (36%) also highlighted that an inadequate planning system, with regard to the transportation and housing system, prevented opportunities for development of both disadvantaged and affluent communities:

“On the top of social problems you have the whole planning situation which prevents us from the community engagement, because we are fed up and tired with travelling long distances to and from work. And this exists not only in disadvantaged communities.” (P6)

Discussing the alternative proposals to spatial variations in local development, over one-third of informants (36%) argued that with a more regional policy focus, specific needs of individual regions or community groups might get lost. On the other hand, if the policy decentralises into lower levels, the focus is put on too small, designated areas, which would never be spatially sizeable enough to generate a wide range of economic activities in order to make the Dublin Region self-sustaining. Therefore, they believed, in order to respond to problems of an urban society, the policy should deal with the notion of overall social and economic development, rather than directing its efforts on isolated areas:

“I think if there is a validity in the area-based approach, it lies in taking the area for an integrated local development, where you are actually trying to address the rich and the poor, because you are trying to rise the entire area standard, through targeting the groups, irrespective of where those target groups are located geographically. There is no validity if the policy is dealing with one specific problem in the area without regard to all the other factors that make the area work.” (P19)

These respondents believed that area-based partnerships' actions should be consistent with local authority boundaries and could act as local development companies. At the same time, local policies should ensure that designated areas correspond to political systems. The critical policy issue, therefore, would be to challenge the integration of various tasks at the appropriate level that considers the local area as a whole for the economic development purpose. This could be achieved through a '*shared strategy*' between all local governments in Dublin, other relevant public agencies and the private sector that build on the existing strengths of inter-institutional relationships, communities and a shared knowledge.

6.2.2 Implementation of current policies and programmes in Ireland

“Development is not just to deal with economic growth, it is to do with housing, education, health styles, better amenities, better environment, better culture, the whole range of things. If they [policy makers] are interested in development, they have to give time and more attention to education and be inclusive.” (P8)

In addressing the theme of the implementation of current policies and programmes, interview respondents identified a number of policy issues pertaining to programmes implemented and particular measures recommended for implementation of future policy approaches.

Table 6.3 demonstrates major subsidiary themes identified and the percentage of respondents who referred to the particular theme.

Table 6.3: Key policy themes identified – quality of current policy strategies and programmes employed, Ireland

Major themes raised	Percentage of respondents referring to particular theme out of the total number surveyed (N=22)
Dublin's regionalisation and functional integration	50%
Enhancing city-region competitiveness through supports to local endogenous industries and human resources development, including training and education measures	50%
Social investments targeting the most vulnerable on the labour market	30%
Sustainable economic development strategy based on linkages between labour demand and supply, job retention and up-skilling	50%

Half of the respondents (50%) pointed out that current policy measures did not assist area-based structures in improving their effectiveness over time. These policymakers argued that as they were designed at the turndown of economic growth, they were never reshaped and progressed in line with the economic boom that occurred during the last ten years. Therefore, new key policy areas emerged “in handling this issue, particularly in terms of planning, housing and transport management.” (P5)

Half of the interviewees (50%) also noted rapid demographic growth, transport and housing problems, and urban sprawl in the Dublin Region as prime constraints for labour mobility and local economic development:

“The city is not working. People simply cannot live in Dublin, because there is uncontrolled housing development. It is also not economically efficient. And the transport [...] Because of huge economic boom we have not noticed so much about these problems. That is a catastrophic failure of planning and housing policy. Transport situation is catastrophic: socially, economically, and it impacts on every-day life. It reduces the mobility of the labour force, which is a major economic criterion.” (P4)

These respondents expressed the opinion that an improved quality of urban space has had a major impact on counteracting unemployment and enhancing direct inward

investment. They believed that the Dublin Region would require much greater intensification of land use as one of the physical manifestations of the changes that had taken place in the nature of existing labour market patterns.

Among views regarding the strengthening of Dublin's regionalisation and functional integration mechanisms, the formulation of an urban strategy for the entire Dublin Region was quoted by over one-third of interviewees (36%) as an important factor for local economic development:

“There is a major difference between interventions in the urban setting and rural. In any small rural area in Ireland 60% of people go in to the third level education, but in Dublin city there are areas where only 1% of the population goes to the third level. We need an urban policy, we have only rural development policy.” (P4)

The need has been particularly dictated by the necessity to tackle deprivation levels, such as long-term unemployment, which has been specifically concentrated in urban areas of the Region.

Two interviewees noted that the concept of integrating area-based structures under one regional authority or central co-ordinating body should be linked simultaneously to initiatives that would integrate physical and socio-economic issues, as many urban interventions resulted in displacement of residents and business investments:

“You'll find in less-off areas that things have been allowed to be knocked down as you were trying to build new things. And it is not regeneration because you have to do two at the same time. We have industrial estates that are terribly old and they are falling apart. The same is happening in the area of housing. When you get a job you are moving from one location to another. Business is doing the same. It is a lot of displacement going on. You have to maintain the areas as much as develop them. And we have not done that. We have areas that need to be regenerated as opposed to new buildings.” (P5)

Discussing the need for integration of economic with social and environmental interventions under one urban development strategy, a minority of respondents (13%) highlighted further that area-based partnership structures lack economic remit, which represented a significant negative impact on the investment sector:

“In terms of competitiveness, the development of local endogenous industrial sector is something that has to be looked at. Besides the foreign direct investment, at the same time, we have to do something ourselves. The foreign direct investment will not solve the problems of unemployment and it did not in the past either. It developed a skill-base but at the end of the day the huge development was in a service sector. And it was local service sector that actually took off.” (P5)

This resulted in uneven distribution of growth, with emergence of pockets of investments and simultaneous deprived areas within the same city-region. These interviewees asserted that although endogenous economic development was recognised as a stimulus for area-based development, there was not enough attention paid to this issue in the past policies and no local strategy had been developed so far.

Almost half of the respondents (48%) also believed that the process of gradually ‘moving up’ the value chain has been already taking place in the Dublin Region, but the emphasis in local economic development initiatives was put on work experience rather than on training and education measures. Lack of training within Irish endogenous industry, as opposed to foreign direct investment companies, was identified by these interviewees as one of the crucial constraints in achieving high progression rates and continuous economic growth.

Half of the interviewees (50%) identified Dublin competitiveness as a key issue for sustaining economic and social development: “The base and skills should be there into

the future to assure competitiveness. Ireland was good in doing that up to now; the trick is to keep it.” (P9) These policy makers argued that although the country achieved high levels of economic growth during the last ten years, it had not solved the problem of long-term unemployment.

Summarising the discussion on critical issues regarding implementation of current policies and programmes, half of the respondents (50%) referred to the city-region competitiveness and the need for sustainable economic strategy with long-term factors impacting on economic growth, such as creation of linkages between labour demand and supply, job retention and up-skilling.

One-third of respondents (30%) noted further that simultaneous social investments are needed for the most vulnerable in the labour market, in order to sustain economic competitiveness:

“We need clarity in local development such as social investment. The unemployment is gone but there are a lot of people in poor jobs and they are going to fall again. They are from the same communities and we’ll be back to the cycle of long-term unemployment. The investment should specifically target education, childcare and life-long learning’s sectors.” (P4)

These informants argued that future employment strategies could combine employment schemes targeted at the most disadvantaged groups with the support of in-company training and education programmes, as the progression and success rates tend to be much higher in those areas:

“Local authority must take a harder look at how they can step into the gaps and how they can make the private sector more conscious that there are more opportunities, not just the direct employment, through identifying the needs and the requirements for job creation.” (P10)

There is also a need to combine area-based development programmes with supports leading to enhancement of educational levels for early school-leavers and low-skilled adults. This would require creating close collaborations between central departments and area-based service providers. Finally, a minority of respondents (13%) identified a necessity to create partnerships with local employers in order to ensure a more flexible policy response to changing labour supply and demand patterns.

6.2.3 The impact of European Union agendas in shaping, implementing and assessing national policy measures in Ireland

In addressing the theme of the impact of European Union agendas on policy making in Ireland during the period of 1992-2002, interview respondents identified a number of policy issues pertaining to EU stimuli and critical issues relating to implementation of local economic programmes co-funded under the European measures.

Table 6.4 demonstrates major subsidiary themes identified and the percentage of respondents who referred to the particular theme.

Table 6.4: Key policy themes identified - the impact of European Union agendas, Ireland

Major themes raised	Percentage of respondents referring to particular theme out of the total number surveyed (N=22)
The EU had a stimulative role	100%
EU measures significant in the subsidiarity process – a devolution of policy interventions from centralised administration to the local levels	50%
Local actions implemented to match EU funding	20%
Mainstreaming of innovative area-based interventions into policy	20%
Funding and programming focus on ‘sustainability’ – devolution of funding to lower levels of governance and enhancing collaboration between various structures	30%

All interviewees (100%) agreed that the European Union's assistance was an influential factor for policy development, such as the social partnership process, and had a stimulative role.

A minority of respondents (13%) pointed out that EU stimulus was vital not only in terms of physical infrastructure, but more importantly in changing policy approaches into being more progressive and open to European models: "European Union allegedly forced policymakers, business and communities to think much more global, to be much more accountable." (P16)

This has opened up the Irish economy to European markets and far greater competition, which made Ireland an attractive location for investment:

"In socio-economic terms Irish behaviour, attitudes have been changed as a result of exposure to other countries than UK or United States. And that had a major influence of the overall economic and social performance and getting more progressive views." (P5)

One respondent in particular stated that external stimulus had been an important factor in helping to complement internal capacity and policy readiness.

Half of the interviewees (50%) highlighted that the impact of EU measures was significant in the development of area-based structures and enhancing the process of subsidiarity in terms of devolution of policy interventions from centralised administration to the local level. It also involved development of evaluations and new standards around social measures within local economic initiatives.

Discussing the critical issues relating to implementation of programmes co-funded under the European measures, almost a quarter of respondents (20%) believed that many local interventions were implemented in order to match European funding only, as they were never expanded through development of appropriate area-based structures, which could assist in creation of long-term spin-off effects into local economies:

“We would keep the cap of 25% in case of co-funding, and we have never seen the personal interest in expanding the investment programme. We saw them in terms of matching the EU funds. So we chased the money, built, invested what we thought we could get from EU, but it did not actually go to these areas we actually needed ourselves or spending extra on maintaining structures that were already in place. We have not been planning for stages beyond the economic growth when the pace was very high.” (P5)

These interviewees argued that previous economic policies also lack systematic transfer of innovative interventions, piloted by area-based agencies, into the mainstream of public policy. The absence of such policy mainstreaming was believed by respondents to have occurred due to the discontinuation of actions at the end of the funding cycle:

“Certainly there was that culture when the funding cycle was about to be finished, and they could not commit in advance to the funding and people would leave their jobs. And then, you have to recruit the whole group of new people. I think people, who were the most affected by, were the programme beneficiaries.”(P6)

These policymakers believed that fragmentation of area-based structures and lack of clarity regarding their roles resulted in policy inability to create sustainable partnerships between all policy actors and, therefore, economic development impetus had been uneven across the Region.

Finally, two respondents highlighted that due to multiplicity of various area-based organisations and local data sources, public policies were not able to carry out an in-

depth analysis of the local outcomes arising from interventions co-funded by EU assistance. They argued that there had been no appropriate evaluation system introduced to policy that would link the data between different levels of public administration and consider fragmentation of area-based agencies and their functional areas.

Summarising the issue of external funding stimulus in planning future public policy measures, a quarter of respondents (25%) highlighted the need for a better collaboration, created at the national level, which could share out the funding, devolved from different agencies, in order to support area-based organisations in the long-term: “The question is of the ‘dead-weight’ issue – what would have happened anyway without external aid, r is there a double counting going on when various agencies fund various programmes, and what is the net contribution to local development effort?” (P3)

As far as programming was concerned, one-third of interviewees (30%) argued that future policies should link existing urban renewal interventions, primarily focused on physical and economic regeneration and led by local authorities, with social initiatives operating under local partnership companies to make them sustainable:

“It is a question of seeing what kind of mechanisms we will have in the future when the state aid map would change. We have to look at disadvantage areas – there are serious pockets of deprivation. It would be a question for us how we can link our interventions with those areas where the Partnerships are. There is a lot of experience out there regarding the EU schemes, so it would be possible to enlarge the range of interventions, including social and economic aspects. Thus, there will be a question for policymakers to try to link it together.” (P15)

Effectiveness of the programmes supported by the EU was conditioned, therefore, by a policy ability to draw from existing knowledge gained from implementation of previous

measures and to co-ordinate interventions delivered by various agencies and budgets in a coherent manner.

6.2.4 Emerging new attributes and constraints of existing evaluation and monitoring approaches in measuring effectiveness of area-based interventions in Ireland

“Everything that is counted does not necessary count”
(A. Einstein, quoted by one respondent)

In addressing the theme of the evaluation and monitoring approaches in measuring effectiveness of area-based interventions, two distinct issues were identified from the interview responses:

- 1) Qualitative outcomes versus quantitative outputs;
- 2) Integration between economic measures and overall local development process.

Table 6.5 demonstrates major subsidiary areas identified and the percentage of respondents who referred to the particular theme:

Table 6.5: Emerging new attributes and constraints of existing evaluation and monitoring approaches, Ireland

Major themes raised	Percentage of respondents referring to particular theme out of the total number surveyed (N=22)
Qualitative outcomes as opposed to quantitative outputs are becoming important measures in evaluating public policy interventions	50%
Measurement of ‘value for money’ associated with the quality of public administration structures	50%
Evaluation of community needs and area targeting	36%
Linkages between economic measures and overall local development process	36%

Qualitative outcomes versus quantitative outputs

Over half of the respondents (56%) identified the quality of existing evaluation systems as an important issue in the policy assessment process. These respondents asserted that, considering existing fragmentation of area-based strategies and structures, Irish evaluation policies lack clear definition of 'joint-policy area'. Therefore, it was difficult to carry out outcome-based evaluations of local interventions:

“No social evaluations have been conducted so far regarding impacts on small areas. Individuals are better off, but because we do not measure life-chances over time, we do not know how they keep in pace with others and how their relative position is progressing.” (P22)

Moreover, as the assessment system has been based on the funding cycle system, which required quantitative impact returns and cost benefit type of analysis, efficiency was understood as achieving targets within an anticipated time frame, rather than additional, 'net' social outcomes, emerging from the policy intervention in the long-term.

Half of the interviewees (50%) noted that Irish evaluation practices did not look also at the return of public investments, which, they argued, were associated with the quality of administrative structures: “We have a very poor accounting procedure in terms of value for money. Programmes are done from a year-to-year basis with no attempt for evaluation content in terms of net-effect above average.” (P22) The ability of public structures to co-operate and to develop their functions “in order to be supportive for such collaboration” (P21) was seen by them as a requirement for bringing more transparency in the decision-making process and achieving 'value for money' policy outcomes.

Two other respondents were of the view that previous periods of area-based programming represented the learning stage of the partnership process and, therefore, the positive impact of the interventions employed was not measurable:

“Initially effectiveness was lost because there was a lack of pure understanding at community level what the partnership process was about. The partnerships lacked experience, capacity and power as some of the central and local personnel were not sure what it meant and whether they acted as partners in the partnership process. So from the EU point of view, in the initial years, some of the initiatives did not impact the changes.” (P11)

Integration between economic measures and overall local development process

Over one-third of interviewees (36%) identified a lack of evaluation systems on community needs, using individual baselines and linking this issue with the concept of area targeting:

“I suppose that we are very new in the area-based management system. It is important to see how endogenous residents/communities living in the areas, which are being developed, can avail from the job opportunities, who can be trained and in which area. There has been no strategic evaluation carried out in recent years on an individual group level.” (P10)

These policy makers argued that non-measurable and intangible areas, such as community networks, were identified within existing area-based interventions and, therefore, they need to recognise individual features and experiences of the target groups and provide a broader framework within which local autonomous units could define performance measures themselves.

These respondents followed on with the view that the concept of area targeting was based on a top-down criteria, based predominantly on the area size and deprivation levels, rather than community identity. They believed that due to a lack of convergence between local administration and local development, it was not apparent for policy

evaluations which administrative boundaries should be considered for an assessment, and consequently it was difficult to establish a valid rationale for matching interventions within the designated areas.

Over one-third of respondents (36%) further asserted that no evaluations were carried out to date on whether socio-economic changes in the deprived areas influenced the designation process over a longer period of time:

“Area-based initiatives are not simply to target people who are poor, but to address additional effects and to compensate for those [...] What area-based partnerships should do is to identify additional effects which arise out of concentration of deprivation at the community level.” (P22)

Summarising the issue of existing evaluation approaches in measuring effectiveness of area-based interventions, one-third of respondents (30%) stated that effectiveness of local initiatives should be measured primarily by assessing the ability of ‘joining-up’ activities and building coalitions between different policy actors and their interests.

Half of the informants (50%) identified the operation of a more transparent monitoring system at the central government level as an important requirement for measuring the effectiveness of area-based interventions. These policymakers stated that this could be achieved through examination of policy responses by existing central intermediary bodies, to which all area-based agencies report to, as opposed to funding of actions only. One respondent highlighted that there should be a policy sanction mechanism put in place for fulfilling public service commitments, through creation of performance tools to ensure accountability at all levels of government and within local agencies.

Over one-third of respondents (36%) argued that there is a need to set up an evaluation system, which would allow for compilation of individual data reflecting current and future needs of communities within targeted areas, including interplay between overall local environmental factors and designated areas for interventions. These informants believed that an individual assessment system should allow the targeting of policy interventions at skills and opportunities for all communities irrespective of the locality in which they live. In this context, individual features of communities and community identity factors could be included in future evaluations of area-based programmes and based primarily on qualitative responses.

Finally, one-third of informants (30%) were of the view that the definition of geographical deprivation would need to be examined against overall local development process and emerging socio-economic patterns, considering existing combination of deprivation pockets and affluence in most areas of the Dublin Region:

“On a micro-basis, clearly the database must be built up from every individual person to get an overview of what the potential is for the Region, local area, county and for a city. It is necessary to have a very good handle of each profile, skills, gender, geographical profiles and to try and match labour supply with labour demand.” (P7)

These policymakers believed that such an approach would ensure the best assessment of the types of initiatives and policies employed, not only on a dynamic basis but also going forward.

To summarise, research respondents representing a policymaking cohort noted in particular the need for policy justification of existing territorial structures, particularly with regard to the roles and responsibilities of local partnership companies, city/county

development boards and their interplay with the local and central government system. No consensus was reached on future rationalisation of these structures, however some scenarios were made on possible future arrangements, in which area-based agencies could be managed by local development sections of the existing city and county level structures. Other proposals included establishment of central co-ordinating group for the city and county development boards with a focus on synergies between local implementation and national policies, or combining area-based development' agencies tasks with local and central government responsibilities.

This cohort was of the view that any policy proposal regarding regional institutional framework for the Dublin Region can not be successfully implemented without further development of the local governance level through a better use of existing local resources and mainstreaming of effective area-based services. This could be achieved through an urban strategy which would integrate physical and socio-economic issues across the Region. They also argued that better policy linkages should be developed in assisting execution of such strategy, between and within various levels of governance via sharing of the knowledge and capabilities of all stakeholders involved.

In discussing key factors in local economic development in urban areas in Ireland, policy makers noted the importance of spatial variations, in particularly in the context of the Dublin Region's governance. This includes considerations of the size of an area to be targeted by the policy intervention, community identity and the need for the policy to focus on functional areas rather than administrative units. Some proposals were made on alternative approaches to spatial variations in local development, concerning the policy dealing primarily with overall area-based socio-economic development rather

than area targeting. Such scenario ascertains consistency of the local interventions with local authority boundaries and ensuring that designated areas correspond with political systems.

Finally, policy makers pointed key policy areas in future area-based interventions which should assist Dublin's economic development: policy supports for endogenous industries, implementation of training and re-training measures, including in-company supports for the most vulnerable on the labour market, enhancing educational levels of low-skilled adults and early school-leavers. They were of the view that implementation of these measures would require a better collaboration between relevant central government departments and area-based service providers, as well as creation of partnerships with local employers.

6.3 Identified policy themes – service providers in Ireland

“Development is not about accepting the norms, it is about pushing the doors and challenging the system. It is about a change against the needs.”

(SP-6)

Four distinct themes were identified by 15 service providers interviewed in the structured discussions in Ireland:

- 1) Quality of service delivery structures;
- 2) Inter-agency co-operation;
- 3) Area-designation;
- 4) Employment sustainability.

Table 6.6 demonstrates the major subsidiary themes identified within the above areas and the percentage of respondents who referred to the particular theme:

Table 6.6: Key policy themes identified – service providers, Ireland

Major themes raised	Percentage of respondents referring to particular theme out of the total number surveyed (N=15)
Fragmentation of area-based services' structures and funding	100%
Internal formalisation of policy linkages within service provision and locally-based companies	80%
Vertical co-operation between local and central government level	100%
Integrated information systems of the projects delivered locally	100%
Funding-driven programming and service staff retention	50%
All client-focused services versus area designation	30%
Central role of employers in the provision of good quality services	25%
Access to adequate social and public infrastructure	100%

Quality of service delivery structures

The lack of formal and structured linkages between various service providers was one of the key issues identified by all interviewees (100%). At the time of the survey, local offices of the Department of Community and Family Affairs (since 2002 Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs²⁹) worked in tandem with the Partnership Companies, through their involvement in the Employment Group of the various Partnership Boards. The respondents highlighted in particular a lack of the information inflow regarding the access to local data sources on job opportunities between area-based employment services (Local Employment Services) and the Department's local social welfare

²⁹ In 2002, the new central Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs was set up which took most of the local and community development functions from the Department of Social Community and Family Affairs. Since then, Department of Social and Family Affairs is mainly in charge of social welfare payments.

offices. This resulted in the provision of inefficient monitoring systems between these agencies. As an example, some of the clients who were not entitled to social welfare schemes could avail of some of the assistance provided, as the information on individual applicant's welfare condition was not cross-linked between various area service providers.

All respondents (100%) also believed that it was hard to achieve a formal, structured integration of services, because each organisation had its own objectives. This view related specifically to the existence of 'dual stranded' employment services in one locality – provided by FÁS area-based offices and local employment services of the Partnership company, who, although funded through FÁS, provided services for the clients living only within the Partnership's designated areas: "These two agencies are trying to fill the gap in services, rather than complement each other. It is challenging to integrate both services, because they work against their own aims." (SP-2). As a result, local communities who lived outside the designated areas could not avail of the service. Moreover, under formal regulations, the FÁS guidance service was limited to a relatively short period of time (up to four weeks) to make a positive action on a service beneficiary, such as a work placement or further training, while LES service could only be completed with the client's work placement.

A majority of interviewees (80%) also noted a lack of internal networking within various employment services, such as mediation, front-line offices (first contact service), job clubs and FÁS, on data management systems:

"The programmes delivered by Partnerships are not always delivered by FÁS. We take only the part that suits us. It goes one way but it does not necessarily go into another. We should have a much more concrete structure

within the service, because people do not like to be referred from one agency to another.” (SP-2)

LES could, for example, access FÁS computerised data base system, but FÁS in return could not do so due to confidentiality of the LES files. Although the FÁS database captured the information relevant for mediation services, it did not contain the statistical information on services, which front line officers provided. Job clubs were not linked with the overall database to any extent. There was no national, uniformed IT system developed, at the time of the survey, linking all local baselines together.

These informants were of the view that due to a lack of formal linkages between different area-based agencies, it limited the provision of complex information to clients, including passive types of services, such as social welfare entitlements, and active forms, such as job search, training, education schemes and affordable childcare, all of which could assist in further progression.

Almost a quarter of respondents (20%) referred to the issue of decentralisation of local services into various locations throughout the Partnership area, as they believed it had a twofold impact. On one side it limited integration of all services, on the other it allowed for better public participation of the service recipients in various localities, and therefore their involvement in and ownership of the programmes delivered.

Discussing the recommended policy approaches concerning the quality of service delivery structures, all respondents (100%) were of the view that *integration* and *co-operation* among all stakeholders must be enhanced in order to enable efficient

communication on local issues, in order to respond to local needs, and to create viable linkages with the central government level:

“We have to be more informed. We need more information at hand locally and to be able to get this quickly to help in decision making. This also assists in analysis on how we can link with various organisations. The target is setting up a proper networking system and then people as clients.” (SP-7)

A majority of respondents (80%) believed that having direct access to data sources on jobs and the local labour market from various agencies locally is a prerequisite for defining target groups, their needs and opportunities and to ensure that the services are coherent and accountable. Such a policy arrangement would benefit the services’ client groups as it could enable gathering more complex information locally, at the first area-based office that the client enters. They argued that such an approach could assist in better monitoring how effective the referral system is in terms of the service outcomes and in agreeing common criteria across all stake-holders involved in the service delivery.

One-third of interviewees (30%) proposed setting up a single area-based development agency, which according to them would be of benefit, as clients could avail of the complete service in one locality: “I would like to see jobs right here in my office. I should be able to access the job database at once, as people would like to be informed from one office and everything should be decided locally.” (SP-1) These service providers believed that the rationale behind such an approach is that a single development agency could deliver services with funding coming from various mainstream organisations as opposed to the existing fragmented area-based structures. The new approach should also assist in ensuring that local needs are recognised and addressed on an ongoing basis.

Inter-agency co-operation

All service providers (100%) stated that linkages should be enhanced between their actions and other stakeholders, such as central government departments and local employers, in order to compromise the level and the scope of interventions. For example, no integrated information system relating to individual projects delivered locally existed at the time of the research, and this constrained, they believed, monitoring of the quality standards on an ongoing basis.

One-third of interviewees (30%) pointed out, however, that the idea of integrating local services would be difficult to achieve in the long-term, as most locally-based agencies are funding-driven. This was particularly visible in the case of the Research and Communication Unit of the Northside Partnership, which was piloted in early 2000 but was later withdrawn from further funding due to financial shortages of the central budget. As a result, no updated information on the existing area-based companies was available, as there was no follow-up analysis conducted by this Unit.

Half of the respondents (50%) also argued that it would be challenging to establish long-term, on-going working relations between various service providers, as there has been no continuity with regard to staff retention between different projects' funding cycles. One-third of interviewees (30%) believed that formalisation of the Partnerships' employees annual contracts into full-time and permanent positions is needed to fulfil the above. These service providers were of the view that staff retention was one of the key conditions in providing a better quality standard of services being implemented locally in the long-term.

Summarising the issue of inter-agency co-operation, almost a quarter of respondents (20%) proposed that more definite quality standards could be introduced in order to facilitate linkages between all agencies involved in the service delivery: “The issue is to keep an eye on what really prevents what could be achieved, and to be able to negotiate, at the right level, and in a way which does not alienate other stakeholders.” (SP-5) They believed that this could be achieved through mainstreaming of funds from different stakeholder’s organisations, as opposed to existing fragmentation of structures and budgets.

Area designation

One-third of service providers (30%) identified the issue of area designation as an important factor in the assessment of service delivery outcomes. They argued that on the basis of existing policy approaches it was difficult to define a clear division between the target groups, as current programmes targeted disadvantaged residents within strictly designated geographical areas and statistically pre-defined parameters relating to deprivation levels:

“The bottom line is anyone who comes into us, because we are client focused, we are trying to deal with all and not take a more bureaucratic approach: because you do not fit our criteria of target group we send you somewhere else [...] The idea that Partnership should deal only with difficult clients, like long-term unemployed and disadvantaged is difficult, because all people we are dealing with seem to have medical and psychological problems. It is very hard to establish a description of who you are.” (SP-8)

According to these respondents, a common perception existed among policymakers that long-term unemployed and low-skilled persons were the most in need. However, there were clients with additional associated problems, such as mental health issues. Although these clients could avail of FÁS services in relation to job searches, they were not able

to receive health assistance provided by the Partnership services, as they did not match specific deprivation criteria defined by these services. One-third of respondents (30%) proposed that delivery of all client-focused services, regardless of their place of residency and social status, should be considered by policymakers when devising new measures for area-based interventions.

Employment sustainability

None of the employment services, at the time of this research, provided measures that enabled them to evaluate and monitor progression of clients who were placed into employment. As a result, there was no agency for the employer to link with, in case of difficulties arising during the placement. All interviewees (100%) highlighted employment sustainability as a vital factor in achieving positive outcomes in local economic development. These respondents argued that the original approach was designed to involve both aspects of employment assistance: job placement and assurance of after-care support, but no additional funds were made available to area-based services for introduction of this type of intervention.

A quarter of respondents (25%) highlighted the role of employers as central in the provision of good quality services:

“In the past we were helping people to increase their skills, helping to compete for the job, all the interventions were focused on the person. Now we have to focus more on the employer, and that would be a central element of any action plan. The strategy will include employers as an important target group. In the past, after-care was a job for mediators, now it has a completely different dimension in terms of communication. It has to be negotiated with employers. It is about retaining employment.” (SP-8)

These informants argued that as the labour market interventions must be responsive to changing economic patterns, employment sustainability would also depend on working

conditions that employers offer. The general perception of all interviewees (100%) was that the in-take from area-based programmes targeting vulnerable clients was low, as employers were looking for ‘multi-skilled’ candidates, ready to settle in jobs themselves. They also believed that the drop-out levels of long-term unemployed persons were high.

All interviewees (100%) expressed the opinion that one of the critical constraints in the area of employment sustainability was the lack of access to adequate social infrastructure, such as affordable childcare. Two respondents argued in particular that local economic development and employability would depend on the quality of public transport systems and travel to work patterns. They believed that current fragmentation of various central departments responsible for the development of these policy spheres hampered the process of tackling socio-economic problems at the local level.

Summarising the issue of employment sustainability, all respondents (100%) believed that more flexible structures need to be set up, which should provide after-care service available from both service providers and employers. In this context, service delivery should not terminate with successful placement, but offer ongoing ‘after-care’ supports shared between local employers and service providers. These interviewees suggested that in particular clients at risk should be supported by both employers and local services in order to become familiar with the structures of a working environment and to be able to retain employment in the long term.

A quarter of informants (25%) also highlighted that it would be vital to promote social responsibility among employers and that the intake of long-term unemployed may prove

to be difficult at the outset but could work out in the long-term. These service providers believed there is a need to introduce more ‘work experience’ type of interventions, ensuring tailor-made contacts, liaison with employers and negotiation in relation to ‘in house training’, specifically for vulnerable clients. Introduction of training units in larger enterprise companies, supported by local services, could ensure higher levels of progression.

Almost a quarter of respondents (20%) believed that devising funds targeted at prevention measures, such as improvement of educational attainment and up-skilling interventions, is a more effective measure in tackling local area disadvantage than direct interventions for unemployed:

“The economy is cyclical and we will go through some form of down-turn, and I see future problems with young people who leave school early with low qualifications at the moment. They will be future long-term unemployed in ten years time. It would be more efficient to concentrate resources on education, as this would encourage them to avail of life-long learning opportunities.” (SP-5)

These service providers argued that such measures should be complemented by creation of linkages with other related services, such as health and community development programmes.

To summarise, research respondents representing service delivery cohort noted a lack of formal and structured linkages between and within various local providers, involved in service delivery. This impacted on the gaps in information inflow and accessibility to local data sources, which are inevitable for appropriate monitoring and evaluation of area-based interventions. They were also of the view that it was difficult to integrate

various services at the local level, since no unified strategy was developed at the regional level and each organisation implemented individual objectives.

Service providers highlighted to a very high extent the necessity for the policy to support creation of better communication frameworks between all stakeholders involved, including local employers in delivery of local actions, as well as central government level in order to respond to local area needs. They proposed that a more definite quality standards should be introduced which could facilitate such linkages. No consensus was reached, however, on how to integrate existing plethora of organisations in the long-term, as the providers were of the view that most locally-based agencies are funding-driven. Some alternative proposals included setting up a single area-based development agency, which could deliver services with funding made available from various mainstream organisations, as opposed to existing fragmented area-based structures and budgets.

This cohort also argued that spatial considerations are important factors in the assessment of service delivery outcomes. Majority of them opposed existing practices of designating geographical areas for intervention based on pre-defined parameters relating to deprivation levels and proposed that delivery of all client-focused services, regardless social and residency status should be considered by future area-based approaches.

The service delivery cohort noted priority areas in achieving future Dublin's economic development, which should be supported by wider policies at the central level: training, re-training and education schemes, in-company supports and work experience, especially for vulnerable staff, provision of social infrastructure, such as affordable

childcare and implementation of active forms of assistance provided by employment services to unemployed the labour market.

6.4 Identified policy themes – local employers in Ireland

Four distinct themes were identified by 18 employers participating in the structured discussions in Ireland:

- 1) Quality of linkages between area-based services and employers;
- 2) The need for ‘follow-up’ services;
- 3) Evaluation and monitoring;
- 4) Social and public infrastructure.

Table 6.7 demonstrates the major subsidiary themes identified within the above areas and the percentage of respondents who referred to the particular theme:

Table 6.7: Key policy themes identified – local employers, Ireland

Major themes raised	Percentage of respondents referring to particular theme out of the total number surveyed (N=18)
Local services equally important to other public and private interventions	40%
The role of service providers in building linkages with local employers	80%
The role of public service providers in after-care interventions	15%
The role of public service providers in promoting available services to employers	100%
Understanding area-based structures and functions	90%
Regular monitoring of employers’ needs and service recipients	100%
Access to adequate social and public infrastructure	100%

Quality of linkages between local employers and area-based services

All employers (100%) interviewed stated that they wanted to avail of local services and that the reason for starting co-operation with service providers was to fill up vacancies. Employers preferred to source employees locally, and therefore area-based interventions were perceived by them as a valuable assistance in finding local staff:

“The reason was the opportunity of linking with employment initiatives because we are located in the Northside, and I supposed it could meet both needs: the employers and potential employees [...] We were looking to fill specific positions in we were short of, so we need to take a longer term view.” (E9)

Over one-third of respondents (40%) highlighted that as the labour market changes over time, area-based initiatives are equally important to them, as long as they complement other public and private sector interventions in meeting company needs: “It is a mutual thing, I do not do it for charity reasons but good commercial reasons.” (E2). These interviewees argued that in the long-term, locally-based initiatives complement labour demands by filling the job gaps from local resources, as employers do not rely on one particular section of the market.

A majority of companies interviewed (80%) revealed that they were experiencing a high turn-over of staff annually. Therefore, much of the time and additional resources were used for training and recruitment, rather than developing linkages with external organisations. A minority of employers (15%) were of the view that linking with service providers could potentially address specific needs of vulnerable employees: “The area that Partnership can contribute to is to support people during work through mentoring service, to keep interest in it as employers are not used to that.” (E13)

All employers (100%) revealed that area-based services are not well promoted among them: “There is a time at the moment that the service should be marketed a little bit more, maybe in terms of publication. It would be useful to have such additional support.” (E9)

Although a majority of employers interviewed (90%) have heard about local services and have used services for recruitment purposes, the general level of knowledge regarding the structures, type of programmes delivered and ‘after-care’ supports during the period of employment was very low. The most typical method of obtaining information about services provided was by post. One employer revealed that she found information in the phone book, and that the company had never received any information directly from the service providers, although it was located within the Partnership functional boundaries:

“I found the service from the phone book. When I approach FÁS they could not get the staff for me. What was ridiculous they did not give me the Partnership Local Employment Service’s details. My friend has told me about this service.” (E1)

A majority of employers (90%) argued that there is a mismatch in the understanding of area-based structures and functions. These employers did not understand the concept of area designation and they were of the view that due to the fragmentation of local services, it was difficult to develop ongoing relations with them:

“I do not know much about them, about this ‘catchment area’. If they did not send me through the post I would not know anything. I am not aware about the Local Business Network and also on the local employment programmes. I actually find it very hard to get info on that.” (E10)

For example, one of the HR managers interviewed developed good working relations with FÁS, but was not aware of the existence of local employment services provided by

the local Partnership in the area where her company was located. Two other companies received some information by post, but it was not passed to HR departments as they believed it was not properly directed or well advertised.

Only one company interviewed stated that joining the Local Business Network, which was established by the local partnership to enhance linkages with local employers, was a positive response to employers' needs and a useful opportunity for linking with local services. However, this employer argued that the information sessions were not organised regularly, and therefore employers and service providers could not be mutually informed:

“The concept was to build relationship with the business community through application of a professional service approach, but this is one of the areas that Partnership has not been successful as I think it should be between them to build good relations with the employers' group.” (E13)

Another employer revealed that although he was on the board of the network in the past, he did not become involved at the end, as the project was not carried out on a regular basis and did not have a focused agenda.

The majority of respondents (80%) highlighted poor linkages with the services in the past:

“They would not be our first point of contact but it should not be like that. We should be able to go to Job-Match first. We have found that maybe we had not been a high priority company in the past with them. I have an impression that they focus on big companies. It has been a good year to two years since we have hired somebody through their service. Although we tried to work with them very hard from the beginning it was not successful for us. The problem is that nobody has contacted us for a long time now.” (E2)

These employers further argued that problems with communication between service providers and employers occurred due to the lack of an appropriate system that would

allow for matching available resources and company needs within a particular time-frame: “They have never tried to ring more often and to be more proactive. Maybe there should be somebody from the local service visiting companies on a more regular basis – once every three months.” (E-2)

Two respondents indicated that on a number of occasions they were offered unsuitable applicants for the positions they had advertised. One company admitted that they stopped using local services after being told that suitable applicants were still on a training course at the time of recruitment. Two other companies revealed that there were many positions available but that local programmes did not meet employers’ demands. In one case, applications were sent at the time when available positions had already been filled up and the applications never returned updated when the employment opportunity emerged again.

When summarising future recommendations with regard to improvement of linkages with area-based services, one-third of interviewees (30%) suggested that in order to benefit from area-based interventions, employers need be actively involved in local projects. Such involvement was seen by them as a mutual issue, providing benefits for all: employers and local communities. However, these employers believed that the success of such mutual co-operation would rely on challenging local services’ management values, from being socially-oriented to involving more commercial, business-like approaches when dealing with the business sector.

All employers (100%) were of the view that in order to avail of local services, any future policy approaches must ensure a good tracking system between all stakeholders

involved. The local service must provide prompt and proactive responses through development of more direct linkages and communication with HR departments on a daily basis.

The need for “follow-up” services

All companies (100%) interviewed highlighted that no particular ‘follow-up’ service was provided by area-based programmes in the case of individual applicants who were successfully placed into employment. In all cases contacts with local services tended to cease with the job placement. In particular, no assistance was available for those clients at risk, such as long-term unemployed, disabled or those with medical problems. All employers (100%) offered a limited assistance, such as flexible working hours, induction courses, general training courses and opportunities in further education. One employer offered affordable childcare and two other employers provided subsidised transport schemes. None of them, however, provided ‘after-care’ intervention or tailor-made assistance targeted at those with special needs during employment.

A minority of employers (15%) argued that any type of ‘after-care’ support would require application of additional management services within the company structures, and therefore companies prefer to meet such requirements through the salary system, rather than developing additional supports for vulnerable employees.

Finally, all employers interviewed (100%) were of the view that the issue of additional supports, targeted at employees with special risks, should be covered by area-based services, in close co-operation with companies, as they believed local services are much better equipped with tailor-made approaches in comparison to employers.

Evaluation and monitoring

All employers (100%) stated that local services did not carry out regular surveys regarding existing and future recruitment requirements, as well as individual clients' needs and experiences. Employers were also of the view that none of the local services carried out qualitative type of surveys on the reasons of 'drop-outs' and the motives behind potential employees not choosing the company they were trained with or referred to:

“I had a few from the local services that had left, and we have never had a feedback why they left, why they had not turned up, and because I had some bad experiences I am very careful now who I take on” (E-1).

As a result, these respondents believed that local agencies were not able to adjust their interventions to changing labour market demands and to develop appropriate systems, addressing the needs of local employers and service recipients. One company commented that local services are less-self driven, dependent on central organisations, such as FÁS, and therefore not able to respond promptly to labour market challenges.

On the employers' side, none of them registered data on the level of in-take from individual area-based programmes. All employers interviewed (100%) assumed that the total 'in-take' was not substantial and the 'drop-out' numbers high. A majority of employers (90%) indicated that the approximate number of recruited persons from local programmes ranged from 2 to 20, but only a few employees sustained employment in the long-term.

The total retention of employment from local services in all companies interviewed was low –ranging from six months to one year, and the majority of employees recruited

from area-based projects were seasonal workers or working on a part-time basis: “The current involvement in local labour initiatives in the Northside Area is not substantial simply because the employment schemes do not match our requirements and demands.”

(E-3)

A minority of respondents (15%) argued that area-based initiatives could not respond to the changing economic situation as they did not pay enough attention to the social needs of the vulnerable clients, such as the availability of childcare, further up-skilling and training issues, which employers believed should be provided by local services:

“We have some experience with taking two to three people on back to work schemes from long-term unemployment. The fundamental problem was they found difficulties with settling themselves in a normal job environment. There was a high level of training required for the job and, if they are not going to stay, it is difficult to invest in them. So finally they did not stay, they liked the job but not the working hours and the effort to go through additional training. I have the feeling that the people from the Job-Match scheme do not tend to last, because the number of people we employed from the scheme was very small, even not considering those who sustained. Although they were employed on a permanent position, they stayed only six months. Now, we are looking for people who could give a long-term commitment to the job” (E-4).

These interviewees were also of the view that the majority of the existing schemes were not diversified enough to meet the needs of different groups within the target recipients, such as women ‘returners’, long-term unemployed and early school-leavers. One company argued that current labour market requirements and the existing approaches to tackling local unemployment did not match each other, as they did not provide additional supports to vulnerable employees in order to ensure employment sustainability.

Social and public infrastructure

All employers (100%) noted that availability of social and public infrastructure, such as adequate transport and affordable childcare provided locally, is a critical factor for the development of local employment: “The job is to make sure that the rail and bus infrastructure is improved and expanding. The childcare is essential.” (E-13)

One respondent revealed that the company never used local services, as accessing the location would be an issue, he believed, with the prospective employees, even if they are sourced locally. Two other companies admitted that no vacancies were filled from the area-based programme, designed with local service providers, due to reluctance to travel, as no adequate transport services were available.

A majority of employers (80%) were of the view that additional policy factors, such as environment and housing, must be considered when developing area-based programmes primarily targeted at unemployment, local disadvantage and assisting companies in the recruitment and job retention process.

To summarise, all local employers highlighted that area-based initiatives play an important role in sourcing employees locally and therefore meeting companies’ needs. They are perceived as complementary supports to other public and private sector interventions. However, they were of the view that linkages between endogenous industries and area-based services were not well developed and only minority of services could complement employer’ supports in addressing, for example, specific needs of vulnerable staff, especially in terms of further training and re-training schemes.

The majority of employers interviewed stated the low level of awareness regarding area-based structures and functions, types of interventions being delivered and ‘after-care’ supports available to participants, prior taking up and during the course of employment. They were also of the view that due to existing fragmentation of services it was difficult to develop long-term relations. Those employers who got involved in area-based interventions noted the actions were not carried out on a regular basis and did not have a focused agenda. They also argued that local services do not carry regular surveys of existing and future requirements and demands of local industries as well as individual clients’ experiences, therefore service delivery is not always matched with the real needs of various target groups, such as women, youth, long-term unemployed and businesses.

They suggested improvement of actions supporting local industries in being more actively involved in area-based projects through changing local services’ management services, from being socially oriented to involving more commercial approaches when dealing with the business sector. Other national policy measures such as affordable housing and transport were noted as important factors in assisting companies in appropriate recruitment and job retention process.

6.5 Identified policy themes – participants of the Expanding the Workforce Programme in Ireland

The survey of the Expanding the Workforce Programme targeted 50 participants who completed the programme in 2001 and were contracted into employment at the time of the survey. The examination was based on the responses of 25 survey informants who responded to the questionnaire and was complemented by an analysis of additional

quantitative data related to the overall programme delivered during the period of 2000-2003 by the project provider. The assessment attempted to measure specifically the level of co-operation and integration between all parties involved in the project's delivery and consequently the extent to which it was essential to gain the programme objectives.

Background to the survey

During the period of 1992-2002 economic growth in Ireland resulted in a substantial reduction of unemployment levels and simultaneous change in the labour market. Specifically, this affected employers, as labour and skills shortages created new demands in the area of recruitment, labour retention and its sustainability. Increasingly, employers started to compete for the existing workforce rather than evaluating whether alternative approaches existed to expand local labour resources and skills – often hidden or forgotten by current economic development policies.

Prior to the commencement of the Expanding of the Workforce Programme, over 14,000 women of the 100,000 population of the Northside Partnership Area gave their status as 'on home duties' in Census 1996 (Gamma, 1998). This number was more than twice as large as the figure of those who were unemployed in Census 1996, which stood at over 7,000. Similar patterns emerged in Census 2002, where over 10,000 were noted as being on home duties as against the figure of over 4,000 of those unemployed (CSO, 2002). Among those on home duties, many could have been willing to increase family income or gain more economic independence (NSP, 1999). Based on this socio-economic data, it appeared to local service providers that women returners evidently constituted a large untapped resource of the labour force.

Previous research on the potential of those returning to workforce has shown that people returning to work stated low self-esteem, lack of confidence and deep-rooted perception that they were of little or no value in the workplace, as barriers to entering the labour resources (NSP, 1999). Therefore, women returners in particular have needed to work on these areas before trying to develop job-oriented skills. On the other hand, those who return to work might have already developed particular skills in the course of their lives, such as time management, budgeting skills, and organisational and negotiating skills (with schools, colleges, social welfare, hospitals, etc.). It was believed that these types of clients could bring to the workforce qualities such as maturity and stability. The research has also found that in order to increase the appeal of employment, the social needs of returners have to be taken into account and matched through, for example, flexible working hours arrangements, childcare provision and efficient transport to and from the workplace.

The Expanding the Workforce Programme has been initiated as a novel, multi-dimensional approach addressing the issue of economic well-being of local communities:

“The essence of this programme is to respond to the current needs of the economy in an employer-led programme that will generate significant benefits for the communities of northeast Dublin. This creative response will generate economic and social benefits that we can all share.” (NSP, 1999)

The idea of the targeted programme, aimed at bringing persons on home duties into the workforce, had the prime objective of expanding the labour force in the local area. The concept was developed by the Northside Partnership Employer Network (LBN), in association with the Irish Business and Employers Confederation (IBEC) under the EU Local Development Programme 1994-1999. The rationale behind its introduction was

the potential that the Programme could assist in addressing labour and skills shortages by bringing new streams of employment, and that through ongoing interventions it would provide an upgrade to the skills segment of the labour force. The objectives of the intervention were twofold: to provide a service to employers through expansion and development of the available workforce, and to improve access to employment and progression for women who were out of the workforce for extended periods or who have never worked (Local Business Network (LBN), 2001).

This process of supporting women returning to the labour market was based on the Northside Partnership's experience gained during the 1998/1999 EU NOW Programme called 'Jobrotation', which helped the NSP to develop labour market integration tools. Initially, it aimed at women on home duties, unemployed, who had been out of work for a long period of time or who had never worked. The purpose was to close the gap between their present situation and the work they wished to find, and eventually linking with the employers' network (NSP LES Network). The uniqueness of this initiative was that it was designed as an 'employer-led' programme that tended to generate significant social and economic benefits for the communities of the Northside Partnership Area. The 'leadership' of the private sector was intended to result in an immediate response to the growing labour shortages. The idea of the Project came from the most recent labour market situation: while economic growth caused employers to seek new labour sources to satisfy the demand, there was also a need to understand the particular needs of people who were out of the workforce for a number of years.

A survey of 11 leading employers in the Northside Partnership Area was commissioned by the NSP LES in order to determine employers' needs. The research indicated that a

variety of jobs, both full-time and part-time, were available, and there were many options for working hours arrangements (NSP, 1999). Nineteen locally-based companies reported an interest in the Programme, such as Aer Lingus, Akzo Nobel Coatings, Bewley Group, Cadbury, Europlex Technologies, Gerard Laboratories, GE Superabrasives, Great Southern Hotels, Irish Merchants, Kleerix International, Lotus Development, Modus Media, Motorola, Reheis, SaRonix Kony, Smurfit Carton, Superquinn, United Parcels Services and Wood Princraft. An advertising campaign was developed and delivered through the media, such as promotional leaflets used in a door-to-door drop, advertisements in the local newspaper and outdoors in bus shelters and DART line stations.

The assessment and selection process was carried out by the LES, using the placement services of Job-Match (Employer Advice and Recruitment Service) and Mediation in order to determine the job-readiness of the potential clients and to link recruitment needs of employers with those who completed the course. Trainees were eligible for the trainee allowance, which was negotiated with FÁS. The pre-work induction course was employed, directed at developing employment skills and exploring difficulties in taking up employment. At the same time employers were given the opportunity of having their job vacancies entered into the Job-Match database.

Within three years, between 1999 and 2001, 2,000 clients were projected to be enrolled on the programme. It was predicted that the programme could generate over 6 million Irish pounds in increased tax revenues, while estimated cost per entrant into the workforce was to be 214 Irish pounds. These estimates were based on the assumption that around 2,900 persons might be attracted into an initial assessment process, of which 2,000 were anticipated to participate in the whole programme and successfully enter the

workforce. The Programme was assessed by the Partnership local employment services as a potential effective investment in terms of meeting the needs of and sharing the benefits by all involved: local communities, through improvement of their economic conditions, private sector, by addressing employment gaps and the State level through increasing tax revenues (NSP, 1999).

Survey analysis

Quantitative analysis of the programme's statistical data has shown that although the level of 'after training' placements were rising between 2000 and 2003, the anticipated targets, i.e., that a majority of participants (90%) would enter employment within one month of the completion of the training, were not met. In general, the ultimate number of those attracted to the programme and who successfully entered the labour market was smaller than the projected figures by the NSP (Table 6.5.1). Some of the local employers directly involved in the design and delivery of the programme have stated during the local employers' survey:

“The concept was to encourage at least 10% of those people to return to the workforce. The result was that we were too optimistic of the numbers that we would attract to be interested. We set ourselves targets but we have not met these targets. Very few were employed in the company, as I think they were looking for flexible hours to be able to bring up children.” (E13) “The return was very small, although it was advertised as a huge programme, the target area included around several thousand women, only one hundred were trained.” (E3)

Table 6.5.1: Expanding The Workforce Programme (ETW) -participation and placement figures³⁰

	2000	2001	2002	2003
Number participated	57	67	57	54
Number entered the workforce	26 (4 male and 22 female)	36 (7 male and 29 female)	36 (2 male and 34 female)	34 (6 male and 28 female)
Percentage of placement	45%	53%	63%	62%

Source: FÁS, Jobs Club, Baldoyle

Moreover, no quantitative data has been kept by the local service providers on the employment retention of the programme recipients, i.e, whether those who were placed into the workforce remained in employment at least one year after completion of the project. The reason for such an arrangement was explained by the training unit's representative that effectiveness of both the training course itself and service providers' work were measured by the level of immediate placements.

Socio-economic profile of the ETW Programme participants

The survey analysis indicates that more than half of participants (56%) out of 25 participating in the survey were mature persons over 40 years of age with work experience, but low educational attainments, and who were mainly involved in home duties. Only a minority had a third-level education (8%), while over half (56%) had attained either leaving certificate or junior certificate. There was a small number of those with the primary level only. Over half of the participants (56%) left full-time education between 14 and 16 years of age. The majority of respondents had children and at least one dependant child of less than 18 years of age (68%). Half of the programme beneficiaries (50%) spent over nine years on home duties, but most of them

³⁰ These figures include also the men cohort, as some of the FÁS training modules were participated by this group and overall statistics were kept for both genders in total.

had worked before. A majority of those who worked before (70%) were in full-time positions and only one person was self-employed.

Table 6.5.2: Socio-economic profile of the ETW Programme participants

Features	Profile	Percentage
Age	45 to over 50	56% of the total number participants
Educational Attainment	3 rd level Leaving Certificate Junior Certificate	8 % 24% 32%
Marital Status	Married with spouse in paid employment Married with spouse not in paid employment Separated	64% 8% 20%
Children	At least one dependant child	68%
Previous Work Experience	In total Full-time Self-employed	Over 90% Over 70% 4%
Years spent on home duties	Over 9 years	50%

Source: Author's analysis

Rationale of the ETW Programme in the opinion of its participants

The majority of participants (73%) had decided to take part in the programme as they wished to return to the workforce after being on home duties for many years. Over two-thirds (40%) stated that the prime driver for them to participate was the need to gain skills required in the current labour market. For only a minority of the respondents (16%) the motive was the personal one, such as ‘family, home situation, opportunity to gain confidence, meeting people or simply to do something’. Some participants also stated that it was a combination of both factors, returning to work and personal motives (16%). A minority of clients (8%) took part in the programme as it was perceived to be vital in building up confidence after being out of the workforce for many years: “If I received some training I’d succeed” (B10).

The programme was also seen by one respondent as a potential support in progressing from a part-time job to a full-time position, obtaining a better workplace with a higher salary by another two respondents, or simply leaving the house and starting to deal with people after being at home for many years (two programme beneficiaries).

Only one participant stated that the programme assisted her in developing the experience necessary for the progression to self-employment and further education. However, the respondent argued that with regard to other participants, feeling that the programme did not assist progression was due to the fact that the initiative was not further supported in the form of micro-enterprise assistance and training or educational incentives. Also only two respondents indicated that the course was recommended to them by the local services.

Table 6.5.3: Rationale for the ETW Programme in the opinion of its participants

Reasons for Participation	Percentage out of the Total Number
Wanted to come back to the workforce after being on home duties	73%
Improving skills enabling progress into work	40%
Confidence-building	19%
Personal (such as home situation, meeting people or simply to do something)	16%
Returning to work and personal reasons	16%
Obtaining better position	8%
Getting out of the house/meeting people and exchanging experience with them	8%
Progression into self-employment and further education	4%
Progression from part-time to full-time position	4%

Source: Author's analysis

Usefulness of the training received in the opinion of the ETW Programme participants

For most participants (80%), the programme fulfilled expectations they had before entering the course. A minority of those who were not satisfied with the Programme either expected to be placed on work experience with the company, anticipated that they would find a part-time job after the course completion, expected more extensive computer training, or found other local employment services better suited to their needs than the programme itself.

In terms of usefulness of the training programme, for most participants (90%), the course was very useful or quite useful, while for only one respondent it was not very useful. Participants were also asked to rate the quality of the support received through the Programme. A majority (80%) stated that the programme was very good or good in terms of encouragement to find work. Most participants (80%) expressed an opinion that the programme was very good or good both in terms of practical help to find work and for practical help to establish training needs (70%). Over half of the programme beneficiaries (56%) revealed that gaining professional skills is vital for current labour market demands and this was the main support that they believed they received through their participation in the programme. For half of the respondents (53%) the intervention restored their confidence in searching for job opportunities. Almost a quarter (20%) received support and encouragement from other participants.

Table 6.5.4: Rating the usefulness of the training received in the opinion of the ETW Programme participants

Type of Support	Percentage out of the Total Number
Encouragement or practical help to find work	Over 80%
Gaining professional skills	76%
Practical help to establish training needs	70%
Restoring confidence in seeking job opportunities	53%
Support and encouragement from other participants	20%

Source: Author's analysis

Just one participant, however, stated that she received after-care support following the project's completion, only four revealed that they used skills obtained during the training in their work place, and one beneficiary received encouragement to progress into further education after she was offered a job.

The importance of the overall Programme in the opinion of the ETW participants

In relation to the importance of the Programme, most participants (96%) stated that the programme was very important or quite important in terms of gaining extra skills. The majority of them (80%) also revealed the course was very important and quite important in terms of gaining confidence and general training received. For a majority of participants (90%) the programme was important as they had the opportunity to meet other clients and exchange experience with them. They also asserted (94%) that the intervention improved their chances of getting a job. The initiative assisted many participants (72%) in getting out of the house, and for over half of them (60%) doing something with their lives was a factor. One participant particularly stated that the programme brought her a sense of new life: "I gained a new life with a sense of purpose." (B24)

Table 6.5.5: Rating the importance of the overall Programme in the opinion of the ETW participants

Type of Importance	Percentage out of the Total Number
Gaining additional skills	96%
Intervention improved chances of getting a job	94%
Opportunity of exchanging experience with others	90%
Gaining confidence	84%
Training programme	76%
Getting out of the house	72%
Doing something with one's life	60%

Source: Author's analysis

Advantages of the Programme

Most respondents (80%) stated that they would recommend the programme to somebody else. When they were asked why they would recommend such a programme, 90% of respondents indicated that the Programme helped them to improve confidence, gain encouragement and gave motivation for further progression. However, less than half of participants (45%) pointed out that the initiative enabled them to learn new skills and only a minority (15%) stated that the programme helped them to find a job at the end of the course.

Table 6.5.6: Rating advantages of the Programme in the opinion of the ETW participants

Type of Advantage	Percentage out of the Total Number
Intervention teaches useful skills	Over 90%
Programme helps to improve confidence, gain encouragement and has given motivation for further progression	90%
Programme increases chances of getting a job	84%
Intervention assists in learning from other's experience	23%
Programme helps to find a job at the end of the course	15%

Source: Author's analysis

‘Gain’ resulting from intervention in the opinion of the ETW participants

With regard to the ‘gain’ resulting from participation in the programme, half of respondents (50%) pointed out regaining confidence, but less than a half (42%) getting a job, obtaining extra skills and being capable of learning. A minority (12%) highlighted opportunity to develop current skills and indicated that they use the skills learned during the training.

Table 6.5.7: Rating ‘gain’ resulting from intervention in the opinion of the ETW participants

Type of ‘Gain’	Percentage out of the Total Number
Regaining confidence for seeking job opportunities	50%
Getting a job	42%
Obtaining extra skills and being able to learn	30%
Opportunity to meet with others and exchange experience	23%
Use skills learned during the training	12%
Opportunity to develop current skills	11%

Source: Author’s analysis

Outcomes resulting from intervention in terms of participant’s family condition after the programme completion

In terms of the programme’s outcomes impacting on family condition after the programme completion, a quarter of participants (26%) indicated that they did better economically because they found a full-time job and could commit more time to children, as the new job was on a daytime or flexible basis : “I can be a parent.” (B13) Almost a quarter of respondents (23%) pointed out that due to participants’ full-time job, the whole family shared household responsibilities and therefore dependant children became more independent. One individual highlighted in particular gaining

financial independence and appreciation from the family that she had progressed into further education

Table 6.5.8: Rating the values resulting from the programme intervention in terms of participant’s family condition during and after the programme completion

Type of ‘Family Value’	Percentage out of the Total Number
Does better economically because of the full-time position and enables commitment of more time to children, as the new job is on a daytime or flexible basis	26%
The intervention resulted in higher independence of children and sharing responsibility among all family members due to the participant’s full-time job	23%
More respect from the family	15%
Gaining financial independence	4%
Better relations with the family	4%
Ability to pass confidence on to the family members	4%
Being in better form in general	4%
Appreciation from the family	4%

Source: Author’s analysis

Strengths and weaknesses of the Programme

Major strengths indicated by the ETW Programme participants were: having opportunity to exchange experience with other programme beneficiaries, getting new skills relevant for current labour market requirements, motivation and encouragement for further progression, practical assistance in seeking job opportunities, assistance in identifying participants’ qualities and skills and confidence building.

All participants expected that the programme would involve a work experience module. Its absence was one of the main reasons that the course did not fulfil expectations of those not satisfied with the programme. Two participants anticipated that they would find a part-time job after its completion, but did not succeed in it; the other two wished

to receive full computer training and one revealed that they did not find a job at the end of the course.

Major weaknesses highlighted by the programme beneficiaries were: the extent of the computer training was too narrow: “the one delivered was only introductory; there was no time to gain extra and more comprehensive skills, you need further training” (B5); computer training was not suitable for all participants, as they were on different skill levels; too much pressure was put on participants to find a job after the course completion; the programme facilitator worked to deadlines, therefore she could not commit more time as was required. According to other individual views, there was no ‘follow up’ assistance available and too little contact was developed with local employment service after the programme completion: “I was afraid to come back to the facilitator as we were under huge pressure to find a job.” (B20)

Table 6.5.9: Rating major strengths and weaknesses identified by the programme participants

Major strengths	% out of the total number	Major weaknesses	% out of the total number
Opportunity to exchange experience with other programme beneficiaries	34 %	Computer training too basic	69%
Getting new skills relevant for current labour market requirements	30%	Computer training was not suitable for all participants as they were on different skill levels	19%
Motivation and encouragement for further progression	23%	Too much pressure was put on participants to find a job after the course completion	19%
Practical help in seeking job opportunities	19%	The programme facilitator worked to deadlines, therefore she could not commit more time as was required	15%
Assistance in identifying participants’ qualities and skills, confidence-building	11%	No following up and little contact was developed with LES after the programme completion	4%

Source: Author’s analysis

Recommended measures

Participants were asked how the programme delivery could be improved. Over a quarter of participants (28%) asserted that more flexibility, support and focus should be devoted to those with greatest needs. They particularly felt that literacy training was needed for those participants with special needs prior to the start of the programme. Almost a quarter of respondents (24%) pointed out that work experience would be a big advantage to the whole programme, as it was seen as an important measure in providing professional learning experience. More time on computer training (20%) was highlighted by others, as it was felt that the one that was delivered had been too basic. A few beneficiaries (12%) highlighted the need for better communication between service providers and participants in order to identify their needs and requirements. One respondent indicated the absence of more practical training, which could be attributable to the lack of work placement within the programme. Another participant believed that the programme could also be useful for other target groups, such as early school leavers.

Table 6.5.10: Rating recommended improvement areas in the opinion of the ETW participants

Recommended improvement areas	Percentage out of the total number
More flexibility, support and focus should be devoted to those with greatest needs/ literacy training is needed for those participants with such problems prior to the main course	28%
Introduction of work experience module	24%
More time on computer training	20%
Better communication with participants – improved attitude of facilitators to be more willing to listen to them	12%

Source: Author's analysis

Life circumstances if not participated in the programme

Almost half of respondents (48%) stated that they would return to home duties if they had not participated in the programme. Over a quarter (28%) believed they would still be in part-time work, which they did not like and/or wanted to change: “I would have the same part-time job which I did not like as I did not have time for my family” (B1). A few participants (12%) were not able to spell out what they believed they would be doing, which in the absence of the programme could mean remaining on home duties.

Table 6.5.11: Possible life circumstances of the person if not participated in the intervention

Anticipated life circumstances	Percentage out of the total number
Return to home duties	48%
Part-time work	28%
Don't know	12%

Source: Author's analysis

Progression levels of participants

The majority of respondents (80%) found a job after the programme completion and most of them progressed into equal or even higher positions than previously held (Table 6.5.12). Half of the participants found part-time job, 30% full-time. Two beneficiaries set up their own business. Most of them were working locally, i.e., up to four miles of travel from their house. Only a few of respondents travelled up to nine miles to work and one participant stated that she travelled ten miles or more.

For those who did not find employment immediately after the programme completion, or found it but had to resign from it after a short period of time (almost a quarter), the major problem was the difficulty in finding flexible hours. Some of them stated that they went on to further training.

Table 6.5.12: Progression of the ETW participants: breakdown of the positions held and type of employment

Current Position	Terms of Employment	Previous Position	Terms of Employment
1. Jobs' Club assistant	Full-time	Waitress	Part-time
2. Receptionist	Part-time	Air Lingus Cabin Crew	Full-time
3. Self-employed	Self-employed	Financial services	Full-time
4. Help-desk operator	Full time	Clerical work	Full-time
5. Classroom assistant	Part-time/flexible hours/Community Employment	Home duties/unemployed	-
6. Childcare	Full-time	Cashier at Dunnes Stores	Full-time
7. Psych. Counsellor/facilitator	Self-employed	Dress maker	Self-employed
8. Northern Area Health Board secretary	Full-time	Clerical staff – ship/transport industry	Full time
9. Secretary/Parish centre	Part-time	Bakery	Full-time
10. Shop assistant – Argos	Part-time	Printing industry	Full-time
11. Clerical assistant	Full-time	Clerical	Full-time
12. Sales assistant	Part-time	Sales assistance	Part-time
13. Receptionist/secretary	Part-time	Secretarial/school	Full-time
14. Teaching assistant	Part-time	Office clerk	Full-time
15. Clerical	Full-time	AIB Bank	Full-time
16. After the programme completion PA	part-time but returned to home duties as the position had no flexible working hours	Cleaner	Self-employed
17. Shop assistant	Part-time	Unemployed	-
18. Receptionist – dental services	Part-time	Restaurant	Part-time
19. Eircom telesales	Part-time	Clothing manufacture	Full-time
20. Administrator	Part-time	Receptionist in factory	Full-time
21. Operator/Internet Bank	Part-time	Sales assistant	Part-time
22. Clerical	Part-time	Office worker	Full-time
23. Returned to home duties	-	Sales assistant at Superquinn	Full-time
24. Hoteling	Full-time	Hotel and shop assistant	Full-time and Part-time
25. Reception but had to leave it as was looking for part-time	Full-time	Book-keeper	Full-time

Source: Author's analysis

Satisfaction with current job conditions in the opinion of the ETW participants

Participants were asked about their current job conditions. The majority of them (76%) revealed that the job met their expectations. However, only a minority (11%) of those who were retained in employment stated that they received further training during employment and that the job had flexible hours. A few beneficiaries (15%) felt confident as they used skills gained during the programme. Other individual views highlighted the importance of being able to commit time to the family, as the new position found was on a shift basis.

Table 6.5.13: Rating the satisfaction with the current job conditions in the opinion of the ETW participants

Satisfaction with the job conditions - attributes	Percentage out of the total number
The job has met my expectations	76%
I have received further training during employment and the job has flexible hours	11%
I am confident in the use of skills gained during the training programme	15%
I am able to commit time to my family	4%

Source: Author

Linkages with local services after the programme completion

Finally, respondents were asked whether they had any contacts with local employment services since the programme's completion. Only half of all participants replied to this question. It can be assumed that those participants who did not respond were not aware of the opportunities of after-care assistance and other local services available during employment, or specifically the extent of the functions of local employment services.³¹ For example, two respondents stated that they did know what LES meant. Another

³¹ The whole Programme was known to participants as 'the Job's Club Northside Partnership Programme.' The ETW Coordinator advised the researcher not to use the term 'LES' on the questionnaire as she believed it would not be recognised by the participants.

participant pointed out that she did not find employment, but was afraid to come back to the Job's Club as she believed they "were put under huge pressure to find a job." (B20). One respondent indicated the need for a follow-up service during employment in order to ensure its sustainability: "They said they would keep my file active for a while, but they did not ring or write to me to see if I was happy in my new employment. Maybe they thought once I had a job their job was done." (B23)

A majority of those participants who replied to this question (over 70%) had answered that they had no further contacts with local services, which could be attributable to satisfaction with current job conditions on one hand, but also a lack of awareness about follow-up services that could be provided after the placement. Only two respondents who contacted LES indicated that the service helped them in their further search for a new job, as they were not satisfied with the positions obtained after the programme completion, or that the further contact was made in order to pursue an additional course.

For most participants, the area-based project assisted in the immediate progression from being on home duties to work, through improvement of the skills required by the current labour market demands. Nevertheless, only a minority (15%) indicated long-term outputs resulting from intervention, such as progression to higher education level, setting up own enterprise or obtaining a higher value job position.

To summarise, majority of the programme's recipients participated in the project as they wished to return to the workforce and gain skills required in the labour market. Only minority of respondents stated that the measure assisted them in development of the skills necessary for the progression to self-employment, full-time position or further

education. Critical comments related to a lack of additional, complementary supports in the forms of micro-enterprise assistance, training and educational incentives.

Participants were of the view that the initiative could be better designed in terms of inclusion of the work experience module and after-care supports after the project's completion, which could assist in identification of clients' further needs and labour market requirements when seeking employment. They also highlighted the need for more flexibility, additional support in the form of literacy and computer training devoted to vulnerable project's recipients.

It can be argued, therefore, that this area-based intervention and its relative success occurred at the period in the economic cycle when employment growth was already buoyant and staff shortages existed. Hence, greater balancing of policy measures aimed at employment creation at the low point in the economic cycle, and those aimed at skills enhancement at a later stage of relative economic recovery should be applied. Moreover, the scheme highlighted the substantial role of employers as the leading partners in area-based initiatives, in contrast to the limited engagement and *ad hoc* nature of structuring employers' input by area service providers described in earlier sections.

6.6 Policy themes identified - local residents in Ireland

In order to examine the interaction between spatial, economic and social renewal of area-based development, it was necessary to gain responses from local residents experiencing problems in their living environments. For the purpose of this type of analysis it was decided to focus only on a smaller area at the neighbourhood level,

within the wider Northside Partnership Area. The location for examination was identified on the basis of documentation provided by the staff of the Northside Partnership and initial discussions with local community facilitators concerning existing community boundaries. Such an approach is supported by the policy literature relating to defining target areas, where it has been suggested to devise them on the basis of economic potential or of community boundaries (EC, 2000). Edenmore neighbourhood and the adjacent western part of Grange were identified as priority districts by the Northside Partnership for its developmental interventions during the period of 2000-2003 (Map 5.6 of Chapter 5 – Priority Districts, Northside Partnership). The definition used in the study corresponds to two District Electoral Divisions (DEDs) – Edenmore and Grange E, which refer to the triangle enclosed by Tonlegee Road, Springdale Road and Raheny Road (Map 5.6 of Chapter 5).

The analysis of local residents' views concerning the quality of their local area from an environmental perspective coincided with the community survey carried out by the Edenmore Community Development Group. The survey was commissioned in order to gather information on community needs, including residents' awareness about services available to them locally and their perceptions about quality of life in Edenmore and two adjacent neighbourhoods – Cameron and Woodbine. The survey further formed the basis of an area-based action plan 2002-2005, under funding from the NDP Community Development Programme. Therefore, the observatory study mainly involved analysis of the newly-published report on Edenmore Social Needs (Edenmore, 2002), but also other documentary data provided by Edenmore's St. Monica Community Centre, as well as informal conversations with ten survey participants, who were invited to fill in the questionnaires locally in St. Malachy's Boys National School.

The report on Edenmore Social Needs indicated that a majority of respondents (75%) were living in Edenmore for a long period of time, i.e., 35-39 years, and a number of them (36%) stated that they enjoyed living and working in Edenmore, primarily due to ‘a close-knit’ community and convenience, which was explained by informants as “living in an area, which is located centrally” (services available within walking distance, easily accessible travel to all areas, only five miles from the city, good transport, near to the airport) and “featuring various amenities and facilities available to them” (amenities for all age groups, good schools). In contrast, over half of the informants (55%) highlighted the rundown appearance of the area (defaced properties, dirty shopping area, derelict house in Edenmore Park, insufficient number of litter bins), anti-social behaviour and misuse of drugs/alcohol, explained by the lack of sufficient policing intervention and activities for young people, specifically those who dropped out of school.

The proposed actions included better lighting, provision of more speed ramps, closed circuit TV, increased Garda presence, setting up support facilities for drugs offenders and more involvement by the business community in the environment. Over a quarter of residents (28%) wished to have a community coffee shop established, and another quarter (25%) felt that a family centre with support services, specifically for lone parents, elderly and young families, including provision of a playground, community crèche and after-school services, would be an advantage. Additional issues included the opening of a bank in the local area and establishing more frequent bus services to the Beaumont Hospital.

To summarise, local residents highlighted the importance of a community remit and living in an area which is well connected with key area-based services and central part of the Dublin city. They also stated the accessibility to various amenities and social facilities to different age groups are significant measures of the quality of living environment. These respondents indicated however, a number of issues for improvement, which were not met by service providers. These included a rundown appearance of the local area, a lack of policy interventions ensuring local residents' safety, a lack of local activities and social infrastructure for young people, especially for vulnerable youth, such as early school-leavers.

The study of the Edenmore Community Development Group and informal discussions with community facilitators revealed that there was a high awareness of existing services among residents, but the critical point within the wider issue of local development was that the local services and measures employed tended to be fragmented and uncoordinated. Therefore, respondents considered that Edenmore was left behind from the emerging opportunities, available through the government initiatives, beyond the boundaries of the local area.

Local residents provided some ideas for future area-based projects relating to the improvement of an urban environment, such as provision of a better lighting, increased policing presence, social infrastructure facilities for vulnerable communities and families, as well as measures which attract a better involvement of the business sector.

6.7 Conclusions

The Chapter examined in detail various policy themes identified by the research participants in Ireland and addressed primary objectives of this investigation, which were to analyse the nature, success and obstacles in pursuance of selected urban development programmes and to identify critical inputs necessary in the delivery of future policy approaches.

The research participants in Ireland identified *the quality of public governance arrangements* at all levels – central, regional and local – as key conditions in achieving long-term, sustainable economic development. It is evident from the research that while some of the groups, such as policy makers, service providers and local employers, were strong on criticising existing administrative arrangements they did not agree on suitable alternatives. They were rather willing to suggest improvements as they had a lesser vested interest in existing structures. The consensus view included the need for enhanced communication and co-operation among all stakeholders – policy makers, service providers, local employers and policy recipients; for example, having direct access to data sources on jobs and local labour market from various agencies locally is a prerequisite for defining target groups, their needs and opportunities, and ensuring that the services are coherent and accountable.

The argument behind this concept is that transparency regarding the roles and responsibilities of administrative arrangements would rationalise the direction of public spending in the long term. In the Irish context, the issue specifically concerns local area partnerships and county development boards who, according to research respondents,

represent mainly the policy-making cohort, bridged the gap in delivery of more targeted area-based services, which could not be provided by local authorities.

On the other hand, some informants among policy-making and service provision cohorts asserted that these structures became another layer of administration and missed the overall concept of the city development, as they were not able to influence other agencies to deliver coherent initiatives in the long-term. They were also of the view that many local initiatives were implemented in matching European funding, as they were never expanded through development of appropriate area-based structures, which could assist in creation of long-term spin-off effects into local economies. Although it has been argued that EU stimulus has been an important factor in helping to complement internal capacity and policy readiness, a number of respondents from the service providers' cohort noted a lack of policy recognition of existing local resources, through mainstreaming of area-based pilot interventions, which are believed to have long, well-established experience in the service delivery.

Many informants, among policymakers and the local business sector, asserted that Irish evaluation policies did not look at the return of public investments, which were associated with the quality of administrative structures. This resulted in a low level of public ownership and accountability of area-based interventions.

The need for *policy justification of the existing horizontal and vertical territorial arrangements*, embedded into the public management system, was a consensus view among all research participants and recognised by them as a key factor in ensuring successful area-based approaches. This issue regards specifically the need for policy

sanction over locally-based agencies in fulfilling their commitments, integration of local level structures, and their interplay with the local and central government system. Participants, representing mainly the service provision cohort, agreed that the idea of integrating local services would be difficult to achieve in the long-term, as most locally-based agencies are funding-driven and dependent on central organisations, therefore not able to respond promptly to labour market challenges. They suggested that existing, relatively small national expenditure devolved to local areas, and subordination of city and county development boards' finance to the local authority system must be addressed in order to achieve policy accountability and to strengthen community ownership. In response to this issue, policy makers prioritised, in particular, the necessity of developing policy linkages between local spending decisions and locally-raised taxation, which is believed to strengthen the democratic process, enhance accountability of local representatives and provide a stronger input from citizens to local government.

On the other hand, many interviewees among service providers asserted that there has been no political will so far to devolve central government responsibilities to the local and regional level to any great extent. The consensus view among them was that long-term co-operation cannot be achieved, as each area-based agency has its own priorities, and therefore no common development interests could be identified for the entire Dublin City Region. In addition, local employers highlighted the *ad hoc* nature of communications between various policy stakeholders, and that the structuring of employers' input impacted on the quality of co-operation with the business sector and transparent co-ordination of area-based interventions. All research participants agreed that the central role of employers in the provision of local economic initiatives must be enhanced, through, for example, their involvement in area-based projects, which would

rely on challenging local services' management values, from being socially-oriented to involving more commercial, business-like approaches. This issue has been considered critical for local and regional development in the context of socio-economic patterns that occurred over the period of 1992-2002 in Ireland, and more specifically for the years ahead, considering the current rapid downturn of economic growth and rising levels of unemployment.

The consensus view among all research participants was that the challenge for future policies lies in the ability of communication between different sections of the governance, in order to ensure that policy linkages within these structures are enhanced and implemented policies are transparent. Policy makers suggested that this could be achieved through either the establishment of a central co-ordinating group for the city and county development boards, or by combining area-based development agencies' tasks with local and central government responsibilities. Other proposals coming from service providers included development of a single development agency at the local level, which could deliver services, with funding coming from various mainstream organisations, as opposed to the existing fragmented area-based structures. It has been argued that these new approaches should assist in ensuring that local needs are recognised and addressed on an ongoing basis.

The *spatial considerations* for the Dublin regional and local governance emerged as the second key policy issue and a prime concern, reflecting different levels of local economic development, and therefore different needs of communities, which are indispensable in defining target groups for policy interventions. The consensus view highlighted by all research participants was that spatial considerations were a critical

factor in ensuring policy linkages and co-ordination between different strands of the policies applied, such as socio-economic, housing and environment.

Many respondents from the policy-making cohort agreed that although there has been a growing attempt by public policies to integrate the city and sub-city/sub-county level, the process was restricted by a lack of appropriate *public sector management*, which undermined the issue of an area size, community identity and designation for developmental intervention. This issue concerns specifically the coherence between area-based functional boundaries and central administrations.

Both research groups, policy makers and service providers, were of the view that EU measures significantly assisted in the development of evaluations and new standards around social measures within local economic initiatives. However, the issue of spatial considerations and fragmentation of area-based structures impacted on the quality of local statistical baselines for the entire Region and outcome-based evaluations, measuring additional ‘net’ social outcomes, emerging from the policy interventions in the long-term. Subsequently, gaps were identified within geographical dimensions of all local services being provided. This also impacted on the lack of evaluation systems for community needs, using individual baselines and linking them with the concept of area targeting.

Some views coming from the policy recipients and service providers argued that with a more regional policy focus, specific needs of individual regions or community groups might get lost. On the other hand, if the policy decentralises into lower levels, the focus is put on too-small areas, unable to make the Dublin Region self-sustaining. A number

of respondents, representing mainly the policy-making cohort, agreed that in order to respond to problems of an urban society, policies should focus on overall local development, rather than directing funding and measures at designated areas.

The consensus view expressed by all research participants was that existing area-based actions and local policies should be consistent with local authority boundaries. In this context, delivery of all client-focused services, regardless of their place of residency and social status, should be considered in future approaches devising new measures for area-based interventions. The critical policy issue would be, therefore, to challenge the integration of various tasks at the level, which considers the local area as a whole for economic development purposes. However, no agreement was reached across different groups on how this concept could be implemented. Only service providers suggested that area-based structures could act as local development companies within the local authority system.

The quality of the governance structures and their spatial considerations were the consensus policy issues identified by policy makers and service providers. These issues are believed to have had a major impact on functional integration of the Dublin Region in terms of urban policy planning and delivery of effective area-based programmes. A number of research participants suggested that strengthening Dublin's functional integration should be achieved through the formulation of an urban strategy for the entire Dublin Region, as an important factor for an improved quality of urban space, which in turn has a major impact on counteracting unemployment and enhancing direct inward investment.

All participants, including policy recipients and the local business sector, agreed that functional integration should be based primarily on ‘*up-skilling*’ measures of existing local resources, supporting Dublin’s competitiveness through delivery of supports to local endogenous industries and enhanced co-operation with local employers. The key point argued by service providers and local employers was that current policy measures did not assist area-based structures in improving their effectiveness over time, through, for example, a more devolved funding from central government level aimed at ‘after-care’ supports. The consensus view among research participants was that as area-based structures were designed at the low point in the economic cycle, they were never reshaped and progressed at later stages of relative economic recovery, when co-operation with the business sector and structuring their input has been the key to ensuring skills’ enhancement.

A number of views coming from the service providers, local employers and policy recipients cohort pointed out that the emphasis of previous policies in local economic development initiatives has been put on work experience rather than on training and education measures. The results of the ETW programme’s survey indicated a very small extent of participants’ progression into self-employment and further education after the programme completion. Lack of training within Irish endogenous industry, as opposed to foreign direct investment companies, was identified by many policymakers as one of the key constraints in achieving high progression rates and continuous economic growth. The recommendation, expressed mainly by local employers, was that future employment strategies should combine employment schemes, targeted at the most disadvantaged groups, with the support of in-company training and education programmes, as the progression rates tend to be much higher in those policy areas.

Finally, application of a monitoring system at the central government level, which would measure the level of outcomes of public service commitments, as well as coherent, integrated local databases at the local levels, measuring the ongoing needs of policy recipients, were seen by policy-making and service providers' cohorts as important requirements for the evaluation of effectiveness of area-based interventions in Ireland.

Chapter 7: Formative Analysis of Polish Case Study

This chapter follows the analysis of an Irish case study of comparable policy themes in order to elicit similarities and contrasting approaches in implementing related public policy measures. The period covered by this investigation concerns the emergence and development of new territorial structures in Poland, following the economic transition towards the market economy and European integration process. Based on the responses received, key comparative criteria across two countries are identified. These broad criteria represent the basis for specific indicators measuring the relevance and feasibility of the interventions applied in each of the case study areas.

7.1 Policy themes identified – policy makers in Poland

7.1.1 Quality of the governance structures in Poland

In addressing the theme of the governance structures in Poland, three distinct areas were identified from 17 interview responses:

- 1) Fragmentation of area-based structures;
- 2) Quality of linkages within governance structures and between central and local levels;
- 3) Absence of structures supporting integrated approaches to localised disadvantage.

Table 7.1 demonstrates the major subsidiary themes identified within the above areas and the percentage of respondents who referred to the particular theme:

Table 7.1: Identified key policy themes – governance structures, Poland

Major themes raised	Percentage of respondents referring to particular theme out of the total number surveyed (N=17)
Area-based structures responding to integrated interventions at the local level	80%
Vertical interdependencies between central, regional, and district/local levels	50%
Policy sanction over the functions and coherency of the governance structures	50%

Fragmentation of area-based structures

A majority of interviewees (90%) were of the view that attempts to address localised disadvantage are only evolving in Poland. Prior to administration reform in 1999, whereby all competencies concerning regional operational programming were devolved from central government level into regional self-territorial governments (Marshal Offices), most public and European co-funded developmental programmes were operated centrally by state inter-governmental agencies, such as the Enterprise Development Agency (PARP) and Polish Development Agency (PARR). These respondents highlighted that administrative reform did not develop professional structures to deal with integrated interventions at the local level:

“I can assess the past several years as an attempt to create our own system, which would deal with the socio-economic interventions and which would be capable of implementing coherent programmes and be a professional, advisory body. But there were no tools available to achieve this.” (I6)

Most respondents (80%) argued that the area-based governance system in Poland has been fragmented since programming of the projects was devolved to the regional level (Marshal Offices). Implementation was delegated to specific public area-based agencies, depending on the target objectives, such as local employment issues to regional labour offices and enterprise to regional development agencies, based in each region.

The involvement of the central administration at the regional level (Voivodship Office), responsible for financial and legal monitoring of the projects implemented, created a so-called 'dual governance structure', whereby the design of regional policies was controlled by the Marshal office, while evaluation, and consequently control over self-territorial government, was under the remit of the Voivodship Office:

“From our point of view the policy and its management is not coherent when different bodies are responsible for different issues, such as programming, implementation and monitoring. These two bodies are two different tiers of the governance and therefore the policy is not convergent.” (I8)

One-third of respondents (30%) argued that due to such arrangements, it was not possible for the regional governments to monitor programmes designed by them and consequently to ensure their quality during the implementation phase.

The 'duality' of the governance structures was even more apparent visible by the fact that territorial self-governments were responsible for the monitoring of EU-funded programmes, while at the same time Voivod Offices could control regional governments. Two respondents stated that due to such an arrangement, it was extremely difficult to create partnership with the central government at the regional level, and therefore implement regional policies locally.

Quality of linkages within governance structures and between central and local levels

As far as implementing structures were concerned in the area of economic and labour market interventions, two-thirds of respondents (30%) highlighted a lack of policy transparency during the entire process of regional and district labour offices' development. They were created at the outset of the 1990s to implement labour policies,

but in 1993 new, reformed structures were put in place, including the creation of a Central Labour Office responsible for co-ordination of interventions at the regional and local levels. These interviewees argued that the structures were, at that time, hierarchically subordinated, and the programmes and funds devised on a top-down basis, which had advantages as the funds could be easily transferred between and within regions.

Following public administration reform in 2000, all labour market objectives were devolved to regional and local levels (districts). Regional labour offices were delegated under the supervision of the Marshal Offices and district labour offices under the *Poviats* (district self-territorial structures), subordinated previously to Central Labour Office. As a result, the number of agencies involved in economic and labour market interventions doubled, and the funds were transferred through two separate channels – from central department to different tiers of regional levels (from *Voivod* to Marshal and regional labour offices), and from central to districts (from *Voivod* to poviats and district labour offices).

Two interviewees argued that, in practice, there had been three governing bodies at the area-based level (Marshal Office, *Starosta*/City Mayor and District Labour Office), as no legal instruments were introduced to allow regional governments (Marshal offices) to co-ordinate the functions of all area-based institutions involved in the service delivery:

“The competencies of the current structures are not transparent. The previous model was simpler [with Central Labour Office] and I suppose more appropriate in regard to this very individual phenomenon of the service provided, when you target specific, changing social groups, not the structures of the state.” (15).

One-third of respondents (30%) were also of the view that as each of the regional authorities became independent, with no central co-ordination in terms of distribution of funds, any additional funding required to alleviate, for example, rapid increase of unemployment levels, resulting from economic transformation, could not be easily managed, and consequently transferred from one region to another.

Half of the interviewees (50%) felt that vertical interdependencies between central, regional, and district/local levels were limited, as no formal linkages were developed with regard to implementation of regional and local strategies: “Our regional strategy was set up according to the central government model. The Regional Contract was not co-ordinated by the regional authority, but a central delegate of the Ministry of Regional Development.” (I10) One respondent noted that at the local level, district governments (*poviats*) mainly implement tasks assigned by the central government, such as management of district labour offices and implementation of labour market interventions, but with a very limited financial base for their own initiatives:

“Poviats act, in fact, as the central agenda. Looking at their overall position and powers, it is difficult to define their practical role in the overall structures of local development. Therefore, it might be also difficult for them to create real partnership with local authorities, in the situation of having much smaller budgets.” (I9)

Absence of structures supporting integrated approaches to localised disadvantage

As far as urban areas were concerned, a majority of respondents (80%) stated that no dedicated structures were developed within area-based governance, providing integrated supports to local disadvantaged areas by linking social policy issues with economic and built environment. Only one respondent highlighted an increasing awareness by central departments, dealing with urban policy actions, that integrated approaches are important

instruments in tackling labour market problems and assisting in the transformation of social welfare measures into active economic development interventions.

Half of the interviewees (50%) argued that the absence of dedicated structures to deal with urban issues occurred due to a complex transformation process, whereby it was extremely difficult to institutionalise an integrated policy approach, and, similar to the Irish case, a lack of policy sanction over the functions, transparency and coherency of the proposed structures:

“The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs needs to co-operate closely with the Ministry of Economy and Central Housing and Urban Development Agency. We need a kind of inter-government agency, which would be able to deal with urban problems through an integrated approach.” (I2)

These informants were also of the view that the key factor in transforming public structures in Poland was the absence of the partnership arrangements which could support such integration, aimed at unifying multidisciplinary programmes and supporting multi-agency networks in implementing interventions at the local levels.

A majority of interviewees (90%) concluded that existing approaches to public structures featured some advantages, such as bringing the decision-making process closer to localised issues and individual communities. On the other hand, they were of the view that they limited policy flexibility and transparency, as the funding system was devolved to territorial structures on the basis of technical calculations, such as the level of unemployment and social welfare needs of each territory, as opposed to particular criteria confined to a given Region:

“Sometimes you might have situations where people live in two different district areas but are in the same unemployment position. They may receive completely different levels of assistance or be beneficiaries of different programmes because each district office has different resources and different management outcomes.”(I5)

Half of the interviewees (50%) felt that although the idea behind the devolution of powers to regional governments aimed to assure better management of public and European programmes, the development of dual structures at the regional level created contradictory interests between policy design, implementation and monitoring, consequently impacting on the quality of local interventions. Two-thirds of respondents (30%) also believed that in the context of urban areas, there is a need to transform horizontal structures in order to unify approaches proposed by different central departments, in order to enable local authorities to implement coherent policies at the local levels.

Finally, a majority of respondents (80%) were of the view that the devolution of powers to regional and local levels occurred too early, as the structures at these levels did not develop the specific functions required for successful management of integrated programmes, targeted at specific groups and areas. They believed this concerned, in particular, flexibility and public accountability in policy management, financing of local programmes, existence of partnership structures and their readiness in driving local policy change.

7.1.2 Implementation of current policies and programmes in Poland

In addressing the theme of the implementation of area-based policies and programmes three distinct areas were identified from the interview responses:

- 1) Quality of the programmes employed;
- 2) Urban dimension in localised programmes;
- 3) Budgetary arrangements.

Table 7.2 demonstrates the major subsidiary themes identified within the above areas and the percentage of respondents who referred to the particular theme:

Table 7.2: Identified key policy themes – current policies and programmes, Poland

Major themes raised	Percentage of respondents referring to particular theme out of the total number surveyed (N=17)
Public policies short-term and focused on a single-sector effect	50%
Recognition by policies of diversification of the target groups and localised disadvantage	56%
Multidisciplinary approaches developed within horizontal measures and budgets in combining physical strand with economic and social issues	80%
Endogenous and exogenous factors in local governance system	36%

Quality of the programmes employed

Half of the interviewees (50%) felt that since the establishment of the decentralised local governance system in the early 1990s and the impact of foreign *know-how* assistance, funded by international agendas, such as American USAID Programme, the World Bank and European Union, new concepts emerged regarding integrated local approaches in urban areas. These respondents argued that policy involvement at the area-based level was of particular importance when the state economy was undergoing transition. The transformation process resulted in increasing unemployment levels, and

this reinforced public policies to look for new models of more balanced approaches. 30% of respondents felt that development of policy measures in urban areas faced challenges of housing problems and labour market developments simultaneously. Therefore, the integration of these two elements was seen as critical in the process of economic transformation. The concept of integrated development was understood as a 'bottom-up' approach: being generated by local authorities, involving social consultations and financed from a combination of private and public resources.

Half of the respondents (50%) felt that, in practice, existing public policies related to area development have been short-term and focused on a single-sector effect. These respondents stated that initial years of the transition period focused on compulsory and inactive social welfare measures. As much as 80% of funds available for all labour market interventions were allocated to passive initiatives at that time. Similarly, post-2000 policy frameworks, in the situation of slowing economic growth, allocated only 20% of funds for piloting local innovative interventions.

Over half of the interviewees (56%) were of the view that although the policy devolved powers from central to lower levels of governance, enhancing innovative area-based initiatives, the policies were narrowed down to short-term alleviations of the unemployment problems:

“In the early 1990s there was no approach put in place to finance active measures assisting the employment programmes, although unemployment was always perceived as the critical issue in economic development. Unemployed people tend to be passive, with low self-esteem, lack of educational attainment and therefore they required a targeted approach.” (I6)

These respondents argued that there was no policy recognition of diversification of the target groups and localised disadvantage, which they believed were critical factors for achieving sustainability of economic growth.

Urban dimension in localised programmes

One-third of respondents (30%) stated that area-based regeneration programmes in Poland originally formed a part of economic development strategies and were derived primarily from the need of physical modernisation of the housing stock, neglected by previous policies. The ‘physical upgrade’ was believed to be a starting point for any policy debate regarding the theme of ‘regeneration’.

All informants (100%) argued that flexibility and strategic dimension of public policies are emerging factors in policies for regeneration of urban areas in Poland: “We need strategic approaches as the programmes would face long-term changes. These need to be continued and monitored.” (I4) A majority of interviewees (80%) were of the view that Polish public policies only recently recognise multidisciplinary approaches in combining physical with economic and social issues and that “the housing regeneration should be rooted in economic and social development, which enables policy sustainability” (I4).

Half of the respondents (50%) felt there was a lack of political will to introduce legal policy instruments in relation to urban regeneration schemes. They noted that a number of proposals on urban renewal have been discussed by the government since the early 1990s, but none of them were substantiated in the form of a legal bill. They believed such a measure could assist in forming a legal basis for a greater autonomy within local

authorities, involved in urban regeneration programmes: “The lack of an urban renewal act means that we do not have an access to legal tools which would enable us to adjust to market requirements and to the new actors emerging on this market.” (I4)

One-third of respondents (30%) argued that as urban regeneration constitutes a complex, multidisciplinary issue, it would require the ability to create partnerships and often acting within conflicting policy themes.

One-third of informants (30%) were also of the view that current policies dealing specifically with the housing issues limited local interventions to technical, short-term actions, such as thermo-isolation measures, without consideration for spatial planning and quality of life issues. They further argued that some local authorities expressed the need for the introduction of legal tools, which would assist them in consulting indigenous communities living in local areas requiring physical, social and economic improvement. They believed that in many cases a common perception existed among local policymakers that a gentrification process, as opposed to ‘ghettoisation’, was the most appropriate solution to urban problems: “You can’t simply close the development phase of the given place by removing endogenous communities. You cut the spirit of community roots by creating new, artificial, affluent districts.” (I4)

A quarter of respondents (25%) were also of the view that in most local municipalities, where housing strategies were linked to wider area development objectives, the strategies were not supported by the national frameworks, devising legal tools and instruments on how to implement them:

“We have experienced top-down policies, against the logic of the city development. They would support external investors by selling to them properties, without any share for the city and therefore, without any benefits for the communities, while this could be built in the city development programme. It has been forgotten that the physical infrastructure cannot function without the whole issue of spatial planning and this does not mean inward investments only. Our approaches do not consider development issues of the existing areas, they do not concern complex, integrated initiatives. It seems to be a marginal problem and therefore, it is not seen as a policy priority.” (I1)

These informants noted that central government policies, specifically the National Development Plan for the period of 2004-2006, linked the issue of ‘regeneration’ to economic development measures only. They were of the view that focus on economic priorities tended to lose a wider vision of entire city development, including the linkages with community needs.

Budgetary arrangements

Half of the informants (50%) noted that existing Regional Contracts, agreed between central and regional authorities, assist regional governments in programming area-based projects implemented by local municipalities. However, they were of the view that as current budgetary arrangements at the local authority level separate resources for different policy areas, such as social welfare and local infrastructure, it limited introduction of multidisciplinary approaches developed within horizontal measures. Furthermore, as local budgets are developed on an annual basis it constrained long-term planning required for integrated interventions.

One-third of respondents (30%) stated that the Act on Public Funds of 1998 introduced long-term investment programmes, which aimed to complement local annual budgets and gave legal recognition to more sustainable interventions. These interviewees further

argued that such programmes were not used to a wider extent by local municipalities, as annual budgets were frequently amended and, therefore, it was difficult to plan any future actions considering the use of external factors, such as EU grants.

They went on to highlight that within existing public administration arrangements the process of delegation of powers from central to local levels has not been followed with the devolution of funds for implementation of area-based projects. It could be argued that local authorities in Poland are being increasingly involved in actions being originally in charge of the central government level. Therefore, the risk of failure of long-term and innovative area-based approaches is commonly left in charge of local authorities.

Summarising the issue of the quality of current policies and programmes, one-third of interviewees (30%) highlighted a need to look at the existing policy approaches in an integrated manner regarding the issue of 'development'. They believed that there has been a growing demand for the improvement of local governance system, which has been seen as a key factor in achieving better outcomes in terms of employment, social cohesion and sustainable development. They went on to highlight a need for recognition of endogenous and exogenous factors that could have an impact on economic development in a given area: "One of the most interesting issues for which we have not come up with the clear conclusion yet nor in Poland nor in any other Central Eastern European Country is to what extent, exogenous or endogenous factors drive changes."

(I9)

Over one-third of respondents (36%) argued that endogenous factors, such as existence of local networks in a given area, are equally as important as exogenous measures, as they ensure quality and sustainability of the local governance system:

“The existence of local NGOs is a critical factor influencing challenges of local development, not only for the next few years but within the perspective of generations [...] I believe that well-established local traditions, if they are present in any given area, could constitute a valuable asset that could increase the effectiveness of the programmes implemented.” (I9)

Therefore, complementary policies, which link endogenous with exogenous measures, could affect the area in the long-term.

7.1.3 The impact of European Union agendas on area-based policy measures in Poland

In addressing the theme of the impact of European Union agendas on area-based policy measures, two distinct areas were identified from the interview responses:

- 1) Policy integration;
- 2) Funding sustainability.
- 3)

Table 7.3 demonstrates the major subsidiary themes identified within the above areas and the percentage of respondents who referred to the particular theme:

Table 7.3: Identified key policy themes – the impact of European Union agendas, Poland

Major themes raised	Percentage of respondents referring to particular theme out of the total number surveyed (N=17)
EU assistance stimulates policy awareness of integrated area-based planning	100%
The EU assists central governments in developing accountable structures across various policy levels	50%
Short-term planning of individual policy strands as opposed to area-based integrated measures based on long-term funding	30%
Limited funding devolved to lower levels of governance constrained innovative approaches in EU management, such as development of communication tools with the projects' beneficiaries in order to measure the policy outcomes	80%

Policy integration

All interviewees (100%) were of the view that European Union assistance was key to developing a policy awareness regarding the integration of various elements in area-based development strategies, such as spatial and socio-economic planning:

“If we look at those towns and cities which have already taken up regeneration programmes, we would see lots of documents on the shelves which should be integrated, such as local development, spatial and long-term investment plans. These linkages are not clearly stated there.” (I2)

One-third of respondents (30%) argued that in practice, most local authorities treated them as separated policy issues, as they believed it was easier to chase EU funding for individual policy strands in the short-term.

A majority of informants (80%) stated that European Union policies that stimulate appropriate management tools applied by member countries to implement and evaluate interventions and building strategic partnerships are only evolving in Poland:

“I believe that the role of central government and European Union would come closer. I would perceive it as an attempt to respond to area-based actions through delivery of appropriate instruments. The learning how to choose the best instruments and the best practices for further mainstreaming.” (I9)

These interviewees were of the view that due to limited funding devolved to lower levels governance, regional authorities did not possess the tools to elaborate innovative policy approaches to area-based planning.

Half of the respondents (50%) were also of the view that EU approaches assist central governments in improving structures across various policy levels, including creation of partnerships required for implementation of local development programmes, ensuring accountability, and consequently sustainability, of the projects' successful outcomes. They believed that this could only occur with the availability of long-term funding allocated to area-based governance structures, responsible for programming, implementation and evaluation of localised projects.

Funding sustainability

A majority of interviewees (80%) argued that at the regional authority level, EU policies would only have a positive impact once these authorities are strengthened through additional funding allocated for sustainability of the staff and resources engaged in implementation and evaluation of area-based programmes. At present, regional authorities' tasks and budgets do not allocate specific measures for their staff to deal

with the project beneficiaries, such as local authorities and local NGOs: “I can see too much centralised thinking in terms of present and future EU structural funds and preparation of our area-based policy structures. There is a limited freedom, and a kind of ‘learning’ approach.” (I9) They were of the view that such arrangements are against the logics of the decentralisation process, which devolved powers to regional authorities to programme and monitor implementation of localised interventions. These respondents also referred to local authorities’ budgeting systems, which, due to annual programming and lack of central government supports for long-term programming, were not able to apply for and co-fund EU projects:

“We would not have strong co-operation developed with local authorities yet because our tasks and budget are limited. The assistance in creation and development of these networks should be one of the key tasks for local and regional authorities.” (I6)

Summarising the issue of the EU stimuli on area-based planning, one-third of respondents (30%) believed that dedicated funding for the regional staff and resourcing would ensure long-term co-operation with the projects’ beneficiaries, proper evaluation of the projects’ outcomes and creation of stronger partnerships across all governance levels.

7.1.4 Emerging new attributes and constraints of the existing evaluation and monitoring approaches in Poland

In addressing the theme of the existing evaluation and monitoring approaches, two distinct areas were identified from the interview responses:

- 1) Quantitative versus qualitative indicators in measurement of integrated development policy concepts;

- 2) Interdependencies between economic, social and spatial dimensions of area-based development.

Table 7.4 demonstrates the major subsidiary themes identified within each key area and the percentage of respondents who referred to the particular theme:

Table 7.4: Key policy themes identified – emerging new attributes and constraints of the existing evaluation and monitoring approaches, Poland

Major themes raised	Percentage of respondents referring to particular theme out of the total number surveyed (N=17)
Measurable, quantitative indicators complemented by the ‘identify of place’ and ‘quality of life’ factors in measurement of area-based programmes	80%
Policy interdependencies between quality of life, level of economic development and spatial issues as the key indicator for successful interventions at the area-based level	30%
Integrated area-based planning by local authorities consistent with the regional authority level.	80%

Quantitative versus qualitative indicators

A majority of interviewees (80%) were of the view that as modern approaches to localised problems underline the need to look at the concept of ‘development’ in an integrated manner, this would require application of evaluation measures, including both qualitative and quantitative indicators by the government structures in charge of the programme monitoring. These respondents argued that due to devolved governance structures and a lack of formal dependencies between regional and local authorities, the indicators used for the assessments of initiatives differed across various authorities. They highlighted that many local employment offices tended to apply ‘gross’ effectiveness indicators. Such an approach concerned the direct output of the

programmes only, rather than the combination of the quantitative results and the ‘net efficiency’ outputs:

“Employment attainment resulting from public works programme is not high but considering social and environmental aspects, such as improvement of the local infrastructure, even though employment would not be gained straightforward, it might impact on a given area in the long-term, in the case of the increase of inward investment. Therefore, from the local authority point of view, public works might be the most effective programme they ever had, as they can save money for social welfare recipients and simultaneously activate those who are the most disadvantaged.” (I7)

They believed that the latter reflected additional factors impacting on both beneficiaries of the programmes and the local area in which the intervention was applied.

Half of the respondents (50%) identified problems relating specifically to the type of indicators used for evaluations of local development programmes under previous pre-accession and more recent structural funds. They believed the indicators tended to be based on two key principles – tangible availability and measurability: “We do not take on board the quality of life measures, because they are hardly measurable, and therefore it would be difficult to apply or further funding based on them.” (I8)

These interviewees were of the view that by applying such principles the statistical effect was achieved, as required by the funders, but it did not reflected other, additional factors, such as political change, which often influenced the overall effectiveness of a given programme in the long-term.

The majority of respondents (80%) stated further that measurable, quantitative indicators could not always be applied to individual attitudes of direct beneficiaries of the programmes, as they might not show any change over longer period of time. They

believed that qualitative measures, such as ‘identity of place’ and ‘quality of life’ could indicate positive or negative perceptions in the longer-term. One-third of respondents (30%) were also of the view that, specifically, social outcomes resulting from area-based interventions, targeted at localised disadvantage, are difficult to measure. They argued that evaluation of these types of initiatives require assessment of both direct, quantitative effects resulting from the programme and other additional factors in a coherent manner.

Interdependencies between economic, social and spatial dimension of area-based development

One-third of interviewees (30%) argued that existing policies did not reflect on interdependencies of quality of life, level of economic development and spatial issues, as one of the key indicators for successful interventions at the area-based level:

“Our local labour approaches are not considered as having potential future benefits on other areas of economic development, such as physical infrastructure. Adversely, local communities are not able to comprehend that the housing refurbishment can positively impact inward investment and local labour market in the long run.” (I4)

The majority of respondents (80%), finally, highlighted the lack of legal instruments for the elaboration of integrated local development strategies by local authorities, consistent with the regional authority policies and including a combination of economic, social and spatial considerations:

“Nobody is considering economic development from the regional point of view. I believe that this is the only approach, as some sectors dominate in one region, while in others not. We would like to have such an instrument, because we have only start-ups in our hands.” (I8)

One-third of respondents (30%) believed that this created spatial and economic inconsistencies when implementing regional programmes.

7.2 Policy themes identified – service providers in Poland

In common with policymakers' views, three main issues were identified by six service providers as key to successful approaches in local economic development:

- 1) Existence of governance structures allowing for horizontal and vertical partnerships;
- 2) Application of coherent, integrated area-based development strategies;
- 3) Existence of local area evaluations systems.

Table 7.5 demonstrates the major subsidiary themes identified within the above areas and the percentage of respondents who referred to the particular theme:

Table 7.5: Key policy themes identified – service providers, Poland

Major themes raised	Percentage of respondents referring to particular theme out of the total number surveyed (N=6)
Functional and institutional consensus based on the partnership approach between various levels of governance structures	50%
Integrated development strategy as opposed to individual 'ad hoc' sectoral policies	80%
Provision of information and training on integrated planning and funding by central and regional authority level	50%
Area-based evaluations of local conditions supported by monitoring at the central government level	80%

Existence of governance structures allowing for horizontal and vertical partnerships

All interviewees (100%) referred to the issue of co-operation between governance structures in the context of overall local development. At the time of the survey, no

formal structural arrangements, such as a coherent developmental programme, comprised of all local stakeholders, were created to formalise co-operation between the city council and other service providers, including local voluntary organisations and employers. They were of the view that any area-based strategy, established for a particular local area, could assist in sustaining the outcomes of local economic development interventions, but only when prepared in partnership with participation of various sections of public services and voluntary organisations.

Half of the respondents (50%) believed that a partnership approach also assists in achieving a functional (in terms of city planning) and institutional (as regard government structures) consensus when applying social, environmental and economic objectives:

“We need other partners to create and protect local environment as the expertise lies in various sections of services. They could become complementary to other local authorities’ functions in various areas, such as transport or economic investments.” [S4]

According to these respondents, sustainability of city planning is conditioned by the involvement of neighbouring local authorities, as this allows for sharing and employing various approaches and experiences.

A majority of interviewees (80%) highlighted that a partnership approach allows for accessing a higher level of funding available from pulling together various resources and more efficient use of this funding through piloting new and innovative initiatives:

“Unemployment strategy depends on other policy areas. If we want to apply for EU funding we need to link various policy programmes such as urban regeneration and partnership. We need to know what other sections of public services want to say.” [S2]

Two respondents argued that partnership between various sections of public services is a prerequisite for achieving a good quality of service delivery and could have a more influential impact, in comparison to tax incentives, on the level of economic investment in the city:

“Our research indicates that economic investors, when assessing potential development location, looked primarily at the effectiveness of public administration, rather than tax incentives available. Incentives are sometimes not so highly valuable in financial terms but time and quality is at prime at present. Lack of co-ordination outside the city council means doubling each agency efforts.” (S6)

Horizontal (co-ordination between various sections of the council) and vertical (co-ordination outside the city council) arrangements were cited by them as important tools for achieving greater coherency in city management and, therefore, better potential for sustaining area economic development.

Application of coherent, integrated area-based development strategy

The majority of service providers interviewed (80%) believed that in the context of existing governance structures local authority should take a leading role in co-ordinating various sectoral programmes at the local level, with the support of community and voluntary organisations. The city council had local development strategy endorsed in 1997. Following the strategy, individual ‘ad hoc’ sectoral policies such as education, employment, local infrastructure and environment were employed, but the entire document has not been updated since. A lack of regional spatial strategy was also believed to be a key constraint in devising developmental approaches for local areas under the area-based strategy: “We have social welfare strategy but the document was not devised in co-operation with the city council and local labour office. We co-operate, but I would say it is more an ‘ad hoc’ partnership.” [S5]

There was high awareness noted by all interviewees (100%) of the necessity of integrated planning, including social, environmental and economic issues:

“We would like to combine urban regeneration programmes targeting post-industrial sites with other EU-supported interventions, such as Leonardo, which focuses on life-long training for the unemployed, but nobody wants to provide us with specific information. There is no co-ordination on such combined programming, either from the city council or regional authorities. I have an idea but I would need professional expertise from other authority sections to be able to implement it.”[S1]

They pointed out, however, that the concept was very limited due to a lack of professional information and training on implementation of the combined programming and funds provided by central and regional governments. According to half of the respondents (50%) these authorities did not promote such integration at the policy level.

Existence of local area evaluation systems

At the time of the research, evaluation tools for measuring the effectiveness of area-based interventions were not formally embedded within the local governance system and supported by regional authorities: “We did the database ourselves but it is not supported formally by the regional authority. I think they do not believe that we are capable of carrying out professional evaluations ourselves.” [S1] This was particularly evident in the case of local labour initiatives, where the need for area-based monitoring was identified, in order to link specific measures for combating unemployment with the education and training sectors.

One-third of service providers interviewed (30%) were of the view that the absence of evaluation systems at the local authority level was due to a lack of formal evaluations being carried out within central and regional governments.

The majority of interviewees (80%) noted the need for systematic monitoring and evaluation of local area conditions. They were of the view that the level of financial support from regional authorities for implementation of area-based interventions was not formally linked to particular local area conditions, such as deprivation levels. This was particularly evident in the case of local labour market programmes for which financial assistance was provided on the basis of statistical calculations, such as the number of residents, distributed equally across various district labour offices: “In the policy context, local labour office is to tackle area-based unemployment, but active forms of interventions are only additional initiatives, on top of our formal activities, which are limited to distribution of unemployment benefits.” [S6] Two respondents argued that such an arrangement limited the level of implementation of innovative, active-type interventions, such as up-skilling, training, evaluation and monitoring, which were supported by European Union measures.

Finally, half of the interviewees (50%) were of the view that area-based development and spatial strategies at the regional level did not consider socio-economic and environmental intra-regional variations across space:

“When the regional authority were creating regional development strategy they asked selected authorities only to provide the level of unemployment. At that time we had the highest level of 28% of unemployment against 7% in the neighbouring Katowice city.”[S1].

This resulted in disparities of developmental levels between various local authorities.

7.3 Policy themes identified – local employers in Poland

Background to the survey

The survey of local employers in Poland was driven primarily by the developing needs of the newly-established employment office, which at the time of the survey, had been operating for one year. One of its urgent tasks was to monitor the process of creation of good conditions for collaboration with local employers in the area of labour demands and their anticipated long-term business plans. It was expected that such an assessment would enhance the quality of local employment services as it would draw on the endogenous knowledge necessary for adaptation of relevant training and retraining programmes in line with the needs of local labour markets. The service had been increasingly struggling with the rapidly changing socio-economic profile of the local area, caused by the pace of the transformation process, involving the closure of major local industries. Hence, based on the practical needs of the area-based services, the intention of this research was to carry out a survey, similar to the one conducted in Dublin, attempting to assess local labour market conditions, which could serve as a potential example for any future investigations, carried by the office within its own requirements and in line with changing needs of the local area.

Survey analysis

Most respondents out of 110 surveyed (93%) represented small and medium enterprises. A majority of informants (69%) had been operating on the labour market for over five years and half of them (50%) were in the services sector.

Linkages with local employment services

Over one-third of informants (36%) were benefiting from local employment services for recruitment purposes. The table below indicates the number of staff employed through the assistance of the local labour office. It shows that over a quarter of employers found at least one employee through the services provided by the local labour office:

Table 7.3.1: Number of staff employed through the assistance of local employment services

No of staff employed through the LLO service	% of companies
1	28%
0	19%
2	14%
3	7%
5	5%
4	2%
8	2%
10	2%
16	2%

Source: Author's analysis

Employers were also asked to rate the level of recruitment from local sources (number of employees recruited from the local area) through the local services' supports. The table below shows that almost half of respondents (48%) employed most of their staff from the local area:

Table 7.3.2: The level of staff recruited from the city of Siemianowice

The level of staff recruited from the local area	Percentage of companies
80-100%	48%
30-80%	16%
0-5%	8%

Source: Author's analysis

Services provided by the local labour office, such as information about the type of labour supply, accounted for 64% of all types of recruitment methods used by these companies. The majority of respondents (81%) had benefited from various services provided by the local labour office in the past.

The most common service used by employers was the provision of information about the available labour supply (64%), but only 9% accounted for delivery of training courses and 3% for accessing of micro-enterprise loans. A number of employers argued that training course offers could be enhanced by the provision of ongoing information, specifically in relation to special needs clients, such as long-term unemployed and disabled (45%). Some other respondents pointed out the need for continuing liaison with local employers in order to improve awareness of the employers' changing needs (25%).

The majority of respondents (94%) assessed co-operation with local employment services as good, due to a variety of reasons: ("skilled, mature staff; meeting the company requirements; easy access and flexible; enabling ongoing access to information; supporting initiatives, specifically for the declining companies; assisting in the recruitment process; economic reasons – covering the costs of training courses; accessibility and prompt responses").

A minority of respondents (25%) argued that local services could enhance the provision of their supports by organisation of more frequent meetings with employers in order to discuss prospective problems arising; for example, from recruitment of long-term unemployed and people with special needs, such as disabilities.

The level of staff retention and additional supports offered during the period of employment

Over half of the respondents (64%) recruited long-term unemployed persons in the past. In almost half of these companies (48%) this type of person recruited retained their employment for over a year. In over a quarter of companies (28%) the rate was even higher over three years.

Over one-third of employers (40%) offered additional vocational training courses during the period of employment. Only a minority (17%) allowed for flexible working arrangements and a combination of various supports, such as flexible hours, further training and subsidised/arranged transport to the workplace (8%).

Those employers who offered further vocational training/retraining opportunities provided them 'in-house' (47%), while a minority (20%) commissioned them outside the company.

Key findings

To summarise, the findings of the local employers' survey indicated the following patterns:

1. The majority of employers who used services in the past and wished to avail of ongoing supports of the labour office, were from small and medium enterprises. Over half of them recruited their staff locally.
2. Most informants (94%) rated the co-operation with services as “good”. The key areas of support expected from those employers were measures targeted at their further development and improvement of the quality of services being provided.
3. Services of the district labour office were considered as one of the key sources of information relating to labour supply (64% of all available sources) and were the most frequent method of recruitment. In addition, the majority of informants (81%) were using different types of services provided by the employment office, such as provision of training and re-training courses, but also information about various local labour interventions.
4. The key barrier for many local employers was the diminishing demand for their services, as most of them were involved in the declining industry sectors. Prospective initiatives suggested identification of labour market nichés that could accommodate future growth.
5. Almost half of the respondents were providing additional vocational training to new employees during employment.
6. Over half of the informants employed long-term unemployed persons in the past, who retained employment for over one year.

7.4 Policy themes identified – participants of the TTA local employment programme in Poland

Background to the survey

A survey of the Tripartite Training Agreements (TTAs) local employment programme targeted 30 participants who completed the programme in 2002 and were contracted into employment at the time of the survey. The examination was based on the responses of 18 survey informants who responded to the questionnaire. The assessment, similar to the Irish case study of selected policy recipients, attempted to measure specifically the level of co-operation and integration between all parties involved in the project's delivery and consequently the extent to which it was essential to determine the programme objectives. The local employment programme, carried out within the framework of TTAs, was one of the first initiatives employed by the District Labour Office. TTAs were introduced on the basis of the Department of Labour and Social Policy Regulation, under which employment offices facilitated training courses for the unemployed, agreed between the local authority, employers and the training agency.³² One of the programme requirements under such agreement was that the local employment office would cover costs of the training for those participants who were offered a job after the course completion, and retained it for at least one year.

Survey analysis

The majority of respondents out of the 18 surveyed (68%) were male adults under 35 years of age. Most of the informants (83%) had primary or secondary vocational education only.

³² Ministry of Labour and Social Policy Regulation of 9.02.2000 r. (Parliament Acts Diary No 12, section 146)

The level of immediate supports gained through the programme

For almost half of respondents (48%) the key rationale for participating in the programme was to find a job and/or gain new skills and enhance their qualification levels. For the majority of informants (94%) the programme met their expectations in finding a job and/or enhancing their qualification levels.

The key support gained through the programme was the practical assistance in finding new employment (69% respondents). The majority of respondents (87%) revealed that the programme supported their awareness about gaining new or enhancing existing qualification levels. For over one-third of informants (40%) the significant outcome of the programme was not finding a job but, more importantly, gaining new qualifications.

Most informants agreed that the programme provided was useful (95%), as it enabled them to find a job or a better job (59% respondents). The majority of respondents (83%) pointed out the importance of practical work experience in the workplace. Over half of the informants (56%) highlighted skills learnt through the programme and that those skills are being applied in new positions. Over a quarter of participants (28%) pointed out that the programme enabled them to gain additional qualifications. Other comments included the opportunity of exchanging information with other participants (almost 50%) and that intervention changed their life's situation (35%).

Weaknesses of the programme

For almost a quarter of respondents (28%) the costs of transport to the training place was an issue. Over one-third (36%) of informants highlighted the need for better monitoring of the intervention during its implementation in order to identify and

alleviate its weaknesses, such as, for example, poor course contents (too theoretical and needed to be up-dated – 50% of respondents) and the location of the training, which brought additional costs to participants (20% of informants).

Outcomes of the programme

Respondents were asked to describe their life situation if they had not participated in the programme. Most of the respondents were unemployed for less than 5 years (89%) prior to the start of the programme. The majority of them (83%) worked during their lifetime and most of the respondents held full-time positions (86%). Only a minority (17%) of informants had never worked before they participated in the programme.

The majority of respondents (94%) felt they would still be unemployed or unable to search for a job. Most of the respondents (87%) found a full-time job after the programme completion in their local area or in close proximity. Only a minority of respondents (14%) were recruited on a part-time basis.

Over one-third of respondents (36%) found a position they were trained for and that met their expectations. Over a quarter of informants (27%) pointed out that the job they were placed with did not meet their expectations due to financial reasons (low paid job –57%).

Key findings

To summarise, the findings of the programme beneficiaries' survey identified the following patterns:

1. For over half of the respondents participation in the programme assisted in finding a job, but, more importantly, in gaining additional vocational skills and enhancing qualification levels.
2. Most of the informants revealed they would be still unemployed if they had not participated in the programme.
3. The majority of respondents found a full-time job after the programme completion; however, less than half of them (36%) were placed in positions they were trained for and which met their expectations.
4. Most beneficiaries of the programme found a job in their place of living or nearby.
5. Many informants highlighted that the training could be enhanced by better monitoring of the programme during its implementation through, for example, ongoing evaluation of the course; enhancing the scope of the course content (specifically IT training); updating of information being provided, particularly in relation to training regarding the use of new technologies; and better localisation of the training centre to alleviate transportation problems.

7.5 Identified policy themes – local residents in Poland

Background to the survey

Similar to the Irish case study, in order to evaluate the interaction between spatial, economic and social renewal of area-based development it was necessary to gain responses from communities experiencing problems in their living environments. The physical context of area-based development in the city of Siemianowice followed interviews with local service providers and has been examined through the field work.

The examination was carried out on the basis of a selected area-based intervention called ‘social and ecological regeneration workshops’, as it featured a locally-based innovative approach to solving developmental and social integration problems. The prime idea of the intervention was to create conditions for creative development of the youth in the city, which was experiencing deep restructuring of the local industry, resulting in escalating levels of unemployment. The workshops were based on the volunteer work of multigenerational community residents of neglected streets and targeted at creating street gardens and playgrounds as a way of protecting or shaping the natural and built environment. The project aims were twofold: on one side it aimed at creating conditions for better involvement of the most disadvantaged communities in shaping their living environments through changing social and pro-ecological attitudes, strengthening ties between families and neighbours. On the other side it focused on facilitating collaboration between residents, NGOs, local schools and authorities. Overall, the intervention represented a multidisciplinary approach to solving developmental problems of cities experiencing industrial decline based on:

1. Holistic approach – linking environmental issues with creation of social ties and local communities’ development (workshops are extended beyond the initiative throughout the year through cyclical meetings about ecological issues with families and children from disadvantaged neighbourhoods participating in the intervention);
2. Co-operation between various local and regional institutions working in the area of environmental protection, education and culture;
3. Integrating ecology with human development through creation of ties with the natural environment among various age groups;

4. Personal communication in small, selected groups, as well as society as a whole, facilitates and enhances learning of co-operation;
5. Revitalised approach to the most disadvantaged and ghettoised urban districts, aimed at social inclusion within the city development process.

The survey targeted 49 residents of three designated, disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods involved in the workshops.

Survey results

The majority of respondents, out of 41 who responded to the survey, were mature adults between 40 and 65 years of age (54%) with children between 5 and 15+ years of age. Two-third of respondents were aged 25-40 (30%). Only a minority of informants (18%) were young adults – between 18 and 25 and elderly (17.6%). Over half of the respondents (53%) were well-established residents living in the neighbourhood over 11 years. It could be argued, therefore, that they may be the target group in future developmental initiatives concerning area regeneration.

All the households surveyed (100%) were beneficiaries of local social welfare services, the majority were unemployed (86%) and only a small number of respondents were working (13%). Over 70% of informants were without a job in the long-term – more than a year – and almost half of those unemployed were not working for over 11 years.

Recent issues relating to participants' local area

Residents were asked whether they had recently talked about any issues pertaining to their local area. Over half of them (55%) pondered local issues relating to quality of life

in their living environments. Almost 40% of informants wished improvement of the housing stock and tackling social problems such as unemployment.

A quarter of respondents (25%) referred specifically to the outcomes of ecological workshops (physical improvement of the rundown local areas) and the need to retain this improvement in the long-term. Other issues related to the neighbourhood's safety (19%) and lack of activities for children and youth (13%).

A majority of residents (80%) talked recently about their living environments with neighbours, family and friends. Only 17% of respondents contacted housing administration ("I keep writing to them, but they don't do reply").

Wider issues pertaining to participants' quality of life

The majority of respondents (88%) indicated bad housing conditions and environments, including lack of activities for youth and safe playgrounds for children (75%). Most of them highlighted high unemployment levels (81%) and lack of support for addicted persons (60%) and the elderly (62%). Over half of informants (53%) referred to lack of locally-based institutions that could support the unemployed.

Future living environments of the local area

Respondents were asked to describe their neighbourhood in ten years' time. Most of the informants described it in a positive light. Over a quarter (28%) believed that conditions of the housing stock will be improved; another quarter could see open space being used for well-managed, green areas. Other projections included refurbishment of the local yards (15%). Only a minority of respondents (4%) believed that there will be no unemployment and that the neighbourhood will remain deprived.

Future initiatives relating to improvement of participants' local area

The findings of the survey indicated that over half of the informants (56%) would be willing to participate in future initiatives relating to improvement of their local areas and had ideas about local measures that could be implemented.

The majority of informants (83%) wished future local initiatives to be initiated in the area in which they lived. Most of them (90%) would like local measures to target improvement of the housing stock and their environments. A majority (70%) wished for supports to target youth and the elderly. Many of them (66%) wanted to improve the rundown appearance of the local yards, through creating green areas and managing residential space and the surrounding traffic more efficiently. Some other ideas included: construction of playgrounds for children, limiting access of cars to residential areas and ensuring better safety at a night time.

Over half of the informants (59%) indicated the need for setting up a local neighbourhood council/forum and the organisation of long-term activities for youth. Over one-third of respondents (40%) wished to have a local development centre established, with direct supports for the unemployed and socially excluded.

The level of awareness about local services

Residents were asked to list local organisations/institutions they are aware of. A majority indicated the local labour office (88%) and social welfare office (85%). Over one-third of informants (40%) were also aware of the existence of the local NGO 'Friends Supports', initiated by the staff of the local labour office and providing services in the area of labour market supports.

The majority of informants have maintained regular contact with the local welfare office (70%) and local labour office (60%). Only a minority (5%) were using other local services' supports – the Jobs Club (led by the local labour office) and Social Supports Club (led by the social welfare office) – which aimed at addressing the issue of long-term unemployed.

level of awareness about local authority functions

Residents were asked whether they are aware of the functions of the local authority and what issues they believe the authority should take on in order to improve living conditions in the existing local areas. Over half of the respondents (55%) were not clear about the functions of the local authority. Only a minority (3%) indicated that they contacted the local council in order to deliberate on local area problems.

Over one-third of informants (40%) indicated the need to tackle unemployment levels and almost a quarter (20%) believed local authority should take on actions targeting primarily children and youth, including after-school activities such as creating a local youth and sports club. A quarter of respondents (25%) referred to safety issues and establishing community wardens. Other priorities highlighted by informants were: the need for improvement of the housing stock (18%) and its environments, assisting people with disabilities, tackling homelessness, and ensuring safety (8%).

Key findings

To summarise, the following patterns were identified on the basis of the survey findings:

1. Residents were from three neighbourhoods that were well-established communities in the local areas participating in the survey; most of them featured high levels of social and environmental deprivation (high unemployment levels, majority were recipients of the social welfare and local labour office supports; living in declining, post-industrial housing stocks); most were willing to participate in future initiatives, therefore could become target groups of prospective urban regeneration measures;
2. Over half of the respondents had children under 18 years of age and indicated the need for future measures to target this age cohort;
3. Most respondents wished their local areas to be targeted with environmental measures, relating in particular to the quality of the housing stock but also improvement of the living environments and developing further projects initiated by the ecological workshops;
4. Most residents were not aware of potential benefits of involvement in community projects targeted primarily at improvement of their living environments. They could further assist in other socio-economic problems, such as unemployment, through, for example, social economy projects;
5. The majority of informants believed their areas could be improved in the near future, as the outcomes of the initial measures, such as ecological projects, were emerging and were visible;
6. Over half of the respondents were not aware of the extent of the functions of local authority. They argued that the most urgent measure to be employed by relevant authorities would be assistance in alleviation of high unemployment levels, improvement of the residents' quality of life – primarily children and youth – and the provision of safety measures.

7.6 Conclusions

In Poland, similar to the Irish case study, fragmentation of area-based structures and the quality of horizontal and vertical policy linkages between regional and local levels were argued by majority of policy and service providers' cohorts to be key factors impacting on the delivery of successful local interventions.

Specifically policy makers indicated fragmentation of the governance structures as being attributable to the regional level, where various policy areas have been implemented by different regional tiers operating in each region, without legal instruments to allow regional government co-ordinating of all area-based institutions, involved in delivery of local interventions. In addition, independence of regional authorities from central administration limited flexibility in the management of public funds, as no central co-ordination was established in terms of distribution of funding between regions, especially in the context of emerging regional disparities resulting from the economic transition.

They were of the view that regionalisation of area-based policies created so called 'dual governance structures', whereby the design of regional measures was devolved to the regional government, but evaluation was left with the central administration. Such an arrangement prevented regional authorities from appropriate monitoring of local initiatives during implementation phase and consequently ensuring their quality. It also impacted on the low level of the partnership with central government at the regional level and implementation of regional policies locally.

Both policy makers and service providers pointed specifically a lack of formal linkages between central, regional and local levels as regard implementation of regional and local strategies. In the context of urban areas, they indicated the need for the transformation of horizontal structures in order to unify approaches proposed by various central departments and to enable local authorities to implement more coherent policies at the local levels.

Service providers, similarly to their Irish counterparts, indicated the need for having one local agency at the local level responsible for area-based planning and implementation with community organisations and local employers' involvement. This was specifically pertinent to local employers' needs who noted to a high extent the necessity for area-based approaches in supporting further development of their services and ensuring that all other local services, such as training and re-training measures are well promoted among and available to them.

In contrast to Irish approaches, Polish informants representing mainly policy making and service providers' cohort identified, to a very high extent, a lack of partnership arrangements, formal structures and financial tools supporting integrated approaches to localised disadvantage, particularly linking social policy issues with economic and built environment. Service providers argued that a partnership approach assists in achieving a functional and institutional consensus when applying socio-economic and environmental objectives. They specifically indicated existing budgetary arrangements, which separate resources for different policy areas and annual local budgets as opposed to long-term planning, as limitations to integrated approach in Poland. They felt that due to the limited funding, devolved from central government to lower levels of governance,

local authorities were not able to elaborate innovative policy approaches to area-based planning.

Similarly to their Irish counterparts, Polish informants were of the view that external stimuli, such as EU policies, would only have a positive impact on local areas once regional authorities are strengthened through additional funding allocated for the staff resources engaged in implementation and evaluation of local programmes. This could assist in creating long-term collaboration with EU programmes' recipients, such as local community/voluntary organisations and employers.

The absence of coherent governance structures has been explained by the process of the devolution of powers to regional and local levels, which according to majority of research respondents occurred too early, as the structures at these levels did not develop the functions required for successful management of integrated programmes, targeted at specific groups and areas. This concerned, in particular, flexibility and public accountability in policy management, financing of local programmes, the existence of partnership structures and their readiness in driving local policy change. Specifically service providers were also of the view that local authorities have been increasingly involved in delivery of area-based interventions, devolved from central government without appropriate financial base.

Policy makers and service providers also highlighted the need to design future local integrated strategies with the support of national frameworks, devising legal tools and instruments for their implementation. Consequently, they believe that greater focus of current policies has been put on short - term and single-sector economic priorities,

which tends to lose a wider vision of entire city development, including linkages with community needs, non-government organisations, local employers and recognition of diversification of the target groups and localised disadvantage.

Interestingly, Polish policy makers recognised very strongly endogenous factors, such as the existence of local networks in a given area, and the need for their involvement in co-ordination of actions at an area-based level, as equally important to exogenous measures to local economic development and critical in ensuring the quality and sustainability of the local governance system. Therefore, they believe that complementary policies which link endogenous with exogenous measures should be applied to assist area-based development in the long-term.

Similar to its Irish counterpart, existence of formal evaluation systems at the local levels, including both quantitative and qualitative factors, such as specific features of the local area and policy recipients' perceptions were seen by policy makers and service providers as key for ensuring coherency of the assessments of initiatives across various local authorities.

They were also of the view that such area-based approach to programme's evaluation ensures policy recognition of socio-economic and environmental variations across space and the ongoing needs of various policy recipients, such as the unemployed and local endogenous industries. Local residents, for example, indicated to a high extent the necessity for area-based agencies in assisting in alleviation of unemployment and improvement of local residents' living environment. Service providers indicated specifically the requirement for linking specific measures for combating unemployment

with the education and training measures. Such approach was supported to a high extent by the views of selected programme's recipients who identified up-skilling and further training as more sustainable measures in comparison to standalone initiatives assisting in finding employment.

The outline of critical policy issues in the implementation of area-based programmes in both case study areas forms the basis for the final chapter presenting recommended policy directions. The chapter will draw on the findings of the entire process of this inquiry based on theoretical, methodology, implementation and evaluation stages of the investigation.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this research was to evaluate the role, structures and policy outcomes of local economic approaches in the Dublin and Upper Silesia urban regions, over the period of 1992-2002, and to examine the impact of European policies and agendas on best practices for sustainable development in the selected urban localities.

In achieving the aim of the research a number of objectives were set. They included a theoretical examination of the concept of local economic development, emerging approaches to innovative policy measures, the genesis of area-based interventions in the selected case study areas and the influence of external policy stimuli. The core part of this investigation involved analysis of the effectiveness of the structures employed in both case study areas in pursuance of area-based interventions. The research also addresses the performance of selected urban programmes in Dublin and Upper Silesia, including the assessment of critical issues in their delivery and their contribution to local sustainable development.

This research involved the use of quantitative and qualitative methods in analysing the process by which local economic development is facilitated and achieved from a comparative international perspective. The enhanced quality of the research sought to encompass a diverse range of analytical methods and techniques, adding to a policy significance and depth to the research findings.

The theoretical examination of the existing and previous policy approaches in both Ireland and Poland constituted the basis for the formative part of the investigation. The research findings are presented for each of the core themes identified in the study deriving from both countries, and recommendations for future policy and further research are suggested based on a comparative perspective to determine prospective policy directions.

8.2 Research findings

The assessment of previous policy approaches in the selected urban areas in Ireland and Poland identifies a number of policy challenges. This is especially relevant considering the socio-economic changes that occurred in both countries over the last two decades, and more specifically the current economic downturn of European and international economies. This includes improvement of *metropolitan governance* and local economic development policies through a far reaching *integration of existing area-based structures* and approaches tied into regional and national governance processes. In addition, previous evaluations indicate that such policies should be complemented with *mainstream funding and be dedicated to comprehensive urban policy and planning*.

This research provides the contribution to the general understanding of local urban development policies and strategies by demonstrating the relevance of alternative approaches to economic development presented in Chapter 2 of the thesis. It specifically argues that Ellerman's learning and motivating models can only be successful when effective area-based initiatives are scaled up for creation of further linkages to fostering learning process by all stakeholder groups involved in the process, including development of relevant governance structures at the central level and mobilising and

supporting local energies at the local levels. Four distinct policy areas are identified by this research:

- **rationalisation of the governance structures;**
- **the need for an urban regional strategy;**
- **networking between various policy actors and service providers;**
- **spatial governance considerations.**

Rationalisation of the governance structures

The analysis of contemporary policy approaches involving area-based initiatives shows that increased effectiveness of the administrative structures is needed for decentralised models in policy management. This could be achieved through formal policy determination on how new responsibilities would be assumed and managed in terms of division of powers and resources, including the scale and extent of their legitimacy.

In Ireland, *rationalisation of the governance structures* was identified by this research as the key indicator for successful local economic policies in urban settings. This included the roles and responsibilities of administrative agencies, both at central government, regional/city-wide and local levels, which would control the direction of public spending in the long term and increase policy accountability in the short-to-medium term.

Research informants in Ireland revealed a high awareness of the existing area-based services, but little involvement in the design, delivery and monitoring of area-based interventions pertaining to them. The perceived view within the wider issue of local development was that the area-based services tended to be fragmented and

uncoordinated. This resulted in their local area often being unaware of emerging opportunities, available through the government initiatives, beyond the boundaries of the local area.

In Poland, distinct policy areas have evolved to facilitate local economic development in an urban setting. These include the formalisation of decentralised mechanisms stimulating area-based development, devolution of funding to lower levels in charge of this process and the integration of financial and management issues under public-private partnerships. Policy evolution has included mechanisms involving local communities into the process of management, implementation and co-financing of local actions and strategic planning to allow local authorities to become recipients of external co-financing.

The key policy issue identified by the research based on the Polish case study is the absence of dedicated, professional structures and tools dealing with integrated interventions at the local level. This was viewed as caused by the fragmentation of an area-based governance system and the previous duality of these structures at the regional level, responsible for the programme design and monitoring.

The idea behind the devolution of powers to regional governments aimed to ensure better management of public and European programmes; however, the development of dual structures at the regional level created contradictory interests between the policy design, implementation and monitoring. This subsequently impacted on the low level of partnership arrangements between central government and the regional level. In turn, such an approach reduced the success of attempts to unify multidisciplinary

programmes and support multi-agency networks in implementing interventions at the local levels, and therefore influenced successful implementation of regional strategies and local policies.

The research argues that the need for rationalisation of the governance structures is also dictated by the requirement of compliance with external policy stimuli, such as European Union measures, which are viewed as significant tools in enhancing internal capacities and policy readiness. The sustainability of area-based interventions, supported by the EU, is believed to be achievable only in conjunction with national policies targeted at further development of existing area-based structures. This would assist in the creation of long-term spin-off effects into local economies.

This research also shows that the absence of transparent and coherent area-based structures also reduced the systematic transfer of innovative area-based interventions, piloted by local agencies, into the mainstream of public policy. The failure to transfer is believed to occur mainly due to the discontinuation of actions at the end of the funding cycle, therefore resulting in the creation of a purely funding-driven culture among service providers.

The need for an urban regional strategy

The research further highlights that although no single model was identified for successful local area interventions, specific policy considerations are apparent which do improve existing developments. It is believed, however, that locally-based initiatives alone can overcome structural difficulties only if applied within a comprehensive and

integrated strategy with planning on a city-wide or regional level due to the existence of multi-sectoral policy linkages at that level.

This research argues that Dublin's functional integration mechanism should be complemented by its enhanced regionalisation policies, which could be achieved through the application of an *urban regional strategy* as an important factor for local economic development and a tool for tackling area-based disadvantage. Such an approach would also allow for sectoral policy linkages, integrating physical issues with a socio-economic dimension.

In Poland, policy recipients were involved in the implementation of area-based projects targeted primarily at improvement of their living environments. However, they were not aware of the benefits of such involvement in terms of gaining additional supports in tackling other socio-economic problems, such as unemployment through, for example, social economy projects. The research asserts that application of integrated approaches and partnership arrangements, facilitated between the local policymakers and service providers, could increase community awareness about the extent and service delivery functions of local authorities.

Networking between various policy actors and service providers

In Ireland, examination of the selected area-based programme revealed additional factors in comparison to traditional quantitative indicators, such as the level of employment placements, which impacted on the effectiveness of the policy measures applied. These were the *quality of linkages with service providers and local employers* during the design and implementation of given area-based interventions.

The research identified the lack of formal and structured networking between various policy actors and service providers, specifically as regards *data management systems*, due to the fragmentation of local governance structures. This impacted on the level of communication between local agencies, the quality and pace of the information flow, and consequently the efficiency of monitoring systems employed to measure the effectiveness of area-based interventions.

Also highlighted was the level of follow-up assistance provided by services to programme recipients after the programme completion and additional ‘after-care’ supports being provided or facilitated mutually by both service providers and local employers during the placement. These included affordable childcare, flexible working arrangements and further training. Local industries revealed that as the labour market changes over time, area-based initiatives complement other public and private sector interventions in meeting companies’ needs.

One of the critical issues identified by the research was the limited level of *policy linkages developed by service providers with local endogenous industries*. This consequently impacted on the limited knowledge of employers regarding area-based structures, type of programmes delivered and ‘after-care’ supports, which are increasingly advocated as important factors in achieving employment sustainability.

In Poland, the issue of co-operation between governance structures in the context of overall local development was identified as a key indicator in measuring the effectiveness of area-based interventions. This issue was seen as important, specifically in terms of ensuring partnership arrangements, which could further assist in achieving a

functional (concerning city planning) *and institutional* (as regard government structures) consensus when applying social, environmental and economic objectives.

Such an approach would also allow for accessing a higher level of funding available from bringing together various resources and consequently a more efficient use of this funding through piloting new initiatives. In the Polish context, *horizontal* (co-ordination between various sections of the local council) *and vertical arrangements* (co-ordination outside the city council) were seen as important tools for achieving greater coherency in the city management and, therefore, better potential for sustaining area economic development. It is believed that in the context of existing governance structures, the local authority should take a leading role in the co-ordination of various sectoral programmes at the local level, with the support of community and voluntary organisations.

Spatial governance considerations

The research identifies *spatial governance considerations at both local and regional levels*, as increasingly important policy issues for European Regions such as Dublin and Silesia.

In Ireland this concern reflects a policy trade-off between targeting specific areas and groups in need and overall local economic development. The conflict is believed to result from a top-down policy approach to area-designation, which localised development initiatives within the borders of designated areas but neglected other locations within the context of the entire Dublin Region. Such an approach is also argued to have been applied without consideration of wider developmental factors,

including the local areas' natural growth, identity and socio-economic change over the period of policy intervention, as well as the need for convergence between existing area-based structures and the central administration's functional boundaries.

Although this issue was not given the same importance in the Polish case study, it was the view of research informants that area-based development and spatial strategies in Poland do not consider socio-economic and environmental intra-regional variations across space. For example, the level of financial supports from regional authorities provided for implementation of area-based interventions was not formally linked to particular local area conditions, such as deprivation levels. It is believed that this occurred due to the lack of evaluation tools measuring effectiveness of area-based interventions, formally embedded within the local governance system and supported by regional authorities. It is also argued that such arrangement limited the level of implementation of innovative and active types of intervention such as up-skilling and training.

8.3 Policy recommendations

This research indicated a number of recommendations in response to the policy issues identified. They include the following areas for policy improvement:

- **application of policy sanction mechanism;**
- **focus on development of local endogenous resources and sustainable economic strategy;**
- **the enhancement of co-operation and integration of local services;**
- **area designation and geographical deprivation.**

Application of policy sanction mechanism

The research advocates the need for a *policy sanction mechanism* as regards the roles and responsibilities of area-based structures and their interplay with the local and central government system. It argues that such mechanism should be embedded into the public management system in order to ensure the integration of common approaches among various locally-based agencies and to assist fulfilment of their policy commitments.

This research recommends that, in Ireland, future viability of local structures may depend on their ability to integrate existing city and county level arrangements for planning and local economic development. In such a scenario, existing locally-based agencies could be managed by a local development section within city/county councils, rather than the central government agency as is the case at present. This approach would require a far-reaching policy reform of the existing local government legislation at central government level, particularly with regard to local taxation and the level of sectoral responsibilities of the local authority system.

The research also indicates that strong linkages between local spending decisions and locally-raised taxation are believed to strengthen the democratic process, enhance accountability on the part of local representatives and provide a stronger input from citizens to local government. At the same time, establishing a central co-ordinating group for the city and county development boards is needed to allow for creation of better synergies between local implementation and national policies. Such an approach is believed to assist in establishing integrated strategies and generating additional funding, devolved from different agencies, in order to support area-based development in the long-term.

Based on the Polish case study, this research argues that the challenges regarding institutionalisation of integrated policy approaches emerged due to the absence of *policy sanction over the functions, transparency and coherency of the proposed structures* during and after the economic transformation process. This impacted on area development policies, including measures co-funded by external stimuli, which became short-term and focused on a single-sector effect.

It is believed there has been no policy recognition of the diversity of target groups and localised disadvantage, which are considered to be critical factors for achieving sustainability of economic growth. Present area-based policies seem to be focused on economic priorities, which tend to lose a wider vision of the entire city development, including the linkages with community needs.

The proposed models for future policies include the need for *transformation of horizontal structures* at the central level, in order to unify approaches and budgets proposed by different central departments and to enable local authorities to implement coherent policies at the local levels. Such an approach would allow for the creation of sectoral strategies linked to wider area development objectives, assisted by the national frameworks of supporting legislation.

Focus on development of local endogenous resources and sustainable economic strategy

The theoretical concepts of modern urban development policy examined advocate adoption of policy measures that achieve greater sustainability in development, based on the relevance of a *local endogenous dimension* in pursuing urban interventions.

The regions of Ireland have experienced imbalanced socio-economic growth over the last 15 years and, particularly given the more recent global economic crisis, the process of a gradual 'moving up' the value chain, training/re-training and education measures are becoming key future policy issues. The importance of up-skilling in fostering local development and combination of bottom-up and top-down approaches within various policy sectors and across different actors and governance levels is of crucial importance.

This research advocates that in Ireland these measures should specifically involve *local endogenous industries*, with a more enhanced area-based *co-operation regarding local employers' needs*. This should be complementary to direct foreign investments facilitated at the national level. In Poland, local employers have availed of area-based programmes and see them as complementing other support measures being provided. They identified *development of further linkages with service providers* as critical in meeting their company needs and improving the quality of services being provided. This issue was seen as significant for future initiatives believed to assist in identification of labour market nichés that could accommodate the needs of companies facing industrial change.

The research specifically highlights employment sustainability as a vital factor in achieving positive outcomes in local economic development and regional competitiveness. The idea behind this concept is the belief that funds targeted at prevention measures, such as improvement of educational attainment and up-skilling interventions, are a more effective measure in tackling local area disadvantage than direct interventions for people after they become unemployed.

It is advocated, therefore, that building linkages with local endogenous industries must be enhanced and this must be increasingly facilitated by service providers as a central element of any local action plan. This measure has been specifically promoted due to recent changing labour market patterns in Ireland, where access to adequate social infrastructure, such as affordable childcare, and the quality of public transport are becoming increasingly important in sustaining employability, specifically as regards vulnerable communities.

The proposed measures advocated include setting up more *flexible area-based structures*, providing ‘after-care’ service available from both service providers and employers. It is believed that service delivery should not terminate with successful placement but offer ongoing ‘after-care’ supports, shared between local employers and service providers.

New approaches could also involve more ‘work experience’ type of interventions, ensuring tailor-made contacts, liaison with employers and negotiation in relation to ‘in-house training’, specifically in relation to vulnerable clients. These should also be complementary to other related services, such as health and community development programmes. It is also suggested that linkages with the recipients of the given initiative could be retained through the monitoring of the intervention during its implementation. This would allow for a better adjustment of the programme in line with participants’ needs and contribute positively to a final outcome arising from the programme.

This research also indicates that local employers need to be more actively involved in local projects in order to allow for better matching of services with the company needs

within a specified time-frame. Such involvement is seen as a mutual issue, providing benefits for employers and local communities. The success of such mutual co-operation would rely on challenging local services' management values, from being socially oriented to involving more commercial, business-like approaches when dealing with the business sector.

It is recommended that future policy approaches should include *area-based monitoring systems*, facilitated by the service providers, concerning labour recruitment requirements. This would provide measurement of additional long-term effects impacting on the effectiveness of the given initiative, such as gaining additional vocational skills and enhancing qualification levels, as well as individual clients' needs and experiences and the level and reasons of 'drop-outs' from employment.

Such an approach is believed necessary due to the variety of the schemes being provided for different types of clients and addresses issues such as affordable childcare, further up-skilling and training. Such approaches would allow for adjusting area-based interventions in line with changing labour market demands and consequently addressing the needs of both local industries and variety of service recipients.

The research highlights the fact that the success of local economic intervention is also dependant on other indicators, such as progression levels to self-employment, further education, and learning new skills. This is due to the belief that the initiative must be supported in the form of additional measures, such as practical work experience modules, micro-enterprise assistance, training or educational incentives.

The research also argues that policies aimed at city-region competitiveness would need a *sustainable economic strategy*, including creation of policy linkages between labour demand and supply, job retention, up-skilling, and simultaneous social investments for the most vulnerable on the labour market. It is recommended that such an approach could be achieved through the combination of employment schemes, targeted at the most disadvantaged groups with the support of in-company training and education programmes. This would also include the creation of partnerships with local employers in order to ensure a more flexible policy response to increasingly changing labour supply and demand patterns.

Similar to the Irish experience, the Polish case study identified a need to look at future policies in an integrated manner with a focus on the issue of 'development.' There has been a growing demand for the improvement of a local governance system as the key factor in achieving better outcomes in terms of employment, social cohesion and sustainable development. Polish interest groups identified very strongly the role of endogenous factors, such as existence of local networks in a given area, as equally important to exogenous measures in ensuring quality and sustainability of the local governance system.

The research argues that these approaches should be complemented through additional supports to the regional authority level, as it is believed the EU policies would only have a positive impact if these authorities are strengthened through additional funding. The funding should be allocated for continuity of the staff and resources engaged in implementation and evaluation of area-based programmes.

In both countries, building strategic partnerships and engaging with the private sector at the local level, such as the Local Business Network in Dublin, was identified as a key vehicle in boosting innovative area-based approaches in local economic development. This is believed to be critical at the downturn of European economies, when up-skilling and further training of both local business sector and specific target groups could facilitate longer-term developments and respond to the policy needs for new special funding vehicles, which could compensate for constraints on public funding in the post-recessionary era in European urban areas.

The enhancement of co-operation and integration of local services

In Ireland, the enhancement of co-operation and integration of local services was seen as potentially assisted through setting up *a single area-based development agency* at the local level, which would allow for availing of the complete service in one locality. It was also believed that such arrangement would allow for the provision of funding from various mainstream organisations as opposed to the existing fragmented area-based structures, and assist in ensuring that local needs are recognised and addressed on an ongoing basis.

Research informants at the service delivery level were, however, very sceptical about policymakers views on whether such agency should be embedded within the local authority system or remain under existing partnership arrangements. This was due to uncertainty regarding the management and skill capacities of local authority staff, specifically as regards social and economic interventions, which were provided traditionally by the partnership companies and gained positive recognition at the European level.

Other proposals included the introduction of a *more definite system of quality management standards between agencies* involved in service delivery through mainstreaming of funds from different stakeholder's organisations, as opposed to existing fragmentation of structures and budgets.

Area designation and geographical deprivation

The research provides an insight into alternative proposals which advocate that in order to validate an area-based approach and respond to challenges of an urban society, policy should deal with the notion of overall local development, rather than directing its initiatives at selected areas, such as local area partnerships. In Ireland, research informants argued that existing functional boundaries of area-based structures should be convergent with the existing local authority and central administration's system. Such an approach would assist in responding to existing policy challenges regarding the lack of local data sources, due to fragmentation of area-based agencies and their functional boundaries.

The research also asserts that the issue of *area designation* is an important factor in the assessment of area-based programmes' outcomes. In this context it is believed that in order to enhance overall local development the delivery of all client-focused services is needed, regardless of the service recipients' place of residence and their social status, as opposed to existing policy approaches, where the target groups were defined on the basis of designated, geographical areas and statistically pre-defined parameters relating to deprivation levels.

Apart from policy recommendations this research identifies a number of areas pertaining to the content and quality of programmes being implemented, which are pertinent for successful progression of prospective programmes' recipients:

- the importance of assisting participants in development of the skills necessary for further progression (for example to self-employment, full-time position or further education). In this context, additional, *complementary supports*, for example in the form of micro-enterprise assistance, training and educational incentives should be provided together with the standard initiative aimed at helping in finding employment;
- the necessity for including the work experience module and *provision of 'after-care' supports* after the project's completion. This potentially could assist in identification of participants' further needs and labour market requirements when seeking employment;
- the need for more flexibility, *additional supports*, for example in the form of literacy and computer training, devoted to *vulnerable participants*;
- the general requirement for *ongoing monitoring* of the initiative during its implementation as to ensure good quality of the programme.

8.4 Further research

Drawing on the theory and practice, a number of policy issues identified by this research would require further investigation in order to respond to challenges of local economic development in European urban areas in the post-recessionary era and going forward.

The analysis should, in particular, involve examination of structural arrangements at horizontal and vertical levels of governance at the peak of the economic cycle and in a market downturn, including examination of the likely impacts of various administrative systems, such as centralised approaches in Ireland versus regionalised administration in Poland, on the quality of intra-public sector governance.

New programming frameworks for the period of 2007-2013 in Poland introduced policy changes as regard the duality of the structures at the regional level. The role of the *Voivod* (Regional) office in area-based monitoring has been limited to an advisory role, allowing local authorities to implement regional programmes in a more coordinated manner.

It will be necessary, therefore, to examine by further research how these new regional arrangements impact the relations between and with other actors involved in the local policy delivery. This would include examination of the level of the strategic partnerships between local municipalities, local employers, non-governmental sector and policy recipients, and whether these new frameworks could respond to wider urban policy issues identified by this investigation, such as the need for more coherent policy planning at the national level regarding regional and spatial development.

The definition of *geographical deprivation* would need to be examined in both countries, compared with overall local development process and emerging socio-economic patterns, considering the existing combination of deprivation pockets and affluence in most areas of the Dublin and Silesia Regions. This could allow for an in-depth analysis of the local outcomes arising from policy interventions and capturing non-measurable and intangible areas, such as community networks, individual features of a local area and experiences of the target groups.

In Ireland, area-based approaches delivered by the partnership companies are currently undergoing a transition under the cohesion process, described in Chapter 3 of this research. Therefore, it would be important for further research to examine whether the applied new measures meet their objectives and to what extent they are coherent within the wider policy issues identified by this research, including transformation of the local authority system and the need for an urban regional strategy.

Such examination should be linked with an in-depth analysis of the existing approaches to financial control on local budgets, specifically with regard to funding allocations to local authorities from the Local Government Fund, review of funding priorities in achieving positive outcomes in socio-economic development in urban areas, and resource implications for all stakeholders with the potential introduction of the locally-based tax. Following this, a regional dimension of area-based structures and their services to the targeted area should be examined in terms of co-ordination and implementation of local policies that can be delivered at both local and regional levels.

8.5 Impact of the research to date

In addition to this thesis two reports came out of the research – the Survey of Local Employers and Social and Environmental Revitalisation in the city of Siemianowice Śląskie in Poland. The earlier aimed at assessing the level of employment services provided to employers and was later used by the local labour office in the city of Siemianowice for the design and adaptation of relevant training and retraining programmes. The report serves also as an example for any future surveys to be carried out by the labour office in line with changing needs of the local area and local labour market.

The latter served as an evaluation document for social and ecological workshops provided by the local voluntary organisation and forms the base for continuation of the workshops in the future by existing educational institutions, including ecological school in the city of Siemianowice and University of Silesia in Katowice.

In addition, information deriving from the report should support preparation of funding applications for future national and European funded development programmes by area-based organisations in the city of Siemianowice.

Dublin Institute of Technology
School of Spatial Planning
Faculty of Built Environment



Local urban interventions and their role
in economic development.
An evaluation of key policy inputs based upon Irish
and Polish approaches supported by European Union
initiatives 1992-2002

Izabela Litewska, MA

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Appendices

Appendix 1

List of institutions participating in the policy makers' interviews carried out in Ireland [interviewee code – P]:

1. European Social Fund Unit of the Department of Trade, Enterprise and Employment
2. National Economic and Social Forum/also representative of OECD
3. Department of Trade, Enterprise and Employment
4. Department of Finance
5. Dublin City Chamber of Commerce
6. North Dublin Chamber of Commerce
7. Dublin Employment Pact
8. NorDubCo – North Dublin Coalition
9. Dublin City Council (Planning and Development Department)
10. Fingal County Council (Planning and Development Department)
11. Department of Environment and Local Government
12. FÁS – Training and Employment Authority
13. ADM – Area Development Management
14. Dublin City Development Board
15. Fingal County Development Board
16. CSF/NDP Evaluation Unit
17. Economic and Social Research Institute
18. Trinity College – Department of Economics
19. DIT – Faculty of the Built Environment
20. Trutz Haase Social and Economic Consultants
21. Department of Family and Social Affairs – Labour Policy Unit
22. WRC Economic and Social Consultants

*List of institutions participating in the policy makers' interviews carried out in Poland
[interviewee code – I]:*

1. Ministry of Economy, Labour and Social Affairs :
 - ❑ Regional Planning Section
 - ❑ Labour Market Policy Section
 - ❑ European Funds Section
 - ❑ Legal Affairs Section

2. Department of Planning, Office of Housing and City Development, incorporated by the Ministry of Infrastructure as from January 2003

3. Department of Finance : Regional Development Section

4. Urban Renewal Forum Association

5. Upper Silesia Regional Authorities :
 - ❑ Department of European Funds
 - ❑ Department of Development and Land Use
 - ❑ Regional Labour Office

6. University of Warsaw: European Centre for Local and Regional Development

7. Jagiellonian University in Cracow : Institute of Public Affairs

Appendix 2

List of institutions participating in the service providers' interviews carried out in Ireland [interviewee code – SP]:

1. Department of Social, Community & Family Affairs, Kilbarrack Local Office
2. FÁS Employment Services, Coolock
3. Dublin City Council, Coolock
4. Northside Partnership :
 - Enterprise and Employment Development Programme
 - Employment Projects
5. Local Employment Services, Kilbarrack
6. JobMatch Services, Kilbarrack
7. Local Business Network
8. Mediation Services, LESN Contact Point, Glin Centre, Bonnybrook
9. Jobs Club, Glin Centre, Bonnybrook
10. Speedpack S.E.T.F Programme
11. St. Monica's Youth Centre, Edenmore

List of institutions participating in the service providers' interviews carried out in Poland [interviewee code – S]:

1. Siemanowice City Council:
 - Department of Environment
 - Department of Development
2. Local Social Welfare Office in Siemianowice
3. District Labour Office in Siemianowice:
 - Employment Programmes Section
4. 'Pałac' Foundation in Siemianowice

Appendix 3

*List of companies participating in the local employers' interviews carried out in Ireland
[interviewee code – E]:*

1. Campbell Bewley Group Limited
2. Kleerex International Ltd., Baldoyle Industrial Estate
3. Gerald Laboratories Ltd, Baldoyle Industrial Estate
4. Marine Hotel, Sutton Cross
5. Batchelors Ltd. Cabra
6. Great Southern Hotel
7. Chivers Ltd., Coolock
8. Smurfit, Edenmore
9. Aer Rianta
10. Libra Design
11. Aer Lingus
12. Brother International
13. Cadbury's Ltd.
14. UPS Ltd.
15. Dixtons Ltd.

Appendix 3

Cover letter to local employers [translation from original language]

Siemianowice Slaskie, 03.01.2002

Dear Employer,

High unemployment levels in the city of Siemianowice and the ongoing restructuring process require application of the monitoring system so as to identify factors generating unemployment, as well as conditions for its alleviation. We have prepared this questionnaire in order to identify changes in the labour market, needs of local employers and our future tasks.

Results deriving from the survey will assist us in preparation of the guidelines regarding training courses, information for schools and formulation of the new city development plan. They would provide valuable information concerning co-operation with district employment offices and therefore may result in the delivery of better services consistent with your workforce needs.

We would be grateful if you could fill in this questionnaire and return it by post to the District Labour Office by 30.01.2002.

Thank you for your co-operation,

District Labour Office in Siemianowice

Appendix 4

Local employers survey [translation from original language]

Part A

1. How do you recruit your employees?

- 1 Through Local Employment Office /LEO/
- 2 Own contacts
- 3 Newspaper ads
- 4 Other

2. In which professions are employees needed? (please list):

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

3. Current qualifications required (please list):

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

4. How do you assess level of candidates' qualifications?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

5. Problems with finding employees with appropriate qualifications (please specify what type of problems you encountered):

.....
.....
.....

.....

.....

6. Barriers with company development:

- 1 Financial
- 2 Lack of demand on the local market
- 3 Poor access to loans
- 4 Lack of qualified labour force (please go to Q.7)

7. If there was no qualified labour force available, please list what type of labour force is required at the moment:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

8. Planned changes in the level of company employment:

- 1 increase
- 2 redundancies
- 3 no change

9. Does the company avail of the services of the Local Employment Office (LEO) in Siemianowice Śląskie?

Yes 1 (if yes move to Q. 10)

No 2

10. Forms of contact with LEO:

- 1 telephone
- 2 personal
- 3 by post
- 4 e-mail

11. What type of services does LEO deliver for the company needs?

- 1 Information regarding training courses
- 2 Information on SME loans available
- 3 Information concerning potential employees
- 4 Other (please list).....

12. Assessment of co-operation with LEO:

Good 1

Bad 2

13. Please explain your answer:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

14. How many persons were employed from LEO recruitment services?

.....

15. Qualifications profile of persons employed from LEO recruitment services:

- 1 Production line/unit workers/labourers
- 2 Secondary education
- 3 Specialists with third level education

16. Does additional support exist for employees, such as:

- 1 Flexible working hours for employees having children under 18 years of age
- 2 Subsidised or organised transport to company
- 3 Developmental training courses
- 4 Other
- 5 None

17. If training courses are available for the company employees:

- 1 Training courses are delivered by the company resources
- 2 Training courses are delivered by the outsourced company

18. Expected forms of assistance from LEO (please list)

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

19. The level of employment from the Siemianowice Śląskie area (percentage):

.....

20. Are there any employees recruited who were previously unemployed more than 12 months/long-term unemployed)?

Yes 1 (move to Q. 20)

No 2

P. 21 How long have they been working in your company?

.....

Part B Company Details

21. Company size/ number of persons employed:

- 1 up to 49 employees /small enterprise
- 2 between 50 and 249 employees /medium enterprise
- 3 over 250 employees

22. Period of company economic activity:

- 1 up to 12 months
- 2 between 1 and 5 years
- 3 over 5 years

23. Type of economic activity:

- 1 Services
- 2 Production
- 3 Others

24. Economy branch (according to CSO classification)

.....

Appendix 5 – Cover letter to ETW participants



DUBLIN INSTITUTE
of TECHNOLOGY

Institiúid Teicneolaíochta
Bhaile Átha Cliath

**Postgraduate
Research
Office,
Dublin Institute of
Technology,
Bolton Street, Dublin 1,
Ireland.**

Ms/Mr

Tel:
Fax:
E-mail :

21 August, 2001

Dear,

I am conducting post-graduate study by research in the Dublin Institute of Technology, Department of the Built Environment. I have got your contact details from Mrs Teresa Cheevers-Gibbs (Jobs' Club FÁS Training Centre Baldoyle), who assists me with the project.

I am currently undertaking a comprehensive survey of local employment initiatives in the Northside Dublin Area, focusing on employability and co-operation with employers. The aim of this research is to examine the impact of the Expanding the Workforce Programme (Jobs' Club FÁS Training Centre Baldoyle) on the employment's retention of its participants.

As part of this research a number of participants are being surveyed. You are one of the participants who has been selected. The survey will take about 10 minutes to complete and the questions relate to your experience on the ETW Programme and after its completion. It is your views and your opinions that I am interested in. All the information collected will be treated in the strictest confidence and it will not be possible to identify individuals or their responses from it.

Please return the questionnaire by 15th September to DIT with the enclosed envelope.

Thank you in advance for your assistance,

Best regards,

Appendix 5
Expanding the Workforce Programme survey

Expanding the Workforce Programme (Jobs' Club Northside Partnership)

Respondent code

Date.....

I am conducting post-graduate study by research in the Dublin Institute of Technology, Department of the Built Environment.

I am currently undertaking a comprehensive survey of local employment initiatives in the Northside Dublin Area, focusing on employability and co-operation with employers. The aim of this research is to examine the impact of the Expanding the Workforce Programme on the employment retention of its participants.

As part of this research a number of participants are being surveyed. You are one of the participants who has been selected. The survey will take about 15 minutes to complete and the questions relate to your experience on the ETW Programme and after its completion. It is your views and your opinions that I am interested in. All the information collected will be treated in the strictest confidence and it will not be possible to identify individuals or their responses from it.

Part A - Expanding the Workforce Programme (Jobs' Club Northside Partnership)

Q. 1a Why did you decide to participate in the ETW Programme ?

.....
.....
.....

Q. 1b [tick one reason only, the most important reason]

Work/Job/Career Reasons (opportunity to get work experience, to get back to full-time work, to apply/gain skills or use qualifications)1

Personal Reasons (family, home situation, to gain confidence, to meet people, something to do)

.....2

Don't know.....3

Other.....4

Specify.....

Q.2 Did ETW Programme fulfill your expectations? [As given by the respondent in Q.1]

Yes.....1 No.....2 ➔ Go to Q. 3

Q.3 If no, why not ? [record the respondent's answer as fully as possible on a verbatim basis]

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q.6 How important has the Programme been to you in terms of the following?
 Assign a score of 1 to 5 in terms of importance to each, '1' indicates very important and
 '5' indicates not important at all.

	Very important	Not important at all
Extra skills.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1..... <input type="checkbox"/> 2..... <input type="checkbox"/> 3.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 4..... <input type="checkbox"/> 5
Work experience.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1..... <input type="checkbox"/> 2..... <input type="checkbox"/> 3.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 4..... <input type="checkbox"/> 5
Gained Confidence.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1..... <input type="checkbox"/> 2..... <input type="checkbox"/> 3.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 4..... <input type="checkbox"/> 5
Training.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1..... <input type="checkbox"/> 2..... <input type="checkbox"/> 3.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 4..... <input type="checkbox"/> 5
Meeting people.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1..... <input type="checkbox"/> 2..... <input type="checkbox"/> 3.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 4..... <input type="checkbox"/> 5
Improved chance of getting a job.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1..... <input type="checkbox"/> 2..... <input type="checkbox"/> 3.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 4..... <input type="checkbox"/> 5
Get out of the house.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1..... <input type="checkbox"/> 2..... <input type="checkbox"/> 3.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 4..... <input type="checkbox"/> 5
Something to do.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1..... <input type="checkbox"/> 2..... <input type="checkbox"/> 3.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 4..... <input type="checkbox"/> 5
Other.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1..... <input type="checkbox"/> 2..... <input type="checkbox"/> 3.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 4..... <input type="checkbox"/> 5
Specify.....		
.....		

Q. 7a Would you recommend the ETW Programme to a friend ?

Yes.....1 No.....2

Q. 7b Please explain your answer. [record the respondent's answer as fully as possible on a verbatim basis]

.....

Q.8a What have you gained from being on the ETW Programme? [record the respondent's answer as fully as possible on a verbatim basis]

.....

Q. 8b [tick one box on each line]

<i>Being on the ETW Programme has :</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Increased my self-confidence	□1	□2
Taught me useful skills.....	□1	□2
Increased my chances of getting a job.....	□1	□2

Q. 9 How has the ETW Programme been of value to your family and/or children? [record the respondent's answer as fully as possible on a verbatim basis]

.....

Q.10 What do you think are the major strengths of the ETW Programme? [record the respondent's answer as fully as possible on a verbatim basis]

.....

Q.11 What do you think are the major weaknesses of the ETW Programme?
[record the respondent's answer as fully as possible on a verbatim basis]

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q.12 How do you think the ETW Programme could be improved? [record the respondent's answer as fully as possible on a verbatim basis]

.....
.....
.....

Q.13 What do you think you would be doing if you were not participated in the ETW Programme? [tick one box only]

- Home duties..... 1
- Part-time work..... 2
- Full-time work..... 3
- Unemployed..... 4
- Training/education course..... 5
- Self employed 5
- Don't know..... 7
- Other..... 8
- Please specify.....

Q.14 Did you find a job after the Programme completion ?

Yes.....1 ➔ Go to Q. 16 No.....2 ➔ Go to Q.15

Q.15 Explain why ?

[record the respondent's answer as fully as possible on a verbatim basis]

.....
.....
.....
.....

and Go to Q. 22

Q.16 What type of work do you do at the moment?

.....

Q.17 Term of current employment :

Full time.....1

Part-time..... 2

Self-employed.....3

Q.18 Did your current job meet your expectations ?

Yes.....1

No.....2

Q.19 Explain why ?

[record the respondent's answer as fully as possible on a verbatim basis]

.....

Q.20 How far do you travel to work?

2 miles or less.....1

3 – 4 miles.....2

5 – 9 miles.....3

10 miles or more.....4

Q. 21 After the completion of the ETW Programme did you: [tick one box only]

Return to your home duties.....1

Return to unemployment.....2

Go on further training..... 3

Q. 22 Have you had any contact with the LES since completion of the ETW Programme ?

Yes.....1

No.....2 ▶Go to Q. 24

Q.23 Explain why ?

[record the respondent's answer as fully as possible on a verbatim basis]

.....

Part B - Personal Details

Q.24 What is your age ?

- | | |
|---|---|
| Under 35..... <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | Age 45-50..... <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Age 35-44..... <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | Age 50 years Plus..... <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |

Q.25 What is the highest level of education which you have completed?

- Did not complete primary..... 1
- Completed primary level.....2
- Completed Junior Certificate..... 3
- Completed secondary education with Leaving Certificate...4
- Completed Apprenticeship..... 5
- Completed Post-Leaving Certificate Course..... 6
- Completed third level – degree/diploma/certificate.....7
- Other8
- Please specify.....

Q.26 What was your age when you left full-time education ?.....

Q.27 What is your marital status?

- Married (with spouse in paid employment)..... 1
- Married (with spouse not in paid employment).....2
- Single.....3
- Widowed.....4
- Cohabiting/Living with partner.....5
- Separated.....6
- Divorced.....7

Q.28 Do you have any children?

- Yes.....1 Go to Q. 30 No.....2

Q.29 How many children do you have under 18 years of age?.....
[if the respondent has no children under 18 years of age write none, do not leave blank]

Q.30 Which area are you from ? [examples: Baldoyle, Coolock, Edenmore, etc.]

.....

Q.31 Before you were on the ETW Programme, how long were you on home duties/unemployed?

Less than 5 years.....1

Between 7 and 9 years..... 3

Between 5 and 7 years..... 2

Over 9 years.....4

Q.32 Were you working before you were on home duties/unemployed?

Yes.....1 ➔ Go to Q. 34 No.....2

Q.33 What was your previous employment/type of work/?

.....

Q.34 Was it :

Full time.....1

Part-time..... 2

Self-employed..... 3

Appendix 6

Cover letter to TTC participants [translation from original language]

Siemianowice Slaskie, 31.01.2003

Ms/Mr.....

Dear....

Please find enclosed the questionnaire regarding the TTC training course in which you have participated. We would be grateful if you could fill in this questionnaire. The results of the survey will assist the District Labour Office in improving its training services.

Any information you will provide in this questionnaire would be treated in strict confidence. We would be grateful if you could return the questionnaire by post to the Labour Office within 7 days.

We thank you for completing this questionnaire,

Sincerely yours,

District Labour Office in Siemianowice

Appendix 6

TTC participants survey [translation from original language]

Training course TTC /Tripartite Training Contracts

Part A

1a) Why did you decide to participate in the training course?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

1b) Please tick one reason only – the most important reason:

Work/Job/career (opportunity to get work experience, return to full-time work, to gain additional qualifications)

.....
1

Personal reasons (family, home situation, to gain confidence, meeting other people, something to do)

2

I do not know.....

3

Other.....

4

(please indicate) :

.....

2. Did the training course fulfil your expectations (as given by the respondent in Q.1b)?

Yes 1

No 2 (go to Q. 3)

3. If not, why not?

.....
.....
.....

5b) Please explain your answer briefly:

.....

6. How important was the training course for you (indicate in scale from 1 – 5, where 1 denotes the most important, 5 – not important at all)

very important

not important at all

Extra skills.....1..... 2..... 3.....4..... 5

Work experience.....1..... 2..... 3..... 4.....5

Gained confidence.....1..... 2..... 3.....4..... 5

Meeting people.....1..... 2..... 3..... 4.....5

Improved chances
 in the labour market.....1..... 2..... 3..... 4.....5

Get out of the house.....1..... 2..... 3..... 4.....5

Something

To do.....1..... 2.....3.....4.....5

Other.....1..... 2.....3.....4.....5

(please specify).....

7a) Would you recommend the training to a friend ?

Yes 1

No 2

7b) Please explain your answer:

.....

11. What do you think are the major weaknesses of the TTC ?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

12. How do you think the TTC could be improved?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

13. What do you think you would be doing if you had not participated in the TTC training course?

- Home duties..... 1
- Part-time work..... 2
- Full-time work..... 3
- Unemployed..... 4
- Training/education course..... 5
- Self-employed..... 6
- Don't know..... 7
- Other..... 8
- (Please specify).....

14. Were you offered a job after the course completion?

Yes 1 (go to Q. 16)

No 2 (go to Q. 15)

15. Why not?

.....
.....
.....
.....

.....and go to Q. 21

16. What type of work were you offered?

.....

17. Term of current employment:

- Full-time..... 1
- Part-time..... 2
- Self-employed..... 3

18. Did your current job meet your expectations?

Yes 1

No 2

19. Explain your answer:

.....

20. How far do you travel to work?

- 2 km or less..... 1
- 3 – 4 km..... 2
- 5 – 10 km.....3
- over 10 km..... 4

21. After the completion of the TTC course:

- Returned to unemployment.....1
- Returned to home duties.....2
- Went on further training.....3
- Went on further education.....4

22. Have you had any contact with LEO since completion of the course?

Yes 1 (go to Q. 23)

No 2

23. Explain why?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Part B - Personal Details

25. Age:

- | | | | |
|-----------|----------------------------|-----------|----------------------------|
| under 35 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | age 45-50 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| age 35-44 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | over 50 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |

26. Education:

- Did not complete primary..... 1
- Primary..... 2
- Vocational..... 3
- Secondary with Leaving Certificate..... 4
- Vocational secondary..... 5
- Post-secondary..... 6
- 3rd level (licentiate)..... 7
- 3rd level (masters)..... 8

27. Which year did you complete your education?.....

28. What is your marital status?

- Single..... 1
- Married 2
- Separated 3
- Cohabiting..... 4
- Divorced..... 5
- Widowed..... 6

29. Do you have any children?

Yes 1

No 2

30. How many children do you have under 18 years of age?

.....

31. Which area are you from:

Siemianowice Śl. – Centrum..... 1 Siemianowice Śl. – Michałkowice..... 3

Siemianowice Śl. – Bytków.....2 Siemianowice Śl. – Bańgów..... 4

32. Before you were on the TTC course, how long were you unemployed?

Less than 5 years..... 1 between 7-9 years..... 3

Between 5 – 7 years.....2 over 9 years..... 4

33. Have you been working before you were unemployed ?

Yes 1

No 2

34. What was your previous employment/type of work ?

.....

35. Was it:

Full time..... 1

Part-time..... 2

Self-employed..... 3

-
8. Would you change anything in the place of your living?
Yes, everything – go to Q. 9
Many things – go to Q. 9
Yes – go to Q. 9
One or Two – go to Q. 9
Nothing
9. What would you change ? Please list three things that are the most important for you:
- 1.....
2.....
3.....
10. Do you talk to anybody about issues of this area?
- Yes – go to Q. 11 No
11. With whom would you talk to about the problems of this area?
- With my family
Colleagues
Friends
Neighbours
Others (please specify).....
12. About what issues have you talked recently?
Please list three issues that are the most important for you:
- 1.....
2.....
3.....
13. Would you have any ideas concerning any improvements for residents living in this area?
- Yes – go to Q. 14 No
14. Please list them according to importance:
- 1.....
2.....
3.....

15. Please imagine this area in 10 years time. How would it be different from today?

.....
.....
.....

16. Would you be interested in being involved in local initiatives regarding revitalisation of this area?

Yes – go to Q. 17 No

17. Could you provide us with your name and contact details please

.....

18. Which of the following are problems in this area (please circle five of the most important for you)

Yes No

- Poor conditions of housing and surrounding facilities
- No place for youth activities
- No place for elderly people activities
- No safe playground for kids
- Area is unsafe in general
- Unemployment
- No local organisations assisting the youth and elderly activities
- No life-long learning opportunities
- Lack of supporting institutions for the elderly people
- Lack of supporting institutions for the unemployed
- Alcohol/drug misuse
- Other (please specify).....

19. Which of the following local initiatives would you like to see happening in this area? Please circle the most important for you:

Yes No

- Housing and surrounding facilities improvements
- Youth activities development
- Elderly activities development

Area Development Centre for local residents

Adult Education Centre

Local Neighbourhood Council /for management of the
area/

Other.....

20. Are you aware of the following local institutions?:

Yes No

Local Employment Office
in Siemianowice

Local Social Welfare Office

'Praca' (Work) Local Club

Other (please specify).....

21. Which of the above institutions have you dealt with ?

.....
.....

22. Are you aware of which local authorities deal with?

Yes No

23. Which issues should local authority deal with in the first place in order to improve quality of life in this area? Please specify three of the most important issues for you:

1.....
2.....
3.....

24. Have you ever been involved in local revitalisation initiatives before (for example ecological Workshops)?

Yes – go to Q. 25 No – go to Q. 26

25. Why and when?

.....

26. Why not?

.....

27. Would you have any comments?

.....

.....

Thank you for your time and great assistance !

*Appendix 8**Primary sources used in the research study*

EUROPEAN UNION

Communications of the European Commission:

- (i) 'White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Employment', 1993
- (ii) 'White Paper on European Governance', 2001
- (iii) 'Strengthening the local dimension of the European Employment Strategy', 2001
- (iv) 'European Strategy for encouraging local development and employment initiative', 1995
- (v) 'Towards an Urban Agenda in the European Union', 1997
- (vi) 'Sustainable Urban Development in the European Union: A Framework for Action', 1998

Official documents of the European Communities:

- (i) European Spatial Development Perspective, 1999
- (ii) Third European Union Poverty Programme 1989-1994
- (iii) Urban Community Initiative 1996-1999 and 2000-2006
- (iv) EU Territorial Employment Pacts Initiative 1997-1999 and 2000-2006
- (v) European Employment Strategy of 1997 and annual Employment Guidelines
- (vi) Community Support Framework 1994-1999 and 2000-2006.

REGIONAL/ LOCAL DEVELOPMENT, EMPLOYMENT and URBAN RENEWAL

Irish legislation documents:

- (i) Local Government (Planning and Development Act), 2001
- (ii) Urban Renewal Act, 1986 and Urban Renewal Guidelines, 1998
- (iii) Urban Renewal Scheme, 1999-2002
- (iv) The Finance Acts of 1986 and 1998 with subsequent amendments

Irish official government publications:

- (i) Community Support Framework Ireland 1994-1999 and 2000-2006

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- (ii) National Development Plan 2000-2006 and 2007-2013
 - (iii) National Strategy for Sustainable Development, 1997
 - (iv) National Policy for Post-1999 Structural and Cohesion Funds, 1999
 - (v) The Programme for Prosperity and Fairness, 1999
 - (vi) The National Anti-Poverty Strategy 1997-2007, 1997
 - (vii) National Spatial Strategy, 2002
 - (viii) Area-based Response to Long-term Unemployment Programme 1991-1993
 - (ix) Global Grant for Local Development Programme 1992-1995
 - (x) Programme of Integrated Development in Disadvantaged Areas 1995-1999
 - (xi) Revitalising Areas by Planning, Investment and Development (RAPID) Programme, 2001

Official reports of the Department of Environment and Local Government in Ireland:

- (i) 'Better Local Government – A Programme for Change', 1996
- (ii) 'Report of the Task Force on the Integration of Local Government and Local Development Systems', 1998
- (iii) 'Strategic Policy Committees – Guidelines for Establishment and Operation', 1999
- (iv) 'A shared vision for County and City Development Boards', 2000

Official reports of the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs in Ireland

- (i) 'Review of Community and Local Development Structures', 2003

Central Statistics Office in Ireland

- (i) CSO Quarterly Household Surveys
- (ii) CSO Census of Population of 1996 and 2002: Small Area Population Statistics

Polish legislation documents:

- (i) Act of Parliament on Local Self-Government, 1990
- (ii) Act of Parliament on Powiat (District) Self-Government, 1998
- (iii) Act of Parliament on Regional Self-Government, 1998

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- (iv) Act of Parliament on Regional Development Support , 2000
 - (v) Act of Parliament on Non-government organisations' Activity and Volunteering, 2003
 - (vi) Ministry of Labour and Social Policy Regulation on special measures regarding mediation and professional counselling services, 2000

Polish official government publications:

- (i) National Development Plan 2004-2006 and 2007-2013
- (ii) National Strategic Reference Framework 2007-2013
- (iii) National Strategy for Regional Development 2001-2006, 2000
- (iv) Poland 2025 – Long-Term Strategy for Sustainable Development, 2000
- (v) The National Spatial Management Policy Concept (NSMPC), 1999
- (vi) Strategy of Public Finance and Economic Development 2000-2010, 1999
- (vii) National Programme for the EU Membership Accession, 1999
- (viii) National Strategy for Employment Growth and Development Human Resources Development 2000-2006, 1999

Official reports of the Department of Labour and Social Policy in Poland :

- (i) Polish Employment Strategy within the context of European Union Guidelines, 2002
- (ii) 'Joint Assessment of Employment Priorities in Poland', Ministry of Labour and Social Policy of the Republic of Poland and European Commission, Directorate General for Employment and Social Affairs, 2000.

*Appendix 9**Secondary sources used in the research study*

- 1) Institutional sources:
 - (i) Area-based partnership companies, Dublin
 - (ii) Area Development Management, Ltd. (currently Pobal Ltd.), Ireland
 - (iii) National Training and Employment Agency (FÁS), Ireland
 - (iv) Irish Business and Employers Confederation
 - (v) Industrial Development Authority, Ireland
 - (vi) Enterprise Ireland
 - (vii) County Enterprise Boards, Ireland
 - (viii) Local authorities Integrated Area Plans, Ireland
 - (ix) Community Development Projects, Ireland
 - (x) Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin
 - (xi) Institute of Public Administration, Dublin
 - (xii) Institute of European Affairs, Dublin
 - (xiii) Institute of Spatial and Municipal Economy, Krakow, Poland
 - (xiv) Institute of Housing Economy, Warsaw, Poland
 - (xv) Spatial Development of Upper Silesia Foundation in Katowice, Poland
 - (xvi) Department of Architecture, School of Urbanism and Spatial Development, Silesian Polytechnic in Gliwice, Poland.

- 2) Research periodicals and publications of international development institutions
 - (i) Urban Studies
 - (ii) European Planning Studies
 - (iii) Local Economy
 - (iv) Local Environment
 - (v) Policy and Politics
 - (vi) Public Policy and Administration
 - (vii) Public Administration
 - (viii) Regenerating Cities
 - (ix) Geoforum
 - (x) Housing Studies
 - (xi) Environmental Planning

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- (xii) Political Geography
 - (xiii) Journal of European Policy Studies
 - (xiv) Journal of Common Market Studies
 - (xv) Journal of Environmental Planning and Management
 - (xvi) Journal of European Public Policy
 - (xvii) International Journal of Urban and Regional Research
 - (xviii) Regional Studies
 - (xix) European Urban and Regional Studies
 - (xx) Institute of British Geographers
 - (xxi) British Journal of Political Science
 - (xxii) International Social Science Journal
 - (xxiii) Journal of the Statistical and Social Enquiry Society of Ireland
 - (xxiv) Journal of Social Policy
 - (xxv) Regional and Local Studies (Poland)
 - (xxvi) Sociological Studies (Poland)
 - (xxvii) Culture and Society (Poland)
 - (xxviii) Local Government (Poland)
- 3) International conferences
1. European Conference for Sustainable Development in the Urban Environment, Barcelona, Spain, 2-3 May, 2001
 2. European Union Four Cities Project Conference, Liverpool, 13-14 September, 2001
 3. 6th PlaNet International Congress on city regeneration and development in Copenhagen : 26-30th August, 2002
 4. Decentralisation of Labour Policy and New Forms of Governance Conference, OECD, Warsaw, Poland, Department of Economy, Labour and Social Policy, 27-28 March, 2003
 5. 7th PlaNet International Congress in Amsterdam : 5-10th July 2003
 6. International Conference on tackling unemployment, the city of Siemianowice, Poland, 4-5 September, 2003.