

Second Scientific Report

CLUDs
PROJECT
2013/14

Sustainable Urban Development

The role of urban rural regeneration in regional contexts

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SEVENTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME

Marie Curie Actions

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International Research Staff Exchange Scheme

Project N. 269142

CLUDs-Commercial Local Urban District Programme

Deliverable 2.2
Scientific Report

SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The role of urban regeneration in regional contexts



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The second scientific report “SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT. The role of urban rural regeneration in regional contexts” encloses the final outputs carried out within the second period of the CLUDs project.

In continuity with the first scientific report, the aim is to give the full narrative to the second period of research program and illustrate how territorial milieu can reinforce local urban regeneration initiatives. The report is intended to combine the latest urban-rural links research with the detailed analysis of 9 urban areas of San Diego city, in which urban regeneration initiatives - among different urban management instruments – have been implemented.

8The theoretical frame of the case studies’ analysis is focused on the community planning practice connected to the smart growth principles.

The theoretical approaches and case study analysis provide useful findings regarding the integrated approach for sustainable urban development carrying out within the Europe 2020 strategy.

Background

Carmelina Bevilacqua

Sustainable Urban Development is a concept which is used on a daily basis by politicians, policymakers and researchers. Beyond the theoretical assumptions about the meaning of “sustainability”, the central pivot of the urban policies in the last decades, sustainable urban development is characterized by its cross-cutting nature, including different policy fields, housing, environment, social inclusion, business improvement, increase of employment, market improvement, economic growth. The holistic approach in the sustainability (sustainable development thereby) concept has been frequently captured by the so called “three E’s” – Environment, Equity and Economy – and “advocates have sought ways to maximize all three value sets at once, rather than playing them off against one another as more traditional development strategies have often done” (S.M. Wheeler and T. Beatly, 2004).

It is widely recognized the statement of sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987). Since the '90th, sustainable development principle has interested urban planners forced to work with the three aspects which Campbell (1996) calls economic development, environmental protection and equity and social justice, in constant conflicts to each other.

The large literature on sustainable development, mostly related to how measuring the level of sustainability, according with the main statement of the Brundtland Commission, shows a sort of evolution in the way in which the principle has been implemented in the policy agenda.

It is possible to identify three stages that characterized the main aspects stressed by both policy agenda and urban planning practice during 3 decades of debate about sustainability and city, which focused on the ability to integrate the three values - environment, equity and economy – in the policy actions.

The first decade is characterized by the awareness that the city had to improve the quality of life by considering the so-called “green city, eco-city ” as a goal supposed to be reached through urban design and environmental protection. The response of the city (or urban planning thereby) to the debate on sustainable development, during the first decade, was in line with the emphasis that the environment - as asset to be included in the “market”- has been taken into account, in order to adjust the economic development trend (Freeman III, 1994). The policy agenda in EU responded with the URBANs programme, directly

managed by European municipalities. Despite the integration approach declared in the policy agenda to reach sustainable development in urban context, the contribution to economic development was still difficult to be achieved. The bio-regionalism approach has started in US in this period, its framework represents a “whole scale nature-human linked system as a place-based approach to promote scientific understanding, planning, and action to regenerate our communities and other living systems” (Berg, 1998). Nevertheless, in the mid-90s, in the US, the Smart Growth movement emerged, promoting a blended approach to urban sprawl management through a broad range of policies and land use strategies being implemented at different institutional levels. The Smart Growth movement represents an important contribution from North American planning theory on the issue of curbing urban sprawl (Daniels, 2001; Soule, 2006). Smart Growth has been defined in many different ways (Gillham, 2002; Ye, Mandpe and Meyer, 2005; Smart Growth Network, n.d.); nevertheless, general consensus exists in considering it as part of the broader sustainable planning movement (Wheeler, 2000, Krueger and Gibbs, 2008, Krueger et al., 2004). As Gillham (2002: p.155) notes, “many of the growth-management planning techniques developed in the past three decades have become instruments in the toolbox of the today’s smart growth movement”.

The second decade is characterized by the entry of urban competitiveness (Begg, 2002) issue within economic development policy in which sustainability is recognized in terms of “growth that puts the profit into action in order to create a more sustainable society, such as higher wages, ecological modernization, more effective technologies (..)” (Koglin, 2009). It is the period in which the publication of the Urban White Paper (2000) drove the European Cohesion Policy toward a specific policy agenda to consider city the engine of economic development. Urban regeneration initiatives took place over urban renewal and the involvement of private sector was supported. The sustainability concept seemed to lose the social aspect, and research on how to measure the sustainability of urban regeneration initiatives – mainly with respect the social inclusion side - became more a need to face the negative effect of the market. (Therivel, 2004).

The current third decade is strongly characterized by the implementation of the Sustainability principle by the integration of the three values – environment, equity and economy – in urban contexts by including the surrounding connections with rural areas. The sustainable urban development becomes a horizontal (transversal thereby) policy area by which implementing development policy at different levels national, regional, local. According with the Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities (2007) “Our cities possess unique cultural and architectural qualities, strong forces of social inclusion and exceptional possibilities for economic development. They are centres of knowledge and sources of growth and innovation. At the same time, however, they suffer from demographic problems, social inequality, social exclusion of specific population groups, a lack of affordable and suitable housing, and environmental problems.” The Sustainable Urban Development is the response of Europe2020 strategy in

order to practice the sustainability principle in an holistic way “Cities have to move towards a more holistic model of sustainable city development, in which they overcome seemingly conflicting and contradictory objectives. Economic growth has to be reconciled with the sustainable use of natural resources, global competitiveness must be inclusive and favour a local economy, and attractiveness to the global social and economic elite must not exclude less favoured groups” (EU Regional policy, 2011). The Smart Growth principles in US are applied in sustainable strategy for the city, “building urban, suburban and rural communities with housing and transportation choices near jobs, shops and schools. This approach supports local economies and protects the environment”. The connection of Sustainability with the urban planning theory and practice has obviously influenced the use of urban management instruments, mostly belonging to the family of urban renewal and urban regeneration initiatives. As previously mentioned, urban regeneration initiatives have become more market-oriented by stressing the role of the private sector in the so-called Public-Private Partnerships.

According to Roberts and Sykes (2000), urban regeneration can be defined as “comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change”. The main features of urban regeneration regard: area-based approach, strong awareness of what are local needs/urban problems, strategic approach and lasting effects/impacts. Starting from integration as central feature of urban regeneration, the complexity of urban problems and the peculiarity that they assume with respect different urban contexts have, in a certain way, moved the central feature towards the involvement of the community. The different way of community involvement generates different instruments based on the typology of partnership set up.

“The coordination of the actors involved in urban regeneration has been a central but problematic element. (...) the most complex co-ordination takes the form of area-wide partnerships that include representatives from the public, private, community and voluntary sectors” (Tallon, 2013 p.4).

The intent of generating wider effects in terms of economic development at macro-level (regional thereby) through urban regeneration initiatives has been eluded by the strong local interests even if not homogenous among each others. In order to reach a feasible consensus among all actors involved, the the job creation became common objective, to which converge all different urban problems and solutions. Consequently, the sustainability of urban regeneration initiatives is still at the centre of political and academic debate. Economic sustainability, environmental sustainability and social sustainability provide criteria for such indicators to measure the urban regeneration performance.

The CLUDs project has introduced the concept of “milieu” to offer a different source

of sustainability within urban regeneration initiatives, that is the connections with the surrounding rural areas to reinforce local economy.

Among different contributions in literature about the meaning of milieu, the more suitable explanation, according to the CLUDs project, is the following: “a set of potential expressed by a particular territory that should be recognized and captured by the organization of local actors in order to be exploited as sources of local development”.

The main feature of the milieu is the capability to relate physical resources with local actors, by covering three dimensional aspects: the individual (value attitudes, life-style, actions, perceptions); the level of the district/neighbourhood (locality); and the level of the network.

Connected to this general meaning, some specifications arise from the new economy or new economic geography implications, especially with respect the GREMI (Groupe de Recherche Européen sur les Milieux Innovateurs) model. Links between localized production system and “innovator milieu” have been analyzed “to show the way in which the complex interaction of demand, increasing returns, transport costs, as well as learning processes and other relevant elements, yield to performances even spatially differentiated, with areas which become losers or winners in the new competitive environment.”

According with the general objective of the CLUDs project, the key concept, coming out from the territorial milieu perspective, turns out as the following: “the role of space in innovative and localized processes depends on its capacity to promote local initiatives, to create a wave of new forms and to activate a territorial dynamic of innovation”. The specific context of the research outlines urban regeneration initiatives as drivers of sustainable development.

Aims and Objectives of the CLUDs Project

The general aim of the research was to identify which factors can play determinant roles in performing urban regeneration initiatives and which values can influence their success from an integrated perspective, according to sustainable development principles. In particular, the research intended to demonstrate how enhancing local commercial activities (for example, handicrafts and food) as a way of securing more sustainable urban-rural policy arenas, performs urban regeneration initiatives towards reinforcement of local economy.

Starting from area-based approach featuring urban regeneration initiatives, the research connected the logic of urban districts and community area to the logic of the urban-rural network. The urban area subject to regeneration process is related to local small retail associations occurred on typical local production.

The research objectives were three:

1. Setting up an analytical process to understand how Public Private Partnership can be both marketable and social sustainable by highlight integrated approach related to Credit access, local resources promotion, job creation, social activation;
2. Setting up an analytical process to understand how a territorial milieu can reinforce local urban regeneration initiatives;
3. Classifying levels of flows' intensity from territorial production and local consumption.

Food Hubs: Reconnecting Alternative Food Networks and the Conventional Food Supply Chain

Michela Felicetti

Introduction

In the scientific literature some agrifood practices, such as community supported agriculture or farmers' markets, have been contrasted with conventional, industrial and global agrifood systems [1,2].

This literature has shown that the former, unlike the latter, are sustainable from a social, environmental and economic viewpoint. However, some studies have questioned the economic sustainability of such practices [3]. Thus food hubs contain the potential to economically support small and medium size enterprises through aggregation processes which facilitate economies of scale.

These arise when the food hub is based on aggregation and distribution enables a number of producers to put their products together and sell them in larger volumes than small producers could achieve by themselves.

The key to the food hub consists of a management team which coordinates supply chain logistics.

Some food hubs focus on the supply side in order to support and train producers on sustainable agriculture practices, packaging techniques, certification, and food security. At the same time food hubs can also focus on the demand side by coordinating their work with other distributors, processors and wholesalers and also consumers, in order to meet the growing demand for local or regional produce [4].

Many farmers are penalised by the lack of distribution and processing infrastructure which would give them access to the retail sector and to food markets generally.

For large-scale producers food hubs can guarantee product differentiation strategies which ensure the highest possible market price.

For wholesalers, distributors, retailers and sellers of food produce who wish to buy larger volumes of local or regional produce, food hubs lower transaction costs by offering a single sales point.

Some food hubs are simply local food distributors, but generally they are much more than this: they are innovative business models which aspire to be financially sustainable and at the same time to have a positive impact on the community

from the economic, social, and environmental viewpoint.

From an environmental viewpoint food hubs may work closely with producers to provide technical assistance to encourage the use of sustainable production practices in the field of pest management.

Food hubs are generally classified either by either their structure or their functions. Classifying food hub by their structure generally means looking at their business structure which may include: non- profit organizations, corporate structure, cooperatives or public held food hubs. The figure 1 below shows the categorization of regional food hub based on the 2012 report of the United States Department of Agriculture [5].

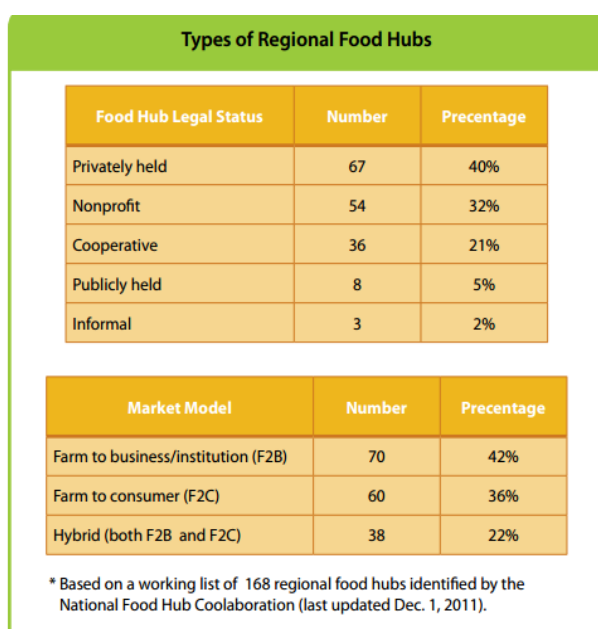


Figure 1- Types of Regional Food Hub according to the United States Department of Agriculture [5].

The Context of Piana di Sibari and the Agrifood District

The case study is represented by an agrifood district covering 32 municipalities, over a surface area of 185 thousand hectares with more than one hundred agricultural firms working in a consortium.

Piana di Sibari is characterised by agricultural and agrifood specialisation which includes a great number of typical and quality-marked products, such as citrus fruits, olives, fruit and vegetables, dairy and meat.

In Piana di Sibari there is no urban focal point which in terms of size, geographic location, quality, or complexity in terms of development and functions to act

as a driver for the economy and local organisation.

To this may be added a lack of social urban services and a dissipation of territorial, landscape, and environmental capital and a significant dispersion of the population over the area.

In the cities and urban areas of Calabria there are almost never any manufacturing and tertiary activities, offices of the public administration, interchange points, and commercial activities of major retailers.

Facilities and collective services are found scattered at random, often in peripheral, decentralised areas which are poorly served by public transport systems.

The Agrifood District of Sibari contains 96% of the surface area dedicated to citrus fruit growing in the whole province of Cosenza and around 33% of that of the Region of Calabria.

Table 1 Agriculture products per UUA in Calabria Region and in DAQ
(Source: Calabria Region - regional Statistics centre).

UAA (utilized agricultural area)	Typical agricultural products per UUA		
	Grapes	Fruit and vegetables	Olives
Calabria	13,825.81	65,506.64	165,297.28
DAQ	1,362.19	17,082.88	24,317.94

Piana di Sibari produces 12% of all Italian citrus fruits and 50% of the total production of Clementine (Table 1).

In general by measuring agricultural GDP against the total wealth produced in all Italian provinces, it can be seen that Calabrian provinces are among the leaders.

In Italy quality agrifood districts are governed by national (D.Lgs.228/01) and regional law (Legge Regionale 16 aprile 2002) and take the form of public-private partnerships (PPP) and act to unite the urban and rural area. For the district to be created, in accordance with national and regional law, the minimum prerequisites must be present, such as:

- the realisation of one or more products which are similar, certified or protected pursuant to the EU or Italian law in force, which may be traditional or typical products, whose production is significant in terms of the regional agrifood economy.
- the presence of a consolidated system of contact among agricultural and agrifood companies.
- real interest from local institutions in the district in order to

create cooperation and agreements with agricultural and agrifood companies.

In this study we have set ourselves the aim of verifying whether, besides the formalisation of the district by law, there are particular characteristics which are indicated in the scientific literature as typical of food hubs.

The competitive potential of companies arises from some structural features of the key production area: the produce of the single sectors, which is in some cases traditional and typical produce, is of a similar type and is certified and protected.

There are also forms of integration among agricultural and agri-food companies.

There are also forms of integration between small agricultural companies, with an average size of 4 hectares and which represent 73% of producers, and large-scale companies [6].

Conclusions: The Cooperative as Food Hubs

A key role is played by the cooperative through which small agricultural companies transfer their produce to a single, large company which arranges to market the produce, purchase fertilisers, pesticides, and agricultural machinery. Collective purchases of these products enable prices to be paid which are well below what individual producers would pay by themselves and enable a marked lengthening of payment terms. All the produce from the cooperative's members is delivered to the refrigeration centre which has a covered surface area of 20,000 sq. m. and refrigeration capacity of 5,000 tonnes. The produce delivered is measured and put together in a uniform way in terms of its quality and size, with the allocation of codes or microchips which guarantee the possibility of tracing it back to the producer.

The end market for the cooperative is 90% covered by major retailers in Italy and Europe and the remaining 10% by the local market through the opening of direct sales points in the local area or town market and by online sales.

As for sales planning and transport logistics, the supply chains for the major retailers, such as Esselunga, Conad, COOP Switzerland and COOP Austria, send their own transport to the main company where all the produce is transferred, thus avoiding the dispersion and costs which would arise with the need to collect from a number of outlets.

Without this form of cooperation between the small agricultural companies and the larger, technologically advanced company, the large-scale retail market would be off limits to small producers. This depends not only on

the limited quantities produced by small companies in the Sibari Agrifood District, which is insufficient to satisfy the requests of large retailers, but also on the certification prerequisites which large retailers require. In fact obtaining certification or applying innovative and environmentally friendly techniques for cultivation entails costs which are unsustainable for individual small producers.

In particular the BRC standard, which is obtained by the larger company where all the logistical operations take place, is internationally recognised and is often an essential prerequisite which is requested by purchasers from large-scale distribution.

Another feature of this food-hub is that the biggest partner of the cooperative, where most of the logistic take place, can plan the production with buyer and producers in advance of the season making projections of product demand. This would allow producers to schedule planting and project sale for the season, but sometimes seasonal fluctuations is a challenge to overcome when there is too much fruit because of variation in demand, which, in turn, depends on consumers taste.

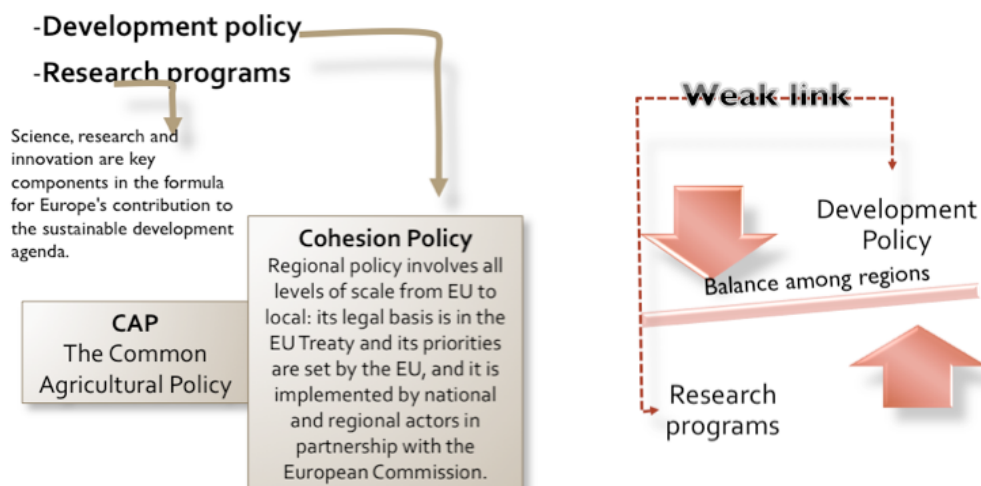
The CLUDs Project and the New Context of Urban Dimension within Europe 2020 Strategy

Carmelina Bevilacqua

The European Union policy areas cover all sectors of public policy, “together with the launch of the single market project, EU policymaking evolved in a broad range of areas. Today, nearly all possible policy areas are covered by the EU, either based on exclusive or—more often—shared competences or merely on a coordinative role at the European level.” (Tommel and Verdun, 2009).

For the purpose of this research, the EU policy context is thought as built around two main public policy drivers: development and research. On one side, the development policy in turns comprehends two important policy arenas, the Cohesion Policy and the Common Agricultural Policy. On the other side, research programmes promote innovation and excellence through European Research Area.

The European policy context is characterised by two main drivers:



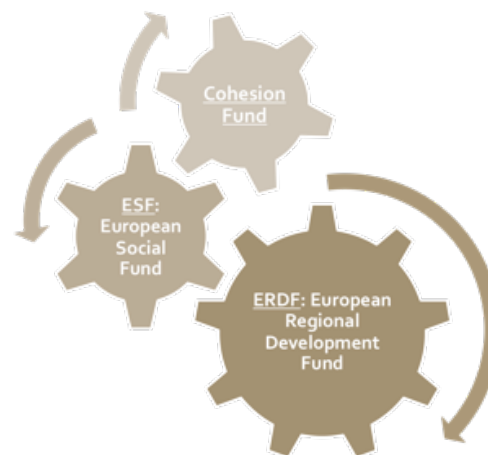
The CLUDs project funded by research program aims to activate a stronger synergy between development policy and research programs.

The joint activities of the project CLUDs based on the integration of Development Policy and Research, through the Synergy between the ESF OP 2007-2013 Calabria and 7th Framework Programme of the European research anticipate the build of initiatives consistent with the Europe 2020 and Horizon 2020 strategies.

The common objective is to reduce the disparities among European regions,

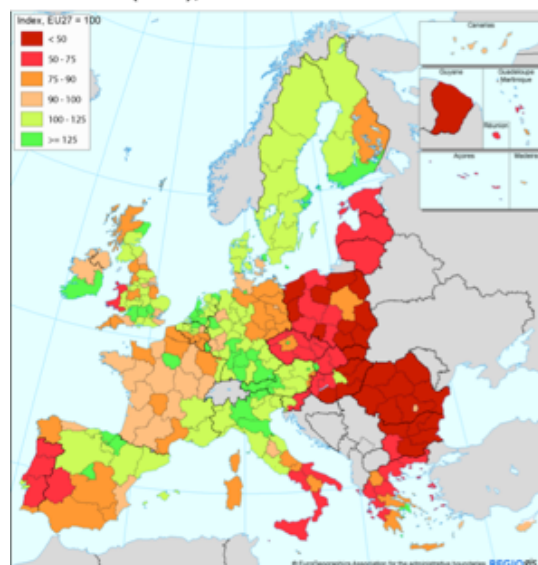
in terms of development and innovation. **To reduce disparities in Europe among the 271 EU regions the European regional policy plays a crucial role.** As a matter of facts, EU regional policy is an investment policy. It supports job creation, competitiveness, economic growth, improved quality of life and sustainable development. These investments support the delivery of the Europe 2020 strategy.

In order to reduce these disparities among European regions, it is necessary to invest more in infrastructure, innovation and Institutions through an integrated approach also for the European funds (Cohesion, ESF, ERDF).



The economic and social cohesion is the main objective of development for the European Union and is, as an expression of “solidarity” between the Member States, in reducing the differentials of growth and development across European regions (See figure below). Its translation into Community policy is through the adoption of financial instruments aimed at the socio-economic balance, giving to the cohesion the character of economic integration.

GDP/head (PPS), 2007



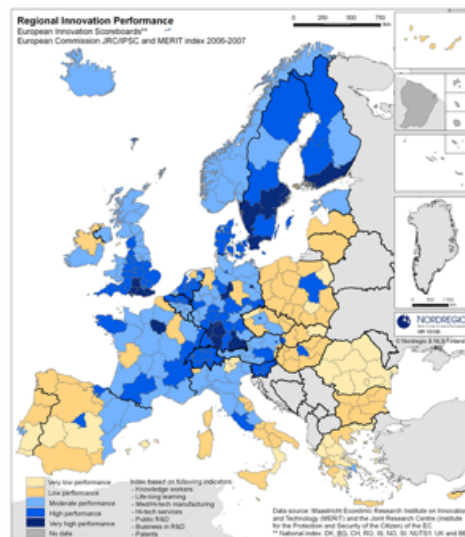
The Cohesion Policy and the Spatial Approach

We can summarize the spatial approach for the cohesion policy following the scheme of the last three programming period:

- 1999 - The Spatial Approach at European Level - ESDP - European Spatial Development Perspective;
- 2007 – Territorial Agenda of the European Union – Leipzig agreement on Urban development and cohesion policy;
- 2011 - Territorial Agenda 2020.

The spatial approach needs to match the main objectives of the cohesion policy of any programming period that are:

- Towards Balanced and Sustainable Development of the Territory of the European Union (Programming period 2000-2006);
- Towards a more Competitive and Sustainable Europe of Diverse Regions (programming period 2007-2013);
- Towards an Inclusive, Smart and Sustainable Europe of Diverse Regions (programming period 2014-2020).



The Urban Dimension in European Policy

2000-2006: Regeneration of Cities

Commission Communication of 28 April 2000 to the Member States laying down guidelines for a Community initiative concerning economic and social

regeneration of cities and of neighbourhoods in crisis in order to promote sustainable urban development through:

- Mixed use redevelopment of brownfield sites;
- Entrepreneurship, employment pacts and local employment initiatives;
- The development of an anti-exclusion and anti-discrimination strategy through actions furthering equal opportunities;
- Development of more effective, economically efficient and environmentally friendly integrated public transport systems;
- Environmental measures;
- Development of the potential of information society technologies.

2007-2013: Cities as motor for economic growth

- Cohesion Policy 2007-2013 takes particular account of the fact that urban areas are motors of economic change and the key element in European regional development;
- Local authorities are the key partners in regional and urban development and in the implementation of the Lisbon and Sustainable Development Strategies through;
- To make cities more attractive through transport facilities, services, environment and culture;
- To strengthen the relations between urban, rural and periurban areas;
- To strengthen the role of cities as growth centres, to promote entrepreneurship, innovation and the knowledge economy and to support small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs);
- To develop financial engineering mechanisms to achieve the maximum leverage effect with Structural Funds (PPP mechanism).

Integrated, sustainable urban-renewal projects are supported through JESSICA (Joint European Support for Sustainable Investment in City Areas). The range of sophisticated financial tools is used including equity investments, loans and guarantees, offering new opportunities for the use of EU Structural Funds.



2014-2020 – Europe 2020

Objectives of Europe 2020 Strategy:

1. *Smart growth*
2. *Sustainable growth*
3. *Inclusive growth*

Smart growth means improving the EU's performance in:

- Education (encouraging people to learn, study and update their skills);
- Research/innovation (creating new products/services that generate growth and jobs and help address social challenges);
- Digital society (using information and communication technologies).

The growth and competitiveness of urban areas represent a precondition not only for the growth and development of surrounding regions, but also for the nation as a whole. "Urban areas constitute hubs in labour market regions, for product and service markets and for knowledge, information and decision making. We therefore welcome the proposal for an Urban Platform. But special attention must also be paid to the links between urban and rural areas."

The European Union has recognised the centrality of community in economic development processes by stressing the role of the cities in delivering smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. The European Commission has recently published a study on how to use European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) to make their cities a better place to live and work [1]. "One of the most engaging results of the study is the variable geometry of strategies in place to achieve urban and territorial cohesion through the implementation of integrated approaches.

The urban dimension in the EU cohesion policy is not a new issue, the way in which the Europe 2020 intends to ensure an integrated approach in the sustainable urban development is quite new because it entails both thematic concentration and the community involvement. According to the Commission's proposals, several ways to support sustainable urban development with the Structural Funds exist:

1. Operational programmes;
2. Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI);
3. Community-Led Local Development (CLLD);
4. Financial Instruments (like Jessica and Jeremie) enhancing new forms of Public Private Partnership.



1 - Operational Programmes

Sustainable urban development can be promoted through operational programs with a priority axis that includes an urban-related investment priority (for example, to promote social inclusion through the physical and economic regeneration of deprived urban areas.

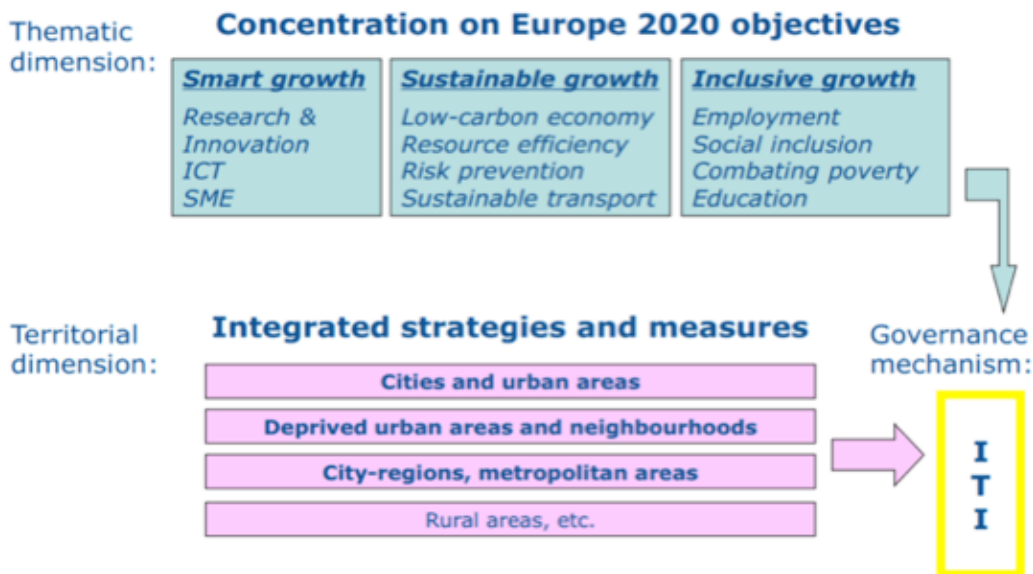
Support of different investment priorities, amongst which:

- Objective 4 – Shift towards low-carbon economy in all sectors:
- Promoting low-carbon strategies for urban areas
- Objective 6 – Protecting the environment: Improve the urban environment
- Objective 7 – Promoting sustainable transport: promoting sustainable urban mobility
- Objective 9 – Promoting social inclusion: Support for physical and economic regeneration of deprived urban communities

2 - Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI)

ITI is an instrument to bundle funding from several priority axes of one or more programs for multidimensional and cross-sectorial interventions, its able to support integrated actions in urban areas as it offers the possibility to combine funding from multiple sources.

As an integrated investment strategy (or 'mini-programme'), an ITI can cover different types of functional urban areas ranging from the neighbourhood or district level to larger functional urban areas such as city-regions, or metropolitan areas including neighbouring rural areas.



Integrated investment strategies for certain territories or functional area to be implemented by local authorities; certain components can be implemented through CLLD, combining the two approaches. To ensure that the investments of an ITI are undertaken in a complementary manner, the management and implementation should (partly or fully) be delegated to a single body, for example a local authority.

“Member States should earmark at least 5% of ERDF resources for ITI with management delegated to cities”.

3 - Community-Led Local Development (CLLD)

Integrated area-based strategies designed and implemented by local action groups composed of actors from public and private sectors, and civil society, including citizens, can mobilise internal potential and create local ownership of interventions.

As community-led local development is area-based and can be financed by the different CSF Funds, it is an ideal methodology for building linkages between urban, rural and fisheries areas.

The Urban Rural Link in the Cohesion Policy

The Urban Rural link in the cohesion policy is extremely important for the economic development of European Regions.

The OECD () has defined three main spatial dimensions of Rural Areas highlighting their importance considering that: Urban development can have negative social and environmental consequences in many EU peri-urban rural areas: “Urban Sprawl”

These three spatial dimensions are:

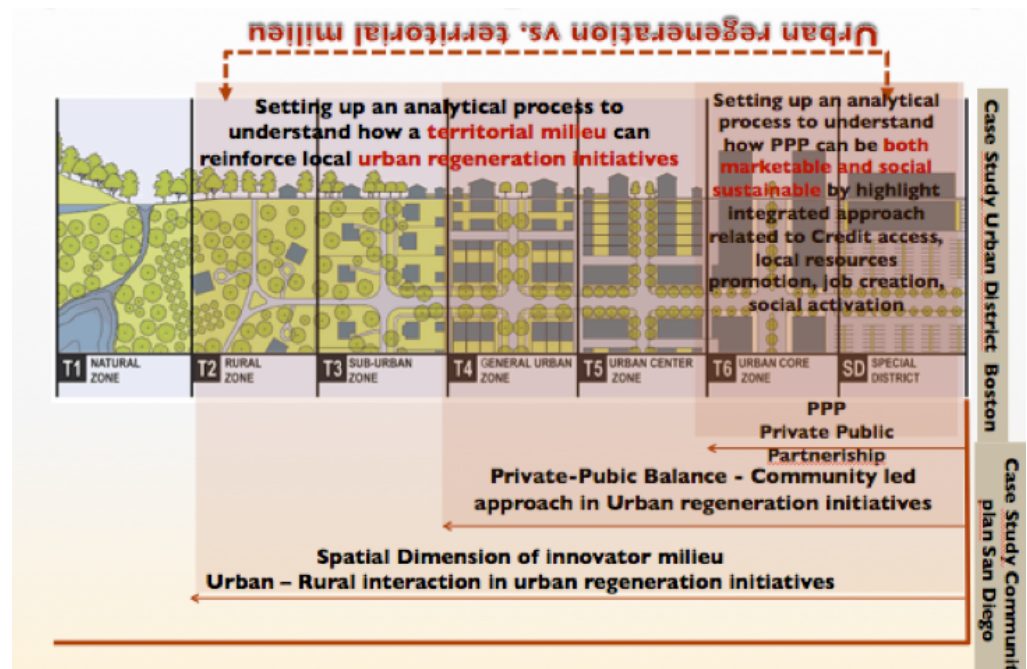
- **Metropolitan regions:** Rural Areas as service providers for the urban regions and urban areas supporting and providing services to rural surroundings
- **Networks of small and medium-sized cities:** Rural Areas act as semi-autonomous growth poles but depend on urban centres for specialised services and for accessing larger markets
- **Sparsely populated areas with market towns:** Rural Areas are the engine of growth. The regional economy depends on resources located in rural areas with small towns acting as market points.

The CLUDs Project

The main hypothesis is that the development of a socio-economic territorial network can act as driver for sustainable urban regeneration and rural areas competitiveness, by involving producers and sellers in targeted urban-rural areas, also acting on food chains.

Two are the main topics:

- **Urban regeneration connected to urban rural link;**
- **From rural area to urban district.**



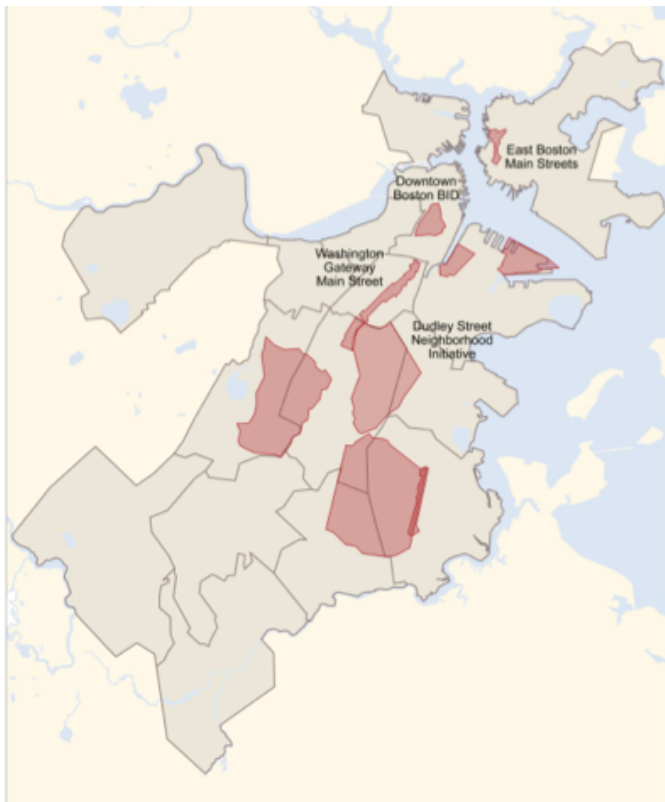
The CLUDs Project Investigation Integrated Approach

The CLUDs project aims at investigate the key success factors acting in urban regeneration processes:

- Enhancement the **local economy** from the perspective of the network;
- Competitive repositioning of the **urban district** in the global economy;
- Sustainability of interventions of **urban regeneration** thanks to the integrated logistics (Km 0) and **community planning oriented approach**;
- Improvement of **services** to citizens.

In the **first year** the CLUDs has emphasised the role of the **urban district** as catalyst of **mixed partnership forms**, according to a spatial urban configuration. Boston has a strong district logic in the urban planning instruments, connected and integrated with economic development strategies.

In order to understand what are the **key factors of PPP initiatives**, we analysed **12 case studies** distributed in different districts of the metropolitan area of Boston.



CLUDs Working Package No.1 - Boston Case Studies

Findings:

1. A substantial difference between Europe and the U.S. in strategic contexts of use of forms of PPP with respect to these factors:

- Managerial autonomy;
- Procedures / bureaucracy;
- Public private relationship (the institutional role played by public sector and private sector);
- Leadership (public vs. private).

2. A substantial difference between Europe and the USA in the role played by non-profit organizations in urban regeneration initiatives:

- **USA: non-profit is business oriented for job creation in order to raise the urban competitiveness;**
- **EU: non-profit is social balance oriented.**

In the **second year** the CLUDs emphasizes the roles of the **community** and of the **localised production system** to foster local economic development through the connection of urban regeneration to milieu concept.

San Diego has a strong **community led approach** in the urban planning instruments, connected and integrated with economic development strategies. In order to understand what are the **key factors of Community Led Approach**, we analysed **12 case studies** distributed in different community plan in San Diego.

Case Study	Category
National City	Community-led approach
Little Italy, BID	
Hill Crest	
Jacobs Market Village	
San Ysidro Redevelopment Project Area	
Imperial Avenue	
City Heights	
New Roots Community Farm/International Rescue Committee	
One World Market/Project New Village	
North Park FM, BID and Main Street	
San Diego Public Market	
Barrio Logan	

CLUDs Working Package No.2 - San Diego Case Studies

Findings:

Evidences show that the urban regeneration initiatives analysed in the San Diego Area, during the second year of the CLUDs research project, generated benefits for the communities responding to local social needs. This is due to some specific reasons. First of all the context is characterised by the presence of a strong tradition in term of Community involvement and Community planning.

Particularly:

- This process also helps the participation of community in the partnership typology analysed: NGO and other community-based associations are indirectly involved in the management of initiatives such as in BID, or directly involved in initiatives such as the CBD in Little Italy or North Park.
- These processes reinforce the socioeconomic structure empowering local communities;
- Enhance the competitiveness of the urban area attracting both public and private investments and businesses;

- Promote the valorisation of local natural resources, through the valorisation of the network composed by local producers and vendors (farmers' market) that help to exploit local products valorising the surrounding areas..
- The valorisation of the "Urban-Rural linkage" points out how the presence of Farmers' market and community gardens in the area produce the effect of empowering local communities and the valorisation of the local production system, making effective the link between urban and rural areas, providing more services for the community.
- The amount of Existing and Planned areas for public facilities for the case studies selected shows a general trend of increasing supply of public services and facilities in the selected areas.

The contribution of the CLUDs project to Europe 2020 strategy, within the **sustainable urban development** is related to:

- The rationale of **district** for the implementation of ITI (Integrated Territorial Investment).
- The rationale of the **community led approach** for the implementation of CLLD (Community -Led Local Development).

Community Planning in the US

Nico Calavita

Introduction

In this introductory chapter we will attempt to provide a general framework for understanding the evolution and functioning of community planning in the US.

By community planning we mean planning for disadvantaged communities that places particular emphasis on the participatory aspects of planning. It is similar to what is referred to as community development or neighborhood revitalization, although community development might emphasize business development exercised in a somewhat top-down fashion. From a sustainable urban development perspective, while considering the interaction of the three factors that characterize it, we place particular emphasis on the equity aspect that usually does not receive the same kind of attention as the economic and environmental factors.

We will begin our analysis with urban renewal, a federal program that begun in 1949 and that became a slum clearance program that displaced hundreds of thousands of poor people, mostly blacks. This displacement occurred without – as was recognized by President Lyndon Johnson in 1966 - much aid for relocation or analysis of the “social and psychological effects” of displacement that demanded “as much concern as physical redevelopment” (President Lyndon Johnson 1966). It was the reaction to urban renewal on the part of the affected communities, the planning profession, and society at large that prompted a great variety of efforts, from the federal government to the philanthropic sector, to improve disadvantaged communities with the participation of the people who lived in them. The community planning we have today originates in one form or another from urban renewal and its aftermath.

It is a long and complicated history and this chapter is certainly not the avenue to do full justice to that evolution. Nevertheless, we hope that it will provide a concise excursus of the major elements that have affected current community planning. Additionally, many of the examples that illustrate the processes outlined in this chapter will come from the San Diego Region, especially the City of San Diego, not because they are exceptional examples of community planning, but only because the writers of this chapter have lived and worked in the San Diego area, and are intimately knowledgeable about planning there. What goes on in San Diego is repeated, in a variety of forms and impacts, in the rest of the country. Furthermore, San Diego was one of the US cities where European researchers conducted their investigations as part of the CLUD program.

Urban Renewal

Origins, Implementation and effects

Ostensibly, Urban Renewal was supposed to “renew” slum areas of American central cities and improve living conditions for slum residents. It became however a slum clearance program that worked in the interest of downtown landowners and developers, and local politicians.

Marc Weiss (1980) has argued that urban renewal worked the way it was supposed to. Its origin can be traced to the early 1930s, when property owners in downtown areas became concerned by the movement of business and people to the suburbs that had initiated in the 1920s. Those interests sought government assistance to protect and enhance the value of properties in downtown area. Their effort was led by the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) and its research arm, the Urban Land Institute (ULI), organizations that expressed no concern for the removal of entire neighborhoods “for the benefit of the community” expressing confidence that “once slum dwellers were cleared from land with high potential value they could find accommodations somewhere else without public or private assistance” (President’s Conference 1932: 10).

Planners were supportive as well. For them redevelopment was a mechanism to rationalize the city, to make it more efficient, and the profession was ready to help make it happen (and benefit as a profession). The pro-redevelopment forces scored a great victory with the 1949 Housing Act and the amending Act of 1954 in obtaining government assistance for redevelopment, more than what they had hoped for (Weiss 1980). Not only was the power of eminent domain to be liberally exercised, but the federal government would pay for almost the entirety of the costs of local governments for area planning, site acquisition and clearance, and the construction of public infrastructure and other public improvements.

The criticisms of Urban Renewal begun in earnest in the 1960s as its effects started to be felt in the areas cleared of existing buildings. The critique of urban renewal centered on three areas.

First, how the urban renewal areas were chosen. They were not necessarily areas that were “blighted” the most, but the ones that had the potential of bringing profits to real estate investors. These areas were usually close to the Central Business District and were rebuilt with luxury housing or office space. The urban sociologist Herbert Gans analyzed the West End neighborhood in Boston that was inhabited by Italian Americans, living in modest homes but enjoying an intense group-centered social life among three-generation extended families. The West End was definitely not a slum; more likely an “urban village,” Gans declared (1962). An observer of Urban Renewal, Charles Abrams, came up with the famous dictum: “The blight that is right,” right for city officials and real estate

developers choosing urban renewal sites, not necessarily the most blighted areas.

Second, the effects on displaced residents and businesses. While lip service was provided to attend to the needs of people being forced from their neighborhoods, in reality people were left to fend for themselves, moving to adjacent low-rent neighborhoods, increasing crowding there, and making things worse for everybody. These forced moves came at a high cost, not only financial, but also psychological, as the clinical psychologist Marc Fried found in his research. In his essay "Grieving for a lost home" Grier saw displaced people, especially the elderly, going through the same psychological processes of grieving that we go through when we lose a loved one. Gans, had found similar patterns, related to the intensity of social networks, made possible by physical propinquity, in the West End neighborhood. They were destroyed, as their buildings were, and the inhabitants' dispersal led to much suffering. Financially, Downs (1970:223) calculated that the loss of displaced households amounted to 20-30 percent of yearly income, especially because of higher rents due to a sharp reduction in housing supply. Especially hard-hit were small businesses that could not start a new business in the areas where they were forced to relocate. Less than one percent of the federal expenditures on renewal went for relocation expenses (Frieden and Kaplan 1975: 25). The intended beneficiaries of the program had become its victims.

Third, the impact on the supply of low-income housing. By June 30, 1966 the program had cleared or intended to clear over 400,000 housing units, evicting almost one million people and rebuilding only one in four units destroyed (HUD 1966), succeeding, at a cost of more than three billion dollars "in materially reducing the supply of low-cost housing in American cities" (Greer 1965:3).

Although the exact figures are unavailable, the clearance of rights-of-way for freeway construction in central cities was also destroying hundreds of thousands of housing and businesses about the same time of Urban Renewal. Freeway construction created havoc in people's lives as their homes were taken, again as with urban renewal, through the power of eminent domain, but also by destroying neighborhoods connections, as freeways cut in half viable neighborhoods. In choosing the alignment of these freeways, financial and political considerations usually took precedence. Real estate in poor neighborhoods is cheaper, and the people living there were powerless.

Reactions to Urban Renewal

Before we address the reaction to urban renewal and freeway construction during the 1960s, it is necessary to remind ourselves that the 1960s were a period of tremendous political and cultural changes, not only in the US, but in the rest of the world as well, especially Europe. In the US, for example, there were protests against the War in Vietnam and the creation of the campus free-

speech movement. For our purpose, the major changes affecting the US were the recognition of institutionalized racism and racial discrimination, especially in the South, and of poverty affecting especially blacks in urban areas. A civil rights movement swept the country that culminated in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It banned discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. It ended unequal application of voter registration requirements and racial segregation in schools, the workplace and facilities that served the general public. But the Civil Rights Act did very little to improve the living conditions in black ghettos, heavily affected by urban renewal and freeway construction, and in the mid-60s racial disturbances occurred in several major cities, culminating in the August 1965 Watts riots, when 34 people died, hundreds were injured and 4,000 arrested.

The people affected by urban renewal and freeway construction had started to fight back in the early 1960s. The resistance was gradual and cumulative. It became much stronger as the impacts became evident. The inhabitants of the West End project in Boston offered little resistance, but a subsequent project planned for Charlestown was bitterly opposed. This is a story that repeats itself in many other cities.

The most famous, and prolonged, conflict was probably that over the Yerba Buena area in San Francisco. That struggle was superbly presented by Chester Hartman in the 1974 book, *Yerba Buena: Land Grab and Community Resistance in San Francisco*. The area in question is located "South of Market," an area adjacent to the Business District in downtown San Francisco, an area that contained a large number of Single Room Occupancy Hotels (SROs) inhabited in large part by elderly low-income tenants.

The interests that would benefit from the redevelopment of that area were many, including landowners, developers, hotel owners (a convention center was to be the hallmark of the project), businesses associations, unions (construction jobs), local politicians (economic development & higher real estate taxes, prestige), planners and newspaper editors and owners. These interests have been labeled "Downtown Growth Coalitions" (Mollenkopf 1983). The San Francisco Planning and Urban Renewal Association (SPUR) joined in the push for urban renewal by giving an aura of civic mindfulness to the particular interests pushing for redevelopment. SPUR is still a powerful non-governmental, pro-growth, sustainable planning organization in San Francisco, but "Renewal" in its name has been changed to "Research," another sign of the bad connotations that the word "renewal" carries in the US now.

But it would be a mistake to think that the members of the growth coalition in San Francisco (and elsewhere) saw their efforts as purely selfish. They believed, and strongly, that what they were advocating was good for the city as whole. It could be argued that in fact, what is there now – a convention center, a complex of museums, plazas, gardens, art centers, auditoriums, restaurants, hotels, office high rises – is indeed a great improvement over what was there before. But it was the disregard for democratic participation of those negatively

affected, the minimum consideration given to the decimation of the supply of low-cost housing and the callous neglect of significant relocation assistance that were the source of criticism and opposition in San Francisco, as well as in other American cities.

In San Francisco the strategy was to employ court actions on behalf of the residents organized under TOOR (Tenants and Owner in Opposition to Redevelopment). Through their attorneys TOOR was able to stop redevelopment and then eventually win significant relocation concessions and court-mandated 1,500 low-cost housing units.

In other cities the activities opposing redevelopment came mostly from below, through political action of neighborhood-based organizations as in Chicago or Pittsburgh. The approach often chosen was the direct action approach, as developed by the renowned community organizer Saul Alinsky. He utilized "power tactics" through the mobilization of community members for small practical victories based on activities that will bring attention (and sometimes shame) to the people in power who are the target of their grievances.

Antipoverty Program and Community Participation

The poverty of blacks in inner cities was a major problem that started to be recognized in the 1960s. In 1962 Michael Harrington published *The Other America*, a book that brought to the country's attention the problem of poverty, both in urban and rural areas. It presumably awakened president Kennedy to the problems of the inner city blacks, a group that had helped him get elected to the White House. He started with a series of federal service programs directed to the ghetto. The first was President Kennedy Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Crime, under which small grants were given to major cities to fight those conditions that lead to juvenile delinquency. But private foundations had discovered the poor even earlier. The Ford Foundation during the 1950s had reacted to urban renewal's emphasis (at least ostensibly) on physical rehabilitation, with programs that addresses the general social environment of poor, usually black, inner city neighborhood, with a special emphasis on the problems of youth.

In 1964 President Johnson called for a Nationwide War on the Sources of Poverty to "strike away the barriers to full participation in our society." It began with the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) that established forty programs aimed at improving access to economic opportunities and improving living conditions in poor neighborhoods. The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) was established to run the program. It is with this act that idea of participation on the part of people affected by planning programs was first introduced at the federal level. The poor themselves were to participate in designing social programs with the help of community-based agencies that would ensure

“maximum feasible participation” on the part of the poor. The powerlessness of the community, and not of the individual, had to be addressed to increase its capacity to reform itself.

What is astounding about this provision was that these community-based organizations received their funding directly from the federal government. Over a thousand Community Action Agencies (CAAs) were created at the local level to implement the EOA programs. The benefits were not exactly what the designers of the program had in mind. First, the CAAs organized the poor and made them aware of already existing federal, state and local programs that would benefit them. In a few years for example, as Francis Fox Piven pointed out, the number of the poor benefitting from social welfare programs doubled. Second, the CAAs helped train a generation of activists and leaders, with many of them participating in the establishment of community-based organization. The poor were organized and politicized to make demands upon the government level closest to them: City Hall. In a way, they became a thorn in the side of the mayors of large, usually democratic, large cities. In the Spring of 1965 Mayor Daley of Chicago and other mayors complained to Vice-President Humphrey. Soon the OEO reduced the role of the poor in policy-making with a renewed emphasis placed on planning, and funds were now channeled through the states. The reaction in the inner cities was an increase in the demand for “community control” (Altshuler 1970).

But racial disturbances continued in 1966 in cities such as Chicago and Detroit. Something more significant needed to be done. It was no longer a matter of social justice, the legitimacy of the system was being threatened. New strategies had to confront the underlying causes of racial discrimination and economic inequality.

In 1966 the Model Cities Program was unveiled. The program’s strategy was based on a major revamping of the administration of federal programs and effecting fundamental changes in the relationship between states and the federal government. There was not an infusion of new funds, but a focus instead on applying existing programs and federal resources in the central cities through concentration and coordination, and the central direction was to come from Johnson’s White House.

The war on poverty had emphasized education, training, social welfare and community organizing. Now more attention was to be paid to the physical environment, housing rehabilitation and production, transportation and community facilities. It was believed that rational planning, centered on central oversight and commitment of the White House, would go a long way in solving the problem of cities. But it did not work.

There were statutory problems in the case of federal-state relationships, and federal agencies were resistant to changes. With a change in administration

in 1968 and the quieting of unrest in the cities the push from the White House waned and the Model Cities Program came effectively to an end (Haar 1975, Frieden and Kaplan 1975).

In 1970 President Nixon, in his State of the Union address emphasized the need to protect air and water and environmental areas, a reflection of the ascendancy of the environmental movement at the time. Additionally, the Great Society Programs were declared a failure by conservative pundits, which was generally attributed to the fact they were centrally sponsored and directed. Gradually the thrust of the previous decade for civil rights and eliminating poverty and saving the cities was supplanted with environmental, economic and energy concerns. The federal-states relationship was altered and a devolution of power to lower levels of governments was initiated under Richard Nixon's New Federalism and the General Revenue Sharing Program. Federal programs such as urban renewal or model cities were eventually eliminated. Categorical grants to states, that were controlled by the federal government were reduced and transformed into "block" programs, with cities and states able to spend the money with little oversight. As a deep recession hit the country in the early 1970s, conservatism began its ascendancy and its attack on centralized governmental programs and government in general generated more consensus.

In 1970 the federal Government passed the "Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Act" to ensure fair treatment of people displaced by federal programs or state and local agencies receiving federal funds.

The Role of Planners

Weiss (1980: 68), in his paper on the origins of urban renewal tries to explain why planners "enthusiastically supported and participated in creating, selling, and implementing this program" even though the consequences were "so clearly harmful, to low and moderate income people even in its earlier incarnations as urban redevelopment." His answer concentrates on the benefits that the urban renewal program created for the growth and expansion of the planning profession. In 1949, when Urban Renewal was passed there were about 600 planners in the country, by the end of the 1960s there were thousands, in large part due to grants provided to local governments by the federal government to facilitate urban renewal. Federal largesse, then, made possible for planners to multiply; but for whose benefit?

There was nothing new about who the planning profession main client really was. In the US after a fling with utopia more than a century ago, planning found its legitimacy in heeding the call of business interests to make the city more efficient and functional for economic growth and utilizing zoning to protect property values. By emphasizing rationality and efficiency planners believed that they would benefit the entire city. Urban renewal was the tool they needed to redesign the center city in accordance to a more rational land use pattern.

The rational-comprehensive model

The model that planners followed – the so-called rational-comprehensive model - was based on two separate but interrelated assumptions: 1) that planning is grounded in a rational, logical, comprehensive and therefore, “scientific” process and; 2) that planners plan for a unitary public interest, for the “community as a whole.” A corollary aspect of this model was that planning followed highly centralized, top-down, command-and-control approaches which implied an all-knowing, all powerful government.

The rational-comprehensive model of planning, however, was shattered during the 1960s by the realization that the urban renewal and highway projects that planners were facilitating benefited few and hurt many, making planners’ claim to a unitary public interest difficult to maintain.

The planning profession mea culpa took a rather self-serving approach. The mistake was to have approached urban renewal without taking into consideration its social, economic and psychological effects that it would have on the population affected. The profession then, needed to expand its domain and sharpen its tools (Scott 1971). It also needed to make public participation more effective. As part of this change the planners’ emphasis on strong, centralized physical planning was diminished (Campanella 2011).

Advocacy planning

A minority of planners responded by acknowledging that planning is inherently political and that planning decisions are dominated by powerful political and economic interests. These planners concluded that planners should side with those who lack technical expertise and political power. It was Paul Davidoff (1965) in his seminal “Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning” who provided the theoretical underpinning for “advocacy planning.” Based on a pluralist model of political power, Davidoff reasoning led to a call for planners to act as advocates for those in society with little power and understanding of planning issues. He established the “Suburban Action Institute” to fight social segregation in exclusive white suburbs in New Jersey. His was an example of theory informing practice, with practice in turn informing theory.

Soon the neighborhood activists fighting urban renewal and highway projects were joined by young “advocate planners.” Some were paid by philanthropic foundations, others behaved as “guerrillas in the bureaucracy,” working for government during the day and struggling to undo the plans they were preparing during the night (Needleman and Needleman 1974). They opposed official plans on behalf of those who lacked representation or engaged in radical political organizing. While successful at times many of these efforts did not work smoothly because of differences in long-range objectives and tactics of the planners and community representatives, charges of careerism and other difficulties (Peattie 1979).

During the 1960s advocacy planning gained some legitimacy in the profession, its principles even being adopted by the American Planning Association (APA) and the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP). The fourth APA ethical principle for planning, "Expand choice and opportunity for all persons," states that:

"The planner and public planning official must strive to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognize a special responsibility to plan for the need of disadvantaged people, and urge changing policies, institutions, and decisions that restrict their choices and opportunities."

Despite the official legitimization of this political role of planners, there was not a swell of political involvement on the part of planners working in planning agencies on behalf of the poor and minorities. Two major obstacles have stood in the way.

The first is the quest for legitimacy and professionalism that still pervades the planning field, which explains – with a long Western tradition of rationality and empiricism – the persistence of the rational-comprehensive model despite its acknowledged limitations (Dalton 1986). The second obstacle has to do with the political-economic context of planning. Planning became accepted by the business community during the progressive era because "to rationalize and make more attractive a particular city meant more business for its local entrepreneurs" (Weinstein 1968 :92).

Equity planning

Given planners' avoidance of politics and their role in facilitating growth and development, what opportunities exist to plan for the needs of disadvantaged people? The most important example of planners "providing choices to those who have few, if any, choices" (Cleveland Planning Commission: 1975), is provided by the Cleveland Planning Department, which, under the direction of Norm Krumholz, worked hard and long on behalf of the disadvantaged in Cleveland from 1969 to 1979. This approach came to be known as "Equity Planning" (Piven 1975, Kaufman 1984). Equity Planning is closely related to advocacy planning in that both approaches seek to serve the disadvantaged. However, while advocacy planning encourages the preparation of plans alternative to the official plans, equity planning applies to official planning agencies within government.

Modernist Planning and Design - Jane Jacobs

Why was the main approach to the physical redevelopment of American inner cities based on the destruction of the existing city? Why not a major emphasis on rehabilitation? The reasons are many, including political, economic and symbolic factors, but its cultural origin lies with the success that modernist

planning and urban design and functionalist architecture principles had achieved in the US after WWII. Old overcrowded and chaotic cities, lacking fresh air and sunshine, were places where infectious diseases would fester and social disintegration engendered.

Furthermore, these old centers were incompatible with the technological advances of the modern age, especially the potential for speed provided by the automobile. The solution laid in obliterating these areas and putting in their place superblocks with towers in their middle, surrounded by opens space, with the whole interconnected by freeways. The man who popularized this vision was Le Corbusier whose ideal geometrical cities such as La Ville Radieuse inspired many urban renewal projects, especially in New York. In that city, Robert Moses, the “Power Broker” immortalized by Robert Caro (1974), the all-powerful czar of development and redevelopment, was able to reshape many areas of New York with high-rise housing projects and a system of interconnected freeways that cut through existing neighborhoods. But when in 1961 he tried to push an expressway through lower Manhattan, he was stopped by a popular uprising.

At the head of the coalition that fought and defeated Robert Moses was a housewife and writer who had published in 1961 *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, one of the most influential books in the history of city planning. Her name was Jane Jacobs. *Death and Life* was an appeal to a return to the density and mixed-uses of the traditional city, with its diversity and active public realm, based on streets (not roads or highways) and plazas. Her concepts such as “eyes on the street” have become an integral part of any aspiring planner understanding of how cities actually function. Of course she despised top-down planning a-la Robert Moses and cherished bottom-up processes that would empower ordinary citizens and the grassroots to shape planning processes and outcomes.

By the end of the 1960s demands from below and Jane Jacobs work had fomented a revolution in the planning field. No more top-down planning, but planning with the participation of the people affected by planning in their communities. But what participation?

What Planning Participation?

As planners were made to accept public participation in planning processes, they were confronted with a vast array of choices. On one hand black neighborhoods demanded “Community Control” with all the possible consequences that such control would entail (Altshuler 1970), on the other many planners still believed that they, the experts, should be in charge of the planning process. Perhaps it is useful to begin with a presentation of Sherry Arnstein’s (1969) famous contribution to the debate, the article “A Ladder of Citizen Participation.” As Figure 1 shows, Arnstein proposed an eight-step ladder, “which is designed to be provocative,” that moves from *Nonparticipation and Tokenism* to *Citizen Power and Control*.

Figure 1 shows Arnstein's summary of the steps.

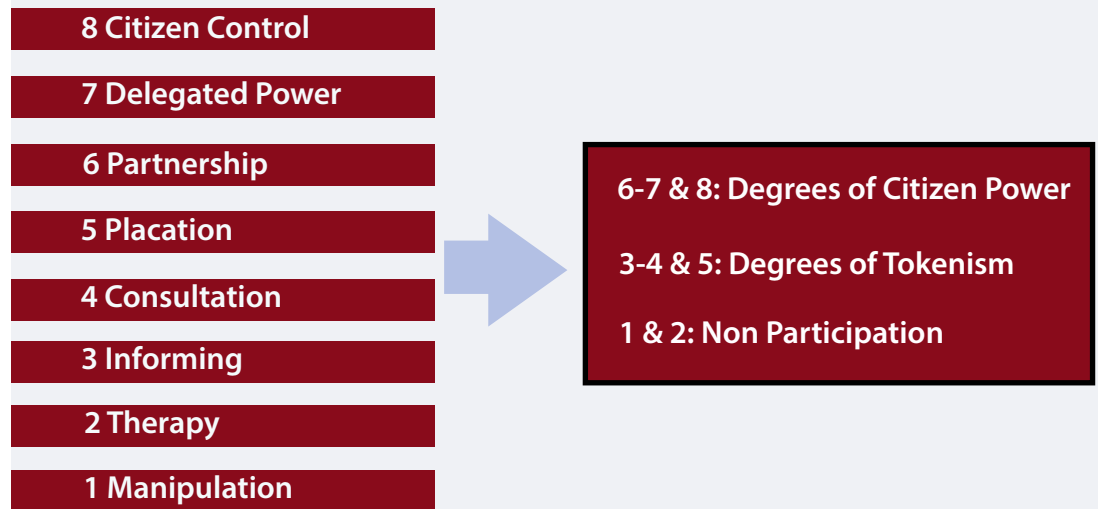


Figure 1- Eight Rungs on a Ladder of Citizen Participation

Types of Participation and NonParticipation (from Arnstein: 218/19).

“For illustrative purposes the eight types are arranged in a ladder pattern with each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens’ power in determining the end product

The bottom rungs of the ladder are (1) *Manipulation* and (2) *Therapy*. These two rungs describe levels of “non-participation” that have been contrived by some to substitute for genuine participation. Their real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programs, but to enable power holders to “educate” or “cure” the participants. Rungs 3 and 4 progress to levels of “tokenism” that allow the have-nots to hear and to have a voice: (3) *Informing* and (4) *Consultation*. When they are proffered by power-holders as the total extent of participation, citizens may indeed hear and be heard. But under these conditions they lack the power to insure that their views will be *heeded* by the powerful, When participation is restricted to these levels, there is no follow through, no “muscle,” hence no assurance of changing the status quo. Rung (5) *Placation*, is simply a higher level tokenism because the ground rules allow have-nots to advise, but retain for the power holders the continued right to decide.

Further up the ladder are levels of citizen power with increasing degrees of decision-making clout. Citizens can enter into a (6) *Partnership* that enables them to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional powerholders. At the topmost rungs, (7) *Delegated Power* and (8) *Citizen Control*, have-not citizens obtain the majority of decision-making seats, or full managerial power.”

Other observers have stressed that there are social differences in citizen participation. Belush and Hausknecht (1967: 279-284), for example, provide a list of "*Perequisites for Participation*," emphasizing those factors that engender the efficient workings of organizations, including, *Knowledge and Awareness, Morale-Cohesion, the Capacity for Organizational Behavior and Leadership*. James Wilson (1967: 294) points to the difficulties in developing effective organizations in the ghetto. The people there can organize, but "only under special circumstances and for special purposes." That remains true today.

As mentioned above, the Federal Government responded rather early to the demands emanating from the neighborhoods for participation, with the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) which called for ensuring "maximum feasible participation" on the part of the poor in designing social programs with the help of community-based agencies. While that kind of mandate was soon watered down, it is also true that the Federal Government has never "entirely rejected the principles of participation. Hence, in contrast to Public Housing, Urban Renewal, and highway construction, the antipoverty and community development projects of the 1960s enshrined, at least to some degree, a bottom-up approach. We will return to the Federal Role in ensuring participation toward the end of this chapter.

Neo-Liberalism

If the 1960s were a period of great changes, to a large extent fomented from below, when the federal government addressed issues of racial discrimination, segregation and poverty, the 1970s were times when the political pendulum started to move from publicly planned solutions to market-oriented ones, toward "neo-liberalism." With neo-liberalism came the repudiation of Keynesian welfare state economics and the adoption of market liberalization, based on the belief that government intervention will only create obstacles for and distortions of, the free-market system. Neo-liberals then, want to reduce the reach of planning through deregulation and privatize functions that they assume can be better undertaken by the private sector.

Privatization and deregulation have affected the US and European countries in uneven ways, reflecting the transition of public policy toward what has been characterized, at least in the United Kingdom, as the "neo-liberal consensus" (Crouch 1977). In some countries, such as the US and Great Britain, major changes in the role of the state have occurred. In others, such as Germany, France, or Austria, the move to liberalization has been softer and less pronounced. The effects of neo-liberalism, then, must be understood in "contextually specific ways" hinging on the interaction of neo-liberal programmes with inherited institutional and social landscapes" (Brenner and Theodore 2002: 334).

In the US this change did not occur with the election of Republican Richard Nixon as president in 1968. While he did alter federal-states relationships by

shifting power to lower levels of governments with the New Federalism and the General Revenue Sharing Program, Nixon also considered a guaranteed income program, and under his administration were built the largest number of subsidized housing units in the history of the nation. The public housing program was changed into a program that subsidized private developers. Section 8, enacted in 1971, was to benefit landlords too – to underwrite and guarantee tenants for existing rental owners and to assure loan repayments per 20-year contracts for developers.

But in the early 1970s an economic crisis, in part resulting from the oil embargo of 1973, set the stage for increasing concerns about economic growth, employment and inflation. Calls by business interests for a political and propaganda campaign on the part of business to fight what was perceived as the antibusiness ethos of the consumer, environmental and public interest movements led to a formidable growth of new foundations and think tanks, ready to do ideological battle in public debates over government, business, and the public interest. Financed by corporations and wealthy individuals, such newcomers as the Heritage Foundation, the Bradley Foundation, the Olin Foundation, the Scaife Family Foundation, the Competitive Enterprise Institute, and the Cato Institute launched a largely one-sided battle in the media to foster the interests of the private market and denigrate government interventions in the economy.

By the late 1970s, support for programs directed at cities had weakened and funds for social and urban problems began to decline. When Ronald Regan was elected in 1980, neo-liberalism triumphed. His administration sharply reduced urban aid, proclaiming that the private market is more efficient in allocating dollars. Appropriations for federally assisted housing programs, for example, were reduced from \$31 billion in 1982 to \$9.4 billion in 1987.

Devolution was re-emphasized in urban matters. States and cities were supposed to compete to attract business. Federal spending for social welfare and urban programs were seen as economic inefficient, because they undercut productivity and reduced investment capital. For example, programs aimed at increasing employment and training in urban areas were cut after 1983. The only “urban” program proposed by the Reagan administration was “Urban Enterprise Zones.”

The purpose of the zones was to encourage businesses to locate in depressed urban areas, through the cutting of a variety of federal state and local taxes, plus providing tax credits to employers for each employee hired. Planning and environmental restrictions were to be lifted as well. This idea had originated in United Kingdom under the Thatcher administration, where it was applied on a large scale. The concept was appealing to both US and British conservative leaders because they saw it as a mechanism that would identify and remove government barriers to entrepreneurs. It was never passed under Reagan, but a variation of it, the “Empowerment Zone” was passed in 1993 under the Clinton Administration.

Public Private Partnership

With neo-liberalism, planning was “turned upside down and inside out.” From guiding the use of land for the benefit of the city as a whole, now planners were to encourage growth, “by any and every possible means” (Hall 2002: 379). Planning as a government activity that regulates private development came under attack. Instead, planners were to facilitate growth, and Private-Public Partnerships (PPPs) were the major tool utilized to make it happen.

In times of scarce public resources, PPPs are an avenue that American governments pursue in order to “do more with less.” Increasingly, local governments in particular have turned to PPPs, an institutionalized form of cooperation between public and private sectors with potential for all parties to gain more than either could alone.

The challenge of PPPs is to achieve an equitable balance of interests. The public sector is interested in maximizing benefit to the community whereas private sector participants are interested in personal gain. The key to successful PPPs is establishing clarity around these interests. As straightforward as that might sound, there is much complexity in actuality.

Anatomy of Public-Private Partnership

PPPs can take many forms. Some PPPs are relatively simple with the private party securing the right to conduct an otherwise public function. In its simplest form, basic services such as trash collection might be “outsourced” to a private contractor. Payments to the contractor replace more intricate accounting for salaries, benefits, equipment and overhead. In addition, cumbersome public sector processes may be circumvented with a single procurement. Often this privatization of public functions is seen as providing more flexibility than using public equipment and employees.

To access private capital, a local government might sell “naming rights” to various facilities, creating the [name of donor] concert hall, sports field or other public facility. The private sector gains name recognition and the public sector gains funds to underwrite the facility. For example, the 2014 Super Bowl football champion Seattle Seahawks play home games in CenturyLink Field, named for a telecom company. This deal worked well initially to bring cash into the development budget. In addition, it called for the company to participate in the cost to redo the field several years into operation.

In a somewhat more sophisticated example, the city of Chicago sold the rights to operate, maintain and keep revenue from 36,000 municipal parking meters in exchange for a substantial upfront payment used to augment the city’s reduced budget during the economic recession. The Chicago example illustrates a potential pitfall in privatization. While the city received a welcome infusion of \$1.15 billion for its general fund, these monies were used to fill budget deficits over a three year period, exhausting the benefit while the

contract runs for another 72 years!

Lack of transparency in this transaction has led to ongoing public dissention about it. Then Mayor Daley was accused of rushing the contract through the City Council approval process, with legislators having only two days to review the proposed agreement. Disagreement is rife over the actual value of the transaction, with critics asserting that the city undercharged the private company for the privilege; in other words, the city would have been in a better financial position over the longer term if it had not sold the rights to this lucrative public asset.

In other instances, the PPP arrangement might be significantly more complex. It could involve a contract to construct and operate a facility; this could be a relatively straightforward facility such as a parking garage or toll road. In a more sophisticated example, the city of San Diego entered into a multiyear agreement to contract with a private company to develop a baseball park as well as additional housing and commercial structures surrounding the ballpark involving 60 city blocks and hundreds of millions of dollars. The ballpark itself has garnered positive reviews (although the team's performance has not won over fans) and the surrounding area is noticeably more active with new housing, restaurants and shops. More than a dozen years later, ancillary development continues to come on line. The question remains as to whether the ancillary developments would have happened without the ballpark, with the city possibly providing fewer incentives and gaining more benefits.

The United States Navy has entered into long term leases (55-90 years) with private developers for substantial tracks of base-owned land and off-base existing military housing. The private contractor takes over responsibility to upgrade the condition of existing housing and to manage and maintain it, keeping net project income generated by renting the homes to military personnel. Many such contracts include the responsibility to use some of the rental income to build additional homes under the same terms. In this example, the military is able to upgrade and expand its housing stock by leveraging its current asset (land and housing) but without investing additional resources and without distracting personnel from their primary mission. It contracts with private companies who are highly skilled in building and managing housing and who are able to pursue a business opportunity that would not otherwise be available to them.

Sometimes public projects have already garnered community support, shortening risk and time for securing development approvals. However, this should not be assumed; heightened scrutiny and involvement of public funds may actually lengthen the approval process. One cautionary word is offered here. It is clear that PPPs can be very complex undertakings. It is very important that the public sector have access to expertise commensurate with the challenges. Either by in-depth training of staff or access to consultants for professional services, the public sector must have the skills and tools available to accurately assess and protect the public investment in large transactions

with sophisticated private partners. Likewise, jurisdictions are well advised to seek private partners with excellent track records rather than opt for local businesses or low bid contractors who may lack sufficient expertise to actualize a complex project without jeopardizing the entire enterprise.

Attracting Private Capital to Public Projects

As noted at the outset, Public Private Partnerships can take many forms. In some communities, property owners vote to assess themselves a fee which is used to fund improvements in their neighborhood. These are often privately operated by the owners themselves; e.g., a Business Improvement District (BIDs).

BIDs have been around a long time, but their importance started to grow in the 1990s, to provide services to revitalized downtown areas and other business areas, such as main streets. They are funded by self-assessed taxes, and are therefore controlled by the business themselves, under the aegis of the city, through an advisory group. They provide services that the city does not provide, such as “ambassadors,” employee that help tourists or citizens navigate, or watch out for unacceptable behaviors. In some case, BIDs main purpose is to improve its area, with the main objective being economic development.

Municipalities might work with residents of targeted neighborhoods to create special assessment districts that place a surcharge on property tax bills with revenues set aside in a special fund managed by the city for specified improvements within that district’s boundaries. Similarly, as explained more fully later, local jurisdictions might adopt property tax increment financing districts where an increment of the growth in real estate taxes beyond a set threshold is pledged to community improvements. These two examples might not technically be viewed as public private partnerships because the funds are publicly managed. However, funds are typically spent via private contractors and the publicly initiated projects are intended to benefit the contributing private property owners, often with input from interested parties as members of citizen advisory committees.

Equity is derived through a collection of income tax credits spelled out in the Internal Revenue Code. Qualifying projects to preserve historic buildings, develop low income housing, hire workers in impoverished communities, conserve energy, etc., yield a credit against income taxes owed by commercial entities. In some cases, the developer will utilize the tax credit themselves, freeing their own capital that would otherwise be paid out in taxes for investment in the project.

In other cases, the developer may “sell” the tax credits to prosperous entities that have incurred a large income tax bill. This is accomplished by syndicating ownership interests in the project to the investors for the duration of the compliance period. The developer gets cash to invest in the project as equity (no repayment is required) and the investor gets an income tax write-off.

Looking deeper at one such tax credit, Low Income Housing Tax Credits have become the primary vehicle for producing social housing in the United States. They have assisted in development of 2.4 million rental homes since they were

created in 1986. Allocation of tax credits has been delegated to the states and institutional “intermediaries” assist in brokering the sale of tax credits between affordable housing developers and corporate investors.

Investors receive their credits through a formula based on eligible development costs and spread over a nine or ten year period. Often their equity investment yields 60-75% of the total cost of development, reducing the amount that must be borrowed conventionally. Substantially lower monthly payments translate into reduced rents. To remain eligible for the tax credit, rents must be affordable to households earning less than 60% of area median income. Tenant income, rent levels, project maintenance and other factors are audited at least annually. These tax-based mechanisms substitute in America for governmental outlays where all citizens contribute their portion of taxes and the government directly appropriates its revenues to support specific programs, activities or developments. One advantage of using the tax code in this way is to avoid the need for annual budget battles (of course, there are still many well publicized budget battles annually in Congress but these particular investments are not a part of that discussion). Stability of the tax code over many years (or, hopefully, decades) contributes to the willingness of investors to participate.

Private-Public Partnership, Planners and Equity

The role of planners when involved in crafting PPPs is that of negotiator, deal-maker and promoter of economic development. They are the mediators between cities’ development or redevelopment agencies and investors. The projects realized through these partnerships, such as Faneuil Hall in Boston or Horton Plaza in San Diego have not caused the opposition that was typical of urban renewal times, especially because they did not call for wholesale destruction of entire neighborhoods. With the federal dollars of urban renewal gone, redevelopment became an instrument adopted by individual states for urban revitalization. Its financing mechanism is Tax Increment Financing (TIF). It works this way: Once a section, presumably blighted, of the city is declared a redevelopment area, real estate taxes are “frozen,” meaning that they continue to flow to the city and the school districts at the existing levels. Increments in tax revenues resulting from redevelopment will flow to redevelopment agencies that will issue bonds to be repaid in a period of usually 30 years with TIF revenues. With the bond money the redevelopment agency will do the usual; buy land using eminent domain when necessary, build infrastructure and public facilities, and subsidize developers.

Many cities, Boston, Baltimore, Seattle and San Diego to name a few, have benefitted from urban redevelopment. Public dollars have led to huge and usually highly profitable, private investments. Downtowns have been revitalized with shopping, museums, offices, convention centers, hotels and condos. There is however, another side to redevelopment. In lavishing public dollars on downtowns, this process has neglected the needs of the “neighborhoods” that are starving for their fair share of public facilities and infrastructure

(Carmon 1997, Calavita and Krumholz 2013). Furthermore, TIFs comes with certain costs. For example, in California redevelopment was eliminated in 2011 for various reasons, including mismanagements and too cozy redevelopment officials-developer relationships; but the main reason was that school districts that receive about one-third of their financing from real estate taxes, were not sharing in the increase of the tax base.

Research has shown that in many cases, not only in the US but in Europe as well, "even though several of these projects were quite advantageous to the city and some of its publics, one of their salient outcomes is a growing disparity between the haves and the have-nots (Carmon 1997:137). An interesting approach that is gaining momentum to redress this imbalance is Community Benefits Agreements.

A Community Benefits Agreement (CBA) is a private agreement between a developer and a community coalition. The community benefits are usually obtained in exchange for political support by the coalition of a major project. The benefits are usually jobs and housing, but other benefits are possible. In order for the CBA to work, the community must have enough political pull to possibly block the project. CBAs are problematical to implement for various reasons. Most importantly, it is difficult to create, inform, and manage the complex, multi-interest coalitions necessary to negotiate successfully with the developer to bring about major benefits. What makes CBAs rather unusual in the urban development arena is that they exclude, in most cases, government. They extract community benefits from the development process, but outside the planning/regulatory framework of the public sector.

In conclusion, Public Private Partnerships offer a useful mechanism to enable government to do more than it could otherwise and to create business opportunities for private entities, especially in times of economic hardship. PPPs are particularly important when undertaking large-scale urban interventions and major regeneration programs because of the enormous expertise and capital needs involved. As the American system continues to evolve tools to maximize the value of PPPs to both public and private parties, they will continue to serve a vital role in urban regeneration and public service delivery. Greater attention, however, must be paid to balancing properly their benefits and costs for both the private and public sectors and ensuring equity outcomes.

The Non-Profit Sector and Philanthropic Institutions

Community Development Corporations

As we have seen, during the 1960s inner city neighborhoods were spurred into activism by the civil rights movement in general and opposition to urban renewal and freeway projects in particular. The federal government, with its funding of community-based organizations, helped organize people in those neighborhoods.

One outcome was the creation of various Community Development Corporations (CDCs). They were formed and controlled by the people in the community, and their purpose was to revitalize the place around where they lived. Neighborhood activists shifted their strategies from opposing projects to trying to change their community in a positive sense. CDCs engaged in community organizing, developing affordable housing, offering social services, improving the physical environment and, in some cases, economic development. These activities came under the aegis of *Community Development*.

In some cases, successful local efforts were copied and expanded to become national institutions. For example, in 1968, a group of women in the Pittsburgh' Central Northside neighborhood came up with the idea of providing "home improvement loans and advice to residents whose income made them look too risky for fearful conventional bankers" (von Hoffman 2012: 26)) With the help of a local bank and a foundation they established a new lending agency, Neighborhood Housing Services (NHS). It operates a secondary market for the NHS high-risk loan funds and provides technical assistance to the individual NHSs. "The little experiment in Pittsburgh would produce a national housing network" (von Hoffman 2012: 26).

Nonprofit Housing Development Corporations

Many CDCs became involved in building and managing affordable housing in the neighborhoods in which they operated. A Committee established by Congress to examine the housing problems of the nation produced in 1988 a report that lauded the role that CDCs had played in providing affordable housing: "They know local housing needs and are committed to serving them. They are determined to serve low-income residents on a long-term basis." The report concluded with a call for a decentralized housing development network that would be adaptive, innovative, and capable of combining new tools "in hundreds of different ways in hundreds of different places" (Maxwell/Rouse Report 1988: 19). The report was the spring from which two important pieces of legislation were shaped, legislation that created the new HOME Investment Partnership Program and the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC), programs still in existence. What is important for the purpose of this chapters is that the consensus achieved on both sides of the aisle was based on "an unprecedented ideological consensus over new directions for housing policy...interested in an expanded role for nonprofits in service delivery (Erickson 2004: 18).

There are thousands of CDCs in the country now, member driven organizations or community organizations or not for profit organizations dedicated to improving conditions in designated geographic areas. As federal support for CDCs waned beginning in the 1970s, philanthropic organizations and other institutions came to the rescue. Their influence in providing support to disenfranchised areas of the country is significant, and probably the US is rather unique in this respect.

The philanthropic sector

Institutionalized philanthropy started to coalesce around the turn of the 20th century, probably because of escalating social needs at a time when the US government – differently from many European countries - was not well inclined to do much about social problems. Eventually, congress chose to create foundations as corporations that could exist in perpetuity. Their financing derives from large, private endowments and are encouraged by favorable deductions in the federal income tax code. Foundations that address social problems are many, with the biggest ones being the Ford, Rockefeller, Pew, McArthur, Carnegie, Annie E. Casey, Robert Wood Johnson and W.K. Kellogg Foundations. As mentioned above, the Ford Foundation was probably the first to show interest in the problems of poverty in the 1950s and created programs to alleviate the problems in the ghetto, especially of youth.

The increase in number of CDCs has been facilitated by the presence of “intermediaries” that channel funds from foundations or for profit investors to CDCs while providing also technical expertise and training for “capacity building” to community based nonprofits. They include the Enterprise Community Partners that since 1982 has collected more than \$11 billion, NeighborWorks America that has invested \$ 1 billion and the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC), funded in 1980, has invested \$11.1 billion. They have offices in many US cities where they see opportunities for multi-actor engagement. For example, when the City of San Diego passed a Housing Trust Fund in 1990 that would have provided funding for affordable housing, LISC decided to open an office in San Diego to provide training and additional funding. At the time there were very few productive CDCs or affordable housing nonprofit developers in the city, now there are at least twenty. This kind of multilayered system of nonprofits has contributed to a national CDC network that includes more than 200 local nonprofits that serve more than 4,500 neighborhoods.

The approach of foundations in attempting to improve conditions in disenfranchised neighborhoods has gone through several phases. At first, the funding of human development and social services through existing community-based organizations was emphasized, followed by a period when the focus shifted to the physical environment and housing. During the 1990s it was decided that to be more effective an integrated approach that would address the unemployment, social, educational and physical problems of a community through “place-based” initiatives was necessary. These efforts are referred to as Comprehensive Community Initiatives (CCIs). According to Kubish (2010: 9), CCIs had:

“similar design features. They analyzed neighborhood problems and assets holistically, created a plan to respond in a comprehensive way, engaged community actors, and developed a structure to implement the plan. Each sought to achieve multiple results with a combination of inputs centered around some conception of “community. Their

goals included individual and family change, neighborhood change, and systems change. They operated according to community and capacity building principles. A wide variety of programmatic activities was open to them, from human services to economic development to social capital building strategies. The initiatives and their sponsors generally invested considerable time, energy, and money creating the vehicles, systems, and relationships for implementing this model of how community change should unfold.”

“Community building” is the essential feature of the CCIs. This principle may go under other names, such as community ownership, community organizing, resident engagement or community empowerment, all trying to link people and places in various degrees. Some may engage in what they consider “deep community engagement” and others just in community consultation.

The building of local civic capacity is often connected to community planning efforts that engage the community in developing the local data necessary for a comprehensive community planning process (Kubish 2010). For example, a planning effort in the Southeast Community of San Diego sponsored by the Jacobs Foundation, provided throw-away cameras to the community to take picture of what they liked and disliked. These photos were then used for community discussions. Door-to-door surveys and living room meetings were also utilized.

Not all institutions working on the problems of poverty have turned to CCIs. In some cases efforts have focused on “asset building,” attempting to increase the wealth of people in low-income communities. One approach is the individual development accounts (IDAs). Typically, individuals able to save would have their savings matched by local nonprofit organizations. Another approach was attempted in San Diego where the Jacobs Foundation built a shopping center, created an IPO and sold shares to members of the community. While nationally hailed as a creative approach to asset building, the program has recently run into financial and management difficulties.

Finally, given the extreme difficulty in creating jobs in these communities, some efforts have been based on the consideration that the problems of poor neighborhoods should not be considered in isolation, but should be placed in a regional context, especially as employment is concerned. Some efforts have striven to open the regional job market to low-income neighborhoods with focused training programs and greater accessibility. At a time of high unemployment, however, it is doubtful that minority applicants, coming from distant minority areas, would have a good chance of landing available jobs (de Souza Briggs 2005).

While foundations have certainly been an integral part of efforts to improve low-income neighborhoods, it must be stressed that most of the funding for neighborhood revitalization, especially the financing of affordable housing,

derives from two federal programs mentioned before, HOME and LIHTC. Also, state and local governments have become more involved. At the local level many cities have adopted Inclusionary Zoning Programs that require private developers of residential development to provide a small percentage (10 to 20 percent) of their homes at lower rents or prices. All this is part of a decentralized approach to housing development that unfolded in the 1980s that includes multiple partners, but that is infused with federal dollars. In this new model, states and localities have assumed new responsibilities, and nonprofit housing developers have acquired a new importance and the ability to become more than passive followers of federal initiatives.

In terms of the effectiveness of CDCs, "a 1988 census estimated that they were responsible for the production of 550,000 units of affordable housing, the creation of 247,000 private sector jobs, the development of 71 million square feet of commercial and industrial real estate, and loans worth US\$1.9 billion to 59,000 small and micro businesses" (Mueller 2005 :88).

Environmental Justice

The Environmental Justice (EJ) movement seeks to redress the historical tendency to locate environmental hazards near minority and low-income communities. Environmental justice activists base their claim on the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that prohibited discrimination on the basis of color, race or national origin. But the movement itself arose in the 1980s, as the impact of the Love Canal and other hazardous sites on local communities, especially in the form of higher cancer rates, became widely publicized. In 1994 president Clinton signed the Environmental Justice Executive Order 12898, "Federal Actions to address Environmental Justice in Minority Populations and Low-Income Populations." The executive order attempted to address environmental injustice within existing federal laws and regulations. Among the actions encouraged by the executive order is the participation of the impacted populations in the various phases of assessing impacts.

The EJ movement has been successful in bringing attention to how many government and industry practices have disproportionately adversely affected poor and minority communities. The great majority of states have passed a variety of environmental justice laws, but their application and impact remains uneven. Most typically, residents organize against an environmental threat, usually industrial toxics.

San Diego is blessed with a rather powerful and well organized EJ organization, the Environmental Health Coalition (EHC). As their web site states, EHC

"is dedicated to achieving environmental and social justice. We believe that justice is accomplished by empowered communities acting together to make social change. We organize and advocate to protect public health and the environment threatened by toxic

pollution. EHC supports broad efforts that create a just society and that foster a healthy and sustainable quality of life. Since 1980 EHC's grassroots campaigns have confronted the unjust consequences of toxic pollution, discriminatory land use, and unsustainable energy policy... We officially founded Environmental Health Coalition in 1980 as the Coalition Against Cancer. Since that time, our knowledge has rapidly increased about the relationship between serious health effects and the chemicals used in homes and workplaces and often disposed of in neighborhoods."

Smart Growth and Equity

During the 1980s various interest groups joined together to promote an alternative to sprawl – the leap-frogging, low-density, automobile dependent, single-use pattern of post Second WWII development. This coalition included planners, business, environmentalists, urban minorities, fiscal conservatives, farmers, government officials and, reluctantly, even developers. For some – especially developers - smart growth was preferable to managed growth, because it sought to accommodate growth, while growth management – that many fast growing communities were implementing at the time - was based on the principle that, under certain conditions, development should be limited (Calavita 1995).

This coalition coalesced around the principle that that sprawl is unsustainable because it continues to pave over farmland, forestland, pasture and range; requires huge capital infrastructure and public services costs; increases the use of motor vehicles with their concomitant emissions of air pollution and the greenhouse gases that contribute to global climate change; and, finally, it sharpens the segregation of metropolitan areas into rich suburban enclaves and poorer urban and periurban communities. To counter these trends, smart growth:

- 1) Creates a more compact urban form by limiting sprawl at the metropolitan fringe through Urban Growth Boundaries (UGBs) and open space conservation;
- 2) Revitalizes existing communities through infill/densification and good community design while optimizing existing public facilities with minimum displacement of existing inhabitants;
- 3) Enhances the tax base of inner city and first-ring suburbs through regional tax-base sharing. Also, creates affordable housing in suburban areas through regional fair-share/inclusionary housing;
- 4) Redesigns old developments and designs new ones on the basis of "new-urbanism" principles that call for mixed-use, higher-density centers near transit stations and corridors (Transit Oriented Development), job-housing balance,

pedestrian-friendly communities, grid-iron street patterns, and other design elements that make neighborhoods vital and diverse;

5) Reorients the transportation system to reduce dependency on the automobile through land use measures as in (4) and the reallocation of funds to transit and monetary disincentives, such as higher gasoline taxes; and

6) Preserves wildlife habitats, prime agricultural lands and open space, especially at the urban fringe.

The equity aspects of smart growth (3 & 4) are the most difficult to implement. Peter Calthorpe and William Fulton, in their seminal book, *The Regional City*, identify inequity as one of the “two problems areas endemic in our current metropolis” (62), with the other being sprawl.

The greatest challenge facing smart growth is to insure equitable development in the region to address the problems of decline in the center and first-ring suburbs and sprawl at the periphery. To succeed, two essential but politically contentious measures need to be pushed through. First, the tax system must be restructured to distribute tax revenues more equitably at the regional level. Currently, wealthy suburban communities, through sales and property taxes, generate a stream of revenue that allows them to attract even more revenue-generation activities. Conversely, poor communities fall in a downward spiral that eliminates any possibility for them to share in the benefits of the growth of the region. Secondly, affordable housing must be distributed fairly in the region, close to the jobs and other opportunities found in the suburban communities. Without such measures and the regional governments to implement them smart growth will end up implementing only those measures that favor the most affluent in the region, especially the preservation of natural resources and open space close to where they live. Calthorpe and Fulton stress that sprawl and equity are interconnected and advocate for, not only tax-base sharing and regional fair-share housing, but also urban educational reform, that would involve charter schools and school vouchers.

We are not going to comment on their school reform proposals, but we need to point out the difficulties in implementing the other two equity measures. Tax-based sharing has been implemented in only one place, in the Minneapolis-St Paul region, where for more than thirty years local governments have placed a part of their growth in property taxes in a pool for regional redistribution. Attempts to replicate tax-based sharing, as in the Sacramento Region in California a few years ago, have failed.

Regional-fair share housing is just as difficult to accomplish, as suburban, mostly white, communities resist the placement of low-income housing units within their boundaries. In some cases, they resort to “exclusionary zoning” as when they zone their land for large lots. They will be forced to accept their fair-share

of low-income housing only when forced by the courts, as was the case in New Jersey with the famous 1975 and 1983 Mt.Laurel New Jersey Supreme Court decisions. Other states, as California for example, have fair-share provisions, but the regional governments supposed to enforce these provisions are associations of all local governments in the region, and the more numerous suburban communities politically dominate these bodies, watering down the fair-share provisions.

Smart Growth and Transit Oriented Development present another potential danger for established low-income communities. Smart-growth regional plans prioritize areas for future growth that are well served by existing regional transit, usually populated by minority, low-income communities. For example, the Plan for the San Francisco Bay Area prepared by the Regional Government (ABAG), defines these areas as “Communities of Concern.” The “Priority Development Areas” for the region, where the great majority of future growth is supposed to occur, coincide almost precisely with these communities of concern. The danger of displacement is very high.

The Bay Area is rich in equity advocacy groups, and they have formed the “6 Wins for Social Equity Network” consisting of allies from social justice, faith, affordable housing, public health and environmental organizations. As the ABAG Plan for the region gets implemented, this network will strive to get their 6 Wins vision implemented. This vision consists not only of the primary goal, “Investment without displacement,” but other equity related goals:

- Affordable housing near jobs, public transit, good schools, parks and recreation;
- Robust and affordable local transit service;
- Healthy and safe communities;
- Economic opportunity through more quality green jobs, transit-related jobs and access to economic opportunity for marginalized populations;
- Community power for working-class people of color in local and regional decision-making.

A national organization dedicated to the equity aspects of growth is Policy Link. Learning from local constituencies, Policy Link advocates for “policies that achieve social and economic equity and strong and organized communities.” Their “Community Based Regionalism” initiative seeks to insure that smart growth is planned and implemented while addressing issues of inequities. One of the roles played by Policy Link is to educate philanthropy about addressing equity concerns in their funding activities (Policy Link 2001). Policy Link has allied itself with academics in arguing that addressing equity concerns does

not necessarily limit opportunities for economic growth but, on the contrary, can foster greater economic opportunities. One prominent academic working in this direction is Manuel Pastor, from University of Southern California (USC), where he is Director of the USC Program for Environmental and Regional Equity. His latest book is *Just Growth: Inclusion and Prosperity in America's Metropolitan Regions*, co-authored with Chris Benner (2012). Utilizing both quantitative analysis and case studies from 192 metropolitan regions, they distill what factors can lead to growth with equity. They include deconcentrating poverty, leadership, "ties that bind people together" (172), and a sizeable minority middle class. They also point out what economic sectors can be resilient in the face of economic downturns, sectors such as health care, education, and public sector. The book reaches an evidence-based conclusion, that a different kind of growth is possible, equity-based "just growth."

Health and Community Planning

City planning as a task of government grew in the 19th century out of public health concerns arising from the explosive growth of industrial cities without adequate sanitary water and sewer systems, with resulting epidemics of cholera and yellow fever. Now, in a return to its roots, the planning profession in the US is stressing the links between urban planning and health. The reasons for this renewed concern by the planning profession are many; but they can be probably reduced to two main factors, the sudden rise in obesity, especially among youth and minority populations, and Smart Growth.

Obesity rates are rising all over the world, but not as fast as in the US. Especially worrisome are the rates of childhood obesity, tripled since the 1960s, with more than 33 percent of children (about nine million) now at risk for obesity. The health costs to the nation are huge, estimated at \$117 billion per year (DeMattia 2008). Obesity rates are especially high in Southern states and among minorities. The causes are too numerous and complex to do justice to them here. We will emphasize, however, the "built environment" (to use the term utilized by researchers and advocates in this area) i.e., the shape of our cities and the type and availability of public facilities and infrastructure.

The way children – and adults for that matter – engage with the environment outside their door has changed considerably in the past 50 years. Instead of engaging in physical activity outside, Americans spend more times inside, kept in by increasingly alluring technological devices and fear of crime. But the built environment has changed too, becoming less inviting for outdoor activities, especially walking or biking. This decline is, of course, connected to sprawl. The smart growth crowd has been very fast in ascribing the problems of obesity almost entirely to sprawl; but that is only a part of the problem. Nevertheless, research supported in large part by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation has quantified the connections between the built environment and health. One research institution supported by the Wood Johnson Foundation is Active Living

Research(ALR) located in san Diego, with their goal being:

“to support and share research that can promote daily physical activity for children and families across the United States. We place special emphasis on research related to children of color and lower-income children who are at highest risk for obesity.

Active Living Research (ALR) provides credible and action-oriented research results that address the root causes of childhood obesity and physical inactivity. With a focus on communities, active transportation, schools, and parks and recreation, ALR works with advocates, practitioners, policy-makers and other organizations interested in reversing the childhood obesity epidemic and promoting active living.”

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) convened in 2009 a group of experts in the field of community design to discuss raising awareness about the health impact of community design decisions (CDC 2009).

The planning profession has joined in, attempting “to restore the bridge between land-use planning, community design, and public health” (APA <https://www.planning.org/research/healthy/>). In 2006 it published a report, *Integrating Planning and Public Health: Tools and Strategies to Create Healthy Places*, and since then this integration of planning and health considerations has become absolute in the planning profession. More and more panels on health and planning are organized at the national American Planning Association Conferences and State conferences, and a health element can be found in almost all general and neighborhood plans in the nation that have been prepared in the past few years. Additionally, many other organizations have jumped on the bandwagon, and literally hundreds of reports have been published on the topic.

In a sense, taking health into account during the planning process reinforces the smart growth message. For example, research has shown that denser cities are healthier cities and that reducing vehicles miles travelled and providing opportunities for walking, biking and transit will also reduce obesity rates. But is the equity aspect being taken into account adequately when planning with health in mind? For example, in poor neighborhoods do higher crime rates influence parents’ decisions about keeping children inside? Is access to healthy food more limited – creating so called “food deserts”- and access to fast food greater? Are parks and trails, streets and sidewalks equally available in all communities? And, most importantly, do racial and income disparities characterize all these issues, from physical activity to food access, to crime and safety, to psychological well being, to disposal of waste and toxics and greenhouse emissions? It is quite clear that certain populations bear a disproportionate burden of disease and mortality. Where you live does affect your health and quality of life.

While it is very difficult to fully address the causes of these differences, what

planners and other officials can at least do is to assess the potential impact that proposed policies, plans and projects will have on the health of communities. The instrument that is being utilized is the Health Impact Assessments (HIA).

The International Association for Impact Assessment in 2006 defined HIAs as a “Combination of procedures, methods and tools that systematically judges the potential, and sometimes unintended, effects of a policy, plan, program or project on the health of a population and the distribution of those effects within the population.

HIA identifies appropriate actions to manage those effects.” With HIAs it is possible to engage the community, build consensus, relationships and collaborations.

The new concern for the impacts of urban planning and design on health and the HIAs have brought in a new planning element that, in particularly stressing health disparity issues, reinforces the equity and participatory aspects of community planning.

Conclusions

Community planning grew from the turmoil of the 1960s, challenging established approaches to planning. Instead of top-down, centralized approaches that characterized urban renewal, new paths were opened to involve those affected by planning projects. The federal government mandated “maximum feasible participation” in 1964 and community leaders were paid directly by the federal government to organize the community, process that contributed to the birth of community development corporations, including nonprofit affordable housing developers. Philanthropic organizations and intermediaries have supported with shifting strategies revitalization and empowerment strategies.

The planning field, having supported urban renewal, acknowledged, with the help of critics such as Paul Davidoff and Norm Krumholz, power imbalances in planning processes that needed to be addressed. Equity planning is now included in many planning documents, but how seriously will be taken by planners will depend, of course, on the political regime in power in a particular community.

Smart growth has taken the planning profession by storm, but its regional equity aspects are difficult to implement, and participation at the regional level is largely ineffective. While much progress has been made, community-based initiatives, when evaluated in the context of globalizing influences and deepening inequalities, face increasing hurdles to make a significant difference in the lives of people living in disadvantaged communities. In 1964 President Johnson declared war on poverty. After 50 years its problems. and the problems

of the communities in which the poor live, are unlikely to be solved on a large scale.

Neo-liberalism and financial troubles in the public sector have made governmental redistributive programs problematic and Public-Private Partnerships are seen as providing the greatest hope for revitalizing communities, as community planning in low-income areas becomes more entrepreneurial.

There is also a strong potential for the populist rhetoric that accompanies many community-based initiatives to backfire on the proponents. The emphasis on grassroots participation and local decision making can easily become an excuse for governmental neglect. When the term "community empowerment" was used in the 1960s, it meant community control of governmental programs, an unnerving feature to political conservatives. During the 1980s, many of these same conservatives embraced the notion of community empowerment, reinterpreting it to mean the replacement of government obligation with local voluntarism. Etc. (Ferman Barbara *Challenging the Growth Machine*).

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Food and the City

Erik Bichard

Introduction

There is nothing particularly novel in the efforts of the producers of goods to make the journey from point of production to the point of demand. Farmers have been making this journey for millennia wherever concentrations of population have accumulated. Researchers such as Sanderson et.al (2005) collected a wide range of sources to describe the history and purpose on the food markets in North America. They found that market days in towns followed the same traditions that immigrants brought with them from Europe. The first documented food markets in America dated from the seventeenth century. By the nineteenth and early twentieth century markets selling food in centres of population were the most common way for urbanites to buy food.

By the middle of the 20th century, the open market stalls in squares and open spaces became difficult to accommodate and unreliable in terms of quality and abundance. This gave rise to the arrival of more fixed or permanent local retail points, and the increased mobility of the population made the modern supermarket inevitable. This in turn further undermined the demand for Farmers Market type shopping. While more convenient, this development severed the direct link between the shopper and the producer.

Currently modern food logistics chains stretch across the entire globe taxing consumers to locate the entire country of origin let alone the region or the farm that grew the items they choose.

The modern Farmers Markets revival in North America coincided with the interest in community gardening in the 1970's. However, in European countries such as Sweden, Germany and England they have been a more recent phenomenon because of the existing traditions of urban garden and allotments. In England, the history of the urban allotment is often traced back to the establishment of the 'guinea gardens' of Birmingham in the 1850s. Prior to this there was a long history of small areas of land tended by working people for personal consumption, but when the industrial revolution created an influx of workers into urbanised (and often environmentally degraded) environment to produce a particular need for factory workers. Throughout the Victorian era Birmingham was a city known for being a hub for heavy industry and manufacturing. The guinea gardens were offered by the sympathetic land owner to those requesting small plots for growing fruit and vegetables. The idea influenced other municipalities and by 1873 there were almost 250 000 sites stretching across the whole country (Burchardt 2002).

Today the USDA estimates that there are almost 8,000 Farmers Markets in US towns and cities. Sanderson et al. have considered the modern advantages of these markets to the potential regeneration of local economies and neighbourhoods. The access to fresh food, particularly for poorer inner city residents can be important where supermarket operators have pulled out of deprived areas. The mixing effect that was so important for commerce centuries ago has now become significant for different reasons. Cultural cohesion, illusive in some cities where mistrust and rivalry between communities sometimes boils over into unrest is encouraged around the markets that sell a range of ethnic foods that attract multicultural shoppers. There is also the re-discovery of the consumer/producer bond because the seller is also the grower and can vouch for the provenance of the food, and explain how to prepare and store it. Other advantages are food security, community identity, partnership opportunities between business and communities can also be important in some areas.

However, there is less abundant evidence that food markets (whether fixed or temporary) can have a transformative and long-lasting effect on under-invested urban areas. Planners and economic development officers employed by civic authorities often concentrate on improving aspects of the public realm, or job prospects for the (often) underemployed residents. Food retail might form part of this overall strategy, but it is rarely isolated as the key factor for the rival of an area.

One of the main reasons for this is that high quality, food retail opportunities don't usually do well in places where there is very little disposable income. Typically communities would need to wait until a regeneration initiative improves the economic standing of the population creating a new demographic before businesses believe that they will generate the return on investment that they demand. But occasionally a community that is alive to the importance of food both for the health of its population and to improve inward investment comes up with a winning formula.

Healthy Economy through Healthy Food: The East Liberty

In 2000, the natural and organic food retail Whole Foods Market (WFM) established a new store in the deprived Pittsburgh neighbourhood of East Liberty. At that time there was just one other grocery store (Giant Eagle) serving not just East Liberty, but the whole East End of East Pittsburgh. As a result of this unlikely decision, the next 10 years saw three more food retailers locating within a kilometre of the WFM store. The four retailers now generate well over \$250M in annual sales. But there are several other benefits to the location of WFM. The neighbourhood now hosts a monthly farmer's market, and the community has taken an interest in a number of new environmental and urban agriculture projects.

East Liberty boasted the third largest shopping district in all of Pennsylvania less than 50 years ago. In 1959 the area specialised as a garment district and hosted 575 businesses in the midst of a local population of almost 14,000. In the 1960s city planners thought they could attract more people into the area by re-routing traffic around the business district. The idea was a disaster and had the opposite effect, effectively destroying the fabric of the community. The existing street grid was replaced by street-level car parks which stood unused and over the next fifteen years the district lost over a 300,000 square meters of commercial space. Blight spread into the neighbouring communities of Friendship, Bloomfield, and Garfield, and crime rates rapidly increased. At its lowest point local businesses were down to less than 100 units and the population dropped to below 6,000.

In 1979, the East Liberty Chamber of Commerce formed the non-profit community development organisation East Liberty Development, Inc. (ELDI) to facilitate redevelopment efforts in the neighbourhood and begin the process of reversing the effects of urban renewal. The organization's first projects in the early and mid-1980s focused on improving the main shopping streets of the district. But by the end of the 1990s, while many projects had been completed underlying problems remained. Statistics from the 2000 Census showed that 14.4% of the 4,121 homes in East Liberty were vacant and a large part of the population was transient with 81.5% renter occupancy, compared to 48% throughout the rest of Pittsburgh (ELDI 2010). The economic indicators were no better with about 30% of the population at or below the poverty line in 2000 and 2008. After 20 years of trying, ELDI was still having a hard time attracting investors because the neighbourhood was perceived as unsafe and the workforce degraded (In 2000 the unemployment rate was 11.1%, twice the rate of the surrounding metropolitan statistical area).

ELDI decided to review what was going wrong with their attempts to revive the area, and with the aid of advisors they noticed that while East Liberty showed continuing signs of decline during the 1990's, three adjoining neighbourhoods had were improving with concentrations of educated high earners (over 100,000 people with household incomes over \$81,000 a year and 52% college-educated). Intuitively they had been trying to revive the area in the centre of the district, but they came to realise that they should have been concentrating on the fringes where those whose may have been worried about venturing into the heart of an unknown environment, would be quite happy to cross a boundary street to visit an attractive store. When a Home Depot opened up in East Liberty in 2000 it attracted wealthier shoppers and this helped to calm nerves that the strategy would pay off.

The next piece in the puzzle was to find that attractive store, and at the time there was really one obvious contender. Whole Foods Market started with one small shop in Austin Texas in 1980. Currently it now has over 300 stores in the US and the UK employing over 60,000 people and amasses gross annual sales

of more than \$9 billion. The company grew largely through a continual process of mergers and acquisitions and maintains core values that include support for organic farmers, environmental protection, and 'to be active participants in our local communities'. The company says it gives a minimum of 5% of its profits every year to a wide variety of community and non-profit organizations (<http://www.wholefoodsmarket.com>). In 2010 it launched a programme called Health Starts Here™ which includes classes, store tours, and in-store centres focused on healthy eating choices and cooking ideas.

The WFM brand had, throughout the time it had been expanding in 1990's been most at home in neighbourhoods with higher levels of disposable incomes. It would not have required a retail analyst to work out that East Liberty would not fit in this mould. However, a local developer, the Mosites Company recognised the opportunity and contacted ELDI to ask if it could help to attract Whole Foods Market to a site on the edge of the central retail district. At the time the site contained only a few businesses including a car wash and a taxi cab company. The two parties drew up a development plan and the cost of the project ultimately totalled \$7.6 million. The project would require a substantial amount of site preparation and infrastructure improvements and the all-important agreement from WFM to take a risk and open up in unfamiliar surroundings.

And yet, improbably, that is precisely what came to pass and when the Whole Foods store opened on October 17, 2002 and was an immediate success. Its opening day sales were among the highest ever reported for the Whole Foods chain. This would later be regularly exceeded as the reputation of the store gained notoriety in the following months. The business was so successful that by December 2003 there were 249 employees, 100 more than expected in the original business plan. A breakdown of employees showed that 56% were from low-income communities, 63% of the jobs paid more than minimum wage, and all offered benefits and profit sharing showing that the ELDI intention to encourage good local jobs was working.

According to the branch manager, when WFM opened (and for 5 years afterwards) the branch had the highest rate of Access Card usage (also known as food stamps which are credits for people below the poverty line and receiving State benefits) in their chain. The WFM deal was important for the regeneration of East Liberty because it established a quality food retailer in a deprived area, but it also gave confidence to the market to continue to invest after the initial breakthrough. As soon as the Whole Foods project was agreed ELDI moved to acquire adjacent sites for future development. Over the next 10 years these new retail units have housed a spa, a premium wine and beer retailer, a large Trek bike store, a number of household name chain stores. In addition, many new restaurants have been established in the streets adjacent to the retail sites across a range of affordability. There are now more jobs in East Liberty than people of working-age making East Liberty a net importer of

labour. Commercial development has generated 849 new jobs in East Liberty since 1999, in addition to construction jobs created by new build projects.

Later, ELDI would come to understand that there were four factors that came together to contribute to the success of the project. These were:

- A committed private developer willing to assemble a complicated development site and work with unusual sources of public and third sector funding (The Mosites Company);
- Support from the public sector to provide the infrastructure platform for WFM to open (traffic access, lighting etc.)
- WFM recognizing that while the store was located in 'distressed neighbourhood' it was adjoined with more wealthy neighbourhoods which offered the potential to attract more common shopper demographics into the area.
- A compelling story of East Liberty, as told largely by local community groups, East Liberty Development, Inc. and the developer.

This last element was a key component in giving investors, and particularly the charitable donors and lenders, the confidence to back the project. Significant donations and loans came from a variety of organisations including the McCune, Hunt, Pittsburgh and R.K. Mellon Foundations and the Heinz Endowments.

The existence of ELDI created a focal point that allowed regeneration money from the City (via a vehicle called the East End Growth Fund or EEGF) to pump-prime a range of community initiatives there were collectively supported by the whole community. Other parts of the city were not so lucky and had fragmented representative groups who competed for the modest sums offered up by the administration. The Growth Fund helped East Liberty to establish its community plan, a participative visioning exercise as early as 1999. It also structured to allow ELDI to share in the value of commercial development and use the return on their investment to grow their capacity. This investment power then helped to leverage influence over developers to hire local people to staff the businesses that were being housed in the new commercial space.

However, the influence of the WFM deal has gone well beyond classic economic regeneration for the community. A few years after the store was established the company encouraged a farmers market to take place on a regular basis on a part of the store's car park. This is an independently organised market and is not part of the city-wide farmer's market network. It also found the community receptive to its community garden initiative. In East Liberty a member of staff from the store helped to manage the Enright Park Community Garden three blocks away. The gardeners benefited from assistance on planting, composting and growing techniques and this led to a partnership with the Kentucky Avenue elementary school. The pupils have also had lessons on growing and

harvesting their own food which is then cooked and consumed as part of the “Living Lunch” program, to which the company adds donations. The children also help to sell the produce for charity at the monthly farmer’s market in Whole Foods’ car park.

How to Make the Desert Bloom

Meanwhile, across town in another deprived area, the same problem was being tackled in another way. In the autumn of 2004, a Masters student from Pittsburgh’s Carnegie Mellon University’s Urban Design program sat in on a community meeting in the Hill District north of the central core of the city. Residents were ruing the fact that there were no volume food retailers in the area and items such as fresh fruit and vegetable and anything other than cheap white bread was hard to find or too expensive to buy.. In fact the Hill District has not had a full-service grocery store in the area for nearly 30 years. One of the suggestions was that it might be possible to organise a better food themselves by forming a food co-operative.

This gave the student an idea and soon colleagues from the Business School and public administration courses got involved. In 2005 they won the prestigious JP Morgan Chase Community Development Competition with a project entitled “Centre Food: Bringing a Non-Profit Food Store to Pittsburgh’s Hill District Neighbourhood.” As part of the award, a non-profit organization called The Hill House was given \$25,000 to expand on the students’ ideas and develop a plan to attract a food retailer to the area. To date the community has secured land and a trader that will lease a new building which will be owned by the community. The funding was made possible through the innovative use of a Community Benefit Agreement and contributions from other parties. The plan is to build a 36,410-square-foot shopping centre which includes the 29,500-square-foot grocery store. The opening date is currently scheduled to be autumn 2013. The enabling mechanisms for the Hill District supermarket are important to understand in this story, but there are broader issues here for all green community projects that require more than a six figure sum to realise their aspirations. Big money often comes as a result of personal drive, persistence and the right connections, but it can sometimes rely on the ability to access the right type of help at the right time.

In the 1840s the Hill District was a wealthy neighbourhood overlooking the centre of the town of Pittsburgh. Just over 100 years later it had been occupied by successive immigrant groups culminating in a predominance of African Americans attracted from the southern US States with the promise of work in the thriving industries of the city. The District became known as a centre for jazz and many well-known artists including Charlie Mingus, Sarah Vaughn, Lena Horne, Oscar Peterson, Miles Davis, John Coltrane, Dizzy Gillespie, Cab Calloway and Duke Ellington entertained in venues in the area.

By the end of the Second World War over 90% of the buildings were deemed to be sub-standard and in 1955 a federal slum clearance plan demolished large areas of the Lower Hill part of the district. The plan knocked down over 1,300 buildings and displaced more than 1,500 families (8,000 residents in total) and 400 businesses (Young-Laing 2011). Much of this land was used to build a new civic arena which was completed in 1961. The intention was to move the central business district closer to the Hill for the benefit of the community. It did not work. Between 1950 and 2000, the Hill District lost 78% of its population. Riots after the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968 caused damage to many remaining buildings and further undermined the reputation of the area. The majority of the remaining residents now live in public housing located north and south of the main commercial district. Approximately 20% of private housing units are vacant and the median income is less than \$15,000.

During the 1960's residents began to fight back and challenge further plans to redevelop the area. In 1963, the Citizens Committee for Hill District Renewal, an umbrella group representing 40 organizations, was formed to oppose the "top-down" planning process. Primarily the groups focused on proposals for another grand project (a new cultural centre) and offer a counter-proposal for new housing and the rehabilitation of much of the existing stock. The cultural centre was never built, but the residents did not get many of their demands through either.

In the last 15 years there have been some signs of improvement in the Hill. The Urban Redevelopment Authority has spent \$242 million to clear poor housing and replace this with both subsidized and market-rate dwellings resulting in roughly 1,900 new homes. However, the poverty levels and the loss of much of the area's economic infrastructure has continued to hinder regeneration efforts. Many businesses have found trading conditions very difficult and have closed, including all of the large food retailers. This led to what regeneration practitioners and health professionals call a food desert. The US Department of Agriculture (USDA) favours the Healthy Food Financing Initiative (HFFI) definition of food deserts as low-income urban area where at least one third or at least 500 people live more than a mile from a supermarket (HFFI, 2010). HFFI say that around 23 million Americans live in areas which are only served by fast food restaurants and convenience stores that have limited health eating options.

As 60 per cent of the population in the Hill District do not own a car, access to fresh healthy food is hard for many people to access. Most have to take a bus to travel to surrounding districts in order to buy fresh fruit and vegetables and other healthy foods. In 2000 (according to census data), there were 11,853 people in the five sections of the Hill District showing that the area represents a willing market for retailers.

Unlike East Liberty, bodies that represent the interests of Hill District residents

did not coalesce into a single lobbying force. Instead, and similar to many other areas, representation has divided along geographic, faith, political and ethnic lines. The Hill District Community Plan of 1996 listed the Hill Community Development Corporation, Hill Ministries, the House of the Crossroads, Hill District Federal Credit Union and the Hill House Association as well as a number of individual (independent) activists as contributing to the discussions about the future of the area (Stoker and Robert 1996).

However, among these, the Hill House organisation has the longest history in the District stretching back over 100 years when two of its predecessor agencies (the Anna B. Heldman (formerly the Irene Kaufmann) and Soho Settlement Houses) helped European immigrants, and later Jewish settlers, adapt to their new lives in Pittsburgh. These settlement houses were America's original community centres, acting as support networks in the absence of any organised State social security system. During the 1960's when resident action in the Hill District was becoming stronger, a new social agency was formed out of the settlement house tradition to confront these problems. Known as the Hill House, the organisation joined the settlement houses with youth groups to offer lessons of leadership to young people.

Drawing from the roots and values of the settlement house concept, the Hill House Association was the first agency to combine health, welfare, recreation, and community programs in the District. In 1970, the Hill House Housing Development Corporation (now the Hill House Economic Development Corporation) was formed and became one of the first agencies to tackle housing redevelopment on the Hill. Two years later the organisation completed a new headquarters on Centre Avenue and worked to bring other agency partners into the building forging collaborative spirit across the area. More recently, in 1997 Hill House began its first-ever capital campaign and raised \$5 million to renovate its campus facilities. Today, the organisation claims to serve over 70,000 people a year on matters including housing, skills and health (<http://www.hillhouse.org/>).

While Hill House was used to receiving donation and grants for its social programmes, raising capital was more difficult. Built environment projects in the past had been almost exclusively focused around social housing provision, so when discussions started around solving the food desert problem Hill House did not have much of a track record to call upon. This problem was solved with the rise of the Community Benefits Agreement or CBA.

A CBA is a private contract negotiated between a prospective developer and community representatives. The CBA specifies the benefits that the developer will provide to the community in exchange for the community's support of its proposed development. The agreement usually contains a list of requirements including (often) a sum of money from a private developer that is seeking public funds. The driver for the agreement lies in the recognition that the developer

must win support of the local people before construction can commence. The public funding may be in the form of subsidies or relocation grants to attract the developer into an area, or it could be as result of the authority offering funding to augment or enhance the original proposal.

The CBA is a relatively recent economic instrument that accompanied the move since the late 1990's to regenerate inner-city areas commonly suffering from under-investment and attendant socio-economic problems such as high crime, low educational attainment and health disparities.

The CBA for the Hill District came about as a result of a desire to construct a new arena for Pittsburgh's professional ice hockey team, the Penguins. The site for this was adjacent to the old civil area that was responsible for devastating the District 40 years previously and the community memory of this was still raw. In return for agreeing to stay in the city, the owners of the hockey club received \$15 million of credit toward buying the land, the provision of a new arena, and rights to retain receipts for all the concerts, parking money and naming rights associated with arena. In return the club has to pay the city \$4.2 million a year. Because of the public financing element, the community was able to make a case for a CBA. The terms of the Hill District CBA stated that the parties should provide funding to build a full-service store with a pharmacy trading in a minimum of 25,000 square feet and that the asset (land and buildings) shall be retained by the community.

The community successfully sought a legally binding deal prior to the construction of the \$290 million arena for the city's Urban Redevelopment Authority to pay \$1 million out of a capital fund previously set aside for the development of a grocery store. This figure would be matched by the Penguins organisation through the CBA making the deal worth \$2M to the community.

In addition, the agreement mandated the developer to hire local people for a variety of jobs. About 40% of the 522 full- and part-time jobs created at the new arena and 73% of the 37 jobs at the Cambria Suites Pittsburgh hotel next door were subsequently given to people from the Hill District, or people who attended local jobs centres that were created as part of the agreement.

With the \$2 million from the CBA, Hill House and its partners went about task of securing the remainder of the funds needed to build the supermarket. They were successful in attracting the McCune Foundation, the Heinz Endowments, the Richard King Mellon Foundation and Pittsburgh Partnership for Neighbourhood Development to provide the remainder of the funding. In February 2009 Hill House Development Corp. took possession of the land for the new store.

However, it took until July 2012 for the chain retailer Shop 'n Save to agree to trade out of the proposed new supermarket building. The original business

plan forecast the employment of 100 people in a store that would support a bakery and a deli and an opening date of autumn of 2011. The plan had the total cost of the project stood at \$8.5 million. Shop 'n Save does not seek the same clientele as Whole Foods market. It is a franchise business that generally locates in lower income neighbourhoods where budget retail strategies are successful. Nevertheless, Jeff Ross, the franchisee who agreed to trade out of the Hill District store stated he was prepared to operate the business at that site, could not have done it without the \$7.5 million in financial support from public and third sector sources. The operator's stake was to be \$1 million in start-up costs. He had previously operated similar food retail business over 35 years, and had four other Shop 'n Save stores under his management at the time he agreed to take on the store in Pittsburgh.

However, four years after the initial CBA was announced only the site-development work has been completed on the land at Centre Avenue and Heldman Street. The project incurred costs of over \$3M, which accounts for about 42% of the original committed funds and is now predicted to cost a total of \$9M by the time it opens. Until recently the project's funders have stopped spending until a plan is put in place for the rest of the project and the exact amount of the funding shortfall is calculated. Hill House has accepted that project management issues had delayed the project, but that should not detract from a project that was always worth fighting for. On October 17th, 2013 at 7am the new store opened its doors. It employs 120 people, 95% of whom are ethnic minority origin and 65% from the local neighbourhood. The long 30 year wait ended with relief and optimism by the local people. In a similar development to the east Liberty example, the new store has attracted other interested traders. Tenants including Dollar Bank, Nationwide Insurance, Crazy Mocha Coffee, Subway and Cricket Communications have all signed leases to occupy other buildings on the Shop n Save supermarket block and are expected to open their new premises early in 2014(Blazina 2013).

The Boston Tree Party

Lisa Gross is the Chairman and Founder of the Boston Tree Party. She is an artist who works in the field of social practice/social sculpture (<http://www.bostontreeparty.org/>). Her cross-disciplinary projects create opportunities for learning, connection, and multi-sensory engagement. Reading this on the website makes Lisa's idea sound intriguing and so it is. But it also works on its most simple level; the Boston Tree Party is an urban orchard scheme. Lisa's resume does not really match to profile of a cook-grow-eat activist and yet she is in the forefront of a rapidly growing movement to use food as force for community development. In less than two years (the initiative took off in the spring of 2011) the 'Party' has now planted hundreds of apple trees and has signed up over 70 communities (or delegations as they are known) from all over the Greater Boston area. They include schools, universities, assisted living

centres, community groups and businesses. Its goal is to produce 15,000 free heirloom apples a year by the fourth year of its existence. They chose apples for a number of reasons. There is a connection between apples, health and well-being, and a further connection with Boston. Apples were first planted in America at Beacon Hill by William Blackstone. The first American variety of apple, the Roxbury Russet, was also cultivated in the area. Indeed, students of Boston's green city credentials might assume that an urban orchard is something to be expected in a place that hosts one of the country's oldest community gardens.

This deeper understanding about the city's apparent disassociation with urban horticulture makes The Boston Tree Party idea sound risky. But when she launched her initiative in a gusty urban park, she told her audience about an interesting fact about apple trees; apples (in common with many other fruit trees) cannot reproduce on their own - they need a different tree to pollinate the blossom in order for them to bear fruit. Gross goes on to say this is a trait shared in a different way with human beings; people must cross pollinate ideas to be successful and this accentuates our interdependence on each other. She tells the audience that we need to seek out and value diversity because 'that's how you get the sweetest and juiciest fruit' (<http://www.bostontreeparty.org/>). A year on, in a recent film made by Jennifer Kelly http://www.homegrown.org/video/growing-civic-fruit-a-documentary-film-about-the-boston-tree?xg_source=activity explains that the Party has three strands to its mission. It is at the same time a 'participatory public art project'; and an 'urban agriculture project'; and a 'performative re-imagining of American political expression'. She explains that 'delegates' ask permission to plant the fruit trees in a civic space while promoting the fruits of civic engagement.

There are many potential outcomes of this unusual act. The trees can help to control urban flooding. They offer safe food as air pollution absorbed into tree but not the fruit. They provide a sense of place for both the planters, and those who come to see them as a local landmark. They have an aesthetic quality but also are practical providers of shade. They represent a small fight back against food desert and are a focus for discussions in deprived areas about regeneration ideas. They represent a badge of membership to encourage other delegates to visit each other and share stories. Lisa would also add that the idea represents an intersection between social art (celebrating the structure and symbolism of the trees) and the encouragement social entrepreneurial activity where people organise together for a successful project.

The proposition and offer behind the Boston Tree Party is that each delegation receives a Tree Party Kit with everything they needed to plant and grow two apple trees. The Party then provides support and workshops to delegates staffed by gardening education organizations and in-house Pomologists. The care and maintenance needs to be low-cost and tailored to allow each group to create its own project according to its needs and interests. Many groups find a spare

patch of lawn outside a school or church, but some are more imaginative. The East Boston Neighbourhood Health Centre created their community garden on an abandoned car park, braving through the asphalt in order to find the soil underneath.

The Party is also proud of a delegation in Dorchester which was started by people living in a scheme that accommodates low-income grandparents who are raising grandchildren. They partnered with a youth development organisation, a community development corporation, and the Boston Architectural College to restore and renovate a community garden that had become neglected and dilapidated.

The resources for the project have come from a range of individual donors in cash and in-kind donations. The Party has not yet attracted big corporate or public sector contributions, but at present the ambitions don't require this level of support. In fact, the Party suspended recruitment for new delegations once they reached the 70 member mark to ensure that it could support both the growing requirements, and facilitate the community development aspect of the project.

The Party likes to accentuate the playfulness of their activities; the name is a humorous nod towards a significant event in the war of US independence in the 18th century. They want to avoid the earnestness and seriousness of some sustainability initiatives and community cohesion projects by injecting a sense of fun into their work. If they simply stated that each pair of trees creates a new gathering place and opportunities for learning, exchange, and participation while seeking to facilitate a lasting engagement with the issues of food access, health, environmental stewardship, biodiversity, public space, and civic engagement, it would be accurate but too worthy for their liking.

Boston Tree Party was not Gross' first idea. A few years previously she founded the Urban Homesteaders' League which is still active and is dedicated to helping people to understand and adopt sustainable urban living skills of all kinds, centred on the home. Being a member of the League links you into talks, tours and demonstrations covering a range of topics including (as the website states) 'ecological urban agriculture, urban livestock, food preparation and preservation, making your own skincare products and cleaning supplies, urban composting, basic carpentry, green retrofitting, and fibre arts' <http://www.meetup.com/Urban-Homesteaders-League/>

To understand how this convergence of affinity to natural process, artistic symbolism, and terrific organising skills, requires a closer understanding of Lisa's background. She has a Masters degree in Fine Arts from the Museum and Tufts University in Boston, but took some environment courses as an elective. She grew up in the city (Washington D.C.) so there were no obvious rural childhood experiences to explain her green interests. During her degree,

she was heavily influenced by Rebecca Kneale Gould's (2005) book 'At Home in Nature'. She based her individual course project around the book which initially was an experiment, but then in turned into the League.

At first there were just a few dozen people who met discussed issues (mostly around food) at each other's houses. The group attracted quite a few 'gardening anarchists and off the grid people', but there were also ordinary people who just wanted to learn how to grow their own fruit and vegetables in the back garden. Gross was well connected across the city and in nearby cities like New York and quickly found herself in the role of event co-ordinator. In January 2010 she thought that the group was weighted a little too much towards better off middle class members and sought to diversify the interests by contacting other like-minded organisations in the Boston area such as the Liveable Streets Alliance (sustainable transport), the Green Justice Campaign (home energy conservation and jobs for low income communities) and Greenport (a community initiative inspired by James Kunstler and based in Cambridge). Greenport resembled an early version of the Transition Town groups that were springing up in the UK and Ireland which based activities around self-sufficiency in the expectation of resource depletion and the reduction in the availability of fossil fuels.

As membership grew there were more and larger themed meetings on issues like energy co-operatives, and permaculture. Lisa had the idea of reaching wider audiences by taking stalls at community fairs and farmers markets and handing out 'how to' flyers on subjects such as how to fit a rain barrel to a drainpipe, textile recycling, setting up honey bee hives, making pickles and eating seasonally. She realised that while the Homesteader agenda took in a wide range of issues, food was the most popular and unifying subject. She found that discussions with people about how to respond to climate change always felt laboured and depressing whereas a discussion about food was invariably positive.

This prompted Gross to take an interest in a number of food-related social justice schemes such as the 'Bounty Bucks' scheme (run originally by The Food Project and later by the Boston Collaborative for Food and Fitness). The scheme was operated with the City for low income families who were in receipt of Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Programme vouchers (or SNAP – formally known as 'food stamps'). The scheme allowed recipients to spend the vouchers at local Farmers Markets instead of travelling to distant supermarkets. This was an alternative idea to overcome the food desert problems that have been tackled by fixed-point retail in Pittsburgh as described earlier in this chapter.

Lisa's Boston tree party tapped into some old concerns about the ability to cope in a contracting world both in terms of a shrinking economy and a reduction in the availability of resources. But there are new influences at work including some leadership around empowerment and food, and a willingness to do something to arrest declining environmental conditions. She has now built upon these ideas with her latest initiative, The League of Kitchens. This is explained on the

website as 'an immersive culinary adventure in New York City where immigrants teach intimate cooking workshops in their homes, and participants encounter a new culture, cuisine, and neighbourhood with every experience' (<https://www.leagueofkitchens.com/>). Gross aims to teach interested attendees how to cook food from all over the world while building 'cultural engagement and exchange, meaningful connection and social interaction'. This use of food as the lingua franca of the new sustainable community has also been adopted in Europe. The Incredible Edible movement in England, France and many other countries seeks to build community trust and collective action against the threats of climate change and environment damage through the power of food (<http://www.incredible-edible-todmorden.co.uk/>).

These accounts in Pittsburgh, Boston, New York and England could encourage a new emerging theme in the area of regeneration of local economic centres. Themed revivals are not particularly novel, but the use of food and the main driver seems on this evidence to be a potent attractor of investment and collective activity and should be seriously considered as part of an overall regeneration strategy by both planners and community leaders.

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Potentials of Urban Agriculture for Innovating Social Regeneration Strategies in the City. Lessons from San Diego¹

Bruno Monardo

Introduction

This contribution aims to explore the contribution that 'urban agriculture' (UA) in its multifaceted forms can give to urban regeneration strategies, particularly for fostering social inclusion in contemporary, fragmented communities. The US experience in such fields of research and planning practice, led by the need to improve healthy food access and eating habits, is providing new strategies to pursue a valuable framework for agricultural re-use and rezoning of vacant and derelict urban areas. The experience of 'New Roots Community Farm' within the distressed neighborhood of City Heights in San Diego, California, shows intriguing potential, matching social inclusion and physical-economic redevelopment.

Urban Agriculture: What Contribution for Social Regeneration of the City?

Can an 'urban agriculture' (UA) approach, within the wider framework of 'healthy food policies', innovate urban regeneration strategies and tools while pursuing a virtuous scenario in terms of social inclusion?

Since the commencement of the CLUDs EU research project that focuses on innovative tools in urban regeneration strategies, this has been a question faced by the author, together with some European and US research units, and is not merely rhetorical.

As evidenced by the new *Europe 2020* strategy, the European Union is increasingly interested in pursuing principles of cohesion and social inclusion through urban policies. As part of this issue, the UA phenomenon, the culture of which has its roots in the history of European settlements, can represent an intriguing vector for integrating social inclusion imperatives in contemporary urban policy. There is no doubt that this is both a complex issue and a relevant research challenge. Nevertheless it may be argued that it is possible to be moderately optimistic about successful outcomes – providing certain conditions are met.

Urban redevelopment within cities affected by economic crises currently presents a major challenge for public administrations, private investors, and

an increasingly kaleidoscopic group of socially-driven stakeholders. However, the imperative of pursuing inclusive urban strategies which are faced with the exponential rise in migration has rarely been connected to the issues of limiting land consumption and boosting economic, physical and social regeneration in most developed countries. Only fairly recently within the general framework of urban/rural relationships has UA begun to emerge as a practice that could prove successful both for giving new perspectives to blighted zones of crisis-ridden and post-crisis cities, and for tackling the kind of social malaise related to the phenomenon of mass migration in western metropolitan areas.

This work focuses on reflecting on and assessing how - and to what extent - UA can drive innovation in urban regeneration strategies, not only in physical and economic terms, but also (and mostly) from the perspective of social inclusion. A specific case study of an integrated initiative run by a non-profit organization (NPO) in San Diego (State of California), is discussed in order to support such a scenario. The *New Roots Community Farm* initiative – located in a ‘patchwork community’ of immigrants in the distressed neighborhood of City Heights – seems to be particularly significant for its aim of revitalizing ‘rurban’ spaces through the involvement of refugee groups in urban farming, community garden care, and the potential for an interesting ‘chain’ of connected activities. The entire neighborhood is considered a ‘critical food access’ area and the main engine of the initiative, an international NPO - the International Rescue Committee (IRC) - worked with other community-based associations, the City of San Diego and the San Diego County Farm Bureau to develop the project on vacant public land.

Towards Integrated “Healthy Food” Policies in United States

Across the US, a growing consumer demand for fresh, local and healthy food is creating new markets for urban food production. Many of these efforts specifically address the needs of residents of low-income urban neighborhoods to access food. The wider framework in which such programs are embedded is to be found in healthy food policies and proper diet habits as a way to tackle such serious and widespread social diseases as obesity, diabetes, cardiovascular problems and specific types of cancer.

Although US food production is significantly more than sufficient – almost triple the present needs of consumers (Nestle, 2007) – the entanglement of malnutrition and lack of access to fresh and healthy food is the main issue at hand. Indeed, not only does research demonstrate a correlation between the health behavior of individuals and their social and physical surroundings, but specifically shows a relationship between diseases of malnutrition and low-income neighborhoods (Morland, 2002). The lack of supermarkets and grocery stores selling affordable, fresh, healthy food may have substantial impact on

low-income and minority communities to have equal access to food (Morland, 2006; Flegal, 2002).

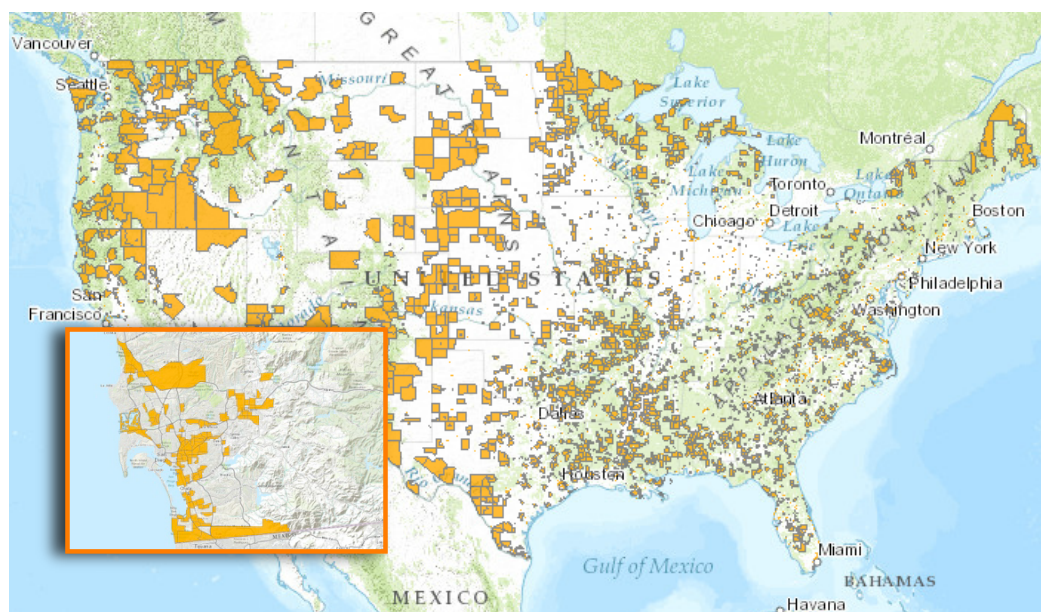


Figure 1- “Food Desert” macro-areas in USA; detail of San Diego County (bottom left); source: USDA

Areas where access to healthy food is critical are often identified as food deserts, areas “with limited access to affordable and nutritious food”² or food *swamps*, marked by the abundance of unhealthy food sources such as fast-food restaurants and convenience stores. Under USDA criteria defining food deserts³, “about 10 percent of the 65,000 census tracts in the United States meet the definition of a food desert. These food desert tracts contain 13.5 million people with low access to sources of healthful food. The majority of this population — 82 percent — lives in urban areas”⁴.

In this context, the United States is at the forefront of community-based agricultural and rural practices, not only for the achievement of urban physical regeneration objectives, but also in consideration of the social integration and economic development targets that such initiatives aim to attain. In fact, together with the most renowned community gardens and retail farms, there is a wide variety of different activities linked to agricultural production and fresh produce which vary from job creation with ‘commercial kitchens’, through food business incubators, to specific educational and growing activities and training in the culinary arts.

Planning agencies, both at local and regional level, are increasingly using urban and regional plans to address food system issues in a sustainable way. Among them, UA is one of the topics identified as an ‘innovative’ tool to enhance the food system, economically, environmentally and socially. Defined as “the growing, processing, and distribution of food and other products through intensive plant cultivation and animal husbandry in and around cities” (Bailkey and Nasr, 2000, quoted in Friedman, 2000), UA includes a number of different

green- and brown-field initiatives. These projects are often inspired by NPOs with a variety of goals, including health and environmental issues, and job and income creation, as well as the development of entrepreneurial skills and the regeneration of distressed neighborhoods. Indeed, as cities spread into suburbs, inner-city buildings and lots are abandoned or demolished; UA restores vacant parcels of land to productive use in an alternative food supply mechanisms.

California Policies and San Diego County Strategies

In the last few years, the State of California has opened a new series of policies to promote a culture of healthy eating and access to fresh and nutritious food. *The California Healthy Food Financing Initiative Council (CHFFIC)* was established in October 2011 when the Governor signed Assembly Bill (AB) 581. CHFFIC is a public-private partnership program that was created to increase access to healthy foods in underserved, urban, and rural communities and inspire innovation in healthy food retailing. The CHFFIC Fund - using federal, state, philanthropic, and private funds - provides financing for grocery stores and other forms of healthy food retail and distribution by delivering grants and loans to eligible applicants.

In California, particularly large metropolitan areas are currently making foodshed assessments to plan for specific interventions. Recently, San Francisco, Los Angeles and San Diego have been easing procedures and changing plans and zoning codes to include UA and stimulate the cooperation of NPOs and other local actors. In particular, *The California Endowment (TCE)*, a private, statewide foundation whose mission is to provide access to affordable, quality health care for underserved individuals and communities in California, is undertaking the *Building Healthy Communities Initiative*, a 10-year, \$1 billion plan that funds 14 Californian communities in order to transform their neighborhoods.

TCE granted funds to start the *San Diego County Food System Alliance* in March 2012. The Alliance's objectives are to strengthen local farms and improve access to high-quality healthy local food by improving infrastructure and regional food distribution.

The UA scheme in San Diego is currently prominent within both the wider political framework and the cultural shift towards more healthy eating habits and food, especially in low-income communities. UA in its various forms may therefore be seen as a complementary, concurrent element - if not a trigger- of economic and social regeneration initiatives in blighted areas and distressed communities. Actions and initiatives related to UA take different forms and have been institutionally recognized by the city of San Diego in its municipal and zoning codes since the amendments adopted in January 2012, which were funded by a \$50,000 grant provided by the *County of San Diego Health and Human Service Agency* with the aim of increasing access to healthy, local and sustainable nutrition.

These amendments and new regulations have introduced important innovations

and opportunities for UA. Firstly, by the introduction of two new categories within the General Plan: 'Farmers' Markets' and 'Retail Farms'. Secondly, by removing restrictions on the keeping of chickens, goats and bees, either city-wide or in single-family areas, and making minor amendments to community garden regulations. Within the context of land use zoning, *community gardens* and *backyard gardens* are regarded as primarily for consumption by the grower, while commercial *urban farms* are for production and selling.

Within the amended General Plan in San Diego, UA is defined as "the production of food in and around cities for local consumption". The policies of specific plans aim towards a UA system that should be both economically and environmentally sustainable by:

- encouraging the use of specific UA techniques that require reduced land and water use;
- recognizing the cultural and economic benefits of providing opportunities for residents to grow healthy, affordable, culturally appropriate foods;
- developing land development regulations that allow UA uses in appropriate locations and increase opportunities for farmers' markets on public and private land;
- encouraging UA land use in underutilized vacant plots and peri-urban areas;
- exploring potential locations for UA land use as part of a long range plan.

The Urban Agriculture Issue: Historical Roots and Cultural Positions

The specific study this document deals with has been conducted within the CLUDs research section investigating urban regeneration tools and strategies in the United States, which takes into consideration economic, social and environmental aspects in order to achieve a sustainable and 'smart' perspective on cities. Considering the adopted holistic approach to the research, and in order to explore the multifaceted nature of the issue, the research unit followed a 'grounded theory' approach fully to explore the complexity of the investigation, at both a theoretical and empirical level. This approach was adopted for the entire research model and to address the case study, in order to support the inductive rationale and adjust the research hypothesis.

Quantitative and qualitative data were collected through several methods and different sources (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Firstly, statistical analysis of

selected Census Bureau tracts was needed in order to identify useful data on the demographic, social and economic situation of the city of San Diego and its diverse neighborhoods. A review of community plans, regeneration initiatives, zoning documents and maps was used to survey the planning perspective and define the critical mass of the urban fabric.

At the same time, qualitative data were gathered from interviews with selected stakeholders acting at neighborhood, City and County level, in order to fully understand the complex scaling and intertwining of different driving forces. The research unit involved municipalities and other local authorities, as well as NPOs, community-based associations and private bodies, in order better to re-interpret the complex partnership structure of the general phenomenon, and of the specific case study.

The gradual re-emergence of urban food production cannot be regarded as an authentically innovative form of urban regeneration, either in the European or the American tradition.

Urban farming in the United Kingdom has a long history. The phenomenon of local 'allotments' for personal farming dates back to the first half of the 19th century; in 1908 specific legislation made provision for local authorities to provide land for individual urban gardening. These urban gardens existed as a way to meet the demand of newly-arrived rural workers by means of urban allotments which were to support low wages and family income (Martin and Mardsen 1999).

The total number of plots and allotments has varied greatly over time in urban areas, with a substantial rate of progressive decline after the Second World War, due to the pressures caused by high-density urbanization. However from the 1970s increased sensitivity towards 'green' issues, and awareness of the need for cities to counter issues of food security, public health, and social justice, revived interest in allotment gardening and local food growing.

In recent years there has been a growing recognition of the multitude of problems associated with the food economy and the so-called *new food equation*, a number of new and highly complex developments (high and volatile food prices, climate change effects, social and land conflicts, etc.) which affect cities of all sizes and economic levels (Morgan and Sonnino, 2010).

In the United States, high unemployment rates were tackled through garden programs in the late 19th century in Detroit (Lawson, 2005), and 'victory gardens' were promoted by the government to respond to food shortages during the World Wars. Gardens were intended to provide both food and employment and also to assimilate recent immigrants (McClintock, 2010). Today, UA refers to the "growing, processing, and distribution of food and other products through intensive plant cultivation and animal husbandry" in and around cities, within

the cores of metropolitan areas, and at their edges. It is a complex activity, addressing issues central to community food security, involving also recreation and leisure, economic revitalization, health and well-being, beautification, and environmental protection (Brown and Carter, 2003).

The influence of UA and community gardens within the literature is described as threefold: firstly, the ability to promote sustainability, both physical and ecological; secondly, the socio-cultural potential of community gardens which provide a place for communities to gather, interact and share knowledge and experiences; thirdly, their contribution to the education and career development of young adults as well as those adult segments of the population willing to undertake new business activities (Stocker and Barnett, 1998).

Generally, advocates of UA (Smit and Nasr, 1992; Kaufman and Bailkey, 2000; Mougeot, 2000) envision multiple benefits to cities, such as:

- reducing the abundant supply of vacant, unproductive publicly-owned urban land and thus enhancing the image of distressed neighborhoods;
- increasing the amount of neighborhood green space and open areas with positive ecological impacts;
- supplying low-income residents with healthier and more nutritious food;
- reducing food insecurity, improving food intake of households, and developing more pride and self-sufficiency among inner-city residents.

On the other hand, detractors identify a series of impediments to the successful implementation of UA projects; however these appear to be more concerned with external hurdles rather than the limits of the practice itself (Smit, 2001; Kaufman and Bailkey, 2000).

The most relevant of these can be summarized as:

- the cost and contaminated nature of vacant inner-city land;
- the lack of resources made available by government agencies and organizations as well as little, if any, commitment to support UA from city officials;
- a lack of know-how within communities to cultivate land and grow food;
- difficulties such as vandalism, shortage of staff and lack of market opportunities;
- UA as being aesthetically inappropriate in the city, causing pollution, and being unhygienic.

Nonetheless, not only is there a growing number of committees (especially the Community Food Security Coalition) devoted to respond to these issues, but planners are becoming more involved in making connections between UA and the larger food system, as factors that depend on economic, environmental and social resources (Hodgson, 2011).

For the scope of this work, the social benefits of UA were taken into special consideration. Community involvement in the initiatives of UA provides opportunities for environmental awareness and nutritional education, as well as for social interaction across a diverse range of cultures and age groups, including minorities and immigrant farmers.

Indeed, “urban agriculture has always been enriched by the skills and technologies of immigrant populations” (Brown and Carter, 2003) who might already have experience and knowledge of raising and preserving food. In addition, they may also bring new crops from their native countries, providing market niches for ‘ethnic’ food for the benefit of both the host and other countries (Smit, 2001). Because immigrants and ethnic minorities often reside in low-income neighborhoods where accessibility to food is critical, they might become a fundamental resource for fostering and enhancing the culture of UA.

The Melting Pot of City Heights and the “New Roots” Initiative

The potential of UA was specifically explored through the investigation of a fundamental case study in San Diego County, California, because of its contribution towards the establishment of UA in the city of San Diego as a practice for social, economic and physical regeneration.

The *New Roots Community Farm* project, managed by the IRC and located in the neighborhood of City Heights in the eastern part of the city, is most interesting because of the full involvement within the local communities of a group of refugees in the implementation and management of a community garden and connected activities. The case is particularly concerned with the social aspect of regeneration, which involves integration and inclusion of the poor and marginalized: it is directed towards refugees and people who were formerly farmers in their country of origin, with a wider social impact that represents the main objective of the initiative - and the positive effects it has on the multifaceted local community.

The discussion of the case study shows how a single UA initiative, carried out by a NPO aimed at a particular group of immigrants, empowers these new residents as producers, consumers and vendors of healthy, fresh food, and builds local economic development.

In 2009, through a strong collaboration between local authorities and other community-based associations, the project commenced on a 2.3 acres land with 85 families participating. Its successful results are now being replicated by IRC nationwide as a way to tackle food insecurity, health problems, and economic hardship.

The project garnered national media coverage, which was boosted by the visit and the 'endorsement' of the First Lady, Michelle Obama, in 2010. It is considered the first attempt to establish legislation about new community gardens in San Diego and, more generally, a new food-related trend - especially in low-income neighborhoods. Following a 'place-based' strategy, the 'New Roots' project attempts to connect a rural framework to an urban redevelopment policy.

City Heights is one of the largest and most populated neighborhoods of San Diego and it has historically been a destination for immigrant communities. Flows of refugees started in 1974 with an influx of Vietnamese people – followed by Cambodians and Laotians - and continued in the '80s and '90s with the resettling of immigrants from civil wars in Central America, the former Yugoslavia, and Iraq. At the beginning of 2000, immigrants began to arrive in City Heights from East Africa, and according to a review of contemporaneous census data, 44 percent of the neighborhood's population was foreign-born by that time.

Demographics of the neighborhood reveal a different structure compared to the average of the city of San Diego, and cast light on the history of immigration in the area. About 60% of the city is made up of white people, with 7% African-Americans and 15% Asians making up the other major ethnic groups. By contrast City Heights is 32% white, 15% African-American, 16% Asian and 29% of 'other races'. Also, as is common in many developing countries, the population structure is very young and heavily concentrated in the 5-35 age group, which indicates high birth rates and larger families.

Once a dynamic business neighborhood, City Heights has experienced a dramatic change since the late '50s, with the opening of large shopping malls elsewhere in San Diego that deprived small shopkeepers of customers. The need to attract shoppers back to City Heights was crucial to the approval of the Mid-City area plan in 1965. Indeed, business interests endorsed the idea of a densification of the neighborhood's residential area to broaden its customer base. The substitution of multiple-family dwellings for single-family residences, and the construction of large complexes of low-quality apartments, changed the aspect of the neighborhood and exacerbated problems of viability, parking, and public services.

From the 1970s onwards, as the population dynamic changed, grocery stores left - both because of high crime rates and due to the rigidity of the supply system of full-service grocery stores and supermarkets, making access to fresh food

more difficult. The lack of healthy, fresh and ethnic food in the neighborhood had a significant impact on the livelihood of immigrant communities, most of whose members were agrarian in their native countries.

A study conducted in 2011 highlighted that the entire neighborhood suffers from being a 'critical food access' area as far as supermarkets are concerned, both in terms of distance from the nearest full-service grocery store, and the available grocery retail space.

Access to nutrition has become a major issue in City Heights for at least two reasons.

Firstly, the lack of affordable fresh and healthy food in low-income neighborhoods, particularly where issues of public and private transportation occur. Secondly, immigrants and refugees tend to prefer food from their own culture, which may be very difficult to obtain in an already under-served area. This too must be taken in consideration, as the majority of affordable groceries throughout the whole city of San Diego are from the Mexican culinary tradition.

Aware of the food-related problems in the area, the IRC – an important international NPO working on refugee resettlement in the US – began organizing meetings with local communities around this issue. Many immigrant families suffered high rates of obesity and other health problems due to the lack of affordable fresh and healthy food.

IRC started a bottom-up process, working with refugee communities, other residents and local groups to tackle food insecurity and malnutrition. They identified a vacant brownfield public lot and asked the city for permission to farm that land. Because the City did not yet have a policy for urban farming, IRC – together with residents and non-profit advocates – focused on finding solutions by promoting changes in the laws about land use, community gardens, farmers' markets and other grassroots initiatives. After several years of bureaucratic process, in 2009 the City of San Diego approved the project and released an 'occupancy permit' on the designated vacant plot. A significant development in this process was the approval of a city ordinance in January 2012 that dramatically streamlined the city's community garden regulations.

Since many refugees were farmers in their countries of origin, the strategy was less oriented towards technique, and more towards a better understanding of market dynamics, business and marketing. The *New Roots Community Farm* is the first of several initiatives put in action by IRC under the broader umbrella of the *Food Security and Community Health (FSCH) Program*. Other initiatives comprise *The New Roots Aqua Farm*, an aquaponics system that employs a closed-loop cycle of tilapia farming with hydroponic vegetable growing. The Aqua Farm is also a small-food-business incubator that gives entrepreneurial residents additional space to grow.

New Roots growers from both the Community and Aqua Farms sell their produce on a weekly basis at the City Heights Farmers' Market. Also within the same program, the City Heights Community and Remedy Garden is located in the heart of City Heights with 16 gardening plots for community residents and a herbal medicinal garden, where two high school garden programs train youth in urban farming and food justice advocacy.

This incremental strategy is to ensure that refugees and residents are able to obtain affordable fresh organic food to feed themselves and their families, and also gradually to introduce them to the food business. Training programs are organized by the IRC, and because the community farm has been certified, they are able to sell their surplus at City Heights Farmers Market and to restaurants, making it a potential secondary income for a family. This is especially pertinent to women, who generally are more involved in the process. Some farmers have turned this activity into a business, through a food business incubator located in Pauma Valley, 50 miles into San Diego County.

From a micro point of view, the initiative is proactive in meeting its community needs, primarily in terms of food security and nutrition. In a 'critical food access area' such as City Heights, farmers not only have land to farm and access to fresh ethnic food, but also



Figure 2 - Some pictures of the "New Roots Community Garden Initiative", San Diego (CA). On the left, Michelle Obama visiting the refugees in Chollas Creek, San Diego 2010. AP Photo.

technical assistance, credit facilities and training to improve their business knowledge. Locally grown food from New Roots may allow households to enhance their income and achieve a better diet. Training programs improve business capacity building, and microenterprises are sustained by a number of IRC facilities.

Broadening the perspective, *New Roots* has widened its specific impact via a step-by-step process, and now comprises a network of initiatives serving communities' needs, and developing local economies both within the neighborhood, and beyond its urban borders.

Towards an Integrated Approach: Perspectives and Limits

Coming full circle back to the initial question, what is the role of UA within the policies of urban regeneration? And could it be used to foster virtuous socially-inclusive strategies in contemporary fragmented communities?

As it was argued in the first section, there is no doubt of the increasing success of UA initiatives, considered within the general framework of 'healthy food policy', at the moment a core issue not only for developing countries, but also reflected in policies and strategies both at central and local institutional levels in the US and other OECD countries.

The *San Diego New Roots Community Farm* case study is to an extent emblematic of the potential of setting up a proactive set of initiatives in terms of actors, partnerships, social value, community involvement, economic sustainability, mixed functions, and new identities. However, it would be an illusion to think that such a 'recipe' can be imported 'sic et simpliciter' into other contexts. In fact, its relevance as best practice is obviously related to specific conditions of space, time, and civic and juridical culture.

The current impetus in the US – and particularly in California – is clearly different from the European context. US communities are operating in a post-crisis context, and a new horizon of project initiatives with a moderately confident vision for boosting local economies and pursuing 'fair redevelopment' is emerging. San Diego City has its General Plan (2008) which was honoured by the American Planning Association (APA) in 2010 for emphasizing the "City of Villages" and the multifaceted nature of communities. Its sensitivity towards the UA approach was stressed in the latest amendments (2012) permitting the spontaneous creation of "Community gardens" and "Retail farms" to encourage a 'new deal' in terms of green, smart and socially inclusive urban and peri-urban spaces.

The quality of the project, in terms of complexity, assured its relevant potential as a catalyst for urban regeneration in its multifaceted interpretations, emphasizing social, cultural and symbolic dimensions without neglecting concurrent economic, physical and environmental aspects.

In some respects the project is part of a more systemic vision that emphasizes the priority of revitalization programs in the neighbourhood of City Heights: local strategies and projects are carried out by the Price Foundation (an important grassrooted non-profit charity) and shared by the public administration, the community and the majority of local stakeholders.

In terms of the regenerational impact of the initiative, the Community garden phenomenon may be considered only the 'tip of the iceberg'. More complex

'critical mass' can be found in the potential of related activities (farmers' markets, aqua farms, commercial kitchens, kitchen incubators, culinary art training centers, ethnic grocery stores and restaurants, and connected peri-urban agri-farms) which are becoming increasingly socially and economically relevant, and offer new opportunities for both the inclusion of immigrants and new forms of social cohesion. The success of the initiative is mirrored through the potential to implement virtuous forms of dialogue between the fragmented identities of the Community: healthy and ethnic food implications can be a powerful vector in terms of programs and perspectives of social inclusion, proactive education, and limited but socially significant economic rebounds.

Conversely, however, the *New Roots* case and other parallel experiences in the US reveal some problematic issues, weaknesses and threats.

Sometimes the risk of delaying or paralyzing the 'project cycle' is evident, due to 'difficulties in dialog' between non-professional proponents (e.g. some specific non-profits or local civic associations) and the public government.

The project follow-up by the public administration has the typical advantages and limits of the 'common law' juridical culture: in general the public sector represents a 'referee', limiting its action to managing the rules while 'waiting' for the proposals of the actors. This differs from the 'civil law' culture of some European Countries (e.g. France and Italy) in which the public sector is often an 'engine' with a more proactive role.

Returning to the initial question about the role of UA strategies in regenerating cities, looking at the lesson of San Diego and at the general dynamics within other US contexts, it is possible to say that this approach may take on a concurrent, complementary role with intriguing potential, if – and only if – some specific conditions are respected.

Land and plots devoted to UA should be conceived and planned as integration activities, and not in competition with 'powerful land uses' in terms of development rights; looking towards a post-crisis horizon it is not unlikely that community gardens in the inner parts of cities will quickly be replaced with new high-density development projects as soon as the economic cycle allows developers to pursue new profit by filling 'vacant' land resources. From this point of view, a low density urban fabric with a relatively large amount of vacant 'interstitial' land can represent an advantage, keeping together UA patterns, open space systems and denser areas.

The spaces dedicated to UA and its connected activities should be conceived and planned as part of the overall 'greening strategy' of settlements. Community gardens, urban farms, farmers' markets and so on should be designed as elements of a complex open space system, included within its public parks, private gardens, urban and peri-urban woods, hydrographical, and environmental systems of the city and its metropolitan domain.

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Notes

¹This work represents an author's personal evolution of a paper preprinted in the Proceedings of the 49th ISOCARP Congress, representing a piece of research carried out by the author, together with Enrica Polizzi di Sorrentino, Enzo Falco, Alessia Ferretti, and Alessandro Boca.

² United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) Farm Bill 2008; in 2011 the USDA definition is: "a low-income census tract where either a substantial number or share of residents has low access to a supermarket or large grocery store".

³ USDA: "Tracts qualify as 'low access' tracts if at least 500 persons or 33 percent of their population live more than a mile from a supermarket or large grocery store (for rural census tracts, the distance is more than 10 miles)."

⁴ Source: USDA, retrieved on 29 November 2013 from: <http://www.usda.gov/>

The Urban-Rural Fringe. Urban Agriculture in the Bay Area

Claudia Mattogno

Fringe Areas as a Renewed Bond Between Urban and Rural Environments

Nowadays, “city” and “country” are two concepts and spaces, each with a nuanced identity, which are profoundly changing. One overlaps the other in areas, which may be described as “intermediate”, since they no longer can be characterized by the traditional dichotomies of “center-periphery” or “full-empty”. They cannot be defined as “city”, as they do not have the characteristics of urban density and multiplicity of functions, nor can they be defined as “country” because many of these zones are abandoned, or waiting to be used for building purposes.

These intermediate areas are not clearly recognizable, neither with regard to their morphology nor their function. Their identity oscillates; they are fragments of a composite city, fringe spaces, on the border, sometimes landlocked, sometimes assembled in heterogeneous ways. They are territories, scattered with residential areas as well as large equipment; divided by a build-up of roads and railway infrastructure; alternating patches of countryside and areas waiting to be used, perhaps for illegal dumping, as well as areas with environmental, archeological or historical value, production areas and disused spaces. However, they exhibit intersticed patches of land where strategies for environmental and landscape restoration can be realized.

Issues Related to Land Use

Discussing soil consumption implies becoming aware of the fact that urban sprawl is depleting resources of food, water, energy, climate, agriculture and landscape. From 1990 to 2000, Europe lost 275 hectares of agricultural land per day, that is 1,000 sq. km per year. A figure that may seem small in the United States, but in Italy, for example, resulted in the loss of 5.4 million acres, an area equivalent to the three regions of Piedmont, Lombardy and Liguria.

The consumption of soil does not only translate into the erosion of farmland in favor of urbanization, it produces the phenomena of abandonment and degradation that impinge heavily on the soil’s defenses, on the care and maintenance of land, accelerating and amplifying those that are improperly called “natural” disasters (such as floods, landslides and land instability) but are instead caused by the carelessness and ignorance connected to some human activities.

New Perspectives related to Urban and Peri-Urban Agriculture in Terms of Ecological, Environmental, Economical and Landscape Regeneration

Intermediate areas are porous, with a predominance of open spaces; they are the greatest wealth we have available for our future. These fringe areas, which can be defined as being in-between urban and rural, can be seen as a link between the urban scale and the large dimension of the land. They are areas where it is possible to redesign new strategies of:

Environmental and Ecological Regeneration.

Land is our common good. To talk about the common good means abandoning the logic of merchandise and paying attention to the collective resource, also contributing to the development of collaborative practices as well as those, which bring about a new identity.

Landscape Regeneration.

The landscape remains an important structuring element in spite of the alterations caused by sprawl. It is a mix of nature, culture and history and, as a result, has embedded in it the evolution of tracks, accumulated over time, expressing the lasting nature of geography. Landscape has the potential of being the active link between past and present.

Economic Regeneration.

New urban agricultural practices are possible in these intermediate areas. They are often carried out on a small scale and therefore do not involve extensive crops which deplete the soil; they return to local farming and rediscover traditional products; they contribute to create community activities that combine tradition and innovation, as highlighted by Pierre Donadieu in his work *Campagnes Urbaines* (Urban Countryside).

Re-cognizing these indicators, putting them in relation to vspaces for social practices, means re-establishing connections (environmental, morphological and social) as an essential pre-requisite for designing areas where open spaces can reassert their value in countering land consumption.

In this regard, small-scale farming practiced in peri-urban areas can contribute to:

- Economic activity able to respond suitably to the effects of the current economic crisis, creating businesses, jobs and income;
- Countering the abandonment of land with defensive strategies for dams, unstable or steep hillsides, etc.
- The start of caring-for-the-land strategies through which inhabitants can be actively involved, opposing an individualistic logic in favor of a reasoning in terms of "us";
- Redesigning the landscape and ecological-environmental dynamic;
- Settling of inhabitants and encouraging identity-giving and collaborative

endeavors, such as the active presence of voluntary organizations, the development of a collective awareness that replaces an aberrant individualistic logic with a shared responsibility and a collective ethic which reasons in terms of “us”.

Agricultural Uses and Protection of Land

Land Conservation Act of 1965

The total area of the State of California is 424,000 km², 30% of which is agricultural land; slightly more than half of the latter (65,000 km²) is protected under the Land Conservation Act, better known as the Williamson Act. Enacted in 1965 to counter urban sprawl and, at the same time, facilitate agricultural production, the measure creates tax breaks in favor of landowners who commit to 10 years of agricultural land use, after which, renewal can automatically occur each year. The commitment involves a signed agreement between: (i) private landowners, who renounce the possibility of development and/or urbanization of the area in exchange for a reduction in property taxes; (ii) local governments, which renounce income from taxes in exchange for the possibility of long-term planning and preservation of open spaces; and (iii) the State of California, which guarantees funding and provides technical assistance.

The types of contracts which can be signed are quite diverse, depending on the location of the land within the municipal boundaries, its potential uses, its being part of an area subject to a Land Conservation Act Contract, Farmland Security Zone Contract, or other agricultural easements.

The Williamson Act, which immediately demonstrated its innovative aspects regarding the protection of agricultural areas, remains to this day a subject of great interest in its combination of a system of tax breaks along with tools like zoning to promote measures for the conservation and protection of open spaces. In 1998, the Williamson Act was amended, establishing “Farmland Security Zones” as a means to increase tax breaks as well as extend the length of the contractual commitment to 20 years. At the end of the contract, the owners have the possibility to terminate by means of non-renewal or cancellation due to change of use or because of an acquisition of land for public use (for example, to protect a natural area, ensure the control of water resources, create open spaces or public schools). However, such acquisitions have declined over time due to the decrease of available resources and because local authorities were requested not to expand urban boundaries in order to build public facilities. Defining the perimeters of zoning is, in fact, one of the key elements for the implementation of the law, because only land falling within non-urban perimeters and specifically identified as agricultural areas can benefit from the tax breaks. At the same time, individual local authorities may decide the permitted uses as well as the conditions of use.

Each year the State of California provides a comprehensive report available online (Williamson Act Status Report) including many statistics that document

the state of affairs. It presents an ongoing evaluation, both in terms of protected areas as well as financial commitments. However, despite financial commitments and enacted policies, California remains the second U.S. state (after Texas) in terms of loss of farmland. According to the statistics from the Farmland Information Center, between 1982 and 2007 California converted 1.8 million acres of agricultural lands.

Restoration of Areas at Risk of Erosion - Conservative Reserve Program

Starting in 1950, the Conservative Reserve Program ("CRP"), a federal program managed by the Department of Agriculture through the Farm Service Agency, has been instituted to promote the restoration of land prone to erosion. Its goal is restoring natural environments, minimizing damage caused by floods and other natural disasters, replenishing groundwater levels by means of re-introducing native flora, planting rows of trees as windbreaks as well as appropriate riparian vegetation. Its application, however, has been controversial. At the beginning, there was strong resistance by large-scale farmers, who were typically inclined to maximize the use of intensive farming, for which they received substantial grants. The resistance was such that CRP was fully implemented only with the introduction of the Food Security Act of 1985. CRP has also attracted much criticism. According to some, the measure has created a sort of "slippage effect", with land alternating between being subject to the program and being used for intensive farming, simply to meet market demand as well as the rise in produce prices (Wu 2000). Others, mainly ecologists, have highlighted how the huge expenses of the federal government (1.9 billion US dollars in 2007 for CRP) have been allocated only to establish a sort of "pension fund" for farmers without being able to generate definitive measures which benefit at-risk natural areas. (Wuerthner 2008).

Nonetheless, with approximately 30 million acres of land (120,000 km²) enlisted in 2012, CRP is known as one of the most extensive environmental protection programs ever undertaken at the federal level. It is periodically refinanced through the Farm Bill, the most important measure of agricultural and food policy, approved every five years by the U.S. Congress. It has been controversial regarding its implications for international trade as well as for nutritional and environmental impact (Wu and Weber 2012). CRP requires a contractual formula that triggers an annual compensation in favor of farmers who commit, for a period of 10-15 years, to have their land left fallow or restored if prone to erosion. Grants (averaging about \$50 per acre) are awarded in exchange for easements to keep areas clear by avoiding any form of economic transformation during the length of the contract. The size of grants have increased substantially over the years; at the same time, the most recent Farm Bills have given increasing attention to the enhancement and protection of native vegetation, wetlands and grasslands.

According to some views stated in *CounterPunch*, an environmentally oriented monthly journal, the benefits of CRP have, however, been largely overrated, especially with respect to wildlife protection; in addition, the program has been ineffective in establishing a policy of long-term environmental protection. In

fact, in spite of massive funding (more than 36 billion US dollars during the first thirteen years), the program has not been able to create measures capable of long-term protection of the enrolled areas. The acquisition of land by public administrations, an alternative advocated by environmentalists, may represent a more effective solution to the problem of protecting environmentally at-risk areas. These could then be placed in a network of reserves accessible to the public, as was done in the 1930s with the creation of the National Grassland System. (Wuerthner 2008).

The Small Farm Program

California has abundant, diverse and high-quality agricultural produce. According to data from the California Conservation Center, it includes over 200 different types of products from greenhouses, nurseries and farms; 90% of the latter are family-run and extend for less than 500 acres (approximately 202 hectares). Given the size of the American continent, the idea of “small” is relative, especially when compared to Italy, where farms are an average of only 7.9 hectares¹, compared to 126.6 in California. Moreover, the definition of a small farm is rather complex,² referring to small family businesses with a turnover of less than \$250,000 gross. (USDA Agriculture Census 2007).

California State supports specific programs of financial education in order to diversify and improve the quality of small farms. As far back as 1990, a report published by UC Davis (one of the world’s leading cross-disciplinary research and teaching institutions) drew attention to the State’s interest in improving small farms, as they:

- Are actively involved in diversified, organic production of high quality crops. Most small farms are located close to urban centers, so they are able to improve urban agriculture and the supply to farmer’s markets. They are credited with producing most of the state’s renowned agricultural diversity;
- Are a broad mix of ethnic (mostly Hispanics and Hmong coming from Southeast Asia) and social groups. These groups enrich local communities by living where they farm, by linking rural and urban life, and by being part of the community’s schools, libraries, and service organizations. They take care of the land, contributing to the enrichment of society;
- Need to increase their relatively modest income, compared to big companies, which practice intensive farming and thus generate large amounts of revenue;
- Are, in general, focused on environmental issues, using renewable energy and organic products. They make a real contribution to environmental protection and demonstrate their ability to form a strong network of resilient and innovative activities;
- Are located near urban centers, generating favorable opportunities for job creation as well as improving the quality of the food system.

One of the most successful State programs is the *Small Farm Program*, launched in the mid-seventies and periodically refinanced. It is a six-month,

full-time training course organized by the Agriculture and Resource Economy Department at the UC Davis campus, in Yolo County, not far from the state capital of Sacramento. It has been active for many years and includes:

- Training at various levels, from undergraduate to doctorate;
- Specialized assistance regarding the allocation of limited resources for activities related to valuable crops, such as blueberries, strawberries and melons;
- Development and dissemination of programs about proper nutrition, countering the consumption of junk food;
- Consultancy to set up innovative practices in marketing and management as well as developing farm holidays.

The campus of UC Santa Cruz, south of San Francisco, provides young farmers with apprenticeship courses aimed at the management of small, organic farms.

This is also a six-month, full-time program, 40 hours per week, involving work in fields as well as the classroom, with practical and theoretical activities, inspections, demonstrations and workshops. The Certificate of Ecological Horticulture enables students to plant on their own or manage an organic farm, develop Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) projects, participate in international projects of rural development or work as environmental educators.

Young farmers are more sensitive to environmental issues since they are more informed about current trends. They promote organic farming, with a consequent reduction in intensive production. In this way, small, but multifunctional, farms are favored because they:

- Ensure sustainable patterns of production and consumption;
- Are focused on and invest in innovation;
- Are able to produce “niche” products and crops.

Accordingly, organic farming confirms itself as a valuable method of production, based on theoretical models, which are grounded in ethical and social values.

A Case Study: the San Francisco Bay Area

The Bay Area- Geographical and Socio-Economic Context

The San Francisco Bay Area, commonly known as the Bay Area, is known for its natural beauty, progressive thinking, liberal politics, entrepreneurship, and diversity.

The Bay Area is a populated region that surrounds San Francisco in Northern California. The Bay Area's nine counties are Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, Napa, San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Solano, and Sonoma. Home to approximately 7.15 million people, the Bay Area encompasses the major cities

and metropolitan areas of San Francisco, Oakland, and San Jose, along with smaller urban and rural areas.

The Bay Area has high incomes coming from civic and business institutions, jobs in professional services, health and education, leisure, hospitality, and innovative industries; but is also a leader in sustainable agriculture, organic farming, and sustainable energy and for being a leading producer of high quality food, wine, and innovation in the culinary arts. California Cuisine was developed primarily in the Bay Area, as was the organic farming movement.

Urban Agriculture in the Bay Area

Agriculture can have many environmental benefits over development, including benefits associated with air quality, aesthetics and wildlife conservation.

Urban agriculture ("UA") is different from "rural" agriculture, even though they somehow complement each other. UA is integrated with local production and, hence, with the urban economic system. It is an important part of the ecological system; it reduces the distance of produce transport, bringing the production-consumption chain closer together (with repercussions on the consumption of CO₂); it contributes to the conservation of the land and increases its resistance to erosion; it aids in countering the consumption of urban soil and its transformation.

In spite of its relatively small metropolitan area, there is a growing demand for space for UA in San Francisco. An ordinance of the city (162-12) notes the difficulty of access to land by the urban population as opposed to rural population, and establishes a program of coordination of UA activities, currently run by seven separate agencies to avoid the dispersion of funds and contributions.

The Ordinance defines the content of UA in section 53.2: UA is the growing of plants and raising of animal, usually for flowers. UA can occur in many type of place in the City, including, but not limited to, home gardens, community gardens, demonstration gardens at institutions such as school, workplaces and jails, urban farms, orchids, rooftops and greenhouses.

The Recreation and Park Department is excited to house the brand new citywide Urban Agriculture Program to coordinate all of the City's urban agriculture activities and to work toward advancing urban agriculture in San Francisco. Its mission is to provide enriching recreational activities, maintain beautiful parks and preserve the environment for the well-being of diverse communities. The San Francisco Recreation and Park Department has been operated since the 1950, and is governed by a seven-member Commission appointed by the Mayor to four-year terms. In accordance with the Charter, the Recreation and Park Commission is primarily a policy-making body, establishing the policies by which the Recreation and Park Department operates. The Commission is responsible for the over 220 parks.

Farmers Markets as Community Hubs

In 2012, the Obama administration, through the Department of Agriculture (USDA), granted funds totaling \$10 million in tax deductions through the "Farmers Market Promotion Program" and has pledged to spend another \$4

million to promote the establishment of new farmers markets. This demonstrates acknowledgement of the contribution made by farmers markets not only in terms of improving the quality of food, but also in terms of social advancement and revitalization of the community. Farmers markets are increasing in number throughout the U.S.,³ California having the most which are officially recognized by the federal government, totaling 827.

The farmers markets are organized through networks of associations that serve as a reference point; they coordinate activities and are a source of constant promotion. The most recognized include the Pacific Coast Farmers' Market Association, a non-profit corporation, founded in 1988, and the California Farmers' Market Association, a mutual benefit corporation providing Certified Farmers' Markets for the Bay Area since 1994. Both are dedicated to establishing and maintaining successful Certified Farmers' Markets around the Greater San Francisco Bay Area, and other direct marketing outlets that provide: viable economic opportunities for California farmers and food producers, local access to farm fresh products, support for local businesses and community organizations, and education concerning food, nutrition and the sustainability of California agriculture

The California Farmers' Markets are known for their ability to showcase high quality, trend setting fruits and vegetables which have provided a source of education for numerous food editors and writers around the country who come to the Farmers' Markets just to learn about the new explosion of varieties that are offered. In this sense the farmers' markets have been a trendsetter in introducing new varieties into the marketplace.

In the City and County of San Francisco, farmers markets undergo certification in accordance with the California Code of Regulations (§1392). The certificates may be issued with the support of specialized agencies, such as the California Certified Organic Farmers ("CCOF") agency, one of 56 agencies recognized by the federal government. Active in organic movements since 1973, CCOF has contributed to the creation of the National Organic Program and currently provides certifications, which cover an area of one million acres (4000 km²).

Farmer's market management is entrusted to a "market manager" who is the representative of the farmers market working with the local municipality and community groups. They coordinate and promote sales activities, events and customer loyalty programs. Their task is to enforce the regulations (including the certification of organic goods and their origin), resolve potential conflicts, monitor the conduct of operations (hours, methods of sale, locations) and maintain the financial balance, working closely with the leadership of farmers markets.

The variety of possible situations in San Francisco and the Bay Area are exemplified through the following three cases which reflect three different urban and social conditions:

1. The revitalization of working-class neighborhoods thanks to Alemany Farmers Market, the oldest in San Francisco. It is accessible to all, owing to its affordable prices, and is attended by ethnic groups that have also painted

murals and decorated the stalls;

2. The redevelopment of public spaces and utilization of abandoned industrial buildings, as seen around the Ferry Plaza Farmers Market, the presence of which has been the impetus for the development of a vast public area on the waterfront;

3. The contribution to social cohesion, as exemplified by the creation of the Noe Valley Farmers Market, which stemmed from a protest against the dismissal of a group of workers.

- Alemany Farmers' Market: the "granddaddy" of California farmers' markets

The Alemany Farmers' Market is considered the "granddaddy" of California farmers' markets, and also the "people's market". It was founded in San Francisco on August 1943, and it was the first farmers' market in California. The Victory Garden Council and regional farmers initially established a farmers' market at Duboce Avenue and Market Street as a wartime measure to provide an outlet for surplus and distressed crops from neighboring counties.

On August 4, 1947, the market moved to its present 100 Alemany Boulevard location where it still operates rain or shine, every Saturday of the year. The Real Estate Division has the responsibility for market operations.

This permanent home (colorful stalls, painted by *Latinos* artist, and free parking) is located at the crux of many vibrant San Francisco neighborhoods, as well as permanent facilities for vendors and shoppers to enjoy. Alemany Farmers' Market is one of 870 certified farmers' markets in the State according to the California Department of Food and Agriculture (CDFA). It is open every Saturday from dawn to dusk.

- Ferry Plaza Farmer Market: to redevelop a public space

The Ferry Plaza Farmer Market is located around the renovated Ferry Building of the wharf, and is one of the main places of attraction in the city, well known as well by inhabitants as by tourists.

The Ferry Plaza Farmers Market began in September 1992 as a one-time Ferry Plaza Harvest Market, with farmers and local restaurants gathering on a Sunday morning in the middle of the Embarcadero Roadway. Only three years earlier, a two-tiered freeway had run along this roadway, separating the city from its waterfront and the historic Ferry Building. But the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake buckled a portion of the freeway, and with its removal came the opportunity to re-envision the waterfront and ultimately provide home once again to a public market.

The success of the initial farmers market event allowed organizers to establish a weekly California Certified Farmers Market the following spring. Every Saturday the plaza was transformed into a vibrant place to eat, shop, and learn. This market quickly developed a dedicated following, enabling more and more farmers to come to San Francisco to sell their produce directly to urban consumers.

In 1994, the organizational body of the Ferry Plaza Farmers Market formally organized as CUESA, the Center for Urban Education about Sustainable Agriculture. The name and nonprofit status acknowledged the founding vision

of a market that educates, as well as feeds, its shoppers.

The spring of 2003 brought the completion of the Ferry Building renovation and CUESA's achievement of its 10-year goal to establish a permanent home. The number of markets doubled, expanding seasonally to include a Thursday night market and Sunday market. Educational programming expanded, with free weekly cooking demonstrations and farmer interviews, and a "Sustainable Agriculture A-Z" photomural exhibit, which visually depicts concepts in sustainable farming with each letter of the alphabet, in the arcades of the Ferry Building.

Today, CUESA operates the Ferry Plaza Farmers Market year-round on Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, while offering numerous free and low-cost educational programs to help urban dwellers of all ages learn about their food, where it comes from, and how to grow, select, and prepare it.

As reported in the Newsletter of FPFM, from savoring produce at the peak of freshness to meeting the people who grow your food, there are countless reasons to support farmers markets: 1. Taste Real Flavors; 2. Enjoy the season; 3. Support family farmers; 4. Protect the environment; 5. Nourish yourself; 6. Discover variety of food; 7. Promote humane treatment of animals; 8. Know where your food comes from; 9. Learn cooking tips, recipes, and meal ideas; 10. Connect with your community.

- Noe Valley Farmers Market: Building a Community

The Noe Valley Farmers' Market is a year-round California certified farmers' market operated primarily by community volunteers.

This FM was born as a sign of civic protest and mobilization of the inhabitants on 2003: a group of Noe Valley neighbors and activists shared their dismay and disbelief at the sudden closure of the local natural food store. The Real Food Company, which had been a part of Noe Valley for 25 years, closed its doors, dismissing 30 workers, the majority of whom had been organizing a union.

Recognizing an injustice, Noe Valley neighbors immediately set out to support the workers, farmers, merchants, and neighbors who missed not only their source for organic produce, but also an anchor store in the heart of the retail district. As a direct response to the shuttering of Real Food, community members organized weekly meetings at the Noe Valley Ministry attended by up to 200 people per week to decide how to support the fired workers and how to provide healthy food to the entire community. In the support of this spirit of community and its own values of providing service to the community, the Noe Valley Ministry agreed to co-sponsor the market by offering its newly completed parking lot at 3865 24th Street as the venue.

On the morning of Saturday, December 6, 2004, a mere three months after Real Food closed, a group of volunteers gathered opposite the empty parking lot before dawn. These hearty souls got to work setting up tents and tables, trashcans, and beautiful signs announcing Opening Day. Farmers arrived as the sky brightened and by 8:00 a.m. the first Noe Valley Farmers' Market was up and running.

Until today, local merchants and neighbors continue to support the market,

open each Saturday morning all year round. This small neighborhood market meets the community's needs for fresh, local produce while helping to foster a community dedicated to caring and social justice. It has evolved into the neighborhood's town square, a place where people know they will meet other neighbors and feel part of a community.

- *Community Gardens: A Plot for the Inhabitants*

According to the definition of SF City⁴ a community garden a site operated and maintained by committed volunteers where:

_A publicly owned parcel of land is used for growing ornamentals and/or produce for non-commercial use through individual or shared plots, and

_Demonstration gardening or other instructional programming may be offered, and

_Shared tools and common expenses are covered through the collection of membership fees and/or donations.

A 2004 sampling of San Francisco residents revealed that almost half of all households have a need for more community gardens, while more than 1 in 5 households feel that community gardens are among the top five important recreation facilities.

The Recreation and Park Department's Community Garden Program (part of the Urban Agriculture Program) is funded through the Park, Recreation and Open Space Program, which was renewed for another 30 years in 2000 thus continuing the City's support of the Community Gardens Program with a \$150,000 budget annually.

The intent of these policies is to continue equal opportunity for public access to all gardens by providing a uniform framework that will allow for flexibility in management within each garden. A Community Gardens Policy Committee was formed in January 2005 to develop garden standards and Citywide guiding policies for recommendation. This committee is comprised of stakeholders representing local community gardens, Garden for the Environment, San Francisco Garden Resource Organization (SFGRO), the Parks, Parks, Recreation and Open Space Advisory Committee (PROSAC) and City agencies.

Nowadays the Rec and Park Department in SF supports and manages a program of 36 community gardens on City-owned property, where members can grow produce and ornamental plants for personal use.

Gardens range in size from a few hundred square feet to thousands of square feet; some offer individual plots while others have shared plots. Some gardens also offer demonstration gardening or other instructional programming. Each garden is operated by a group of committed volunteers, and membership fees are often self-imposed to cover common expenses.

To request a plot in an existing community garden is very easy by the web site, even if they are already all busy, and it is quite difficult to access: identify which garden you are interested; click to get detailed information (size, address, accessibility); then contact Community Gardens Program Manager and she will put you in touch with the appropriate volunteer Community Garden Coordinator; remember that each person may be assigned only one plot on

City property.

Starting a new community garden seems easier, and it is necessary to contact the Recreation and Parks Department's Neighborhood Services Manager responsible for the site's neighborhood to review the proposed location. It is important to keep in mind three key ingredients:

_Space. Level terrain is ideal for community gardening. A level site typically requires less development and is easier to design for wheelchair access (required to satisfy building code restrictions and the Americans with Disabilities Act). The site must not conflict with other existing recreational uses, should have a water connection nearby, and should not have large trees or be heavily shaded by trees or building structures.

_Funding. A typical community garden contains raised garden plots, hose bibs, a tool shed, and compost bins. The construction cost will depend on its size and design. As an example, in summer of 2008 a 4,300-square-foot community garden cost about \$20 per square foot to build (construction costs only), which included 14 garden plots (two wheelchair-accessible plots), hose bibs, tool shed, compost bins, small greenhouse, and a surface of either decomposed granite or bark mulch. This does not include the cost of securing the perimeter with fencing. Don't forget to cover soft costs such as those associated with design.

_Interest. If your garden is to succeed, community interest in participating is essential. A garden may seem like a good idea, but if nobody signs up it will simply lay fallow. Typically, community gardens are in demand in neighborhoods that are densely populated and have a high number of residents who rent, and where backyards are not commonly available.

Starting a community garden takes time and effort. So many non-profit and volunteer-run membership organizations help in this task, as Hope's Gardens, a program that provides garden plots to the public. The program's vision is to provide opportunities for people to grow their own food, increase their healthy activity, get to know their neighbors, learn from each other, increase well-being, donate crops to appropriate organizations for distribution to those in need, and create a productive and beautiful community.

- *Cultural Movement: Chez Panisse*

Chez Panisse, a neighborhood bistro in Berkeley, opened its doors in 1971, founded by Alice Waters and a group of idealistic friends.

Alice Waters, Vice President of Slow Food International, is an American pioneer of a culinary philosophy that maintains that cooking should be based on the finest and freshest seasonal ingredients that are produced sustainably and locally. She is a passionate advocate for a food economy that is "good, clean, and fair." Over the course of nearly forty years, Chez Panisse has helped create a community of scores of local farmers and ranchers whose dedication to sustainable agriculture assures the restaurant a steady supply of fresh and pure ingredients.

In 1996, Waters' commitment to education led to the creation of The Edible Schoolyard at Berkeley's Martin Luther King, Jr., Middle School: a one-acre

garden, an adjacent kitchen-classroom, and an “eco-gastronomic” curriculum. By actively involving a thousand students in all aspects of the food cycle, The Edible Schoolyard is a model public education program that instills the knowledge and values we need to build a humane and sustainable future. The program is nationally recognized for its efforts to integrate gardening, cooking, and sharing school lunch into the core academic curriculum, from kindergarten through high school.

Final Considerations

Now the “buy fresh, buy local” ethic has a renewed importance for consumers facing climate change, rising food prices, and diet-related health problems. Farmers’ markets are thriving in this new “green” economy to the benefit of consumers who have an opportunity to enjoy fresh produce, meet farmers, and learn more about their food supply.

The case study analysis reveals four fundamental aspects related to the experience of farmers markets in the Bay Area: building and strengthening the sense of community; disseminating a culture of healthy food; the support of the local economy by small businesses; the network-structure of the organization.

- Build community

The farmers’ market will serve in the economic sense of a market, but also as a place where neighbors will meet each other and develop relationships with farmers and market volunteers. The market board will strive to support and strengthen the community through events, education and neighborhood outreach.

- Provide healthy food

Locally grown food is front and center at a farmers’ market. Most of the vendors sell organic fruits and vegetables. Produce grown in healthy soil, free of pesticides and petroleum-based fertilizers, is healthier for the humans who consume it and the workers who grow and harvest it. It also sustains the health of the farmland, the surrounding watershed and everything that lives downstream from the farm.

- Support a vibrant local small farm economy

A farmers’ market is just a part of a food economy built upon a web of small local farms. Compared to large-scale industrial agriculture, this employs more people, provides more food security, reduces carbon-intensive transportation costs, and promotes crop diversity. The dollars you spend at a farmers’ market stay closer to home.

The Farmers’ Market provide a regular, high-quality food source for the community. Products sold at the market include fresh, seasonally available vegetables and fruit.

- Be Part of a Network

Initiatives and programs, goals and activities, possibilities and requirements are numerous and complex, having to respond to a wide range of needs and a pressing demand. The existence of numerous associations reveals how it is necessary to be part of a network that supports not only the promotion of daily activities (such as the organization of sales and product selection) but also, and above all, the organization of monthly and annual events (such as tasting events, cooking and gardening demonstrations, special events, festivals and fairs, programs fighting child obesity), which can contribute to raising customers' awareness as well as increasing their loyalty.

List of Acronyms

CCPF *California Certified Organic Farmers*

One of the first organic certification agencies in California

CFMA *California Farmers' Markets Association*

It hosts certified Farmers' markets for the community, farmers, and producers.

CRP *Conservative Reserve Program*

It is a cost-share and rental payment program under the US Department of Agriculture in order to help people reduce soil erosion, enhance water supplies with groundwater recharge, improve water quality, increase wildlife habitat, and reduce damages caused by floods and other natural disasters.

CUESA *Center for Urban Education about Sustainable Agriculture*

It is dedicated to cultivating a sustainable food system through the operation of the Ferry Plaza Farmers Market and its educational programs.

FM *Farmers' Market*

NOP *National Organic Program.*

It is the federal regulatory framework governing organic food, and also the name of the organization in the Department of Agriculture (USDA) responsible for administering and enforcing the regulatory framework. The Organic Food Production Act of 1990 (7 U.S.C.A. § 6501-22) required that the USDA develop national standards for organic products.

PROSAC *Park Recreation and Open Space Advisory Committee*

SFGRO *San Francisco Garden Resource Organization*

SFGRO works collaboratively with the San Francisco Recreation and Parks Department, other city agencies, community gardens and local gardeners to create a stronger, more vital investment in gardens throughout San Francisco.

UA *Urban Agriculture*

UC_ University of California

USDA_ United States Department of Agriculture

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Notes

¹ In Italy, a farm is considered "big" when it has at least 30 hectares. The 2010 *Censimento Generale dell'Agricoltura* (General Census of Agriculture) indicates that: agricultural land is concentrated within a small number of farms (a decrease of 32.2% compared to 2000); the average size of farms changed from 7.8 hectares in 2000 to 10.6 in 2011; a decrease of 2.3% in SAU, the used agricultural area, but an even greater decrease of 8.0% in SAT, the total area of farmland. This data has been taken from a press release by Istat issued on July 5, 2011.

² The Economic Research Service of the Federal Department of Agriculture considers \$250,000 gross revenue as the threshold between small family farms and commercial farms, also identifying 8 different types of companies.

³ According to the site <http://search.ams.usda.gov/farmersmarkets/>, in February 2014, there were 7,864 farmers markets operating within the U.S., an increase of 9.6% compared to the previous year. See more at: <http://cnsnews.com/news/article/farmers-markets-evolving-community-hubs-says-usda-architect#sthash.kr5qximS.dpuf>.

⁴ San Francisco Community Garden Policies, 2006.

About the City, Urban Rural Linkages in France

Anna Laura Palazzo

Introduction

All over Europe, open space, varying in location and dimension inside and outside the cities, is frequently perceived as an “unresolved place” expelled or excluded by institutional transformations. Still, regardless of its current conditions, open space remains a major stake in urban ecology, in order to promote continuity of so-called “Green Infrastructure” and to enhance biodiversity¹.

The case of France shows a long-standing awareness of this topic, which has been tackled at different scales since the early 1970s.

Since urban growth was affecting ever wider spaces, new terms such as *périurbanisation* and *rurbanisation* have been introduced alongside *agglomération*, *cit  centrale*, *banlieue* in order to feature new specific settlement patterns on a large scale. The tools committed to such a task have been the OREAM-Organisation d’Etudes d’Aménagement des Aires Métropolitaines (from the Sixties onward), the DTA-Directives territoriales d’Aménagement (since 1995), both at the State level.

At the same time, rural development has undergone several reforms over time. These reforms were intended to strengthen the links between primary activity and the environment, to improve quality of life in rural areas and to promote a diversification of the economy in rural communities.

The agendas set up by local bodies committed to urban planning since 1982 have been increasingly incorporating strategic design together with specific sectorial policies including food system arrangements for health and sustainability even as an opportunity to preserve fringe areas threatened by urban growth.

The *Schéma de cohérence territoriale de Lyon* (2011) represents an ideal fieldwork to test several relevant governance issues, such as a challenging partnership project on agricultural and natural areas.

The Case of France

In France, the wide range of nuances between “urban” and “rural” patterns is featured by functional, morphological and density criteria, following different definitions provided by the *Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques* (INSEE) and by a sound literature in geography and urban economy (Fig. 1).

Rurbanisation was employed at an early stage of the urban sprawl to indicate manifold processes occurring in rural areas, notably 1) leapfrog urbanization; 2) preponderance of individual housing; 3) predominance of non-urbanized space, mainly agriculture.

The peri-urban space, as a result of such processes, is described as “seamless urban sprawl around the major city(ies) of the agglomeration located beyond

the crown of its immediate suburbs or outskirts. (...) Activities, infrastructure and housing are shaped by urban lifestyles, and residents are mainly commuting to the major job centers”.

Peri-urban municipalities (only within urban areas) are thus defined as municipalities gravitating around one or more urban nodes. According to the INSEE, they must have a percentage of workers commuting within the borders of the larger urban area equal to or over 40%.

Further criteria concern morphological issues. In the peri-urban municipalities, the built-up areas are at least 200 meters away from the built-up areas of the “pôles urbains”.

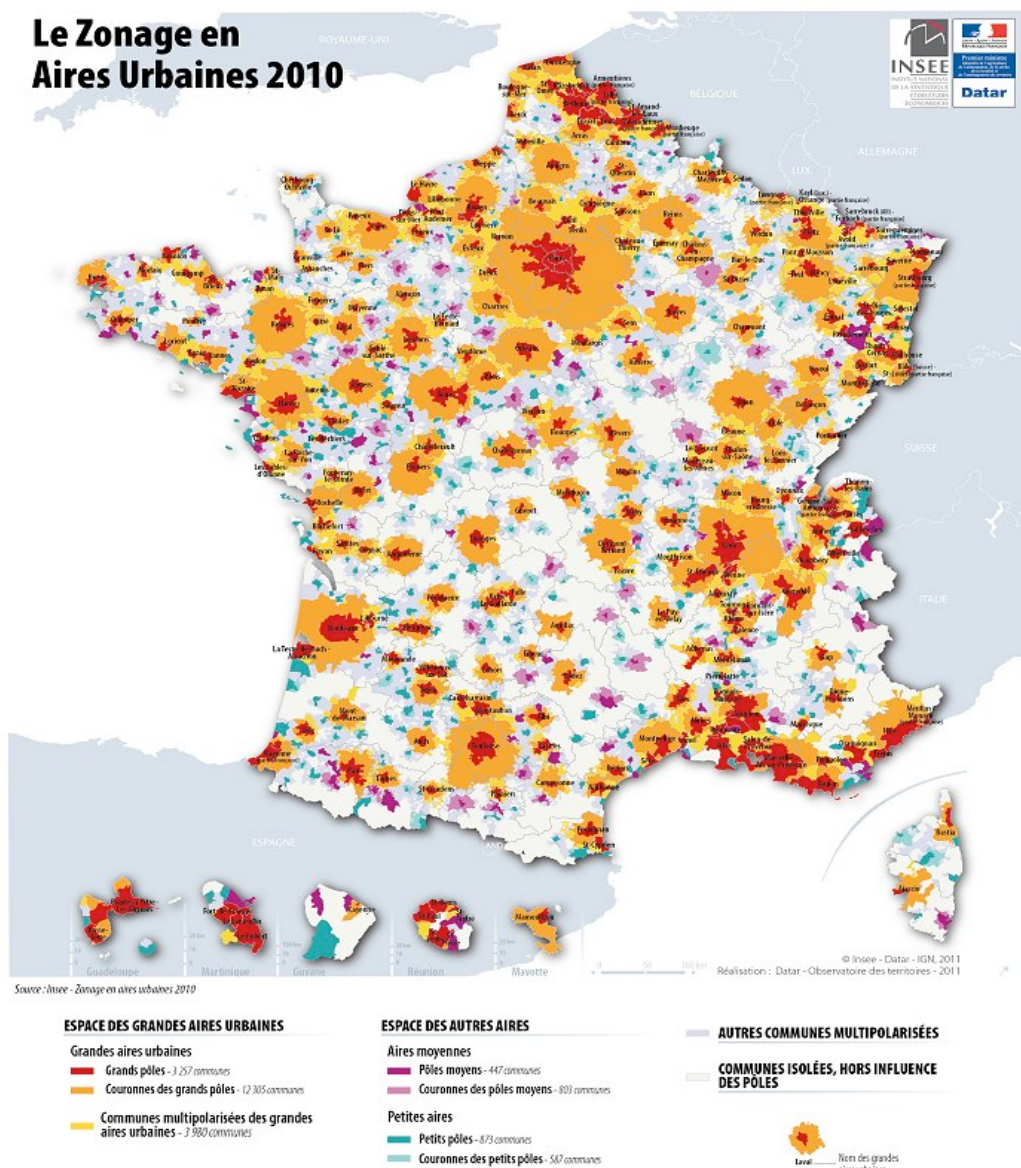


Figure 1- The official geography of “Aires Urbaines” (INSEE).

Peri-urban belts and “communes multipolarisées” blur the boundaries between urban and rural space. The 2010 zoning of urban areas distinguishes between:

1. The “medium-sized areas”, all in one block and without enclave, constituted by a pole from 5.000 to

10.000 jobs, and by rural districts or urban units among which at least 40% of the resident population having an employment works in the pole or in the municipalities attracted by this one.

2. The “small areas”, groupings of municipalities, all in one block and without enclave, constituted by a pole from 1.500 to 5.000 jobs, and by rural districts or urban units among which at least 40% of the resident population having an employment works in the pole or in the municipalities attracted by this one.

3. Rural clusters consisting of municipalities (or urban units) which do not belong to the predominantly urban space and which have 1.500 jobs or more.

Institutional Tools

Over the past four decades, the peri-urban rings around French cities have become wider and denser. In most regions, the spatial extension of cities was particularly significant in the early 1970s, preparing the peak phase of densification of peri-urban rings in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Lately, peri-urbanisation has resumed at paces that vary from region to region. Overall, the emergency of the urban sprawl has become critical: about 100 thousand hectares of open space per year are handed over to other uses, half due to urbanization.²

Over time, peri-urban policies have been featured as follows:

- 1960's: Institution of Ile de France as a region in itself including 1300 municipalities in order to accommodate growth while preserving fields and woodlands interspersed in the urban fabric: this option would entail new inter-municipal governance bodies (“Syndicats d'Agglomérations Nouvelles”);
- 1970's: Launch of peri-urban agriculture local policies (Région urbaine de Lyon);
- 1980's: Benchmark local experiences;
- 1990's and 2000's: A number of legislative instruments were developed in order to cope with “open spaces” from two major standpoints:
 - a) by increasing inter-municipal and district action in the urban areas:
 - a1) the *Loi relative à la simplification et au renforcement de la coopération intercommunale* (Loi Chevènement)³ provided inter-municipal groupings (the “Communautés locales”) with fiscal resources for the implementation of shared competences in economic, social and urban development, and “Politique de la Ville” (Fig. 2);
 - a2) the *Loi Solidarité et Renouvellement urbains* (SRU)⁴ offered incentives to urban planning through the *Schéma de cohérence territoriale* SCOT (substituting the *Schéma directeur d'aménagement et urbanisme*) and the *Plan local d'urbanisme* PLU (substituting the *Plan d'occupation du sol*).

The SCOT was basically intended to rule urban growth at an appropriate scale (currently, about one-third of new housing at the national level is carried out in rural areas), revising major distortions of urban sprawl, notably land consumption.⁵

The so-called “15 km rule” required all municipalities within this

distance from an agglomeration of more than 15,000 inhabitants to drastically reduce their expansion areas, unless they were absorbed into the SCOT perimeter and process. This resulted either in a “rush” of the neighbouring municipalities for being incorporated in ever larger SCOT perimeters, or in new scattered urbanisations in rural municipalities beyond the distance of 15 km (Fig. 3)⁶. In order to avoid such phenomena, the “15 km rule” was eventually limited by subsequent *Loi Urbanisme et Habitat* ⁷ to agglomerations with a population of over 50,000 inhabitants.

b) by supporting the development of rural territories following a bottom-up approach:

b1) the *Loi d’Orientation sur l’Aménagement et le Développement Durable du Territoire* ⁸ launched the “Projet de Territoire” concerning legally recognized homogeneous rural areas facing particular difficulties such as low population density, social and economic structural disadvantages, etc. These “zones de revitalisation rurale”, whose inhabitants share common geographical, economic, cultural, or social interests, are entitled to implement planning contracts with the State by forming a “Pays”.

b2) the *Loi relative au Développement des Territoires ruraux*,⁹ while abolishing the “Pays” in the perspective of a reform of the institutional framework for the “Communautés locales”, aims at supporting rural revitalization by substantial tax benefits to companies and professionals. The Law entrusts departments to the establishment of permanently protected agricultural and natural areas by means of action plans following a strategic program concerning agricultural policy and rural development (the so-called PENAP approach, *Protection des espaces naturels et agricoles périurbains*).

A number of voluntary initiatives complement this frame: the creation of the “Terres en Villes” association, run equally by the representatives and managers of 14 urban zones and associate members,¹⁰ acts as a network promoting the role of, and interest in, peri-urban agriculture, and supporting the development of similar policies.

Urban Agriculture has been defined as “an industry that produces, processes and markets food and fuel, largely in response to the daily demand of consumers within a town, city, or metropolis, on land and water dispersed throughout the urban and peri-urban area, applying intensive production methods, using and reusing natural resources and urban wastes to yield a diversity of crops and livestock”.¹¹

Small size farming around and within urban areas becomes more and more commonplace - the so-called Zero Mile agriculture -, bound to the traceability of food products, stemming local bodies to accommodate new areas devoted to urban agriculture.

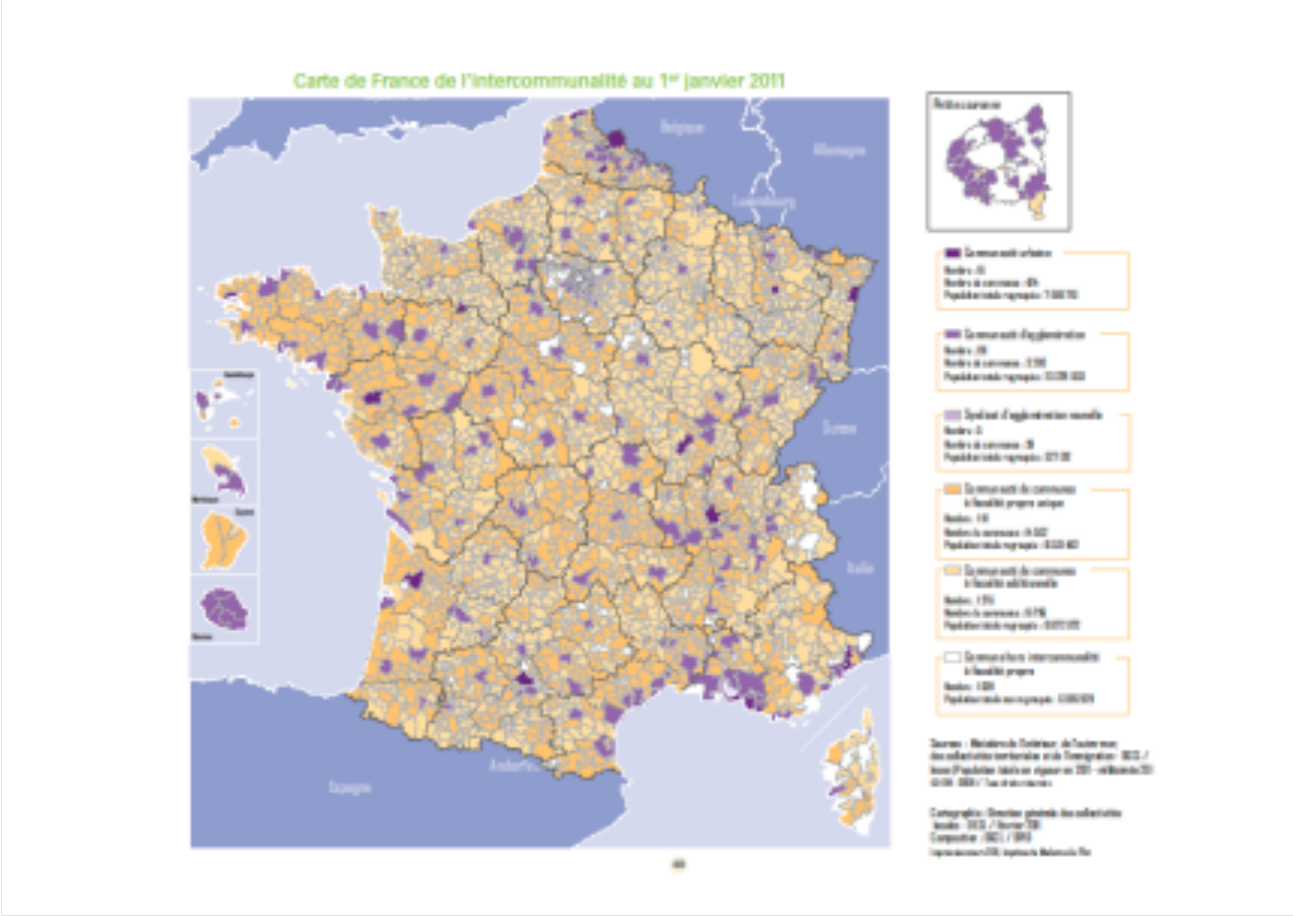
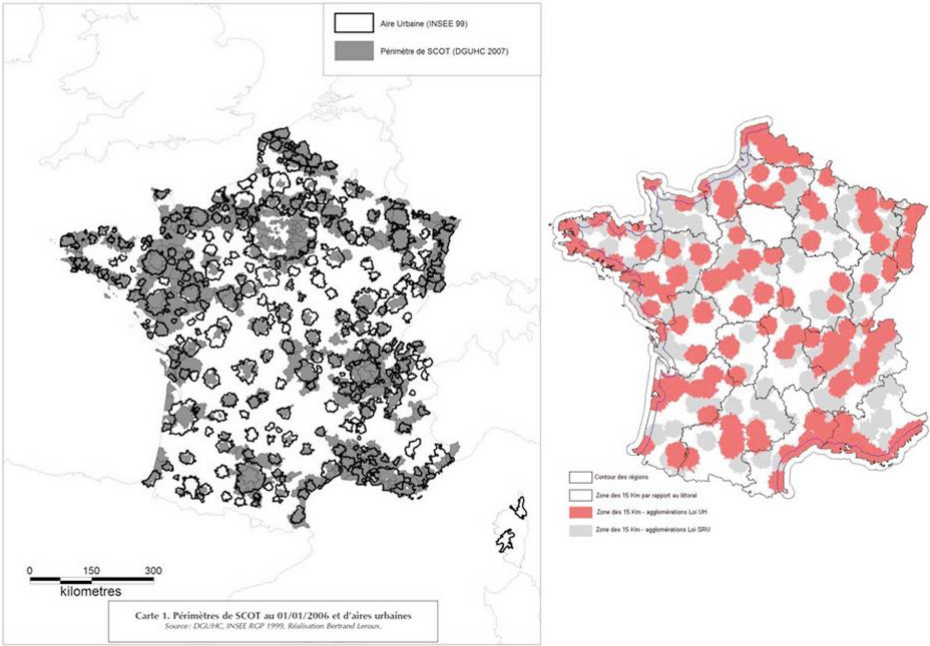


Figure 2 - The official geography of inter-municipalities

- Communautés urbaines: groupings of municipalities gathering over 500.000 inhabitants;
- Communautés d'agglomération: groupings of municipalities gathering over 50.000 inhabitants, and at least 15.000 in the central municipalities;
- Communautés de communes: groupings of rural municipalities.



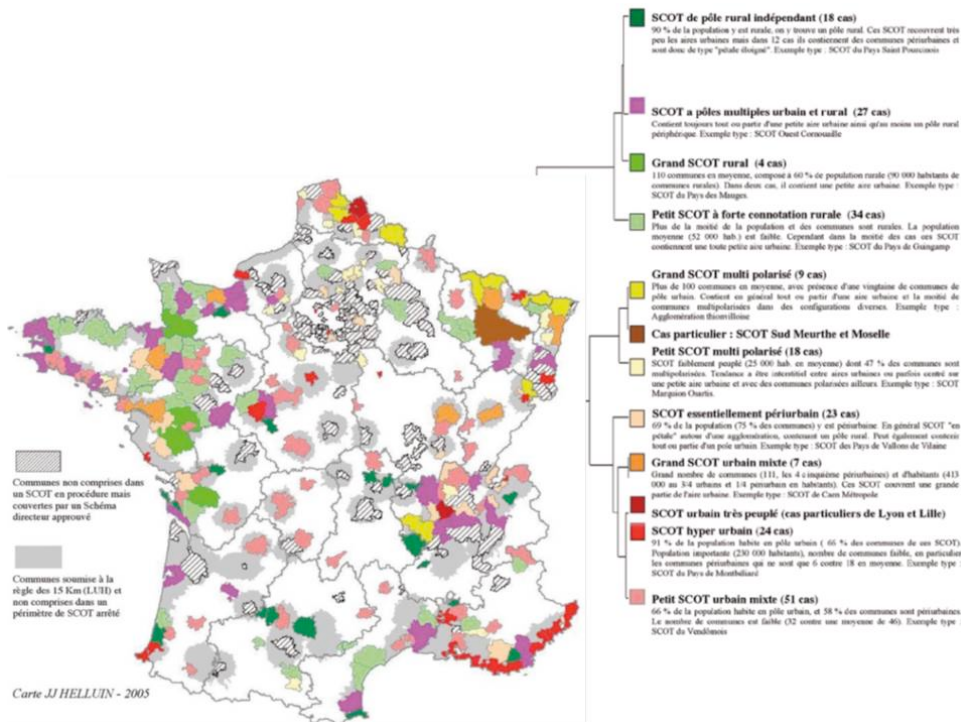


Figure 3 - Variable geometries. Established urban areas and SCOTs.

The Case of Lyon

The 72 Municipalities of the "Agglomération Lyonnaise" (730 km², 1,3 million inhabitants)¹² – share since the late 1980s a planning process which resulted in the *Schéma de Développement de l'Agglomération Lyonnaise* (SDAL, 1992) prior to single Master Plans (Fig. 4).

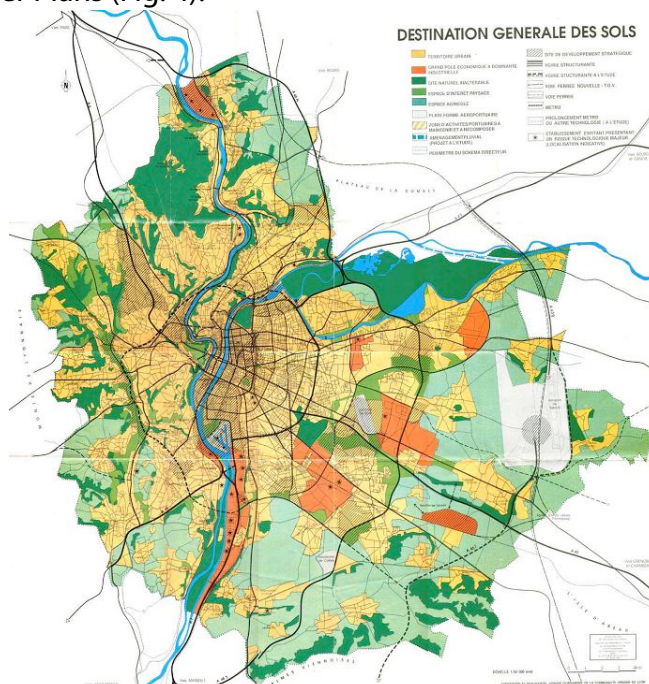


Figure 4 - Agence d'Urbanisme pour le développement de l'Agglomération Lyonnaise, *Translation of the Schéma de Développement de l'Agglomération Lyonnaise* (1992) into the Master Plans of the municipalities.

Over 1.300 hectares were put under protection as *Zones inaltérables* (in charge to the Department of Rhone), *Zones agricoles* and *Espaces d'intérêt paysager* (in charge to the municipalities).

The SDAL, and the subsequent *Schéma de Cohérence territoriale* (SCOT, 2011), contend that open space shall remain half the total area of the agglomeration.¹³ The Agglomération is committed to the protection of agricultural and peri-urban natural areas under the leadership of the Department of Rhone.

The PENAP approach launched by the *Loi relative au Développement des Territoires ruraux* made it possible the constitution of peri-urban areas for environmental protection, sustainable agriculture and outdoor recreational facilities, linking together the sensitive natural areas (established by Act 1285 of 31st of December 1976)¹⁴ and newly established "Périmètres de Projets Nature", boundaries devoted to agriculture and forestry defined in a decision-making process involving local communities, the Chamber of Agriculture, professional farmers and trade associations.

Previous surveys led by the Agence d'Urbanisme de Lyon, the same body in charge of the SCOT, have shown several criticalities such as a strong heterogeneity in morphology and rural patterns and a wide farms' size range which allows for a structural weakness of the agricultural sector even due to land use fragmentation (Figs. 5, 6)¹⁵.

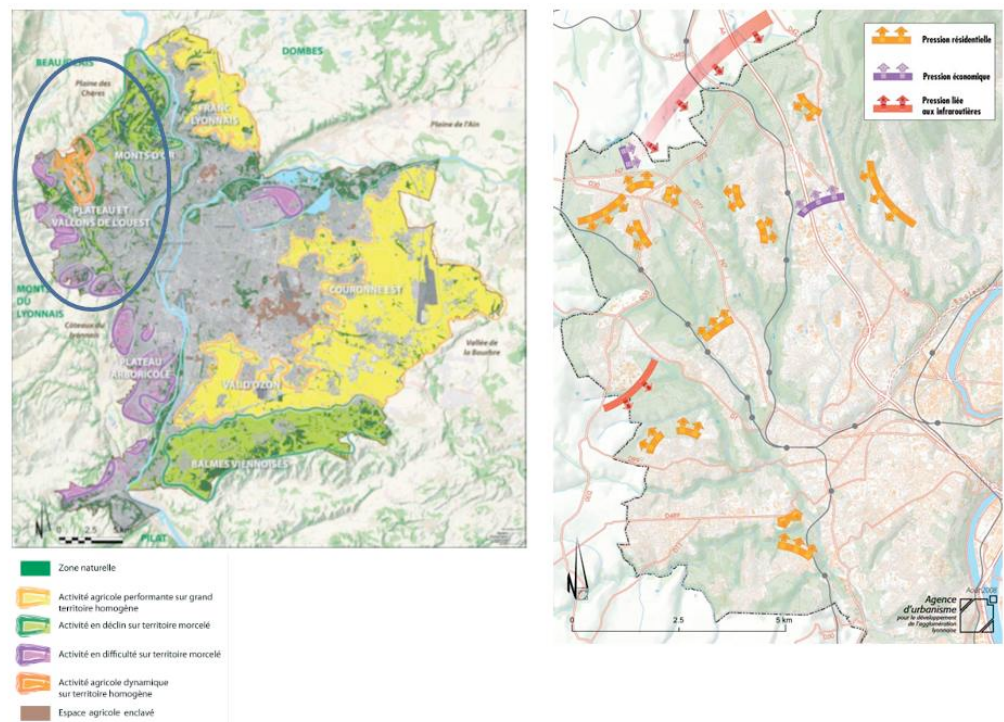


Figure 5 - Agence d'Urbanisme pour le développement de l'Agglomération Lyonnaise, Vallons de l'Ouest, *Trends and Criticalities of the peri-urban agriculture* (2009).

Many drivers contribute to the ongoing processes. Intensive farming¹⁶, progression of urban fringe settlements urged by the growth and the expansion of natural vegetation in abandoned areas unveil a clear demarcation between high-income practices on plots of consistent size, and “residual” non-professional farming practices that are likely to be dismissed before long in the absence of potential newcomers.

On the other hand, such a diverse agricultural production proves suitable for the short food supply chain (from farm to fork).

In order to embrace different sustainability paths for the management of green spaces in the medium and long term, forums and public hearings have been launched with local stakeholders and public at large.

The priorities, as featured in the Memorandum of Understanding of February 2010, are:

- Providing a better living environment;
- Co-constructing a metropolitan landscape;
- Focusing on urban development around public transportation lines;
- Fostering green economy activities.

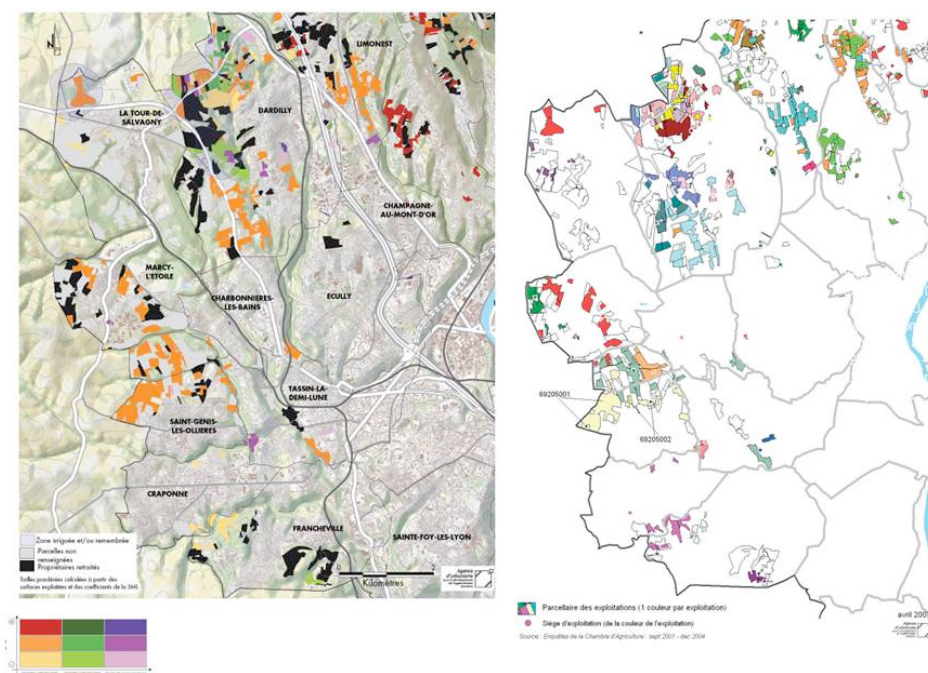


Figure 6 - Agence d'Urbanisme pour le développement de l'Agglomération Lyonnaise, Vallons de l'Ouest, Major stakes (2009).

Opportunities

- Medium size farming.
- Diversity of production.
- Production suitable for short food supply chain.

Threats

- Land fragmentation.
- Abandonment, farmland loss and shrub encroachment.

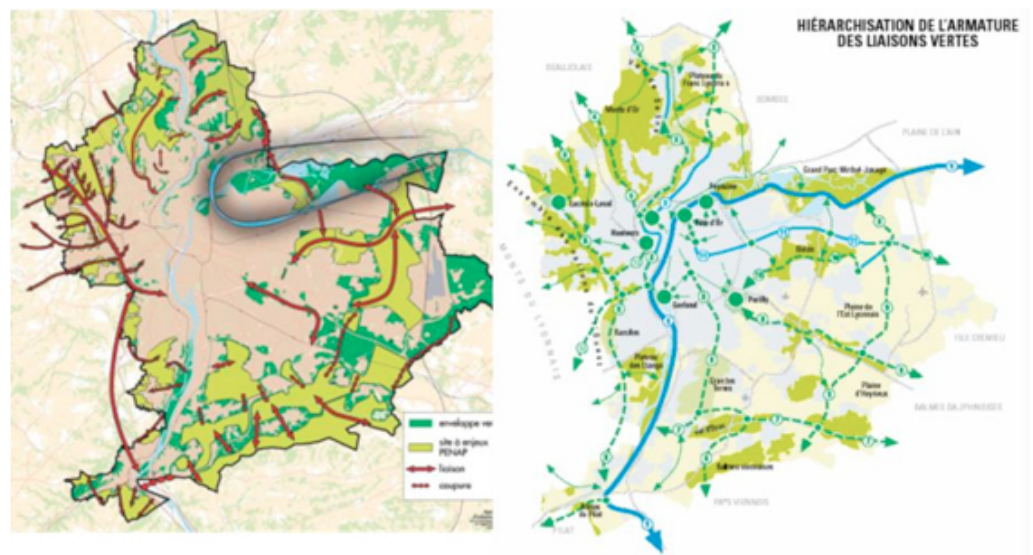
These issues have led to merge agri-policy measures into a long term spatial strategy (Fig 7).

In the “Projets Nature”, involving several municipalities, the major stake was thus to provide a “perennial” reference for the management of such areas (maîtrise d’ouvrage), from the most immediate issues, such as the arrangement of paths and rest areas, to those with greater complexity, such as the recovery of natural habitats for the public at large, in connection with educational programs.

A specific attention was paid to most vulnerable peri-urban areas currently devoted to agriculture taking into account different cultivation patterns: the poly-culture widespread in the west of the agglomeration or the arboriculture in the south-western areas, face to intensive crops in the eastern part of the agglomeration, in the Plateau de Feyzin and in the Franc Lyonnais.

This governance has led to a division of the agglomeration into homogeneous districts in terms of structural, functional and cropping systems, managed by councils of local stakeholders. Eventually, agricultural and natural uses will be transcribed into local general plans (PLU) and specific guidelines (Figs. 8, 9).

More recently, in the new context of the “Coopération métropolitaine” launched by the *Loi de Reforme des Collectivités Locales*,¹⁷ the *Charter of objectives for peri-urban agriculture* was signed by the Communautés d’Agglomération Lyonnaise, Nord Isère, Rives du Rhone and Sud Loire in order to ensure a better accessibility to quality food in the proximity of the urban areas; to co-ordinate different agri-policies complying with the enhancement of the short food supply chain in the metropolitan area; to support processes related to traditional long chain agro-industry in the Rhône-Alpes Region.



CHRONOLOGY

- 2005. GRANDS DÉFIS
- 2007. PROJET D'AMÉNAGEMENT ET DE DÉVELOPPEMENT DURABLE (PADD).
- 2008-2009. DOCUMENT D'ORIENTATIONS GÉNÉRALES (DOG).
- 2009. ADOPTION OF THE SCHÉMA DE COHÉRENCE TERRITORIALE (SCOT).
- 2010. APPROVAL OF THE SCOT (FOR A PERIOD OF 20 YEARS).

Figure 7 - Agence d’Urbanisme pour le développement de l’Agglomération Lyonnaise, *Selected scenario for the “Sites à enjeu PENAP”* (2010), and *The Liaisons vertes*.

Following measures are taken into account :

- A provision of areas devoted to natural and agricultural uses;
- Ecological networks in order to preserve biodiversity;
- Free open space facilities for leisure time and discovery.

Green Infrastructure includes:

- the green heart: major natural areas with little or no urbanization gathering biological and recreational activities.
- the green belt: areas mainly devoted to agriculture around the urban area.
- the texture green: areas interspersed in the urban area.
- the “liaisons vertes”: pedestrian connections between different components with variable uses according to a bottom up approach connecting urban parks and gardens to the peri-urban agricultural crown hosting outdoor facilities and to the wider spaces.

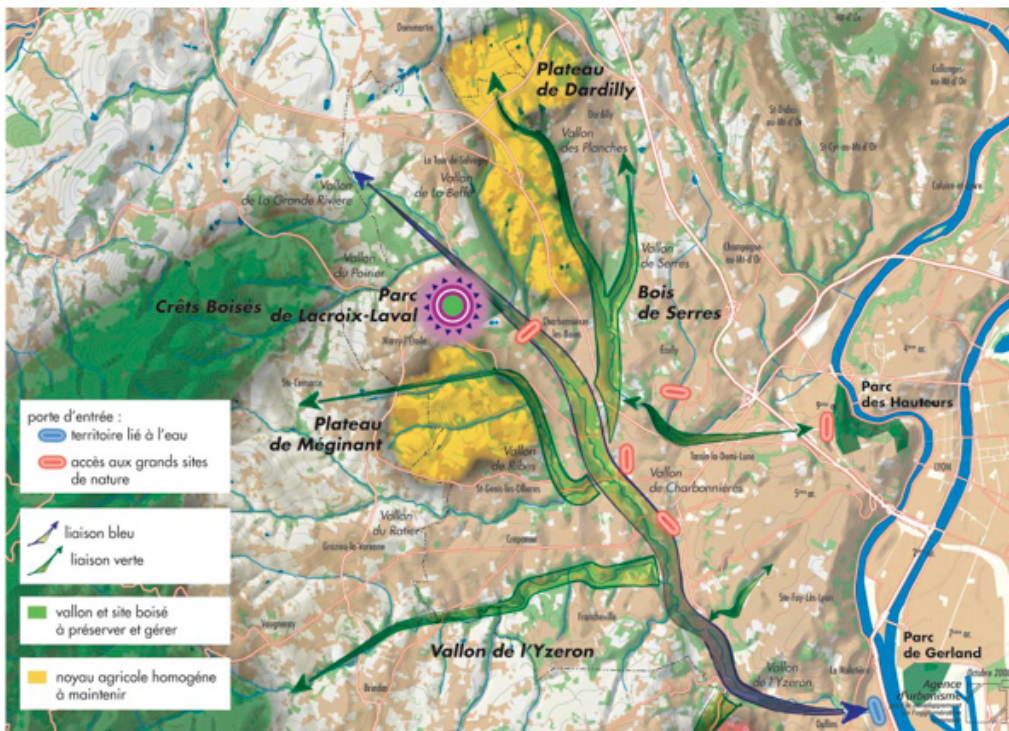


Figure 8 - Agence d'Urbanisme pour le développement de l'Agglomération Lyonnaise, *Directives for the open space* (2009).

Conclusion

According to the EU, “Green Infrastructure is addressing the spatial structure of natural and semi-natural areas but also other environmental features which enable citizens to benefit from its multiple services. The underlying principle of green infrastructure is that the same area can frequently offer multiple benefits if its ecosystems are in a healthy state. Green infrastructure investments are generally characterized by a high level of return over time, provide job opportunities, and can be a cost-effective alternative or be complementary to “grey” infrastructure and intensive land use change”.

Green infrastructure acts as a powerful factor of attractiveness, and is to be preserved by leveraging the economic potential of agriculture and ensuring a better connection to the built-up areas.

Looking ahead, the increase in supply of green spaces to citizens will accommodate a closer integration between local production and urban markets.

The success of the formula of direct sales ("Zero Mile" agriculture) enhances complementarity city-nature-agriculture and prompts for an integrated development strategy with strong ecological, economic and social benefits.

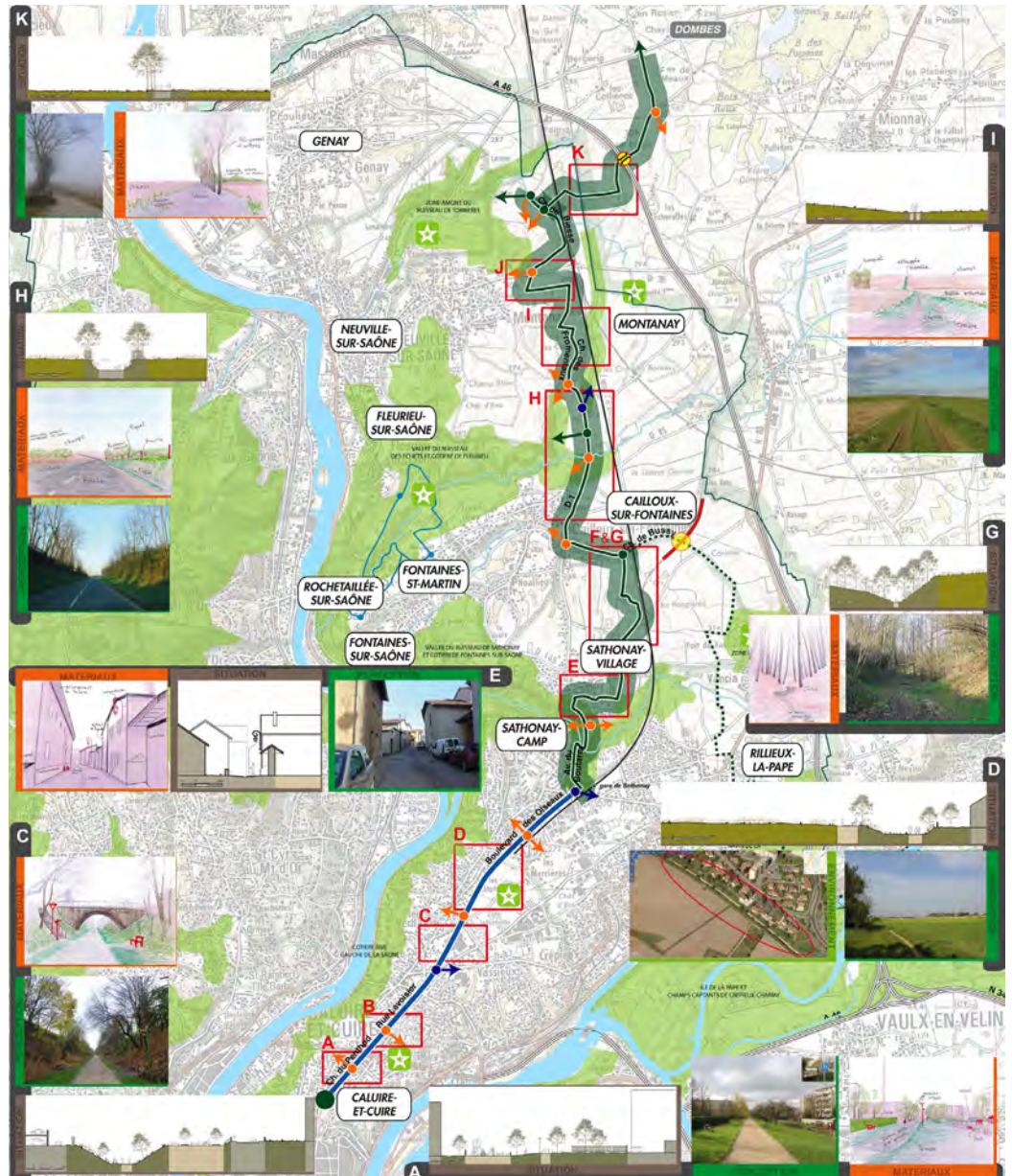


Figure 9 - Agence d'Urbanisme pour le développement de l'Agglomération Lyonnaise, *Liaisons vertes. Les nouvelles voies de la Ville Nature* (2009).

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¹ In a recent document delivered by the EU Commission, “Green Infrastructure is seen as a strategically planned and delivered network comprising the broadest range of high quality green spaces and other environmental features. It should be designed and managed as a multifunctional resource capable of delivering those ecological services and quality of life benefits required by the communities it serves and needed to underpin sustainability.

Green Infrastructure includes established green spaces and new sites and should thread through and surround the built environment and connect the urban area to its wider rural hinterland. Consequently it needs to be delivered at all spatial scales from sub-regional to local neighborhood levels, accommodating both accessible natural green spaces within local communities and often much larger sites in the urban fringe and wider countryside” (EU Commission, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European economic and social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Green Infrastructure . Enhancing Europe’s natural Capital, may 2013).

² The peri-urban municipalities are 14.930 out of 36.565 (3.000 of which admittedly urban and the others defined as rural areas).

Overall, the population raises 12 million, or 21%. The average of inhabitants of peri-urban municipalities is 820.

³ Loi n° 99-586 du 12 juillet 1999.

⁴ Loi n° 2000-1208 du 13 décembre 2000.

⁵ From 1994 to 2009 there has been placed on the market a greater number of single-family homes than flats.

⁶ J.J. Helluin, *Les effets de la règle des 15 km sur la maîtrise de l'étalement urbain en France?* <http://www.eso-gregum.univ-lemans.fr/>.

⁷ Loi n ° 2003-590 du 2 juillet 2003.

⁸ Loi n° 99-553 du 25 juin 1999.

⁹ Loi n° 2005-157 du 23 février 2005.

¹⁰ The permanent assembly of government departments of agriculture (APCA), national federation of land management and rural establishment societies (FNSAFER), and the national shepherds association (Bergerie Nationale).

¹¹ Smit, J., A. Ratta, and J. Nasr. (1996). *Urban Agriculture: Food, Jobs, and Sustainable Cities*. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), New York, NY.

¹² The SEPAL is the Syndicat Mixte d'études et de programmation de l'Agglomération lyonnaise.

¹³ 37% is covered by agriculture and 13% by woodland.

¹⁴ The sensitive natural areas were established by Act 1285 of 31 December 1976 as spaces *whose natural character is threatened and made vulnerable, actually or potentially, either because of urban pressure and the development of economic and recreational activities, or in relation to the importance of the quality of the site and the characteristics of plant and animal species found there.*

¹⁵ 19% of farms are more than 50 hectares in size (72% of the Utilised/Usable Agricultural Area), 41% less than 5 ha (less than 4% of UAA).

¹⁶ It entails removal of hedges and trees and an overall simplification in land cover patterns.

¹⁷ Loi n° 2010-1563 du 16 décembre 2010.

City and Countryside in Rennes

Manuela Ricci

The General Framework of Urban/Rural perspectives in France

For several years, France has been promoting many notable policies relating to urban agriculture. The main interest in these lies in the attempt to create relationships between peri-urban agriculture, urban development, nutrition, safety, and social goals. In addition, it is very important to highlight - given that the country's geography is characterized by a network of many small municipalities - that agricultural land often creeps into urban territory, thus creating mixed urban systems. In this way, French agricultural land and cities are growing together, and conflicts between them are very frequent.

In this context, the aim of local governments is to harmonize territorial development by combining these different activities in an effective manner.

In recent years, various rules, associations, partnerships, and plans in order to manage this complex territorial development have been, and are still being, made.

Indeed, in France the multidimensional importance of urban-agriculture, testified to by the abundance of laws, theoretical debates and actions, leads many actors (public and private) to pursue holistic practices. At a national level, starting from sectoral policies we find such health-oriented measures as the "Programme national nutrition santé 2001-15" (The Ministry of Labour, Employment and Health) connected with the general inter-communal plan (SCot-Schema de cohérence territoriale) and environmental sustainability initiatives (e.g. the well-known "Grenelle 2" law, 2010).

Since 2005, "projects agri urbains" have been carried out by voluntary partnerships between farmers and the community, without any specific link to legal provisions, with the objective of maintaining agricultural land around towns, promoting their productivity, and improving the quality of life and the landscape ("La filière agricole au coeur des villes en 2030", Ministère de l'Agriculture et de la Pêche 2009).

France is currently debating whether urban land is a matter of fragmentation or continuity: whether cities can transform themselves into holistic ecosystems alongside urban land. The future building of the urban countryside by many public and private actors is an exceptionally important challenge. The

improvement of territorial community is the means by which the country is likely to be able to reach the goals of communitarian democracy, and of thinking of land as a complex network of differing uses.

In this framework, following the promulgation of the Grenelle Law, the debate about the expansion of single-municipality 'plans locaux d'urbanisme' (PLUs) into inter-municipal PLUs, is becoming more and more relevant . As a result of this, future changes could finally present an important opportunity for the urban countryside: namely to build the kind of territorial projects which the neighboring urban agglomerations. Indeed, even apart from the PLUs, this could be an occasion for the urban countryside to develop a vision, a territorial strategy to work with, and not against, neighbouring agglomerations.

In this way it is possible to pass from a static geography to a fluctuating geography, overcoming administrative logic and traditional policies.

In order to create a coherent agglomeration, the project required the attribution of new functions to rural space; namely, to involve the villages in this process.

The challenge presented by rural areas could develop rural local administrations and develop intermunicipal cooperation, involving villages in a complex metropolitan dynamic. The complex rural system thus designed should involve relationships with the city, recreational functions, new lifestyles, and agricultural accountability regarding the food sector. In other words, to create relationships between urban and rural projects aimed at improving the common natural and agricultural good in the context of urban development. The complex rural system is a historic and geographic actuality which could guide local governments towards building collective public actions in rural territories.

In its prospective work "Territories 2040", the DATAR (Délégation interministérielle à l'aménagement du territoire et à l'attractivité régionale) studied urbanization changes in the framework of:

the relevance of city and rural characteristics, new populations and the preservation of agriculture, land use and the preservation of space, the supply of services and the costs of mobility. Indeed, the conflicts and the actors are numerous.

In 2010, "Terres en Villes" was created in France, an association whose goal is to promote relationships between French and non-French urban and peri-urban territories engaged in agricultural and forestry policies.

The association has three main objectives:

- to exchange know-how between its members and partners
- to commence joint projects in its territories
- to contribute to French and European debate about cities and their agriculture.

In 2013, the association, after having chosen land issues and the management of plans as the object of study over the previous few years, prioritised the economic issues arising from urban agriculture and peri-urban development [as a result of the economic crisis] in order to improve the food policies of urban agglomerations and metropolitan networks.

The Experience of Rennes, the “Ville Archipel”

With reference to a “holistic approach”, the experience of the “Pays de Rennes” should be highlighted: in 2010 the town network signed a “Programme Agricole Comunal” along with the Chambre d’Agriculture d’Ille-et-Vilaine, the SAFER Bretagne, and 5 inter-communal structures, which has been in progress for three years. The partnership fosters the importance of agriculture in local development policies and the “ville archipel” project in a framework consistent with the SCot.

The commune of Rennes chose a territorial model based on multipolar development, which allows the persistence of a large amount of natural and agricultural spaces between the villages and towns. This territorial organisation, in agreement with the SCot, is able to ensure a pleasant life for its inhabitants, surrounded by wooded countryside shaped by agriculture. However, the model of placing farms in the center of an urban system generates significant conflicts, which could impact the economic performance of these farms, compromising their future: competition for land, strengthened by the increasingly aggressive development consumption of urban land, lack of a clear agricultural perspective, cohabitation, and difficult mobility. In return, the proximity of the town offers many services to the farms, and creates a local market which could generate very interesting diversifications in agricultural products.

The PLU sets the general goals of partnership, coordinates its actions, and defines its responsibilities. The action program indicated forms of the responsibilities, funding and assessment tools to the partners.

The first article of the PLU emphasizes the relevance of knowledge about the diverse facets of territorial agriculture systems which requires an monitoring system. This will allow agricultural and territorial actors both to share an updated of the territory vision and its dynamic, and to discuss the best policies and actions for promotion. In particular, local administrations could restrict farmers’ “land stress” (the Rennes Pays is losing 780 ha of agricultural land each year) by allowing good agriculture to thrive, and could clarify which spaces are earmarked for agriculture in urban projects (SCot, PLU, ect.). In other words, economizing land is the most relevant observatory crux given that land is a rare common good and supports various functions.

The principal aim of the monitoring system is to allow the town to retain its inhabitants and their activities, and to protect agricultural space.

The restructuring of farm lots should be promoted using available tools, such as “échanges amiables”¹ and “échanges en jouissance”², which are currently being tested in the Département and could be developed in the Rennes Pays within the “Conseil Général”. At the end of 2011, a discussion was had about the first outcomes of this practice. Specifically, it came to light that in Sense-de-Bretagne, one of the villages of “Rennes Pays”, exchanges of 100 hectares (both “échanges amiables” and “échanges en jouissance”) were achieved in two years. Referring to links between the PLU and planning tools, in the context of the discussion mentioned above, in Domloup, another village of the Rennes Pays, the mayor halved the ZAC (zone d’aménagement concerté) by mixing agricultural functions within land settlement. This happened thanks to exchanges between the stakeholders.

Multi-Functional Woodland

The SCot, adopted in 2007, plans to preserve agriculture while developing the city, using several tools aimed at managing the effects on agricultural development and at creating “land security”.

The relationship between both the “Syndicat mixte” of Rennes Pays and the “Chambre de l’agriculture” should take place regularly to check the proper use of these tools, and the tools should be able to be modified if necessary.

It is important to monitor the agricultural role within the PLU aimed at improving current practices (methods, diagnostics, etc.). This work could give advice to “conseils municipaux”, technicians, “cabinet d’urbanisme” and farmers. At the same time, several training and awareness actions could be initiated.

Agriculture is an activity flow, generating movement of materials and vehicles that fit with difficulty into city traffic. Through the “Plans Communaux de Déplacements des PLU” the restructuring of farms would limit travel to distant plots while promoting favorable grazing, and maintaining woodlands.

The most characteristic feature of the Rennes Pays identity is its woodlands. The network of woods plays a multi-functional role, outweighing the dimensions of heritage and landscape (water regulation, biodiversity, shade for livestock, agronomic role, renewable energy potential). In addition, the existence of accessible paths offers recreation areas in the countryside which, through equalization systems, can limit the expansion farms in agricultural spaces into new recreational areas. Assigning the multi-functional dimensions of the woodlands within the constraints and tools of contemporary agriculture is the challenge of the “politique bocagère”.

The EPCI (Etablissements Publics de Coopération Intercommunale) of the Rennes Pays could promote several actions to the farmers and the “Chambre de

l'agriculture" with the support of partners who are already involved (programme Breizh Bocage associant la Région, l'Etat et l'Europe, contrat de territoire du Conseil Général, etc.).

Adapting to the New Context of Climate and Energy

Several actions will be promoted to farmers to maintain competitive agriculture, slimming down production energy expenditure and logistical systems, and developing renewable energy that could be produced in the farms (biomass, wind, solar). Notably, woodlands are able to improve the renewable biomass supply chain. Energy in Rennes Pays is being developed by both the private and public sectors in a context of sustainable development and local provision. To appraise the woodlands' biomass deposits of the Rennes Pays, some studies are being promoted by farms and local communities in order to develop a shredded wood supply in addition to other sources.

The partners could also design some scenarios around climatic change, and the resulting agricultural practice guidelines.

Strengthening Links between Farms and Local Communities

In the Rennes Pays a few farms manage the agricultural and environmental land of the "ville-archipel". People living in nearby cities do not understand their activities very well and often see only the most troublesome aspects (road congestion, sprawl, etc.), whereas in fact agriculture contributes significantly to the economic development of the Rennes Pays. On the other hand, many urban issues are unknown to the farmers.

For this reason, strengthening links between cities and the countryside, promoting the understanding of contemporary agriculture, and expanding agricultural activity in the Rennes Pays are important in order to allow agriculture to become a common interest.

Indeed, it is necessary to develop communication between farmers, councilors, local communities and professionals. Awareness campaigns directed at the general public could also be relevant.

Developing Agricultural Activities within the City

Local produce sold on the local market has been developing for some years between both traditional ways of selling in markets and innovative ways such

as a direct selling, paniers (food baskets) and AMAP (Associations pour le maintien d'une agriculture paysanne), collective farmers' warehouse, internet selling, collective food service, etc. Nutrition quality and health are relevant topics for the future. Supply chain professionals together with councillors, consumers and research centres, should continue devising innovative subjects of this strategic area.

The proximity of the town system allows Rennes Pays farmers to develop different activities to lengthen the production period: farm stays, services (animals shelter, natural spaces and footpaths care) and partnership within local communities (composting, methanation, municipal sewage sludge).

The Steering Committee

The steering committee, composed of the representatives of the "Chambre d'agriculture", the SAFER Bretagne of Rennes Pays and the EPCI (Etablissements Public de Coopération Intercommunale) defines orders the guidelines of the PLA (Programme Local de l'Agriculture) and every year designs the action and the program and the tools to carry it out.

This committee defines the rules of partnership, planning, and assessment of actions defined with the signatories. Also it guides the agricultural monitoring system and their observation contexts and indicators.

The steering committee should make use of structures, people, and resources in relation to the planned actions, and could be take part in agricultural monitoring work.

The "Conseil de Développement Economique et Social du Pays et de l'Agglomération de Rennes" (CODESPAR) could continue to contribute to agricultural sector forecasts.

The findings of these actions will be provided by the partners and specified on the yearly documents connected with the PLA framework agreement, which will last 3 years and could be implemented if necessary; these documents will define the "Agence d'Urbanisme et de Développement Intercommunal de l'Agglomération Rennaise" (AUDIAR) timetable of actions to be carried out, and the ways in which it will be possible to finance them.

Notes

¹ Mutual exchange is a bilateral act or multilateral exchange between owners. It is definitive and formalized by a notarial act. When assets are leased the lease is transferred to the new plots.

² This is a loan contract made between tenants or owners. It does not affect the ownership of the property. The exchange is temporary, limited to the duration of the lease, and is renewable.

Vectors of Blending and Integration between City and Countryside: Greater Metropolitan Areas

Carlo Magni

Introduction

The relationship between city and countryside has always been subject to reflection and deliberation within various disciplines, but almost all related to the social sciences. Even those that look to the social sciences specifically with regard to the territorial aspect with a technical-planning angle place much emphasis on the analysis of the relationships between city and countryside. Vast intellectual resources have been expended in the attempt to define the rural and the urban. The dichotomous attempt to interpret two distinct realities still fuels the debate (Ventura F., Milone P., Van der Ploeg J.D. - 2008), but this facet of the discussion appears to be destined to become less relevant, especially in the modern “liquid” societies of countries characterized by early industrialization and dense populations (Bauman Z., 2003). A more fruitful approach, rather, appears to be focusing on the analysis of the relationships between the two dimensions (urban and rural), giving rise to a spatial continuum encompassing a dense network of relationships spanning economic, social, logistical communication and information technology factors. The nature and character of these relationships influence the development prospects and methods of each of the two dimensions so much as to give shape to a territory with uniform characteristics. There are no rural territories that are tied to the urban dimension in a greater or lesser degree, and the same holds true for the inverse. Each dimension strongly influences the state of being of the other dimension. Recently, in countries of early industrialization, new methods and instruments of dialogue between city and countryside have emerged (Giffinger R. Suitner J.- 2013 - Centre for Urban and Regional Studies - Helsinki University of Technology - 2007) and given rise to an approach to territory planning that considers progressive integration, tracing solutions which must consider the new system of relationships in order to be considered valid.

The relationship between city and countryside is, in fact, based on a complex network of relationships of an economic and social nature which is continuously changing. In this paper, after a brief description of the evolution of that relationship, we intend to provide a synthetic illustration of the principal methods through which such relationships develop, within the limits of the relations between agriculturists and consumers of the food products and

“relational goods”¹ that the countryside and city are capable of generating.

The principal objectives of the paper, written on the basis of the reflections conducted by the work group of the Marie Curie IRSES 7FP project, CLUD’s International Research Network; Unità FOCUS, Università La Sapienza di Roma² are:

- a) to attempt a didactic narration of the traditional methods of relation between city and countryside, accounting for the principal objectives pursued over time by economic and social forces.
- b) to provide a systematic account of the economic and social aspects related to the exchange of food and relational goods that currently characterize the relationship between the rural and urban dimensions.
- c) to hypothesize various models for the enhancement of relationships between city and countryside, capable of providing development opportunities to both dimensions with the establishment of metropolitan cities.

Traditional Methods of Relation: an Attempt at Organization

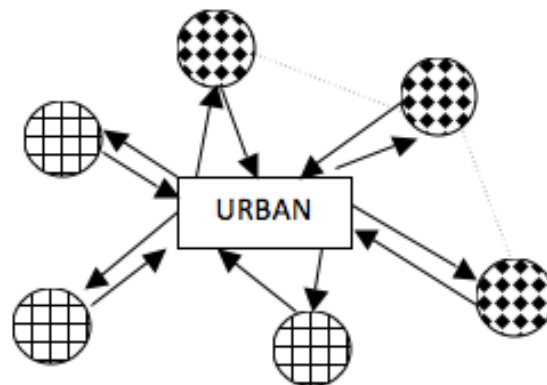
It is first necessary to clarify that none of the “traditional” methods of relation between city and countryside has, over time, completely replaced any other method but that these methods overlap and become integrated according to the physical characteristics of the territories, the economic and social characteristics of the population’s individuals and the physical and virtual communication methods and instruments between the two dimensions (Capello R. – 2004, Ciciotti E. 1993).

The Pre-Capitalist Model

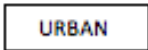




The birth of artisan production, the development of commerce and the transfer of ownership (or use) of land for agricultural purposes to the families of agriculturists activated, on a local basis, an initial phase of work division between those who cultivated food products primarily for subsistence and those who were specialized in manufacturing durable consumer goods for small inhabited centers (rural hamlets, villages, etc.). This first form of work division into two distinct sectors of activity was based on reciprocal advantage, generated by specialization, and contributed to the configuration of the rural and urban dimensions with the assignment of roles connected to the exchange of goods. These relationships between “city and countryside” profoundly influenced the landscape which still today characterizes many areas of the country. The population that lived in both dimensions was still small, and the commercial exchanges between rural areas, at local markets, were limited while those between urban systems, at delocalized markets, were developing. As a result, a relationship system of a planetary nature developed, with rural areas being satellites relatively isolated from the others that depended on an urban center for the exchange of goods (Le Goff J. (2009), Bloch M (1990) Marx K. (1985). The gradual specialization of the production of durable consumer goods in cities

and the rapid growth of productivity in the agricultural sector, combined with a sharp demographic increase, laid the groundwork, at the beginning of the last century, for the urbanization of the workforce, which would allow for the establishment and development of industrial capitalism.

DIAGRAM 1: THE PRE-CAPITALIST MODEL



Legend:

- Urbanized city area 
- Rural hamlets with exchange relationships 
- Rural hamlets with exchange relationships only with the city 
- Exchange flows of goods and services with the city 
- Exchange flows of goods and services between rural hamlets 

The Industrial City

With the development of industrial capitalism, centered on large factories located mainly in urban areas, and the development of social and personal services came the transfer of another commodity from the countryside to the city: workers. (Gallino L. (2012)

The mass exodus from the countryside to the city in search of a supporting salary that agriculture could no longer guarantee to families generated a rapid process of urbanization with a strong demand for housing for both the new workers and the new entrepreneurs of the production system of goods and services called upon to make available, in the same urban areas, the greatest amount of goods possible for newcomers. In this phase, the turbulent process of urbanization can be seen, the process that required the definition of rules to define order in the territory already built and that to be built. (Barca F. 2001)

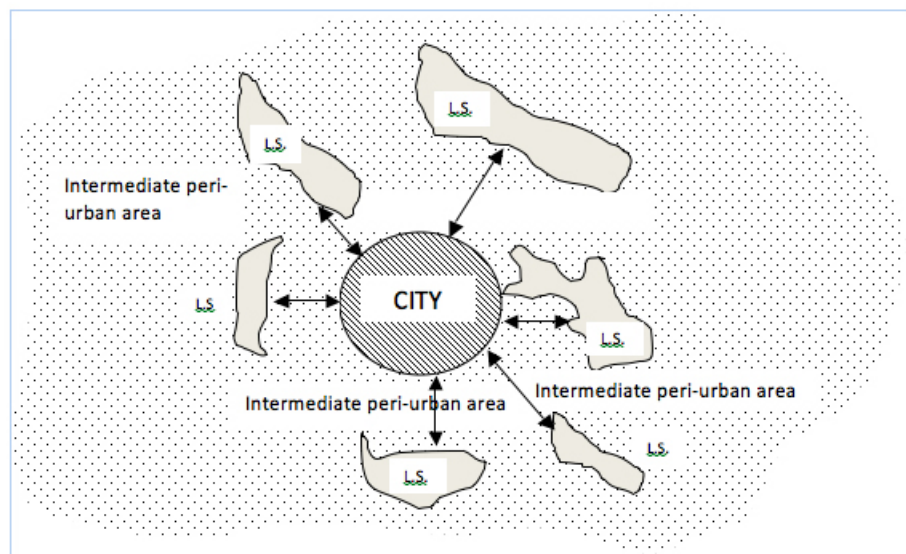
The cost of the urbanization services necessary for new housing, a different system of land ownership and speculation strategies of builders seeking to increase the value of the areas in which their property was located all contributed to favoring rather disorganized urban assets. Remnants of countryside inevitably destined (sooner or later) for urbanization were alternated with





residential areas with no clear territory planning strategy other than that of gaining immediate economic advantage.

The countryside in this phase played a decisive role for the industrial city, making territory, food products and raw materials available at decreasing prices, the result of which was an increase in productivity as the result of the acceleration of the mechanization process and the mass use of synthetic fertilizers. The relatively contained prices of food products favored a certain stability of real wages necessary to guarantee the growth of industrial production (Fenoaltea. S.- 2001).

The relationships of the exchange of goods between the city and the countryside gradually increased, and work, expelled from the countryside to continually increase productivity, was poured into the city in search of a salary. The relocation of people led to a change in eating habits, traditions, rural culture, lifestyles and consumer habits. Industrial growth proceeded more rapidly than the process of modernization in the countryside and was culturally dominant, and urbanization was stimulated as the result of a rise in demand for building. The pressure of the demand for housing and the process of regulation that accompanied the tumultuous growth phase of the city left some agricultural areas intact within urbanized territory. Gradual regulation and the difficulty of finding the supply to meet the growing demand resulted in areas of wild urbanization and marginal neighborhoods (areas lacking services, shanty towns, etc.).

DIAGRAM 2: THE INDUSTRIAL CITY



Legend:
 City center 
 Peripheral residential living settlements (housing projects, shanty towns, etc.)  L.S.
 Intermediate unbuilt peri-urban area 
 Exchange of work with means of subsistence and services 

Integrations and Blending of Greater Metropolitan Areas

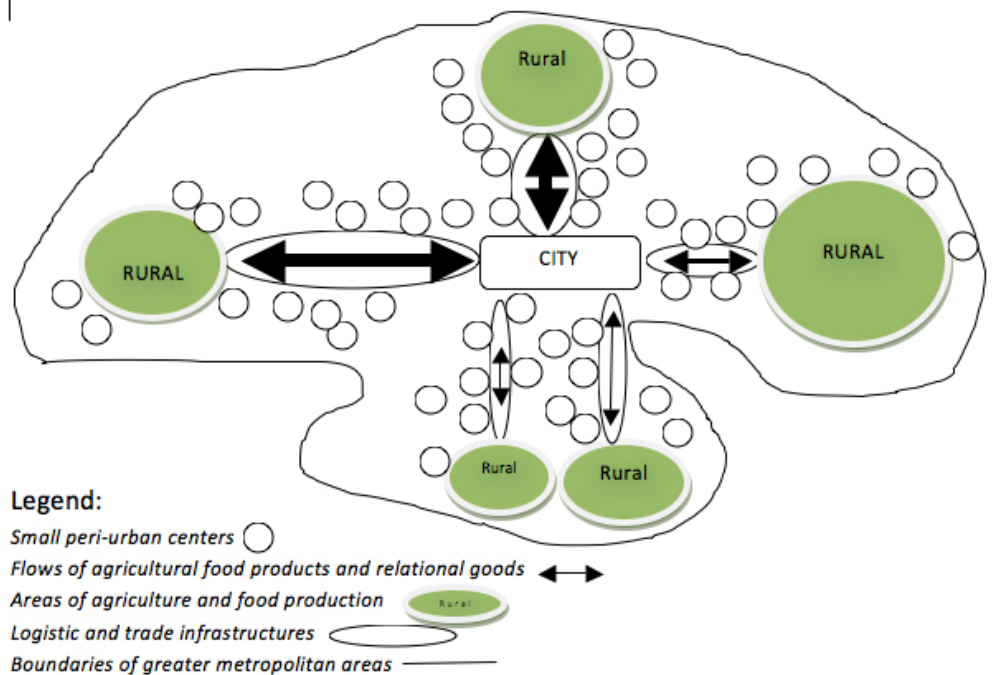
The development of private and public transportation, the gradual decline of manufacturing based on large factories (Carnazza P. 2012 - Gallino L. 2003), the rationalization of the system of private services (commerce, personal services and company services) and services of public utility across the territory (administrative services, healthcare, etc.) accompanied a substantial slowing of the urbanization phase of the rural population. (Barberis C. - 2009)

In particular, to meet the new mobility needs, infrastructures of public and private means of transportation were developed (Bruzzo A. - 2013), rendering urban areas less distant from rural areas and building a dense web of relationships which are the necessary base of the continuum to which referred in the introduction. The establishment of an information technology network and the rapid spread of its use for the development of new forms for the exchange of goods and services and for the simplification of relations between people rendered the network of relationships still denser, contributing to a reduction of the dichotomy between the urban and rural dimensions (Nuvolati G. - Piselli F. 2009)

Increased integration was favored by an intense exchange of information and relational goods and the blending of various lifestyles that reshaped traditional cultural differences between the urban and rural populations based "only" on the exchange of goods. Small and medium-sized manufacturing companies established themselves in the rural dimension, many typically urban services relocated to small rural centers and cultural standards in the countryside rapidly improved due to both the gradual education of the local population and the growing presence of entities which decided to move from the city (Merlo V. 2009).

The intensification of not only economic but also "cultural" relations condition the configuration of the urban dimension by displacing new living centers along infrastructural tracks that allow for the rapid transit of people, the principal vehicle of culture and information, leaving areas not exposed to urbanization (due to zoning or economic convenience) to their own fate. Residential choices are oriented toward small rural centers based on the possibility of reaching the city in order to earn income and make use of some services. The relationships of exchange substantially remained the same but seem to have inverted the strength and direction of some flows, modifying the hierarchy. The rural dimension had the possibility to enter into the city under various guises: products, culture, search for traditions, place of escape, etc.

DIAGRAM 3: INTEGRATIONS AND BLENDING OF GREATER METROPOLITAN AREAS



These flows of exchange have grown rapidly in recent years, invading the city and, in many respects, characterizing its nature. We will seek to illustrate this in the next section.

Vectors of Blending and Integration between City and Countryside

The various vectors of blending between the city and the countryside, which press toward the emergence of an unprecedented economic and social dimension, fall under two principal components: the economic component with the transfer of products (especially food and artisan products) and the relational goods component (information, culture, traditions, well-being, health, recreation), the two of which are often intertwined.

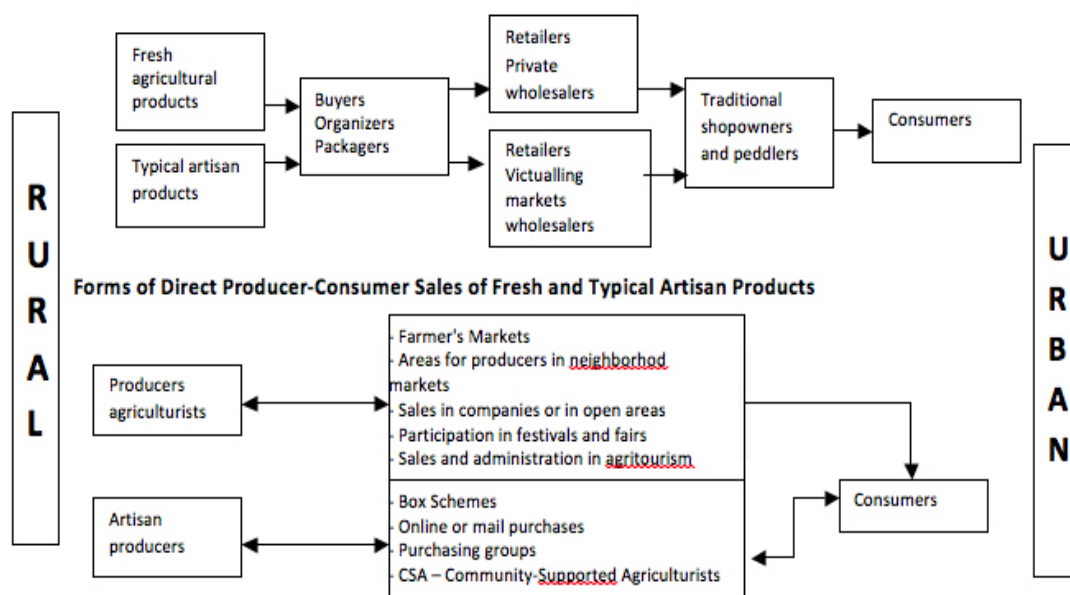
In this paper, we will specifically discuss the role of food product sales and that of the exchange of relational goods, the integration vectors which put agriculturists and urban consumers into direct contact with one another. It is evident that the economic aspects and the social and cultural aspects constitute two faces of the same coin, but we will discuss them separately in order to describe their principal characteristics.

Form and Economic Integration

Forms of economic integration mainly concern new methods for the purchase and sale of goods and services produced in the rural dimension (Giarè F. - Giuca S. - 2012, Marino D. Cicatiello C. - 2012, Giarè F. - Macrì M.C., 2012). The common element of the new forms of exchange relations is that they seek to reduce the

distance between the producers and consumers of food goods and between urban and rural lifestyles. Commercial initiatives that move in this direction view the protagonists as being, on the one hand, more advanced producers capable of managing distribution systems for direct sales and, on the other hand, niches of consumers in rapid development who decide to abandon the mass market dominated by large-scale distributors (Modena G., Fiorina P. - 2011). From a strictly economic point of view, the effects for both of these groups are above all to reduce the number of brokerage passages (and the relative commercial margins) in the production-consumption chain that moves products from the countryside to the city.

The Traditional Production and Consumption Chain of Fresh and Typical Artisan Products



More specifically, the principal benefits for producers may include the following: gain of the additional value of commercial brokerage, direct understanding of the characteristics of the demand in order to more efficiently manage manufacturing choices, instantaneous adaptation of price conditions and the opportunity to directly interact with consumers through direct marketing. The costs, on the other hand, could include transportation, the obligation of the producer to use a portion of time on sales rather than the production phase, the assumption of risk for unsold inventory and the costs of the markets used for commercialization.

For consumers, on the other hand, the benefits may be represented by the reduction of information asymmetries with regard to product characteristics, such as place of production, direct acquaintance with the producer (trust), guarantee of the seasonality of the product (freshness also in the case of artisan-modified products), which also represents an element of reassurance with

respect to health aspects and, finally, possible price advantages. The possible costs, on the other hand, could be the reduced assortment or selection, reduced shelf life for some unpackaged products, reduced contractual power for niche markets with local offer and the possible adjustment of prices to those of the mass market.³

DIAGRAM A

The Producer Goes to the City	
Fixed sales outlet outside the company in public areas (neighborhood markets)	Direct sales of the same producers with the preparation of a dedicated stand or space at neighborhood markets that provides the advantages of a store outside the company but with a reduced expenditure of resources. Often the stands of producers are concentrated in a specific area of neighborhood markets or marked by special signs;
Sales in public areas in a fixed form: farmer's markets	Periodical events, held at least once a month, almost always out-of-doors, reserved to producers who customarily come from rural areas bordering the city;
Box schemes or produce subscriptions	The box scheme is a distribution form organized directly by the producer and oriented toward consumers, developed for the periodic purchasing of seasonal agricultural products. These are usually fresh products but may also be artisan-modified and are delivered periodically to the home. The assortment of products is at the discretion of the producer, who develops the box based on availability;
Automatic distributors or vending machines	The product is distributed automatically in a fixed location, such as automatic distributors of raw milk;
Mail order sales	This method of direct sales involves sending a catalog containing the offer to potential clients; the client then sends the sales order. The seller packages the goods and mails them through a postal service. This solution can be used only for packaged and non-perishable products (wine, oil, etc.)
The Consumer Goes to the Countryside	
Purchasing groups (or Combined Ordering Systems)	Ethical purchasing groups are organizations of consumers that purchase products directly from the producer, or from groups of organized producers with small or medium-sized platforms, benefiting from significant price reductions;
Direct sales methods at the company or on the street	The consumer who purchases products directly at the company or at mobile structures (trucks, trailers, tents) placed on the road bordering the company or peddling in urban areas. Sales can be permanent or limited to the period of the gathering of the products, participation in
	fairs and local events or private parties;
Direct purchase or consumption at the company; Pick-your-own	The consumer purchases/consumes the products directly at the company or rural tourism structure; the consumer participates in the gathering and purchasing of products, especially those which require a high amount of work and a limited amount of skill needed for their gathering.
CSA – Community-Supported Agriculture	Privileged relations between the urban and rural dimensions that provide, in addition to an exchange relationship, forms of collaboration and integration between producers and consumers, with one of the objectives being that of strengthening rural communities.

The adoption of these forms of economic integration inevitably produces a system of relationships between people and groups that allows for the continuous passing of “relational goods” between city and countryside, favoring the reciprocal blending of the two dimensions, gradually reducing social and cultural differences.

Forms of Social Integration

During the evolution of the forms of exchange of products and services between the city and the countryside, with evident economic effects, relationships have developed that have generated new methods of social cohesion (Coccia G. & Mundo A. – 2011) between the two dimensions. Specifically, these relationships are those in which the “rural” (relations with the environment and animals, recovery of rural traditions, knowledge of agricultural products and production methods - food products, lifestyles, etc.) dimension influenced the urban dimension and, conversely, the city conquered the countryside (use of the internet, personal services, cultural events like concerts, theatre shows, cinema, dance, fitness, etc.).

The evolution of these relations was favored above all by the development of physical and virtual communication infrastructures and by an increased ease of movement for people, and along with them their job interests and lifestyles, that provided a strong impetus for integration between city and countryside.

Over the past ten years, in fact, the amount of first and second houses in rural areas more or less near cities has grown. Numerous workers residing in rural areas commute to the city daily and, conversely, many city dwellers pass their free time in country residences. The movement of these individuals from one dimension to the other represents a connecting link of two cultures that were once more distant.

Other relatively recent phenomena of social integration can be traced to those indicated in diagram B.

DIAGRAM B

Urban gardens	These can be found within urban areas and are used for the cultivation of fruits and vegetables not intended to be sold for profit. Urban gardens in public areas are often granted on extended loan to citizens who apply while in private areas they are rented or leased. These gardens generally exist either to provide products intended to be used by a family or to contribute to the preservation of green spaces between developed areas destined for abandonment and neglect.
Social farms	These constitute a new practice of social agriculture which, through initiatives promoted in an agricultural environment by agricultural companies (but also social co-operatives), aims to promote the “therapeutic reinsertion” of “disadvantaged individuals” (disabled people, drug addicts, convicts, the elderly, etc.) into society and to, at the same time, produce consumer goods. When social farms are favored and promoted by institutions, they can represent one of the operative instruments through which regional and local governments can apply welfare policy in a territorial environment.
Agritourism companies	These are, for all intents and purposes, farms in which agriculturists whose principal activity is farming supplement their income by offering hospitality in structures of rural origin. Agritourism has become <u>well-</u>

	established among the tourism offer and is widespread and regulated by specific regulations that define the activity. Lodging in agritourism companies near cities famous for their art is becoming popular with an ever-increasing number of people.
Teaching farms	These are agricultural companies that receive and educate scholastic groups, providing the opportunity to learn about farm life. The company must present an educational/formative proposal tied to the effective production of agricultural or animal products (production of cheese, participation in the gathering of fruit, activities tied to beekeeping, etc.).
Country fairs and festivals	These represent an occasion for the inhabitants of cities to learn about traditions and lifestyles in small rural centers. They are an occasion for cultural exchange and the purchase of typical agricultural and artisan products.

In these forms of social or community integration, the entities exchanged are relational goods. These relational goods have no direct utility through their consumption but rather constitute an important additional value to promote increased social cohesion between residents of the two dimensions who learn to become acquainted with one another, respect the other dimension and, in turn, collaborate with one another. Relational goods are the social glue that brings the city and the countryside together and is intertwined with the reciprocal utility generated by the exchange of goods and services (Valentino P.A. 2006).

All activities intended for social integration between the two dimensions have long been considered pioneering or marginal experiences, but today they now represent structured and organized realities, sustained and promoted by the new common agricultural policy in the area of rural development projects, responding to goals of increasing agricultural multi-functionality (De Filippis F. 2013).

New Opportunities for the Enhancement of City-Countryside Relations

The progressive tendency of the city and surrounding rural area, also due to the economic and social integration phenomena described, to compose a single city planning dimension covering a large area leads policymakers to engage with territorial planning from a new perspective: the metropolitan city⁴ (hereafter also metropolitan area).

Modern planning should seek to form a solid and efficient network of physical and virtual contact within the integrated territorial dimension between city and countryside in greater metropolitan areas. Such planning could provide for works to revitalize smaller centers in order to promote opportunities for development and virtuous economic relations, at least within the greater metropolitan area, and at the same time prepare the city for blending with the rural.

From an economic point of view, it would be advantageous to consider the necessity of reorganizing markets of food and artisan products in the urban and rural dimensions. The enhancement of the value of food products and relational goods in the metropolitan area could be favored by transforming underused public buildings into spaces to be used for commercial, cultural (museums, fairs, events, etc.) and tourism purposes. The government of the metropolitan city would be able to extend the network of public services to people and businesses in this new spatial dimension, arranging integrated territorial management models.

All in all, the new metropolitan area dimension could favor network organizational models for production activities on the territory, especially for small, medium-sized and artisan businesses (Bellandi M. - Russo M. 1994).

The criteria adopted for the delimitation⁵ of the metropolitan city may arise from various philosophies of approach (administrative, city planning, social, economic, infrastructural/transport), with different results: the metropolitan city may correspond to the entire provincial territory and/or important parts of the neighboring territories or be limited to certain municipalities adjacent to the urban dimension. In any case, the delimitation of the new administrative dimensions of the integrated territorial dimension (metropolitan area) may not exclude a serious and precise evaluation of the quality and strength of existing relationships between city and countryside.

The establishment of metropolitan cities therefore constitutes an extraordinary occasion to reorganize the relationships between the aforementioned rural and urban dimensions, which have until now developed "spontaneously."

In order to integrate the urban and rural dimensions in these new greater metropolitan cities, a specific program of possible territory planning interventions could include the following:

1) Revitalize smaller centers in order to promote opportunities for development and virtuous economic relations in metropolitan areas:

- a. Rationalize the distribution apparatus of quality food products on a local basis, favoring the creation of a system of local productions, business networks, districts, etc.;
- b. Engage in activities aimed at invigorating and regenerating the urban territory with spaces dedicated to the sales of local products, favoring the meeting of producers and consumers;
- c. Sustain economic activities (food and non-food, especially artisan), also favoring the creation of new companies and creating work opportunities;
- d. Integrate the urban tourist offer with the historic-cultural emergences of the territory, favoring their fruition.

2) Promote cultural interchange between urban and rural areas, demarginalizing some smaller centers:

- e. Create opportunities for reciprocal acquaintance, blending and cultural penetration among rural areas (food and craft product fairs, conveyance of traditions and knowledge, etc.) and urban areas (theatre, exhibitions, cultural events, etc.);
- f. Improve systems of logistical (decongestion of connecting pathways), communication and virtual (diffusion of broadband internet) infrastructures;
- g. Develop a system of public and private services for individuals and businesses for residents of smaller municipalities of the metropolitan area in order to improve quality of life.

3) Develop integrated actions for the government of the territory with instruments for coordinated territorial planning in greater metropolitan areas:

- h. Provide instruments for city planning optimization to small municipalities, also making use of structures no longer in use;
- i. Promote low-density and land defense forms of urbanization for purposes of environmental sustainability (urban gardens, defense of agricultural areas);
- j. Create forms of integrated management of public services spread in small centers according to the effective needs identified for the territory.

The actions described may be useful reference points in order to launch the restructuring of a territory that contains strictly integrated rural and urban realities. The two dimensions may be integrated into a single system with the objective of creating smart cities, capable of enhancing already existing relationships and connections. The choice to make use of a systemic and precise approach to the building of economic/manufacturing and social networks and relationships may be considered an initial response to the transformations occurring due to the globalization of markets and an economic crisis that has called into question the traditional cornerstones of industrial cities as we have known them.

The opportunity represented by the expected establishment of metropolitan cities therefore allows for the experimentation of many of the proposed actions in order to arrange a model of the integrations and blending of greater metropolitan areas between city and countryside described in diagrams A and B.

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Notes

¹ The sociological approach allows us to “define relational goods as those immaterial entities which consist of the social relationships that emerge from agents/players reflectively oriented to produce and use together a good that the same would not otherwise be able to obtain.” In this regard, the relationship assumes its own “materiality” in the moment in which the same becomes a “good.” Of particular importance is the analysis of the relationship that brings together relational goods and social capital (which consists of relationships of trust, cooperation and reciprocity) - Donati P. e Solci R. (2011). The use of the term “food products” means goods originating from an agricultural production or artisan modification process of goods with the purpose of providing human nutrition.

² The work group was composed by. Manuela Ricci, Claudia Mattogno, Anna Palazzo, Bruno Monardo, Pietro Valentino Carlo Magni

³ From certain empirical research (Marino D. Cicatiello C. - 2012) it emerges that the prices of products being “sold directly” tend to align themselves with the highest prices of the large retailers on the market. Local products with “0 food miles” are purchased by high-quality consumers. In other words, from a marketing standpoint, the “direct sales” brand amounts to the prestigious marketing of the most exclusive industrial brands.

⁴ NOTE – On December 22, 2013, the House approved a law that institutes “metropolitan cities intended as unions and fusions of municipalities” that must perform many tasks traditionally assigned to the provincial governments destined to be subdued: metropolitan cities (new) shall be produced from the fusion of more than one bordering municipality (greater areas).

Metropolitan cities (hereafter also metropolitan areas) shall be governed by boards of mayors (the appointment of which is free) who will be able to formulate general proposals for various matters, including territorial planning, mobility, environmental pollution and protection, waste disposal, commercial and cultural planning and general services.

⁵ On July 7, 2010, the convention “Capitale Metropolitana: un nuovo assetto istituzionale per garantire sviluppo sostenibile, competitività e qualità della vita” (*Metropolitan Capital: a new institutional asset to guarantee sustainable development, competition and quality of life*) was held in Rome. During this occasion, Nicola Zingaretti proposed that the establishment of the Metropolitan City of Capital Rome be arranged to coincide with the end of the term of the city, town and municipal councils. Further, in 2013 he proposed the creation of a Metropolitan Conference to define the characters and delimitation of the metropolitan city. The most common proposal for delimitation, however, is that of modeling the territory according to the current provinces, therefore following a criterion of administrative continuity. In that event, Rome could therefore be formed by 139 metropolitan municipalities (the current 19 municipalities in the city of Rome plus 120 municipalities in the province) or by 61 (19 municipalities in the city plus the 42 principal municipalities in the province).

Urban Renewal and Retailing: Boston and San Diego

Christer Bengs

Urban change in the USA is perpetual and this is often equalled with strength. An account of urban development over two centuries indicates however that costs and benefits have been distributed unevenly. Big business has been favoured and local businesses and people have been suffering. The case of urban renewal and retailing is an instructive example. The provision of large malls is in the interest of globally operating firms, while small scale development and upgrading render benefits for the local community. In the case of large scale development, globally operating firms brand the mall. When protection of urban heritage is pursued, commercial endeavours are branded by the place.

Introduction

Depending on chosen context, the meanings we ascribe to various matters are determined. In market conditions, commodities get meanings in the interplay between producers and consumers. This is however not always the case. In some sectors of the economy, consumers may rule and in other sectors producers seem to be dominant. The latter is particularly true with regard to land based activities, because the control of land constitutes conditions where oligopolies and monopolies thrive. Urban development is certainly a token of dysfunctional markets where a limited number of producers seem to rule in any particular place. Consumers are obliged to encounter prescribed conditions and the number of options they have at their disposal is limited and seldom substitutable.

In professional discussions, urban planning seems to revolve around consumer-related issues such as the needs for various categories of housing, services, transport, recreation, etc. The professional identity of many planners is related to users' objectives such as well-functioning cities. The pressure of the producers is of course felt in public planning offices: Bosses meet developers and provide subordinates with planning tasks. Bosses negotiate and decide while subordinates execute. Seen like this, urban planning is actually a tiny part of the production process of built environment, but important as big economic assets are allocated through planning. It is certainly good when the ethos of planners encompasses user-related objectives and not only the instrumental aims of developers.

For planning research, however, the consumer-focused view is not good enough. In order to understand urban development, we have to broaden our scope and conceive change in terms of consumer *and* producer interests. In

the following, I will try to apply this double aspect when discussing urban change in the USA. Emphasis is given to the notion of change and whom it serves. A double-aspect is applied to the economy as well: The advantages of local economy are presented in contrast to the effects of dependence on external investments. Two different forms of urban retail development (large scale malls versus local supply) are presented and discussed in relation to particular modes of urban renewal (large scale projects versus piecemeal mending). The article ends with some concluding remarks concerning the nature of change and planning, and the importance of local economy.

Urban Change in the USA

A recent book ends with the following statement:

"...**change** has always been the City's life and **strength**." (Warner & Whittemore 2012, 153)

It is easy to agree with the description of urban life in the USA as continuous change. The quotation above also implies, an evaluation and prescription, namely that change equals strength. That is indeed an opinion, which deserves some attention. In a society of perpetually expanding markets, change is of course an inherent feature of society. It is more perceived as an opportunity than as a condition causing inhibition for parts of the population. In the case of US cities, change implies certain regularities as well. The regularity seems to lay in the fact that change is not an independent or external opportunity that various interests attempt to size but it is an outcome of deliberate and cognizant action on the part of the economic and political elite. Those in power have of course designed the rules according to which markets are established as socially accepted institutions, and the resourceful are inclined to change the rules in their own favour according to altering conditions (Polanyi 2001).

What are the regularities of urban change in cities of the USA? There seems to be a long history of treating urban environment as a simple money-making-machine. The changes of urban structure and morphology mirror the changes in the way built environment is produced as bigger and bigger projects in the interest of developers and global retail. The concentration of the building business seems to go hand in hand with concentration in the retail business. One effect of the money-making-machine in work is spatial segregation based on unequal opportunities and race.

Changing Urban Morphology

As cities have grown tremendously, the tangible morphology of the cities, including public versus private spaces, property division and building stock, has busted many times over. In the mid-eighteenth century North American cities, the originally tiny population grew mainly from net migration, and it

was housed by an urban morphology of narrow plots and row houses, build up against the street and sharing common walls with their neighbours. This morphology could be labelled traditional, and it is found across Europe as well (Carmona et al. 2005, 61-86). By the early nineteenth century, the most important cities of the East Coast were already big for their time. International trade improved, regular sailings emerged, and continuous warfare against the original Americans opened up the eastern part of the continent. Fields and woodlands were divided into grids, facilitated by Thomas Jefferson's grand conception of the all-inclusive grid in 1785 (Benevolo 1993), and elaborated by William Penn's plan for Philadelphia, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and the New York Commissioner's Plan of 1811. The simplicity of right-angled boundaries and concomitant private titles of land stood in stark contrast to the original Americans' strong bond to land, featured by collective use and ecological considerations as well as religious belief.

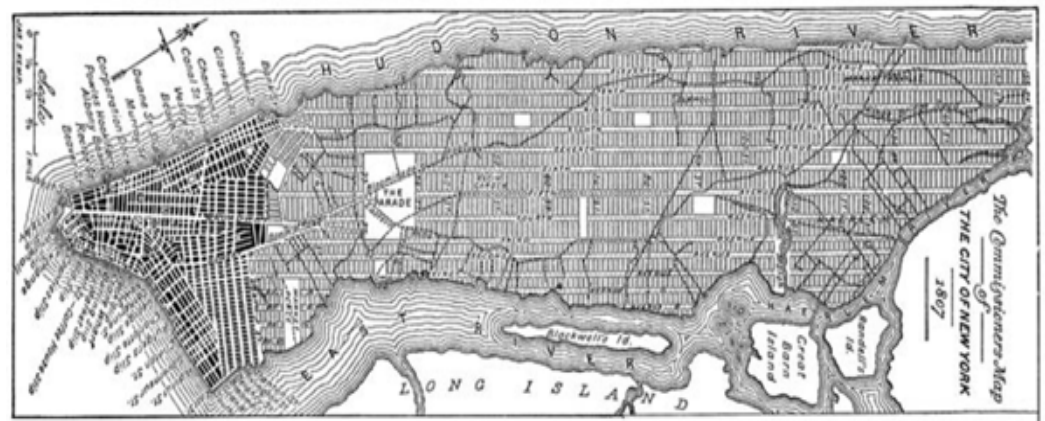


Figure 1 - *The Commissioners' Plan of Manhattan, released in 1807*

In the cities of the East Coast, the control of urban land was monopolised by colonial grants, and a landlord class emerged. This group of people based their income and business upon rent collecting. The number of middlemen, dealers who stood between landowners, home builders and home seekers multiplied. The construction business started to diversify with small independent builders, erecting a few houses per year while master carpenters would function as general contractors and develop strips of lots or whole blocks at a time. Large-scale developers worked with real estate brokers, gaining contracts for large tracts of fringe land. As it were, new construction was consequently focused on the profitable upper section of the housing market.

In the mid-nineteenth century building heights grew, reflected in the rising rent of the core land, and reached some 10 stories after the civil war. For fear of fire and epidemics, municipalities developed water supply and drainage systems. The task was big and it took civil servants and private investors more than a century to get the utilities to configure. By the turn of the century, downtown buildings grew to the height of 10-20 stories, which was made possible by new building codes permitting steel frame construction. The department store emerged as a

new building type and skyscrapers were built as investments. Heavy industries established satellite towns of their own, and streetcar suburbs emerged as a result of the electrification of existing horse-car lines. Consequently, the suburban retail strips advanced and became a universal element of urban form.

With the advent of the 20th century, the automobile started to influence the city shape in a decisive manner. Other shaping factors were the enactment of land use control and zoning as well as financial innovations in consumer and real estate lending. The results are visible in the multi-centred and class-patterned metropolis. By the 1920s, height limits were removed in many cities and towers were seen as successful investments. The archetypal city centre emerged as a blend of financial services, shops, entertainment, hotels as well as cultural institutions. Zoning was promoted by developers: They wanted rules in order to designate large areas for single housing types, which paved the way for large-scale speculative building as well as socio-economic and racial segregation. Real estate became the core of municipal politics. Home ownership increased in the 1920s, and speculators purchased farm fields for the subdivision of land, which was ideally sold within a year as small lots. The wealthy came to appreciate uniformity of landscape around a golf club and a shopping centre. Exploitation based on covenants safeguarded a desired social composition of the inhabitants.

After World War II, the federal support of urban highways in combination with pre-war federal investments in transport made downtowns less attractive for investments. New suburban retail strips sprouted and manufacturing switched to one-storey suburban buildings. Prevailing policies turned renters into homeowners and urban sprawl was promoted by the building of freeways after 1956 when the National Interstate and Defence Highway Act was adopted. The emerging polycentric city was reinforced by 6-10 lane toll-free roadways, estimated to have done “much more harm to the city than help” (Weingroff 2009; Warner & Whittemore 2012, 120). The seizure of thousands of properties for one single highway project could cause the displacement of tens of thousands of residents and that made opposition permanent. With the shift to private automobile, private regional transport companies run bankrupt and the public sometimes intervened for the consolidation of ownership.

Urban renewal in the 1960s and 1970s is notorious for imposing superblocks on small-scaled urban morphology. Downtowns were refurbished for corporate comfort, and by the turn of the century the central parts were increasingly occupied by professionals, artists, young transients and new immigrants. The revived downtown is said to have changed from being a metropolitan centre into being a playground for the rich, the hip and the corporate (Warner & Whittemore 2012, 139). Waterfronts have been taken for recreation and housing, condominium towers are operated as gated communities. Wealthy towns promote strict zoning codes in order to maintain property values while population is aging and the number of children is reduced. The preservationist movement has grown stronger. New subdivisions of land have continued to grow in size.

The two main problems of the suburbanised pattern are listed as the extreme separation of uses and the vast distances between things. The houses are located in their respective income enclaves and shopping is far away. Schools are separated from dwellings as well as from shopping. The idea that people and things exist in some sort of continuity is lost. The public realm has been occupied by roads and what remain are commercial spaces, the shopping plazas, the supermarkets and the malls (Kunstler 1994, 117-119).

Retailing

The spatial pattern of commercial services has changed over time, partly due to the overall changes in urban configuration, partly as a result of consideration on the part of the producers of commercial services. In addition to suburbanisation and extensive car use, the increased involvement of women in the labour market caused a growth of purchasing power, and a need for minimising shopping time. With regard to structural changes in the retail sector, the USA is a forerunner worldwide. Those in favour of these changes would argue in favour of increased consumer choices while the critics would claim that the main reason for change is to be found in incessant concentration of retail business and striving for growing labour productivity.

Retailing is closely related to opportunities depending on location. Planning, zoning and real estate are means for influential players to gain in power and market shares, and therefore an agenda for the big retailers in particular. The origin of planned centre in the USA has been traced back to Roland Park in Baltimore, built in 1907. The first suburban centre is supposed to have been Country Club Plaza, Kansas City, in 1926. In the 1950s, shopping malls were built after the houses, but during the following decade there occurred a shift in strategy towards simultaneous development. Downtown department stores began to generate suburban branches. The 1970s saw the emergence of catalytic centres: The large mall was considered a growth pole that would generate further residential building in the area. An explanation could be that mall investors had grown strong enough to take the lead and outmanoeuvre housing investors in competing for the lead of urbanisation. In the 1980s, two new retail forms arose, that is, the power centre, which is an agglomeration of big-box retailers, and the shopping mall as entertainment centre and tourist attraction. Super-regional developments of a grand scale could challenge the attraction of downtown areas, and reflected the springing polycentric structure of metropolises (Pacione 2005, 241-281).

The current pattern of commercial supply has been much criticised. When commercial services are isolated it means that one needs a car to get to them. Furthermore, a mall is not a public space, but private space disguised as a public space: no freedom of speech or right of assembly. The traditional main streets developed over time and included both the new and the old, the high rent and low rent. In malls there are seldom low rents, a condition that restrains the opportunities for local economy. The economic conditions for urban restructuring have not been inevitable or "natural", they are quite particular:

cheap energy, cars for everybody, a credit-driven consumer economy and tax breaks for real estate ventures (Kunstler 1994, 119-121).

Retailing has been influenced by financial innovations such as “upbundling the rights of real estate” (Kunstler 1994, 145). Upbundling emerged from the fact that optimum profit from a given development could be achieved by deconstructing the ownership into parts. The sum of the sale price of the parts exceeded what the mall would sell for as a whole unit. Land ownership was separated from the ownership of the buildings. The owners of buildings would pay land rent to land owners, and store owners would in their turn lease space from the owners of the buildings. A further owner category would buy the management contract and control the operation of the mall. Instead of one property owner and the store owners leasing space, there are three categories of owners collecting profits.

Spatial Segregation

Spatial segregation may occur for various reasons. Firstly, it may reflect the stratification of inhabitants’ socio-economic status: a differentiation emerges according to economic means and social prestige. Secondly, preferred lifestyle may influence choice of neighbourhood as a means to resist domination and to engineer a shift from a position of constraint and exclusion to one of choice and recognition. Thirdly, segregation may be founded on racial, religious or ethnic belonging. Consequently, segregation may be voluntary or forced and it can reflect temporal stage in the assimilation process, or the pursuit of internal cohesion, or the effects of external forces. Spatial segregation is certainly reflected in the ways retailing is allocated and managed.

Already from the mid-eighteenth century, the poor had been driven to the outer edges of towns of the East Coast. In the beginning of that century a rebellion caused the enactment of “Negro laws” with subsequent restrictions for African Americans. The blacks continued to be excluded from skilled crafts and were harassed by gangs in public places. Female prostitution proliferated: Prostitution was part of life for 10 per cent of the women in cities.

From the 1830s onwards, there was a process of social and functional diversification of land use. During the industrialisation phase 1840-1860, purpose-built tenements were erected as a particular type of building for poor people, combined with withdrawal of the wealthy from central areas. African Americans could not be hired to work in the new industrial economy by reference to their alleged inferiority. The poor became the dangerous class, and anti-African American and anti-Catholic riots occurred. In the 1890s, the Protestant and racist elite began to form into a national corps. Politicians and the police confined illegal businesses to black neighbourhoods and white hostility intensified segregation. In 1933, the prohibition ended and white patronage of black neighbourhoods faded.

In the beginning of the 1930s, home-ownership was promoted as a panacea

against social illnesses and, starting in 1934, the Federal Housing Administration was initiated. It became the ally of private industry by favouring class-graded neighbourhoods and racial segregation. In 1937, that was accompanied by promoting a marginal role for public housing: The erection of every new public housing unit had to be matched by the tearing down of a “slum” unit. All public housing was also built in a cheap manner in order to be distinguished from private development. The income tax deduction for mortgages became the largest of all the public subsidies for private building.

In the 1930s, the National Association of Real Estate Boards and its urban subsidiary, the Urban Land Institute, devoted themselves to “district planning” for redevelopment. Despite the long-lasting recession, costs for land acquisition were considered too high and the Urban Land Institute proposed a federal subsidy to municipal planning and redevelopment agencies. Federal money was to cover one-half or one-third of the costs of acquisition and the municipal agencies would then write down the land values as to sell the parcels cheaply to private developers. The Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954 adopted the proposal of the Urban Land Institute by initiating an urban renewal programme. Displaced residents did not have to be rehoused and home manufacturing took a new direction in the 1950s with the reinvention of the sports trailer.

The Housing Act of 1949 provided the opportunity to name areas “blighted” - indicating that the property in such areas had lost its value as productive investment – and thereby rendering destruction and rebuilding possible of those areas. The federal government matched local funds two to one. It took years for projects to qualify for federal funding, leaving empty cleared sites. Between 1949 and 1968, nationwide a total of 425,000 housing units were cleared away and replaced by only 10,760 low-rent units. The clearance of “blighted” residential districts next to down town areas has been equalled to the wartime bombing of European cities (Warner & Whittemore 2012, 121). To ease the shortage of small apartments, the federal government offered 100 per cent financing for developers who would erect low-rise, high-density “garden apartments”. Due to widespread fraud, the programme was closed down. Because of mischief associated with federal programmes in general, President Nixon closed all subsidised housing activities in 1973, and replaced them with direct rent grants to low-income tenants.

In the late 19th and early 20th century, the neighbourhoods of the affluent applied covenants that often forbade sale of property to African Americans and Jews. In 1948, such restrictions were ruled unenforceable, but residential developers pursued zoning and subsequent segregation in order to promote property values. The rules were neither followed by the Federal Housing Administration, which continued to approve mortgage insurance for developers’ white-only communities. The practice of using exclusionary zoning regulations for the purpose of fending off the influx of modestly priced houses has continued till this day, thereby securing property values, tax return and segregation, all in one. Tax-lucrative retail development is boosted by applying over-sized parking

requirements. Unwanted land uses are placed in rural areas or poor urban areas. The polycentric metropolis that emerged has come to mean a dispersed regional settlement pattern with areas of deep economic disadvantage.

The Fair Housing Act of 1968 made discriminatory lending and renting practices illegal. However the actions of banks and landlords have remained difficult to detect, because discriminatory practices can be disguised under a number of criteria. "Blockbusting" is a concept described as real estate agents' double fraud: Whites are scared to sell cheaply by offering negrophobia, and pursuing blacks to buy expensively by offering negrophilia.

Financial innovations have added to segregation with the introduction of instalments. Also the real estate boom rested on time purchase, that is, on first and second mortgage. Amortising mortgage debt rested upon market prices of real estate as 70 to 80 per cent of the estimated value had been extended. From time to time the value of the loans came to exceed the sales price of the properties, which actually occurred in association with the real estate collapse of 1930. Depressions have since been foregone by rocketing real estate prices and trash loans. The business cycle provides different consumer categories with different opportunities as affluent people can afford buying during slumps when real estate prices are low whereas the poor have to buy when loans are amply available and prices high.

Beacon Hill, Boston MA (Beacon Hill 2013)

Round 1830, small enclaves of upper-class people emerged in the cities of the East Coast. In Boston, one was Beacon Hill that is still intact and the only very well preserved downtown area. At present, it is one of the most highly ranked addresses in the USA. The Beacon Hill district's development began round 1800 and the south slope became the seat of wealth and power. The northern slope was the home of African Americans, sailors and immigrants. Many blacks worked for whites who lived on the south slope. Blacks also attended church with the whites, but did not have a vote in church affairs and sat in segregated seating. After the Civil War, blacks migrated to Roxbury and Boston's South End. In the latter part of the 19th century, the northern slope came to house Irish, Jewish and other immigrants.



To ensure that there were controls on new development and demolition, the Beacon Hill Association was formed in 1922. To prevent urban renewal projects of historically significant buildings in Beacon Hill, its residents ensured that the community obtained historic district status: South slope in 1955, Flat of the Hill in 1958, and Northern slope in 1963. The Beacon Hill Architectural Commission was established in 1955 to monitor renovation and development projects. Wealthy Boston families continue to live at the Flat of the Hill and on the south slope. The case of Beacon Hill is stunning, because it indicates the significance of historical legacy for the elite in a society where history is given very low status for the plebby majority. The example shows that protection and conservation is possible, providing the wealthy are bonded. Laws and regulations are there when needed.

Figure 2 - *Louisburg Square, beacon Hill*

Local Economy

Land-dependent branches of the economy such as building, agriculture and transport are typically oligopolies. In any particular location, land is a limited resource, which implies obstacles to use suitable land for competing purposes. Furthermore, the control of land use is under public jurisdiction, which provides local authorities with great possibilities to favour oligopolies and monopolies, or alternatively, to improve competition in favour of local business. The local elite have got much power in determining the conditions for market competition: Are small local producers given the possibility to compete on equal terms with big suppliers coming from the outside?

The Advantages of Promoting Local Economy

With “local economy” is meant the matching of local consumption with local production. To promote the conditions for local economy implies a number of advantages. Firstly, local business yields two to four times the multiplier benefit compared to non-local businesses (Roseland and Soos 2007, 156). The reason is that local businesses spend locally more on management, services and advertisement, and they consume more of their profits locally. This spending is estimated to constitute one third or more of total expenditure. Secondly, local businesses are a stabilising factor as they bond to the place, being less inclined to relocate during slumps or booms than big business, thereby mitigating the effects of business cycle fluctuations. Thirdly, non-local businesses leak out revenues. Big retailing may trigger a decline in total economic activity of a location despite increasing overall sales. Fourthly, growth means to get bigger, development means to get better. In a majority of places all around the world, local governments face more economic recession than growth, and the strategic question to ask in these places is how to promote development, not how to catch up with growth. One answer to that is to support existing businesses and increase the circulation of money within the community.

In addition, there is still an environmental aspect to be added to the question of local versus global production and consumption. The overall environmental effects of globalisation are described by Rist (2000, 186-187) as follows:

“...market-induced ‘globalization’ is making ecological awareness an impossibility. Whereas an economy based upon local resources makes people immediately sensitive to any deterioration in their environment, and in most cases eager to preserve it, the market makes it possible to take resources...from one region, to consume them in another region, and to dispose of the waste in yet another...Everything undertaken in the name of expanding international trade allows production to be dissociated from consumption and consumption from disposal...This spares the consumer-polluter from realizing that he is involved in using up resources and accumulating waste...”

A further matter concerns the development of shared information and free access to this information. Concurrent networks transform the relation of the local to the global in several ways (Hénaff & Strong 2001, 226-227). The possibilities provided by the virtual space may work in favour of providing enhanced conditions for local economies in a globalising world. If there is no single stock of goods to be controlled, there is less need for centralised concentration. Furthermore, if a local centre can join up with the rest of the world on equal terms, size loses meaning. The virtual space may however work in the favour of big producers as well by extending their influence to the most remote places of the globe.

Local Potentials

Economic branches related to land use are such as agriculture and forestry, housing, energy, transport and irrigation are of particular interest: They are essential in urban planning and they are affected by locally and regionally made political decisions and policies as well. Here only local building, food and transport will be discussed.

Building

Urban change can mean very different things. It can mean expansion into greenfield sites, or the destruction of vast urban areas and their replacement with new structures, or the piecemeal mending of the existing building stock. With regard to heritage, any destruction of the urban morphology (division between public and private land, plot division) has proved disastrous.

The development lobby is the true cause of large scale urban renewal. In Sweden, close to one half of all buildings in the historic town centres erected before 1900 were knocked down in the 1960's. This destruction, labelled "a cultural homicide", was promoted by state policies, and the new fabric was erected by national oligopolies as part of a deliberate policy for promoting big business (Johansson 1997; Gråbacke 2002). A self-evident result of this policy was that middle-size construction firms disappeared, which were those who used to operate as part of local economies (Fälting 2000). By the 1990's, the country was left with less than a handful of big construction firms, operating all over the country as well as overseas. The industrial investments in many of the historic Swedish towns that experienced growth and urban renewal during the 1960's and 1970's are now derelict and unattractive for newcomers. Neither economic growth nor development seems to be an option.

What kind of planning would promote local entrepreneurship? Firstly, municipalities should try to acquire land that they want to develop. Municipalities need to be active land purchasers before they take planning measures. In this way the rising value of land caused by planning, will benefit the tax payers instead of speculators. Municipally-owned land enables localities to manage the concerted development of their territory and to keep the size of single projects at a level compatible with the capacity and skills of local

entrepreneurs. When the size of a single investment grows, the number of potential competitors is by necessity reduced. Consequently, reducing the size of projects means to enhance competition, and vice versa, to increase the size of projects reduces competition. By promoting local economy, competition is advanced.

Secondly, for a variety of reasons a municipality may not be able to plan land in its own possession. In that case it is still important to promote competition and local entrepreneurship by counteracting vertical integration: Building firms should not be given the chance to act as developers. Local entrepreneurs would benefit and competition in construction would be increased as it would hamper big businesses' land speculation. Vertical concentration in the production chain and subsequent lack of competition is one of the main causes of expensive housing (Bengs & Rönkä 1994).

Thirdly, municipalities and regional administrations are big real estate owners and they are in constant need of maintaining the publicly owned building stock as well as the technical infrastructure, roads, green areas, etc. By opening up for small scale maintenance, both local entrepreneurship and competition can be improved and surplus costs can be avoided.

Food

In developed countries, local farming in cities is often considered to be negligible. This is an impression that is actually wrong, in Europe as well as in the rest of the world. Cities worldwide produce in average one third of the food that is locally consumed. This percentage is supposed to rise in the coming decades and urban agriculture can be one of the most important factors in improving childhood nutrition (Smit, Ratta & Nasr 1996; Smit, Nasr, & Ratta 2001). Urban agriculture does not only concern production of food, but it can be a tool for helping cities to cope with a range of environmental and social challenges as well. Unlike parks, urban farming can be a profitable business. In developing countries, nearby farmland can filter wastewater, recycle garbage and cool down excess heat in densely built districts. Urban farming also generates new businesses (Halweil and Nierenberg 2007).

In Europe, the conditions for consuming locally produced food are excellent, because farming land is available across the continent, also close to big agglomerations. Close to half of the land is used for agriculture, regardless population density. A historical explanation to this is that the most fertile parts of the continent are traditionally those with the highest population density (Bengs & Schmidt-Thome 2004). Local food is a topical theme. The journal *International Planning Studies* has devoted a special issue to this topic (Morgan 2009). In Finland, public agencies have got engaged in research on prevailing market conditions for local food (Lähiruoka 2010; Mäenpeska & Sihvonen 2010).

Using planning measures and land protection, local governments can promote local food production and local consumption of locally produced food. In the

planning of new residential areas, it would be important to reserve land for small scale local purposes. Local governments could do a great deal to improve the consumption of local food by organising local markets where producers and consumers can meet. They may also have a saying in how local producers can refine their products for a local market by the way national and international rules are interpreted. Another task of local governments would be to promote consumption of local food by offering it in publicly owned institutions such as schools, kindergartens, elderly homes, public offices and work places.

A big obstacle to the expansion of local food is that the vertical integration – from farming over refining to distributing and consuming the end product – is very strong indeed. Vertical integration in combination with horizontal integration has caused oligopolistic and monopolistic structures. This has been accomplished by applying costly standards and regulations, which knock out small producers and favour heavy investments and big business. In assessing efficiency, the productivity of land has been substituted for measuring the productivity of labour, which reduces local working opportunities to a minimum. The argument for improving labour productivity has been cheap food, which is, however, rather an effect of market competition than a result of the production costs of big business. There is a big gap between the prices farmers are paid by the processing industry and sales prices of the end products in retail. The low prices farmers get for their products is a factor that will improve the economic prospects of local food. Reducing the number of middlemen, producers as well as consumers will get better prices.

The degree of monopolised retail determines price levels of food. The situation in EU is instructive. The central bank of Italy has studied concentration in the grocery business and its relation to price levels and price dynamics in 6 countries (Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Austria and Finland) of the Euro area, which encompass some 60 per cent of the total GNP of the area (Ciapanna & Rondinelli 2011). The most monopolised conditions are found in Finland, where two groups control 85 per cent of the grocery business and the consumer price level is the highest. In countries like Spain, Italy and Portugal, with farmers' markets and small scale grocery intact, consumer price levels are considerably lower, and the gap between producers' and consumers' prices smaller.

In addition, food security is an increasingly important matter for consumers, and local food provides the consumers with the possibility to be convinced that their food is healthy and produced in an ethically acceptable way.

Transport

There are two fundamental aspects on transport: accessibility and mobility. Accessibility refers to the number of opportunities or activity sites available within a certain distance or travel time. Mobility refers to the ability to move between different activity sites. Concurrently, accessibility has come to depend more and more on mobility, and the arrangements to increase mobility are contributing to increased separation of land uses and thereby to decreased

accessibility (Pacione 2005, 267). Is this vicious circle unavoidable?

Enhanced accessibility improves the prospects for the local economy. It lowers the incentive to satisfy one's requirements outside the locale. Good accessibility reinforces local economy by keeping consumers locally attached. Good local accessibility can be improved by considerate land use planning. In that respect, small places have an advantage over bigger places, providing they can offer sufficient services to local consumers. In Europe, most urban trips are made by foot or non-motorised vehicles and therefore it is important to plan and design transport that is safe, fast and attractive for pedestrians, cyclists, young and elderly as well as handicapped. Endorsing the use of bicycles and other non-motorised vehicles could have an impact on locally produced additional services as well. The same goes for public transport. In terms of promoting locally produced transport, the position of the local government is important as it decides where to buy transport services.

Urban Renewal and Retailing in Boston and San Diego

The following presentation is meant to shed some light on the relation between particular modes of urban renewal (large scale projects versus piecemeal mending) and the conditions for retailing (large scale retailing versus local supply). The cases discussed below are Boston (Prudential Center and North End) and San Diego (Horton Plaza, Gas Lamp district). The examples concern the provision of retail services and the branding of areas.

Boston

Prudential Center

Located in Boston's historic Back Bay, Prudential Center is a 300 000 square metre urban complex composed of office space (80 per cent) and retail space (20 per cent). As to the office component, the 52-story Prudential Tower was built in 1965 and it is Boston's second tallest office building. The 25-story 101 Huntington Avenue office building was completed in 1973 and 111 Huntington Avenue, a 36-story office building, opened in 2001.

The retail component of the complex is anchored by Saks Fifth Avenue and Lord & Taylor and consists of 75 stores and restaurants. Major retailers include a number of famous trademarks with global interests. Due to over 60,000 visitors a day, the retail space is ranked among the top 5 shopping centres in the USA. It is home to Boston Duck Tours, the Prudential Center Skywalk, and a wide assortment of amenities including a Fitcorp fitness center, a U.S. Post Office, a Catholic chapel, and Enterprise car rental. The centre has got New England's largest enclosed parking garage with over 3,800 car lots and direct access to all office buildings as well as the shops. A half hectare open-air park called South Garden is part of the precinct.

The complex is one of several Prudential Centers built around the United States, constructed as capital investments by The Prudential Insurance Company of America (now Prudential Financial). Preceding Prudential's demutualisation, Prudential sold off many of its real estate assets and the centre was sold to Boston Properties. However, the real estate deal only went through with the condition that Prudential retains the name and signage rights for the Prudential Center and Prudential Tower. Boston Properties, Inc. is a self-administered and self-managed real estate investment trust (REIT), and it is one of the largest owners, managers and developers of office properties in the United States with significant presence in Boston, New York, Princeton, San Francisco and Washington, DC (Boston Properties 2013).

When assessing the branding of the place it seems obvious that the firms located in the Prudential Center are branding the centre, which has founded its success on the image of the firms that have been located there. In terms of architecture and urban qualities, the centre lacks local identity in the sense that this kind of architecture could be found nearly anywhere in the world. There is not much that attaches it to Boston in particular, except for its location.



Figure 3 - Prudential Center, Boston MA

Little Italy

The North End of central Boston is also known as Little Italy due to its population profile a century ago (Little Italy 2013). Italian Immigration to Boston began in the late 1800s and early 1900s. The Italians began to settle down in the North End simply because the area was considered old, inexpensive and in disrepair.

The richness of supply of Little Italy is still amazing compared to other parts of downtown Boston. It seems that everything related to eating, drinking and smoking is promoted and traditions are maintained (North End 2013):



Figure 4 - Little Italy, Boston MA

"To experience culture and authentic Italian cooking, go to the North End of Boston. You'll find a little bit of Italy there. Cafes fill the streets with the cappuccino coffee aroma, soccer fans fill the cafe sports bars (especially for World Cup), and you can even smell the Italian food coming from the many restaurants. There are lines waiting outside the restaurants to get in. Even the pastry shops have customers waiting for some authentic Italian pastry. You might even hear some of the residents speak Italian. People walk around the North End into the night, just like they do in Italy. Don't miss the North End."

Restaurants are branded according to their location at the North End, and according to their alleged Italian origin, but not according to chain brand (Restaurants Little Italy 2013). They have names like Maggiano's, Al Dente, The Daily catch, Giacomo's, Panza, Cantina Italiana, Galleria Umberto, Assagio, Neptune Oyster. Other enterprises are dessert shops, art galleries and shops, and tours such as Freedom Trail Tour and North End Market Tour. Today the North End is one of the most popular tourist locations in Boston and is home to several festivals during the summer months (Festivals Little Italy). An extra bonus is the maintained identity of the place and its people, which is a crucial ingredient in economic, social and cultural sustainability. North End's

"...streets were alive with children playing, people shopping, people strolling, people talking. Had it not been a cold January day, there would surely have been people sitting. The general street atmosphere of buoyancy, friendliness, and good health was so infectious that I began asking directions of people just for the fun of getting in on some talk."(Jacobs 1961)

Little Italy has not been saved from destructive urban renewal. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the area experienced population loss and during this time many shops and the church in the neighbourhood closed. The waterfront industries either relocated or went defunct. The Boston Redevelopment Authority approved high-rise, high-density housing projects in the neighbourhood. North End residents worked to build affordable housing for the elderly and one of these projects, the Casa Maria Apartments, stands on the site of the St. Mary's Catholic Church.

Little Italy is in most respects just the opposite of the Prudential Center. Its morphological structure, including street and block pattern as well as plot division and the building stock, is still fairly well intact. This also indicates that real estate is not concentrated into a few hands as property division is small in scale. The scattered ownership is a bulwark against large scale development and thereby a security against the destruction of built heritage. It is also a necessary precondition for local entrepreneurs who rent space there. Following the small scale property ownership, the rent level is not determined by one monopoly as in the case of commercial centres. Competition among landlords is maintained in the North End. There is also no centralised and uniform branding of the neighbourhood as in the case of commercial large scale investments, where corporate policies are straitjacketing renters and enforcing particular conceptions of proper images.

San Diego

Horton Plaza

Westfield Horton Plaza is a five-level outdoor shopping mall located in downtown San Diego and renowned for its postmodern architecture, covering 6.5 old city blocks adjacent to the city's historic Gaslamp Quarter and currently anchored by Macy's and Nordstrom. It is asserted to be the first successful downtown retail centre since the rise of suburban shopping centres decades earlier (Horton Plaza 2013). Horton Plaza was a downtown redevelopment project run by The Hahn Company. When it opened in 1985, it was a departure from the standard paradigm of mall design. Conventional malls are designed to reduce distraction, so the customers' attention is directed towards merchandise. By making the mall an attraction in itself, the architect turned this model on its head. Horton Plaza has continued to generate high sales per unit area.

In 1998, Hahn sold the centre to Westfield America, Inc., later the Westfield Group. Westfield was listed as a public company on the Sydney Stock Exchange in 1960. It began with two shopping centres in Sydney's outer suburbs and has since grown to become one of the world's largest shopping centre owners and managers, and a market leader in Australia, New Zealand, USA and UK. Westfield has a portfolio of 47 malls in the United States with about 8,000 specialty stores in 5.1 million square metres of leasable space in California, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio and Washington. Westfield's US malls attract over 400 million shopper visits each year. According to their own web site, their shopping centres are branded by the world's leading companies (Westfield 2013):

"Transforming the face of retail: Iconic shopping centres in major cities around the world, integrating the best in fashion, food, leisure, entertainment and digital technology with **the world's leading retail brands**."

109 stores are operating in Horton Plaza and they include a multitude of merchandise and famous trademarks. In addition there are restaurant services. 25 of the retailers, including *Sheikh Shoes*, offer discounts for military persons. Westfield suggests a whole day at the Plaza (Westfield Horton Plaza 2013):

"Start with shopping, then grab a tasty snack, lunch or dinner, and top things off by catching the hottest new release from Hollywood! Enjoy modern screening technologies and theatre amenities for the total movie-going experience. And remember to take advantage of the convenience of online ticketing."

The essence of the Plaza is the same as that of Prudential Center in Boston. 7 blocks of the historic downtown of San Diego were knocked down for the sake of one mall, which is used and branded by international trade marks. Not only buildings were destroyed, but also part of the original public space was taken for the development. With one of the city's highest turnovers per floor space, it is unlikely that small scale local retailing has the economical means to locate in the mall, or even that they would be approved of by the owner. In addition, the generated surplus revenues are leaking out as an effect of external ownership.

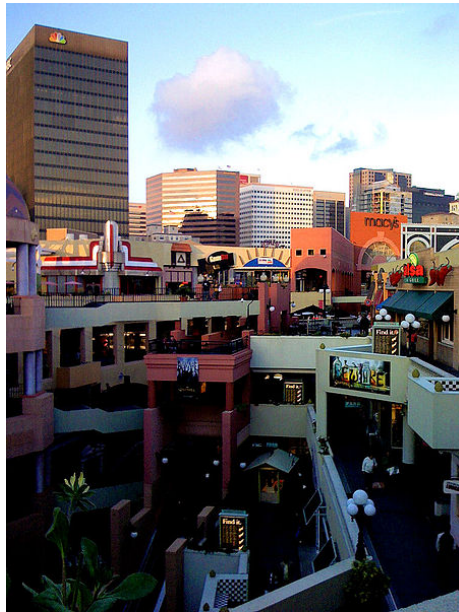


Figure 5 - Westfield Horton Plaza, San Diego CA

The Horton Plaza is not the only mall of its sort in San Diego. Another example is for instance the Fashion Valley of the Simon Property Group (Fashion Valley 2013). Simon Property Group is the largest real estate company in the world. Currently the Company owns or has an interest in 327 retail real estate properties in North America and Asia comprising 22.5 million square metres. In addition, they hold interest in a Paris-based real estate company, which owns shopping centres in 13 European countries (Simon 2013). The location of Fashion Valley is instructive as it is situated in a transport hub. This may correspond to established ideas of good urban planning and the

idea that big establishments should be centrally located and accessible by public transport. But it may also indicate that the location of malls/hubs is an outcome of privately initiated developments, which are backed by massive public investments.

Gaslamp Quarter

In 1867, Alonzo Horton decided that the waterfront was the best place for the city of San Diego to develop (Crawford 2011; Gaslamp Quarter 2003). Determined to build a new downtown, Horton purchased at auction some 800 acres of land on the waterfront for approximately 33 cents an acre and two years later a 160-acre parcel. In 1888, San Diego's real estate boom slumped and by the end of the decade the population had dropped from 40,000 to 16,000, but regained growth in due time. In 1894, Alonzo Horton sold to the city a valuable half-block of land for \$10,000, stipulating that it must remain a park forever. Under the agreement, the city submitted to pay Horton \$100 a month with no interest and no down payment. In the event of Horton's death, the city would acquire the property outright. In April 1903, Horton cashed the final payment at the age of 89. Today Horton's park fronts Horton Plaza.

Following World War II, the suburbs of San Diego experienced an influx of new residents and businesses, leaving the Gaslamp Quarter as the home of shady enterprises. Adult businesses continued to converge on the area for the next 20 to 30 years. In 1974, business and property owners joined force and petitioned the City Council to aid in revitalising of the district. The San Diego City Council provided resources to rehabilitate the area, and to develop design guidelines to preserve the district's historical aesthetic. In 1976, the Gaslamp Quarter Urban Design and Development Manual was adopted by the City Council, followed by a Planned District Ordinance. Since 1980, the Gaslamp Quarter is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

In 1982, developers and restoration experts were encouraged to continue restoring the Gaslamp's Victorian buildings and property owners formed a Business Improvement District (BID), named the Gaslamp Quarter Association. An Archway was installed and then officially completed and dedicated in 1991. It is supposed to serve as an icon for other cities to look to the Gaslamp Quarter as an example of successful redevelopment (Gaslamp 2013; see also The City et al. 1975; The City et al. 1976; The City et al. 1980; The City et al. 1985). Today the Gaslamp Quarter has transformed into a shopping, dining and entertainment district (GaslampHistory 2013):

With over 200 restaurants, bars, nightclubs and lounges, and countless boutiques, art galleries and shops to peruse, the Gaslamp has established itself both as the playground of hip, eclectic San Diegans and as **an elite urban destination**.

As Gaslamp Quarter is located next to Horton Plaza, it is interesting to compare the pretensions of the two endeavours. On their home pages, both of them give the impression of addressing elites, which is obviously not true in the case of Horton Plaza, which has to compete with a number of other malls of the city such as Fashion Valley, Las Americas Premium Outlets, etc. In these cases the sheer size of the malls make them something else than retailing focused only on the elite. It seems that the consumer focus of "the world's leading retail brands" actually is quite inclusive. In the world of outlets, world brands do not seem to segregate consumers and they do not necessarily seem to match the concept of quality either.

As a rule, the establishments of the Gaslamp Quarter are not leading retail brands, but much more so local entrepreneurs who have taken advantage of the scattered property ownership and associated rent competition, being able to locate in favourable spaces to lower prices than those of the malls. At their home page, the gaslamp.org does not speak about leading brands at all. What they speak about is "an elite urban destination".



Figure 6 - Gaslamp Quarter, San Diego CA

As it were, however, this urban destination may attract the consumer elite to a higher degree than the malls. There are obvious reasons for this. Firstly, the authentic physical environment focuses consumer choices on genuine quality. There may be a psychological pattern comparing old settings with the quality of handicraft, which can be capitalised by situating shops in historical spaces. Even if the merchandise is not actually handicraft, the psychological mechanism may still work. Secondly, local entrepreneurs, being dependent on

a narrow market segment, are of course eager to keep up with the expectations of the consumers. This concerns districts like the Gaslamp Quarter in particular as the entrepreneurs actually draw on their location when selling their stuff to fairly regular customers or to outsiders. Thirdly, elites are conscious about and interested in history due to education and as a way to distinguish themselves against the commoners. Here, historical settings and the protection and conservation of built heritage are decisive as indicated in the case of Boston's Beacon Hill.

Conclusive Remarks

Traditionally, single building projects used to concern one lot at a time, and those in need of built space could develop their required structures themselves on designated land that was purchased or hired. Suitable land was found within the planned areas of the locality. Nowadays, speculative projects may concern a whole neighbourhood, or even a whole town, built on large tracts of land that in due time is divided into saleable pieces of properties or shares. Greenfield sites used to be captured for the purpose of exploitation. Now brownfield land is increasingly exploited. Whatever the case, the architectural result seems to turn out the same as big projects obtain a suburban outlook, regardless where they are built, in the centre or in the periphery.

The traditional division of land actually inherently produced many of the qualities we now associate with urban qualities. Streets and squares used to be social places as they were flanked with services and people. The large-scale way of exploitation has devastated the contact between the interior of private precincts and the public space outside, as buildings are not necessarily located at the line between private and public space any more. The social character of public space is reduced to transport and the interior is opened up as semiprivate (*de facto* private) space, which is managed by private firms. Commercial centres are experienced as public spaces, but they are under private surveillance. As a result, the traditional dynamics between private and public space is lost in concurrent urbanism, and can be experienced only in historical cities such as New York. Manhattan enjoys remarkable traditional urban qualities - not because its skyscrapers, but despite them - as private-public relations are still part of the urban tissue and the old block structure is at least partly intact.

Large scale speculative development has reduced the number of economic stakeholders dramatically. Among the effects, we find increased corruption as big developers are in the financial possession to allocate funds for obscure purposes. Key persons involved in defining land use titles are the main target. Compared to Europe, the planning system in the USA is different in that existing planning regulations can be legally violated. Normally there is a plan with zoning regulations, but these may be sidestepped if the investor agrees to compensate for excessive exploitation by providing services for the community

(such as parking!). In Europe, the typical case would be that key politicians and civil servants are anointed by private developers, and, in return, the politicians take care of necessary political decisions to be made.

Much of the complacent promotion of “planning theory” justifies the conditions of planning in the USA. Traditional mandatory regulations are mockingly labelled “blueprint planning”. The switch from strict regulations to negotiations is described as an extension of “participation”, called “collaborative planning”, which is equalled with some kind of improved democracy. The building and development lobbies in various European countries are of course eager to import the US system into Europe. This cannot, however, be justified with the interests of the lobbies, but with high-flown rhetoric including references to theory, democracy, sustainability or any other catchword of our time.

In Europe, one of the first streamlined neoliberal building and planning codes was adopted in Sweden already in 1987. According to this code, the only mandatory plan (the detailed plan, called *detaljplan*) cannot be approved without having projects and investors-developers for their realisation. In this way, each project is negotiated as a separate entity. The master plan of any given municipality (*översiktsplan*) is only advisory and reviewed every three year (Bengs 2010). The Italian case of large scale *abusive building* upsets planners around the world as it contradicts the whole idea of planning. But in the Italian case, the economic benefits are to a large extent collected by the single home builders and not by the developers’ lobby. In addition, it is doubtful whether the external effects of *abusive building* are more negative than the effects of large scale development in a country like Sweden, whose overall urban structure in single municipalities occur more unplanned than those of Southern Italy.

Has change always been the City’s life and strength? The claim with regard to Boston and San Diego is dubious. Urban change in these cities has caused a massive destruction of built heritage in combination with huge waste of human and material resources as well as degradation of investments and fixed capital. What have also been degraded are the people, their bonds and alliances, their economic opportunities and their place-related identity. Perpetual tangible change seems to have been profoundly dysfunctional. The ones suffering most have been those possessing least resources. Prevailing segregation and racism indicates the profound social aims behind continuously altering mechanism. In the name of progress and growth, continuous change is promoted by the establishment in order to uphold existing structures and privileges.

By and large, the economy seems to develop in the direction of growing international concentration of resources, which cause global crises and local insecurity. Oligopolies are common in land-related activities, where the control of landed resources is the basis for the control of supply. Land-related matters are very important for local communities and essential for everyday life. In addition, they are part and parcel of sustaining local economies in a way that provides long-term economic security for locals and a healthy, secure and

pleasant environment. Sometimes we hear that promoting local economy hampers competition. Here, I have been arguing for the opposite: promoting local economy enhances competition and mitigates some of the negative local repercussions of big business.

In conclusion one could say that the big malls are branded by their renters, but in the case of Boston' Little Italy and San Diego's Gaslamp Quarter, the place itself is branding the local businesses. Here we see a stunning difference between large scale investor-driven development and the fostering of small scale traditional urban structure and associated local businesses. In the first case the developer-driven urban renewal works in favour of big business, in the latter case it works to the advantage of small businesses and in the favour of the local community.

Little Italy is said to have been the home base of organised crime in Boston. Also the Gaslamp Quarter was an area of very low social status and associated with shady businesses. Many comparable areas have been destroyed by appealing to social or political reasons. The thought that rundown areas are problematic and that the problems can be solved by destruction is parallel to the idea of extending US foreign policy towards its own citizens. Development would then not be a question of mutual understanding and respect, but a return to violent enforcement by the powerful like in the case of accomplishing the National Interstate and Defence Highway Act of 1956 and the "blighted" areas. Let us hope more civilised ways of dealing with urban problems are found attractive. After all, the Ancient Greeks invented deliberation as a means for solving social conflicts already more than 2500 years ago.

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Picture 1: The Commissioners' Plan of Manhattan, released in 1807
<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:NYC-GRID-1811.png>

Picture 2: Louisburg Square, Beacon Hill
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Louisburg_Square_Beacon_Hill_Boston_Massachusetts.jpg

Picture 3: Prudential Center, Boston MA
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Boston_MA_Prudential.jpg

Picture 4: Little Italy, Boston MA
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Street_in_north_end_k.jpg

Picture 5: Westfield Horton Plaza, San Diego CA
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Westfield_Horton_Plaza.jpg

Picture 6: Gaslamp Quarter, San Diego CA
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gaslamp_Quarter_sign_2.JPG?uselang=fi

The CLUDs Research Methodology²

Being the CLUDs project aimed to investigate urban management instruments in a sustainability perspective, which comprises environmental, social and economical aspect, this multifaceted nature of the research object suggested that a holistic and comprehensive research approach was needed. Thus, capturing complexity is considered a major issue whilst designing the research methodology for the empirical investigation. In addition to it, the research design intends to make unexpected results to emerge, by approaching the research object not only for theory testing, but also for exploring new hypothesis to be potentially implemented during the research process itself.

For these reasons, the Grounded Based Theory - GBT approach (Glaser & Strauss 1967) was considered the most appropriate to conduct the empirical analysis related to the construction of the CLUDs model. In fact, GBT allows researchers to capture the complexity of the research object and has high potential to support an inductive process of incremental adjustment of the research hypothesis. The case study methodology, whose rationale is strictly bounded to the GBT, appeared as the most appropriate for conducting the empirical analysis for many reasons.

First, as Johansson (2003: 4) observes, in some disciplinary field, such as architecture and planning, "the case study has a special importance", because the principal way of learning and discussing innovative ideas in these disciplines is through experience, i.e. it is based on an in depth descriptions of concrete cases. The case study was considered suitable to support a In order to deliver as research product also practical tools, to be potentially implemented both by public decision makers and by private investors, it has been considered an asset gathering data for the construction of a sort of primer of concrete examples. As Yin states (1994: 4), "the case study is a method of choice when the phenomenon under study is not readily distinguishable from its context. Such a phenomenon may be a project or a program in an evaluation study. ... The inclusion of the context as a major part of a study, however, creates distinctive technical challenges ... (such as the fact that) the study cannot rely on a single data collection method but will likely need to use multiple sources of evidence." This led the researchers to develop different tools to be implemented in the analysis of the case studies that will be later illustrated. The construction of the investigation methodology paid particular attention not only to the tools to be implemented, but also to the criteria of selection of the case studies to be investigated. This latter represents a crucial step in order to guarantee reliability of the whole research design. Flyvbjerg (2006: 391) advocates the fundamental role of the case study approach, particularly in order to study urban environments. In so doing, he discussed the five common misunderstanding still sometime plaguing the case study

research approach, challenging each of them as follows: (1) it may seem that “general, theoretical (context-independent) knowledge is more valuable than concrete, practical (context-dependent) knowledge”, while on the contrary experts are those who collected a huge number of experiences, and not those who studied issues in theory; (2) it may seem unmanageable “to generalize on the basis of an individual case”, while on the contrary any scientific discovery is potentially subjected to be falsified according to Karl Popper; (3) it may seem that “the case study is most useful for generating hypothesis, ... while other methods are more suitable for hypothesis testing and theory-building”, while on the contrary generalizability does have the potential to be achieved through an appropriate selection of the cases, based on clear criteria; (4) it may seem that “the case study contains a bias..., a tendency to confirm the researcher’s preconceived notion”, while according to Popper again, it is falsification much more than verification which supports the findings reliability; and finally, (5) it may appear difficult “to summarize and develop general proposition and theories on the basis of specific case studies”, but the suitability to be summarized does not belong to the richness of the reality, thus, it is much more up to the studies object and not to the method that a “thick” description is even desirable. However, all the criticisms raised by Flyvbjerg were addressed in the construction of the CLUDs research design.

Being a major goal for the research to appreciate the very different values produced in the urban environment through the implementation of specific urban management instruments, it was necessary to consider also the physical outcome of the process as a specific component of the sustainability, thus, to include spatial and visual analysis; this aspect oriented the research methodology towards a case study approach. However, a significant part of the data collection is based on quantitative data, both to consider environmental and socio-economic variables as key-outcomes of the implementation of the instruments, and to allow a triangulation of results for some core aspects, which have been investigated both through quantitative and through qualitative data.

A glance of the Urban Planning System in San Diego

Socio-Economic Structure and Development Initiatives in San Diego

San Diego is the second largest city in California and the eighth most populated city of the United States, with a total population of 1.307.402 inhabitants (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). The city is also County seat of the namesake San Diego County, which is the second most populated metro area in California with 3.095.313 inhabitants (U.S. Census Bureau 2010).

Located on the southernmost point of the US Pacific coast, San Diego is immediately adjacent to the United States – Mexico border, and it represents the economic centre of the international metropolitan area of San Diego-

Tijuana, which has a population of approximately 5.000.000 inhabitants, and is composed by the San Diego County (United States) and the municipalities of Tijuana, Tecate and Rosarito Beach (Mexican State of Baja California).

The proximity to the Mexican border is one of the main socioeconomic traits of the City of San Diego (Clement & Miramonte 1993).

The economy and the rise of San Diego as a major city is strictly related to the port activity, and in particular with the military sector. Currently San Diego hosts the largest navy fleet in the world, with several bases of the US Navy, the Marine Corps and Coast Guard. Despite the military sector is today still considered as the main industry of the City, starting from the last decades other industries have considerably raised.

The proximity to the beaches, the climate and many important attractions make San Diego a well known touristic destination in the United States and abroad (San Diego Tourism Authority, 2013). Moreover, starting from 2010 as a part of the State development strategy, San Diego has become a world-class place for research, especially in the fields of biotechnology and health (California Governor's Office of Economic Development, 2011). As a consequence, the City is now experiencing a new trend of economic diversification that brings the research industry at the edge of the main economic industries.

Second largest city in California with a population of 1.307.402 (U.S. Census Bureau 2010), and eighth largest city within the United States, San Diego is the economic centre of the second largest metropolitan area within the State (3.095.313 inhabitants, U.S. Census Bureau 2010), that raises to about 5 million if jointly considered within the San Diego-Tijuana metropolitan area.

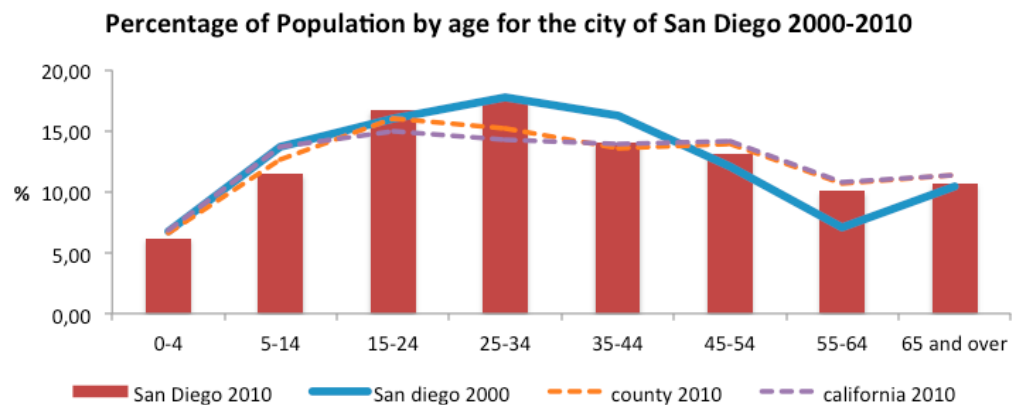


Figure 1 - Percentage of Population by age for the city of San Diego 2000-2010 with respect the County of San Diego and the State of California

According to the US Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA, 2013), San Diego is the sixteenth richest metropolitan area within the United States, with a GDP of 177.410 million of dollars in 2012. Furthermore, according to the 2010 U.S. Census San Diego can be considered among the richest places within the United States also for what concerns the Per Capita Income, that with \$ 32.553 is slightly higher compared to the California average (\$ 29.188).

Per Capita Income comparison 2000-2010



Figure 2 - Per Capita Income difference 2000-2010: State of California, County of San Diego, City of San Diego

From a production-based and with a long tradition of military industry, San Diego's economy is now based on creativity and innovation (City of San Diego, 2008), that joined with tourism is today the leading economic sector. For this reason, in order to face the economic transition occurred during the 1980s and the 1990s the City concentrated its efforts on the education improvement and on the high-skilled workforce. As a matter of facts, today the 22.5% and the 13.3% of the population has respectively a Bachelor's degree or a Graduate degree (U.S. Census Bureau 2010), against the 17.6% and the 9.4% of California, and the 19.7% and 11.3% of the year 2000. As mentioned above, today City's leading industry are Technology, Telecommunications, Biotechnology, Earth and Environmental Sciences, Education, Health Products and Services, Maritime, Tourism, Professional Services, Trade, Defense (City of San Diego 2008). Despite its proximity with the Mexican border, San Diego has a more homogeneous composition of the population than the rest of the State, with a 28.8%(Fig.3) declaring itself Mexican or Latino against the 37.6% of California (U.S. Census Bureau 2010), while in some neighbourhoods such as Barrio Logan the percentage can arrive up to 47%.

San Diego Population by Race 2000-2010



Figure 3 - San Diego Population by Race 2000-2010

Nevertheless, it has to be considered that, indeed for its proximity, if the percentage of Mexican or Latinos living in San Diego is slightly lower than the rest of the State, the international border is crossed by about 30 million people per year, and many are the commuters using it on a daily base. In particular, if the flows from the US to Tijuana are especially related to low cost shopping or vacations, the most of the Tijuana-US flows are for work reasons or for services (SANDAG 2004).

The Urban Planning System in San Diego

The Current Planning and Land Use Planning in California

In United States, as well as in Italy, planning and land use regulations, affecting the physical form of cities and towns and their transformations, are conceived to meet the present and future needs of their residents. Local government entities guide their physical growth and development through local land use planning which covers a wide range of activities such as developing vacant land, implementing new uses, redeveloping parts of whole neighbourhoods. In 1920, the U.S. Department of Commerce published two standard state enabling acts such as the "Standard State Zoning Enabling Act" (SZA) and the "Standard City Planning Enabling Act" (SCPEA) that represented a milestone for American planning and zoning (Meck, 1996).

In California, land use planning and regulations derive from a broad array of State laws and a few Federal laws (Fulton 1999). The legal basis for all land use regulation is the police power of a city or county to protect the public health, safety, and welfare of its residents (Wenter 2012). It must be said that planning and zoning laws in California moved along faster than in the rest of the country, partly in response to rapid growth occurred around 20's and 30's (Fulton 1999, 57). Indeed California has entered the land use issue in 1907, when the State legislature passed the first "Subdivision Map Act". In 1927 the legislature passed the first law authorizing cities and counties to prepare master plans. In 1937 the state decided that all cities and counties should have prepared general plans. This fact was remarkably ahead of its time considering that even today local planning and zoning is not required in all states (Fulton 1999, 57).

During '50s and '60s a planning reform occurred. The state's land use planning laws have been moved and amended until they began to take their current shape. Today all of Californian cities and counties must establish a planning agency and prepare and adopt a general plan.

The "State Planning and Zoning Law" (1953) called also "California Government Code" is the main section of the State's law dealing with governmental actions including the general plan requirement, specific plans, subdivisions, and zoning. It basically establishes the requirements for the land use element of the general plan. Other aspects linked to the conventional land use planning are taken into account by other sections of state law, including the "Public Resources Code"

and the “Health and Safety Code”. Together they form the basis for California’s Planning System.

The California Government Code (Section 65000 et seq.) gives local governments the authority to create land use policies within their jurisdictional boundaries and the ability to create a citywide land use and policy document called the “General Plan”. The general plan, also called “comprehensive plan” or “master plan” outside of California, establishes the land use policies and also details the likely future development patterns of the city or the county. Also this set of laws lays out the legal basis for the state’s interest in planning and establishes the requirement that all local governments create “planning agencies”. State law did not require consistency between general plans and zoning until 1971, more than forty years after the passage of the first general plan law.

Other important laws that are part of the California’s Planning System include the following:

Subdivision Map Act (Government Code 66410 et seq.). This Act, passed in 1907, governs all subdivision of land because land cannot be divided in California without local government approval. It requires that local governments establish regulations to guide subdivisions (for sale, lease or financing), and grant powers to local governments to ensure that the subdivision occurs in an orderly and responsible manner. The local general plan, zoning, subdivision, and other ordinances govern the design of the subdivision, the size of its lots, and the types of improvements (street construction, sewer lines, drainage facilities, etc.).

California Environmental Quality Act (Public Resources Code 21000 et seq.). This Act requires local governments to consider the potential environmental effects of a project before deciding whether to approve it. In other words, it requires to conduct form of environmental review on all public and private development projects. CEQA’s purpose is to disclose the potential impacts of a project, suggest methods to minimize those impacts, and discuss alternatives to the project so that decision makers will have full information upon which base their decision.

Coastal Act (Public Resources Code 30000 et seq.). This Act establishes special planning requirements for coastal area and creates a powerful state agency called “Coastal Commission” to oversee coastal planning.

Community Redevelopment Law (Health and Safety Code 33000 et seq.). This Act provides funding from local property taxes to promote the redevelopment of blighted areas. In 1945, the California Legislature enacted the “Community Redevelopment Act” to assist local governments in eliminating blight through development and revitalization of residential, commercial, industrial, and retail districts. The Act gave cities and counties the authority to establish redevelopment agencies (RDAs or agencies). The CRL also established the authority for Tax Increment Financing (TIF), which is a public financing method to

subsidize redevelopment, infrastructure, and other community-improvement projects. In 1976, the California Legislature established that at least the 20% of the tax increment revenue from redevelopment project areas be used to increase, improve, and preserve the supply of housing for very low, low, and moderate income households. In 1993, the California Legislature enacted AB 1290, known as the "Community Redevelopment Law Reform Act of 1993", which revised the "CRL" to address alleged abuses, and added restrictions on redevelopment activities, including limiting them predominately to urban areas. Since the Feb. 1 2012, redevelopment agencies created under "CRL" have been abolished. The State dissolved 399 agencies, including 17 in the San Diego County.

Cortese-Knox Local Government Act (Government Code 56000 et seq.). This Act is not strictly a planning law. Annexation (the addition of territory to an existing city) and incorporation (creation of a new city) are controlled by the Local Agency Formation Commission (LAFCO) established in each county by this law in 1963.

Although California has enacted those state-wide planning and zoning laws, these are meant to be minimally restrictive of local authority. Indeed, the state is rarely involved in local land use and development decisions because all land use permits in California are issued by the cities and the counties (with just some exceptions). Cities and counties enact general and specific plans in order to manage development adopting their own sets of land use policies and regulations based upon the state laws. These plans are intended to work together to ensure orderly change and growth in a community.

Considering that nearly 95% of Californians live in metropolitan areas (mostly with a density less than ten persons per acre), the importance of cities is crucial to manage the growth's future. Cities and counties play a important role in the planning process drawing up zoning ordinances and general plans. Unlike many other states, California does not have legally established towns and townships. Cities and counties can create and administer land use regulations because the state constitution specifically gives them this power. Over the last fifty years, the state's population has grown increasingly in urban areas. Around this culture of growth, California has built up its system of urban and environmental planning to manage the 482 cities and 58 counties in which consists. Unlike counties, cities are not creatures of the state; they are created by local citizens to serve their own purposes such as provide urban services. Most counties are geographically large, while cities range from one square mile like Lawndale in Los Angeles County to more than 400 square miles like Los Angeles. Cities range in population from just a few hundred to Los Angeles's 3.8 million.

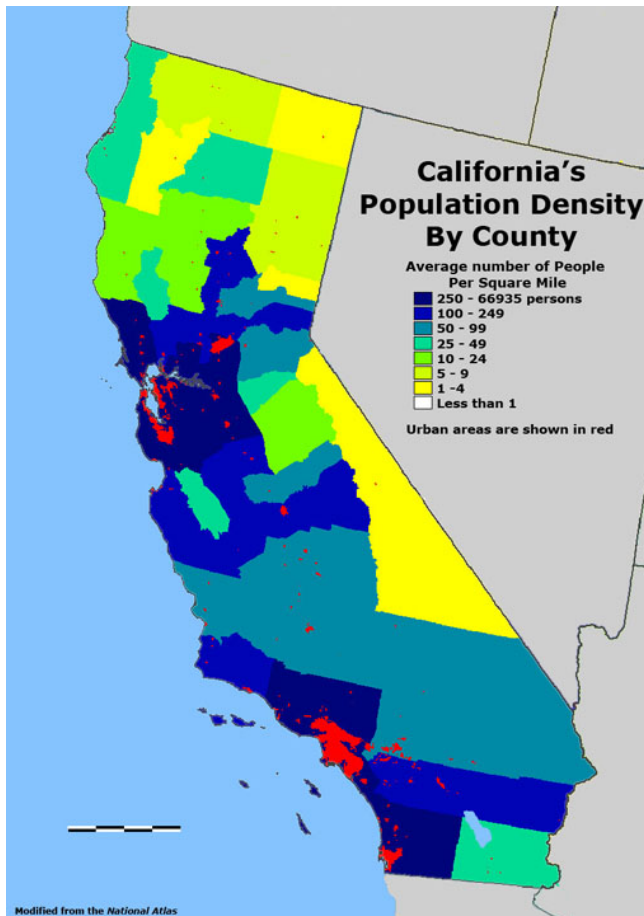


Figure 4 - California Population Density by County. Modified from the National Map
Source: US Census Data (2000)

The planning system is changing today by a series of socioeconomic trends that are driving growth and changes in California. Fulton and Shigley (2012, 16) point out that four specific trends are helping to create the environment within which planning operates

- Population growth and demographic change;
- Redistribution of the population within the state and within metropolitan areas;
- A dwindling land supply in most metropolitan areas;
- Lingering effects of the Great Recession.

Moreover it is important to underline that strong political forces shape the planning process in California. As in many other countries, it is actually not a surprise that planning is largely politics, meaning that there are many interest groups and lobbies trying to impose a specific agenda on a broader public. Citizens often are not able to fight against all the power of lobbies and politicians. The same local politicians who set the policies make decisions and they are frequently subject to the same kind of lobbying from the same interest

group during regulatory decisions as during policy discussions (Fulton 2012). So the planning process is characterized by the role of different players that can be represented in four categories:

- a) Rulemakers: California legislature, Congress, the court system, which set and apply the rules by which local governments play the planning game.
- b) Other government agencies: Federal and state agencies that have influence over the local planning process (such as Caltrans, HUD Housing and urban development department, etc.).
- c) Real estate industry: Developers, lenders and buyers who influence the planning process through their private business decisions.
- d) Citizen groups: Homeowner associations, environmentalists, historic advocates and so on, who become politically involved in the planning process in order to further their group agenda, rather than for private business reasons.

In this context, state legislature and the courts play an important role in carrying out the policies within the planning system. According to Fulton, policy approaches basically are based on a decentralized system with four strong elements:

1. The state with its planning-related laws (the latter ones are not prescriptive in nature) establishes a set of procedural requirements that local governments must follow in adopting and implementing their plans;
2. Local governments are required to address specific issues, meaning they have to consider a wide range of policy issues when drawing up and implementing plans. For instance, the state's general plan law requires that local entities include at least seven elements such as land use, transportation, housing, open space, conservation, safety and noise;
3. Planning laws are generally enforced via citizen enforcement. When citizen groups believe local governments are not following planning laws or CEQA, they are supposed to file lawsuits in order to compel local agencies to follow the law;
4. Formal coordination is required. One weakness of California's planning system is that even neighbouring jurisdictions are rarely required to work together.

In September 2008, Governor Schwarzenegger signed Senate Bill 375 (SB 375), which changes California's approach to land use and transportation planning by integrating these processes and including the state's greenhouse gas

emission reduction targets. The approval of this Senate Bill pushed toward the creation of the “Strategic Growth Council”, a cabinet level committee that is tasked to coordinate the activities of member state agencies to improve transportation as well as air and water quality, protect natural resources and agriculture lands, increase the availability of affordable housing, promote public health, encourage greater infill and compact development, revitalize neighbourhoods, support state and local entities in the planning of sustainable communities. The SGC is charged with, among other things, the allocation of Proposition 84 planning grants and planning incentive funds for encouraging the planning and development of sustainable communities with specific requirements, including consistency with AB 32 goals (Assembly Bill 32 “Global Warming Solutions Act” of 2006).

The SGC is also required to provide, fund and distribute data, and information to local governments and regional agencies that will assist in developing and planning sustainable communities. The primary requirements of SB 375 include the following:

1. The “California Air Resource Board” (CARB) is finalized to develop regional greenhouse gas (GHG) emission reduction targets for cars and light trucks for each of the 18 Metropolitan Planning Organizations (MPOs).
2. MPOs, through their planning processes, develop plans to meet their regional GHG reduction target. This would be accomplished through either the financially constrained “Sustainable Communities Strategy” (SCS) as part of their “Regional Transportation Plan” (RTP) or an unconstrained “Alternative Planning Strategy” (APS).
3. Streamlining of “California Environmental Quality Act” (CEQA) requirements will be available for specific residential and mixed-use developments.
4. The “California Transportation Commission” (CTC), in consultation with the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans), CARB and stakeholders ensure and maintain RTP Guidelines that address travel demand models used by MPOs in the development of RTPs.

The Senate Bill 375 calls upon each of California’s 18 regions to develop an integrated transportation, land-use and housing plan known as a Sustainable Communities Strategy (SCS). The SCS must demonstrate how the region will reduce greenhouse gas emissions through long-range planning. The key implementation measure behind the SCSs is that they are part of the regional transportation plan (RTP), which means that they potentially affect on how billions of transportation dollars are spent. The RTP, which MPOs update every four years, is a transportation plan that accounts for all of the projected transportation investments in a region over at least two decades. SB 375 also aligns the SCS with the regional housing needs assessment (RHNA) through

which regions develop targets for new housing, to facilitate better coordination between the location of new housing and transportation investment.

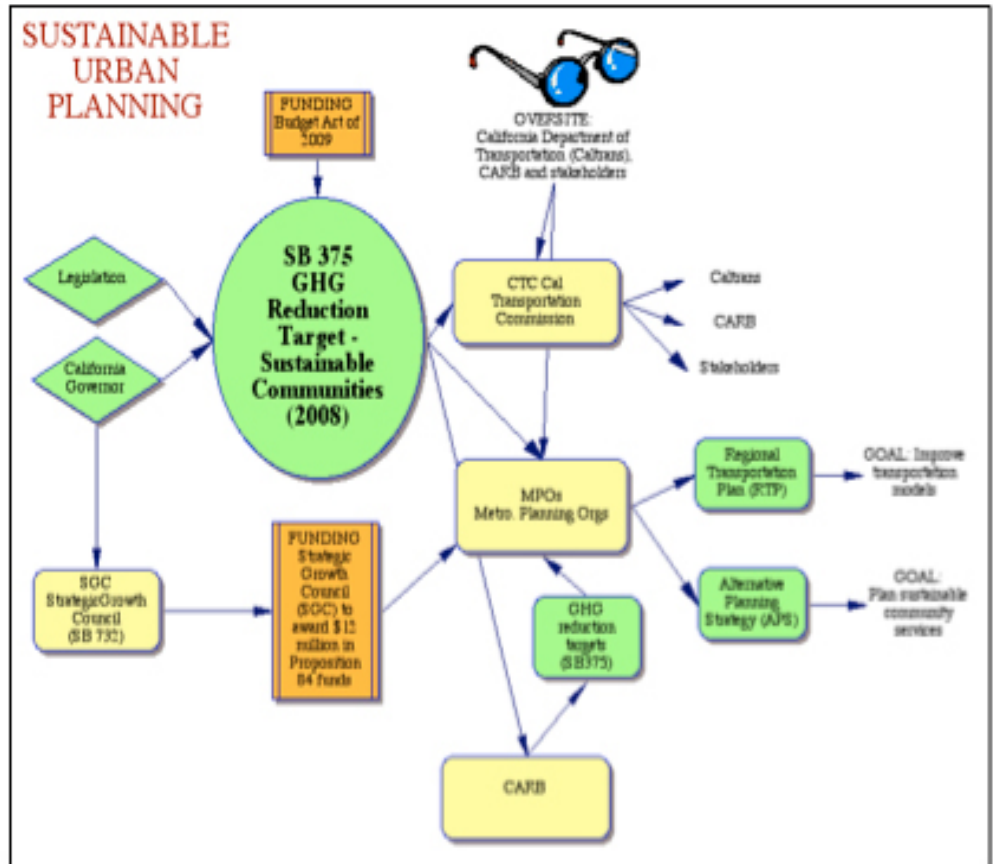


Figure 5 - Planning Framework under Senate Bill 375. Source: Strategic Growth Council website

In October 2011, the San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG) approved the first Sustainable Communities Strategy (SCS) under SB 375 in California. The plan was the subject of intense scrutiny by stakeholders, state agencies and others. Of major concern was the “backsliding” trend of GHG reductions, whereby emissions decrease sharply through 2020 then begin to rise again.

Regarding sustainability issues, it must be said that San Diego County is a pioneer region, meaning that many communities worked to improve the sustainability with innovative actions. Between 2002 and 2005, Carlsbad, which was largely built-out, created guiding principles for improvement projects and sustainability initiatives. Residents continued that work through Envision Carlsbad. After the wildfires of 2003 devastated the community of Alpine, a private citizen led an effort to envision the long-term development of Alpine and surrounding communities in East San Diego County. The region’s second largest city, Chula Vista, was the first city to implement state legislation to reduce waste through recycling and adopt a comprehensive climate adaptation plan, in collaboration with business and community leaders.

Land Use and Smart Growth at Regional Level (SANDAG)

San Diego County defines the metropolitan statistical area of San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos and in its metropolitan capacity as “Greater San Diego” with 18 cities such as San Diego, La Mesa, Chula Vista, Oceanside among the biggest ones and a plenty of unincorporated communities. San Diego County is also part of the San Diego-Tijuana metropolitan area that, having about five million people, is the largest metropolitan area shared between the United States and Mexico. The borders of the San Diego region are Orange, Riverside and Imperial Counties, and the Republic of Mexico.

The San Diego region today benefits from a strong, vibrant and diverse economic base largely as a result of its past. With over 3 million people, San Diego is the second largest county in the state, and it is dominated by the city of San Diego, whose population of some 1.3 million makes it the second largest city in the state after Los Angeles (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). The San Diego region’s population growth is anticipated to continue (according US Census Bureau the estimated population for 2012 is 3.177.000). The county grew from around 35000 people in 1900 to more than 3.000.000 today. According with a recent SANDAG’s report, the region will grow by another 1.3 million people by 2050 (SANDAG 2004). Most of this growth (63%) will be children and grandchildren rather than those moving into the area, probably because San Diego County is considered by many people a great place where to live. By the year 2030, San Diego County will need an additional 230.000 housing units to meet housing needs (SANDAG 2010).

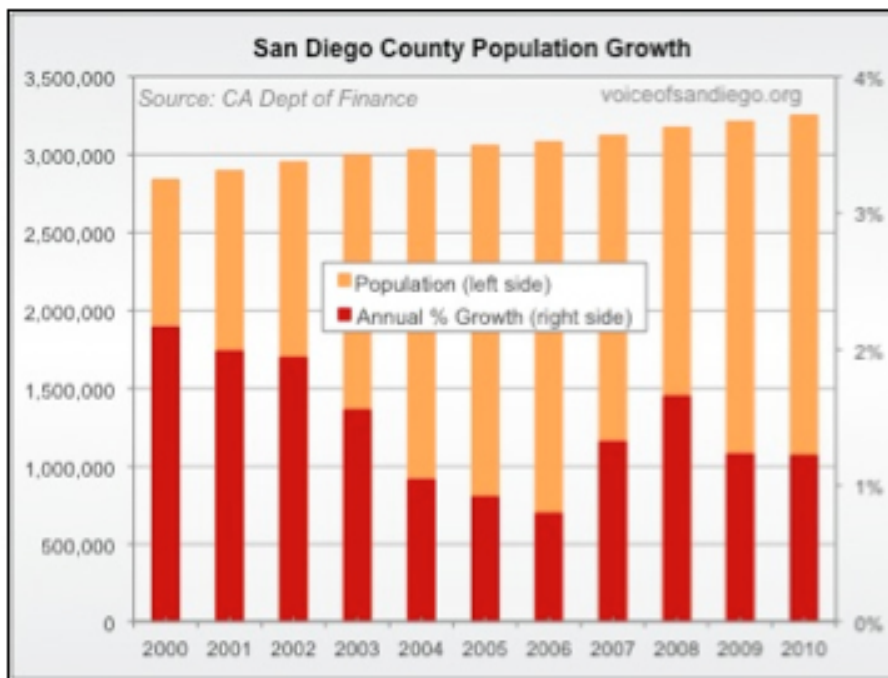


Figure 6 - San Diego population growth. Source: Elaboration by voiceofsandiego.org

Growth and planning issues have been predominant in San Diego at least back to the 1970s, when Pete Wilson was a growth-management innovator as San Diego's mayor. More recently, land planning in the San Diego region has been dominated by endangered species issues, and both city and county have participated in a state-led effort to create multiple-species conservation plans. Whether regional issues are environmental, economic or infrastructure-related, the true boundaries of today's urban issues extend beyond the immediate neighbourhood or municipality, making regional thinking and cooperation imperative. Moreover it must be said that the San Diego region has changed dramatically during the last hundred years not only because the regional population today of three million is roughly equal to the population of the entire state of California a century ago but also the region's growth has increased rapidly in the last 30 years for the presence of army and many Universities. Decades ago, San Diego, like many other metropolitan areas, was growing as if there was unlimited land and unrestricted energy and water supplies.

Land use patterns have changed significantly within San Diego County as vast tracts of land were consumed for mostly single-family homes, impacting local habitats, reducing agricultural lands, and absorbing small towns into the today metropolitan region. The growth of the city was guided by the sprawl model (quiet, clean, and spacious communities) where public transportation is not so important respect the private cars. Those past planning decisions had a strong impact today because San Diego's population spends 100% more time in traffic delays and almost 300% more in travel delay costs today than they did in 1988 (RCP 2004). Despite this San Diegans do not enjoy a public transportation system that easily takes them to many destinations. Housing affordability is also affected by past land use decisions. San Diego ranks 44 out of 50 for affordable housing against other large metropolitan areas. Simply adding more growth rings around the metro region will not solve, but will only exacerbate, the sprawl challenges facing San Diego.

In the San Diego region many agencies at state/federal level such as Caltrans, California Coastal Commission, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Regional Water Quality Control Board, and at local level such as SANDAG, Metropolitan Transit System (MTS), San Diego County Water Authority, San Diego Regional Energy Office, Local Agency Formation Commission (LAFCO), San Diego Airport Authority, plan actions to protect and improve the economic and environmental aspects. Land use and regional growth in the San Diego region is promoted by the San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG), that provides the regional framework in order to connect land use to transportation systems, population growth, environment preservation, infrastructure investments and sustain economic prosperity ³. This agency was formed in the '60s, when state and federal officials thought powerful regional governments would serve a useful purpose. Recently, some changes in both state and federal law have given the Metropolitan Planning Organizations considerable power in allocating federal and state funds for transportation projects.

SANDAG has a "Border Committee" that provides oversight for planning activities that impact the borders of the San Diego region (Orange, Riverside and Imperial Counties, and the Republic of Mexico) and its surrounding neighbours as well as government-to-government relations with tribal nations in San Diego County. Further the address planning issues from three perspectives: the bi-national perspective with relation to international border with the Republic of Mexico; the interregional perspective regarding issues with our Orange, Riverside, and Imperial County neighbours; and collaboration with tribal governments within San Diego County. The goal is to create a regional community where San Diego, neighbouring counties, tribal governments, and Mexico mutually benefit from their varied resources and international location.



Figure 7 - The jurisdiction of the San Diego Association of Governments. *Source: SANDAG*

The future growth and development of the San Diego region is currently guided by two primary long-range planning documents: the "Regional Comprehensive Plan" (RCP) adopted in 2004 and the "2050 Regional Transportation Plan/Sustainable Communities Strategy" (RTP/SCS) adopted in 2011. The goal of these regional plans is to focus housing and job growth in urbanized areas where there is existing and planned transportation infrastructure to create a more sustainable region.

The “Regional Comprehensive Plan” (RCP), based on sustainability and smart growth principles, contributes to the long-term planning framework for the San Diego region. Basically it is a blueprint for managing San Diego region’s growth to move the county toward a sustainable future. The RCP contains an incentive-based approach to encourage and channel growth into existing and future urban areas and smart growth communities, while preserving natural resources and limiting urban sprawl. The RCP was designed to build upon the regional transportation plan and the regional-scale environmental systems plans that had been developed during the ‘90s.

Under current plans and policies, more than 90% of remaining vacant land designated for housing is planned for densities of less than one home per acre, and most is in the rural back country areas dependent upon scarce groundwater supplies. The remaining vacant land planned for housing in the 18 incorporated cities, only about 7% is planned for multifamily housing. Considering that population will increase in the next twenty years, this model of growth is a big problem. San Diego region needs new planning approaches based on shared goals and objectives smart growth oriented. SANDAG’s RCP could be a right solution to housing, open spaces and transportation challenges because it promotes a planning concept focused on:

1. Improving connections between land use and transportation plans using smart growth principles;
1. Using land use and transportation plans to guide decisions regarding environmental and public facility investments;
2. Collaboration and incentives to achieve regional goals and objectives.

The RCP’s new approach, focused on collaboration and incentives, is based upon two elements:

- A. A planning framework that helps those used by cities and counties in preparing their general plans, and thereby strengthens the coordination of local and regional plans and programs;
- B. A policy approach that focuses on connecting local and regional transportation and land use plans, and creating incentives that encourage “smart growth” planning and actions.

RCP, emphasizing connections between land use and transportation, identify “Smart Growth Opportunity Areas” (SGOA), that are areas with compact, mixed use, pedestrian oriented development. RCP also puts a higher priority on directing transportation facility improvements and other infrastructure

resources toward those areas. The designation of specific SGOA, will provide guidance to local governments, property owners, and service providers where smart growth development should occur from a regional perspective. Basically the plan intends to use transportation and land use plans to guide other plans.

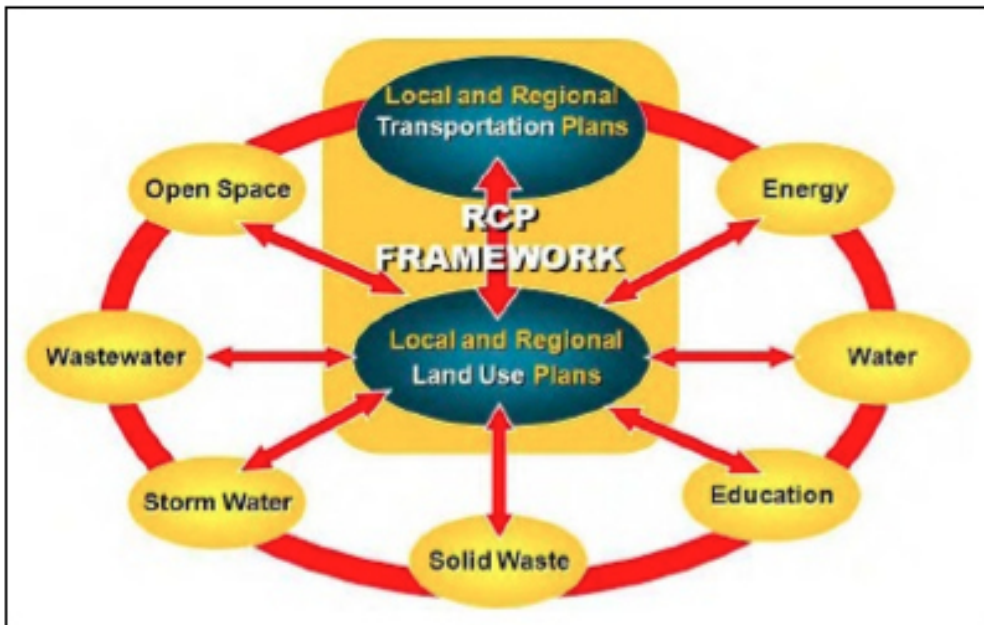


Figure 8 - Regional Comprehensive Plan Framework. Source: SANDAG RCP 2004

RCP will focus attention on these areas as local jurisdictions update their general plans and redevelopment plans, and service providers update their facility master plans. By coordinating planning in this manner, public and private investment in local and regional infrastructure should be implemented in an efficient and sustainable manner. Further the RCP proposes several new funding strategies to help guide the region's urban form and provide incentives to implement SGOA: Regional Transportation Network Priorities Based on Smart Growth; Direct Financial Incentives for Smart Growth; Local Incentives for Smart Growth. The RCP identifies four key steps that must be taken to promote social equity and environmental justice in the San Diego region: 1) Expand public involvement; 2) Expand current analysis efforts to assess existing social equity and environmental justice conditions in the region; 3) Evaluate future plans, programs, and projects; and 4) Monitor the performance of the RCP.

Because of the RCP's focus on encouraging smart growth land uses in key locations, local jurisdictions should consider how their plans can reflect the RCP goals and objectives at two levels:

1. Which RCP goals and policy objectives are applicable to the entire planning area, and how they might be connected in their plan;
2. Which RCP goals and policy objectives are applicable to specific SGOA, and how they might be supported in specific plans, or reflected directly through general plans, community plans, development regulations, and adopted policies.

The RCP identifies seven smart growth categories in the San Diego region:

1. **Metropolitan Center:** The region's primary business, civic, commercial, and cultural centre; Mid- and high-rise residential, office, and commercial buildings; Very high levels of employment; Draws from throughout the region and from beyond the region's borders; Served by numerous transportation services. Example: Downtown San Diego.
2. **Urban Center:** Subregional business, civic, commercial, and cultural centres; Mid- and high-rise residential, office, and commercial buildings; Medium to high levels of employment; Draws from throughout the region, with many from the immediate area; Served by transit lines and local bus services. Examples: University City, Uptown/Hillcrest, Chula Vista Urban Core, Downtown National City, Downtown La Mesa.
3. **Town Center:** Suburban downtowns within the region; Low- and midrise residential, office, and commercial buildings; Some employment; Draws from the immediate area; Served by corridor/regional transit lines and local services or shuttle services. Examples: Downtowns of La Mesa, Oceanside, Coronado, Encinitas.
4. **Community Center:** Areas with housing within walking/biking distance of transit stations; Low- to mid-rise residential, office, and commercial buildings; Draws from nearby communities and neighbourhoods; Served by local high-frequency transit. Examples: Imperial Beach 9th and Palm, Clairemont Town Square, Palomar Gateway in Chula Vista.
5. **Mixed Use Transit Corridor:** Areas with concentrated residential and mixed use development along a linear transit corridor; Variety of low-, mid- and high-rise buildings, with employment, commercial and retail businesses; Draws from nearby communities. Examples: University Avenue and El Cajon Blvd. in San Diego, Mission Road in Escondido, North Santa Fe in Vista, Seacoast Drive and Palm Ave. in Imperial Beach.
6. **Special Use Center:** Employment areas consisting primarily of medical or educational facilities; Variety of low-, mid- and high-rise buildings; Dominated by one non-residential land use (e.g., medical or educational); Draws from throughout the region or immediate subregion. Examples: SDSU, Cal State San Marcos, UCSD, Nordahl SPRINTER Station.
7. **Rural Community:** Distinct communities within the unincorporated areas of San Diego County; Low-rise employment and residential buildings; Draws from nearby rural areas; Concentrated local road network within the village, with possible local transit service. Examples: Alpine, Fallbrook.

The seven categories provide a basis for identifying SGOA throughout the region. Through a collaborative process, SANDAG and the local agencies will designate these areas on a Smart Growth Concept Map, which is actually a key tool for successful implementation of the Regional Comprehensive Plan. In 2006, SANDAG was recognized by the Urban Land Institute (ULI) with the “Best Framework for Smart Growth Award” for the Smart Growth Concept Map (ULI 2009). The “Smart Growth Concept Map”, which identifies locations throughout the San Diego region that can support compact, efficient, and environmentally-sensitive urban development, was created as a tool which outlines nearly 200 locations that are existing, planned, or potential smart growth areas. The map serves as a model for how SANDAG should grow and provides guidance to municipalities about where to grow. In addition to SANDAG’s efforts, many public and private partners have dedicated significant funds for smart growth projects. Indeed the concept map is finalized also for prioritizing transportation investments and determining eligibility for “Smart Growth Incentive funds”.

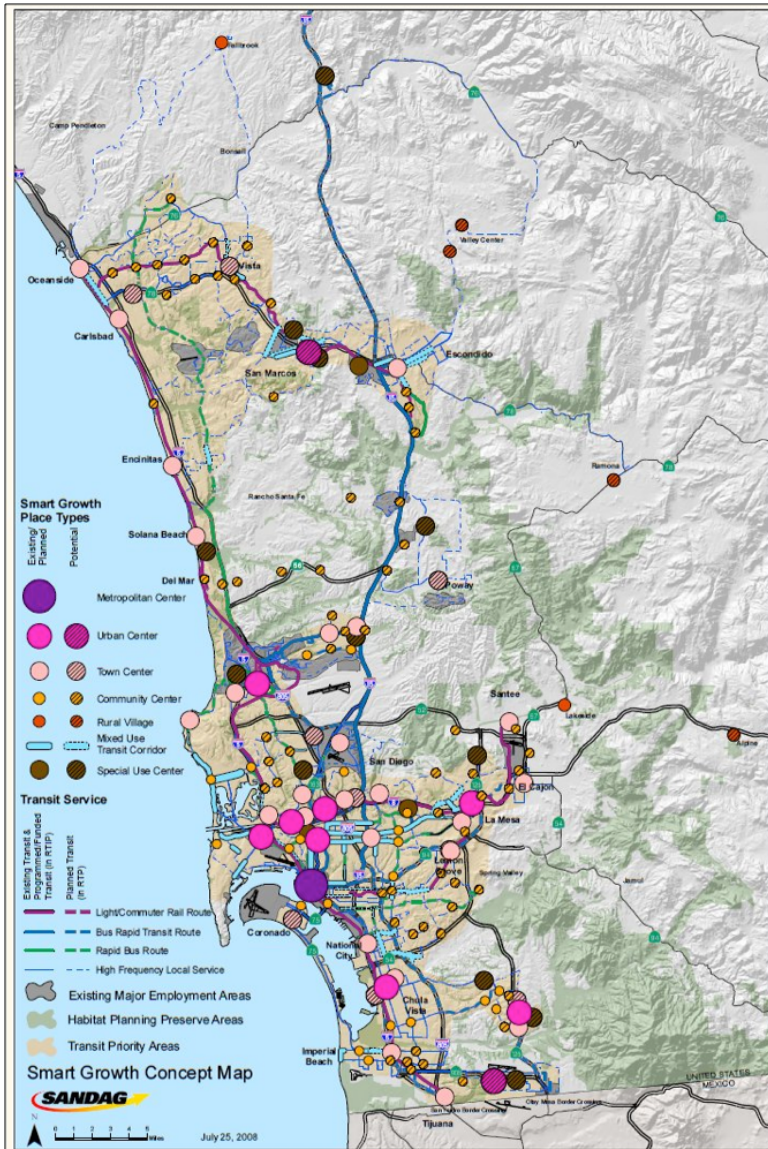


Figure 9 - San Diego Regional Comprehensive Plan (RCP). Smart Growth Concept Map. Source: SANDAG RCP 2004

The RCP includes a “Integrated Regional Infrastructure Strategy” (IRIS), a blueprint to help achieve the goal of responds to population growth and creating a sustainable region. The IRIS outlines a forward-looking investment and financing strategy that will help the San Diego region meet its collective infrastructure needs. As timing is the key to ensuring the adequacy of infrastructure services and funding, the IRIS follow a series of phases. It focuses on eight important infrastructure areas:

1. Transportation (including regional airport, maritime port, transit, highways, etc.);
2. Water supply and delivery system;
3. Wastewater (sewage collection, treatment and discharge system);
4. Storm water management;
5. Solid waste collection, recycling, and disposal;
6. Energy supply and delivery system;
7. Education (including elementary, secondary schools, community colleges, universities);
8. Parks and open space (including shoreline preservation and habitat preservation).

It is important to highlight that the RCP was not designed as a regulatory plan with a “top down” approach of consistency and conformity, but rather as a guidance plan (bottom up approach) because SANDAG does not have authority over local land use decisions and is not a regulatory agency. RCP has a collaborative planning approach that builds up from the local level into a regional framework to establish stronger connections between transportation and land use, connect local and regional plans, and foster cooperative approaches to implementing the actions identified in the plan. This collaborative planning approach is also an “iterative” process as shown in the figure. In other words, updates to local general plans will feed into the regional growth forecast, the Regional Comprehensive Plan, and the Regional Transportation Plan, which, in turn, will affect the other plans as they, themselves, are updated.

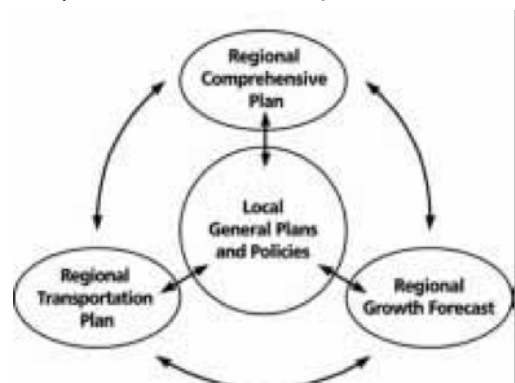


Figure 10
RCP Iterative Planning Process.
Source: RCP for the San Diego
Region 2004

One of the key goals of the RCP is to strengthen the connection between local and regional plans, particularly between land use and transportation. SANDAG has elaborated guidelines conceived as a tool for local jurisdictions to consider how they can incorporate the goals and policy objectives of the RCP into their own plans as they update their general and community plans.

In October 2011, SANDAG adopted the 2050 Regional Transportation Plan (RTP)/ Sustainable Communities Strategy (SCS), in compliance with the requirements of SB 375(California). The long timeline of 40 years allows the RTP to identify and use revenues available from the voter-approved transportation sales tax program described below.



Figure 11 - Guidelines for strengthening the local / regional connection. Source: RCP for the San Diego Region 2004

The 2050 RTP and SCS sets forth a multimodal approach to meeting the region’s transportation needs. It also reaffirmed SANDAG’s commitment to address public health at the local and regional level. As mentioned in the 2050 RTP/SCS, in 2007, 33 % of county residents were overweight and nearly 22% were obese. The 2050 RTP/SCS describes the link between public health and land use and transportation, promotes walkable, bikeable, and transit-oriented communities, and allocates resources to implement projects that will improve health outcomes in the region.

SANDAG’s RTP made significant progress toward increasing the overall amount of funding toward transit and active transportation. Share of RTP funding for highways fell from 41% (2007) to 28% (2011). At the same time investments on transit and public transportation increased from 31% (2007) to 43% (2011) (SANDAG RTP 2007). The 2050 RTP/SCS has allocated 36 percent of the local, State and Federal transportation funds toward transit in the first ten years, with an increasing amount in each subsequent decade, reaching 57% in the last ten years of the plan. The 2050 RTP/SCS also approved \$6.5 million to fund early implementation of high priority projects from the 2010 “Regional Bicycle Plan”. These high priority projects are intended to increase the number of people who bike in the region, as well as encourage the development of Complete Streets. The 2050 RTP/SCS allocated a total of \$3.8 billion to active transportation projects over the next 40 years.

In addition to Federal and State funding, the San Diego region has a one-half cent sales tax, called “TransNet”, to support transportation projects

included in the "Regional Transportation Improvement Program" (RTIP), which identifies transportation projects to be funded over the next five years. The first TransNet program generated \$3.3 billion between 1998 and 2008; the money was distributed in equal proportions to transit, highway, and local road projects. In addition, \$1 million was earmarked for bicycle programs and projects annually. The program also funded eight "Walkable Community Demonstration Projects", which were intended to show the benefits of walkable communities and smart growth planning. Four of the projects were construction projects, focused on streetscape and pedestrian improvements, and four were planning projects for corridors as following:

- Construction Projects
- Encinitas - Downtown Streetscape Plan
- San Diego - 25th Street Corridor Enhancement (Song Rail)
- San Marcos - Knob Hill In-Pavement Flashing Light Crosswalk System
- El Cajon - Downtown Pedestrian Improvements
- Planning Projects
- San Diego - 25th Street Corridor Enhancement
- San Diego - Balboa Avenue Vision Plan
- San Diego - University Avenue Traffic Calming Project
- Oceanside - Downtown Redevelopment Area

In 2004, the program was extended until 2048 allocating \$280 million (2% of total) to the "Smart Growth Incentive Program" and another \$280 million to the "Active Transportation Grant Program", which covers bicycle, pedestrian, and neighbourhood safety projects. The "Smart Growth Incentive Program" supports a grant program and led to the developed of the "Smart Growth Toolbox", which groups various planning tools together as resources for local jurisdictions. This ordinance also supports the implementation of the RTIP and requires all TransNet funded projects to accommodate bicycle and pedestrian facilities where it is reasonable to do so.

In May 2012, the SANDAG approved a new plan called "San Diego Forward: The Regional Plan" which merge the RCP update with the next RTP/SCS. This new plan, which SANDAG hopes to complete by 2015, actually is in progress. Indeed over the next two years (2013-2014), SANDAG will work in partnership with a wide range of stakeholders to develop the Plan through community workshops organized in different areas of the region. The document intends mainly to focus on the critical link between land use and transportation, although it will cover other additional topics such as public health, environment, economic strategies, social equity, etc. It will combine the update of these two major

planning efforts giving citizens a single, easily accessible document that includes an overall vision for the San Diego region and an implementation program to make that vision a reality. It will build upon local planning efforts, and incorporate emerging issues and innovative concepts, to form an overall vision for the region's future, including specific actions aimed at turning that vision into reality. So this Plan will be more than just a guide for the region's transportation future. It will include plans to address public health, economic prosperity, land use, climate change and the county's borders with Mexico, Imperial and Orange counties and will look out to 2050. It's an ambitious task, one that must account for the expected growth of a million people in San Diego County, plus 500,000 new homes and 600,000 new jobs, over that period.



Figure 12 - Smart Growth principles. Source: SANDAG

San Diego's Plans and Local Planning Framework

During 1890-1920 cities began to change with the streetcar suburbs. Though not as self-consciously monumental as the City Beautiful designers, the designers of these suburbs emphasized the role of form streetscapes and developments around local transit stops. During the 20's period, the approach was to emphasize public spaces, civil buildings, and neighbourhoods. All these efforts evolved around a particular set of design principles in order to shape the new urban forms emerging at the time on a more human, village-like scale. The work of John Nolan, one of the leading urban designers of the early 20th century, is a model of this type of planning. In the 1909 plan for San Diego, Nolan's style is characterized by "some rather formal, almost baroque, street

arrangements with naturalistic parks and open spaces” (Mel Scott) as well as a strong emphasis on public buildings and public spaces. The 1908 Nolan Plan revolved around a civic centre, in the same place it is today; a bayfront that balanced industry and recreation, as it does today; and a bay-to-park link still envisioned but not yet completed. Nolan was brought back to update his plan in 1926 and that update informed the city’s master-planning efforts for four decades.

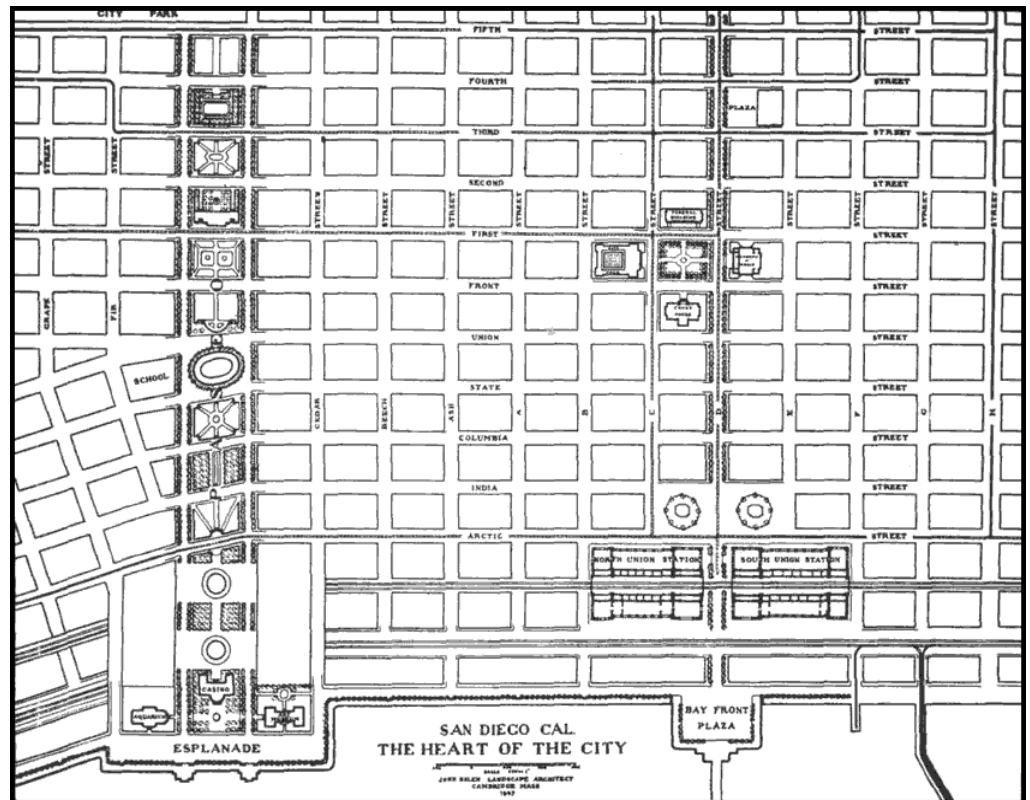


Figure 13 - Nolan Plan recommended the construction of a wide landscaped walkway, “The Paseo,” which would descend twelve blocks between Date and Elm streets from the southwest entrance of City Park to San Diego Bay.. Source: The Journal of San Diego History

During the 1960s, the City started a comprehensive planning process to prepare the first Progress Guide and General Plan, and in 1967 the City Council adopted that document as the first General Plan for the City of San Diego. In 1970s and 1980s, a blighted downtown was redeveloped thanks in large part to public sector (led by Mayor Pete Wilson) and private sector (led by developer Ernest Hahn) collaboration. In 1974, planning consultants Kevin Lynch and Donald Appleyard, funded through a grant (\$ 12,000) from the prominent San Diego Marston family, produced “Temporary Paradise?,” a kind of “Environmental Plan for San Diego” that sought to balance growth and environmental preservation. This report focused upon the natural base of the City and region, and urged the city to avoid the mistakes of Los Angeles; it recommended that new growth complement the regional landscape to preserve its precious natural resources and San Diego’s high quality of life (Appleyard&Lynch 1974). “Temporary

Paradise?” influenced the subsequent comprehensive update of the Progress Guide and General Plan adopted in 1979. “Temporary Paradise?” also was among the first reports to view Tijuana as part of the San Diego region.

When the city still contained a substantial amount of undeveloped land to accommodate new growth, the 1979 City of San Diego General Plan introduced a new way to manage the growth as defined by Robert Freilich, a lawyer who added two new dimensions to the land use regulatory system. This plan divided all land in the City into three areas: urbanized area, planned urbanizing area, and future urbanizing area. The areas designations reflect the City’s desire to manage urban expansion and to allocate private and public resources efficiently. The designations and implementation of council policies are intended not only to regulate the type and timing of development in urban expansion areas, but also to strengthen the older and geographically central parts of the City that comprise the urbanized area. While to encourage infill development, fees were waived in the urban area, to discourage development interventions in the rural areas, developers were required to pay the full freight of all infrastructures (Freilich et al 2010, 137-140). One of the planning objectives was to led to the development of the trolley transportation system and Horton Plaza, both icons of San Diego today.

Despite this positive change and success, San Diego’s growth management system was not enough tough to endure the slow growth environment that emerged in the city during the building boom of the ‘80s. The City experienced both significant growth and a serious recession over the two following decades. Residential development reached the City’s jurisdictional boundaries, which also expanded during this period. The City’s economic base evolved from tourism and defense sector to high technology research and manufacturing, and international trade. The citizens of San Diego reacted to the growth and change by participating in numerous visioning efforts. They produced several documents, ballot initiatives, and programs including: the Urban Form Action Plan, the Regional Growth Management Strategy, the Livable Neighborhoods Initiative, Towards Permanent Paradise, the Renaissance Commission Report, and many others.

After two decades of expanding outward and reaching the limits of developable land, the City Council adopted the “Strategic Framework Element” in 2002 to guide the comprehensive update of the entire 1979 Progress Guide and General Plan. Based upon the planning principles and shared common values in all of the previous documents, the essence of the Strategic Framework Element is the “City of Villages” strategy, a wide-ranging approach to improving the quality of life for all San Diegans adopted in 2002 by the city council as a part of a new strategic framework of the general plan. It is so important that it became also the guiding document for the general plan update adopted in 2008.

San Diego’s “City of Villages” planning concept promotes mixed-use neighbourhoods and communities to reduce auto dependency and support a larger regional transit system, thus reducing vehicle miles travelled and

greenhouse gas emissions. The city's general plan also includes sustainable development and other carbon-reducing strategies and goals because it addresses future growth to mixed-use communities that are pedestrian friendly and linked to regional transit. Indeed, the city completed a community-wide greenhouse gas inventory and subsequently a climate protection action plan.

The "City of Villages" strategy is based on a vision and core values for San Diego that reflect past and recent planning efforts and trends, as well as public outreach. The element addresses recent trends and challenges, describe the growth strategy and recommends policies to implement the strategy. In addition, there is a description of an implementation program that includes a five-year action plan and recommendations for growth and development after 2020. The new Strategic Framework Element embraces San Diego's past planning efforts as it charts a course for the future.

So City of Villages strategy as well as the general plan is considered as a "Growth Management Strategy". Vehicle miles travelled (VMT) are expected to decrease over time as villages are introduced within targeted areas of existing communities. Each village should become the heart of the community, designed for walkability, with housing, jobs, shopping and parks, and linked to other villages and activity centres by transit. The village strategy also emphasizes the importance of respecting the city's natural open space network and the distinctive characteristics of individual neighbourhoods. Fourteen community plan updates are completed or will begin in the next years. These comprise approximately one-third of the city's land area.

The village concept takes advantage of existing conditions and the potential to make existing neighbourhoods and already urbanized and suburbanized areas more complete communities. Although "village" typically connotes smaller areas, San Diego has designated various levels of "village" to include its metro centre, urban hubs, residential neighbourhood centres, transit corridors, and future villages to be built on undeveloped or redeveloped land. Some of the city's oldest malls, for example, are being planned for new mixed-use neighbourhoods, including one whose redevelopment plan was approved by the city council and accepted into the LEED-ND (Neighborhood Development) pilot program.

In 2004 the City Council approved the Pilot Village program as a catalyst for implementing the City of Villages strategy. Pilot Village program included five innovative projects finalized to apply the City of Villages strategy of smart growth in San Diego as well as to demonstrate how villages can benefit communities citywide. The projects that were selected are dispersed throughout the city and represent a variety of approaches and styles that will demonstrate how Villages can revitalize existing neighbourhoods while retaining their individual character. The five projects are:

1. Mi Pueblo, located in the San Ysidro community adjacent to the border.

2. The Boulevard Marketplace – MCTIP, located in Mid City within the Normal Heights Plan Area (Phase 1) and Kensington-Talmadge Plan Area (Phase 2) and along El Cajon Boulevard.
3. North Park, a vibrant neighbourhood central located.
4. The Paseo, located near the San Diego State University campus.
5. Village Center at Euclid and Market, located at the intersection of four neighbourhoods in the southeastern area of San Diego: Chollas View, Lincoln Park, Emerald Hills and Valencia Park.

Villages address growth and improve existing communities by combining housing, commercial, employment centres, schools and civic uses together in areas where a high level of activity already exists. They include public/civic spaces where everyone feels welcome. For the communities in which they are located, villages create a lively, walkable and unique atmosphere. They build upon existing neighbourhoods while retaining their individual character. Locating new village development in older areas can help with revitalization. Newer town or community centres can also benefit by drawing people to the unique gathering points they create. Connecting villages with an improved transit system, such as SANDAG's proposed Transit First initiative, will further help villages reach their full potential.

San Diego's award winning general plan and its City of Villages concept demonstrates the potential to transform existing neighbourhoods and zones into walkable, mixed-use communities where transit connections provide links to employment and other specialized centres. Many of the mixed-use and transit concepts adopted in San Diego can be applied in smaller communities as well.

A City of Neighbourhoods: Communities in San Diego

The City of San Diego has a long tradition of strong and highly distinct communities that can be considered as the fundamental elements composing the whole City. While the work by Appleyard and Lynch counted, in 1974, up to 34 different communities within the City's boundaries, today there are 52 recognized communities also known as "Community Planning Areas". Each community, furthermore, can include more neighbourhoods.

San Diego communities are very different each other by size, average income, race, age, cohesion, and overall physical and environmental quality, and each of them coincide with a Community Planning Area because to the single community is transferred the due to autonomously provide for « the issues and trends facing the community and includes corresponding strategies to implement community goals» (City of San Diego 2008).

As the City of San Diego General Plan of 2008 affirms, «Community plans represent a vital component of the City's Land Use Element because they

contain more detailed land use designations and describe the distribution of land uses better than is possible at the citywide document level. San Diego is one of the few jurisdictions in the state that has the size, diversity, and land use patterns that necessitate community-based land use plans. The community-specific detail found in community plans is also used in the review process for both public and private development projects. While the community plan addresses specific community needs, its policies and recommendations must remain in harmony with other community plans, the overall General Plan, and citywide policies. Overall, the General Plan and community plans are intended to be used as a means to maintain or improve quality of life, and to respect the essential character of San Diego's communities».

The 2008 San Diego General Plan and Community Planning Areas

In San Diego the land use planning process provides great importance to the "communities" that represent a crucial concept in California. According to California State "Health and Safety Code", "Community" means a city, county, city and county, or Indian tribe, band, or group which is incorporated or which otherwise exercises some local governmental powers. Larger cities often have several community plans, i.e. "mini" land use and policy plans for more specific geographic areas. "Community plans" and "specific plans" are often used by cities and counties to plan the future of a particular area at a finer level of detail than that provided by the general plan. This community plan is a portion of the local general plan focusing on the issues pertinent to a particular area or community within the city or county.

In the City of San Diego, due the vastness and the diversity of the communities, there are 42 community plans. The community plans combined together constitutes the Land Use Element of the General Plan. Community plans work together with the General Plan to provide location-based policies and recommendations in the City's community planning areas, as well as to guide growth and development in San Diego. The community plans must work as part of the General Plan and must not contain policies or recommendations that are contradictory to other parts of the General Plan or to other community plans.

In 1997, a report called "San Diego Grand Design", prepared by Santos and Associates and Spurlock Martin Poirier Landscape Architects, explored a vision of San Diego in which an open space system connects San Diego's communities. Intended as an educational tool rather than an action plan, the report offers a framework to help guide the community planning process. The report proposed a system that uses natural features as landmarks for navigating around the functional part of the City. Valleys, for instance, would form a web connecting communities. Projects like the proposed bay-to-bay link are favoured as a means of connecting urban areas. This report stated to "to strengthen the existing pattern of San Diego as a City of neighbourhoods, in which neighbourhoods are well defined, each with a distinctive character and sharing amenities in common".

San Diego constitutes of 52 Community Planning Areas that are designed by the “Progress Guide and General Plan” considering areas in the City in which specific land use proposals are made in the form of community plans. This process allows the community plan to refine the policies of the City down to the community level, within the context of city-wide goals and objectives. It also designates land uses and housing densities, and includes additional site-specific recommendations as needed. A community plan is developed when City staff and the community, usually coordinated through community planning group forums, work together to identify changes in land use or revisions to policies in order to make them consistent with the General Plan. The community plan provides a long-range physical development guide for elected officials and citizens engaged in community development. Typical elements found in a community plan include: Land Use; Transportation; Urban Design; Public Facilities and Services; Natural and Cultural Resources; and, Economic Development.

Since the Nolan Plan was implemented, San Diego has grown from a small border town to a vibrant and modern metropolis of nearly 1.3 million people, with many distinct and diverse neighbourhoods. The City’s growth and evolution have been a catalyst for the development of numerous planning visions and plan documents. Through the years, all of the plans have shared a somewhat common vision. They have sought preservation of unique neighbourhoods, good jobs and housing for all San Diegans, protection and enhancement of the environment, development of a diverse economy, an efficient and useful public transit system, well-maintained public facilities and services, and careful management of the growth and development of the City.

In 2008, approximately a century after Nolan Plan, San Diego decided to define new strategies for shaping the future’s city through the update of the General Plan. This Plan, together the “City of Villages” smart growth strategy, has to face with new crucial issues which solution is challenging: lack of vacant developable land for future growth, unmet public facilities standards, a changing economic base, and major environmental challenges. These challenges required a General Plan with new approaches, sound public policies, and innovative and achievable solutions. Regarding the problem of the vacant property, the City of San Diego implemented the Vacant Property Program in 1996 to reinvigorate the economic prosperity and social vitality by reinstating vacant properties into productive, economic use. Incentives and code enforcements remove impediments to property rehabilitation. The Program establishes private/public partnerships to organize resources and realize the goal of vacant property revitalization and affordable housing.

The City of San Diego General Plan sets out a long-range vision and policy framework for how the city should plan for growth, provide public services, and maintain the qualities that define San Diego. It was structured to work together with the city’s 40-plus community plans and is part of a regional and state-wide smart growth strategy. The plan includes the City of Villages smart growth strategy to focus growth into mixed-use villages that are pedestrian-friendly

districts, of different scales, and linked to the transit system. The plan addresses protections for industrial lands, provisions for urban parks, “toolboxes” to implement mobility strategies, and policies to further the preservation of San Diego’s historical resources. It also reaffirms the city’s long history of protecting open space lands.

It presents ten elements that overall provide a comprehensive “blueprint” for the City of San Diego’s growth over the next twenty plus years:

1. Strategic Framework;
2. Land Use & Community Planning Element;
3. Mobility Element;
4. Urban Design Element;
5. Economic Prosperity Element;
6. Public Facilities, Services & Safety Element;
7. Recreation Element;
8. Conservation Element;
9. Noise Element;
10. Historic Preservation Element.

The 2008 General Plan received the “Daniel Burnham Award for a Comprehensive Plan” (National Planning Excellence Awards) as best plan in 2010. Recently (2012), the City Council approved amendments to the Conservation Element to provide policy support for urban agriculture strengthening the sustainability focus of the Plan (it already provides an overview of climate change issues).

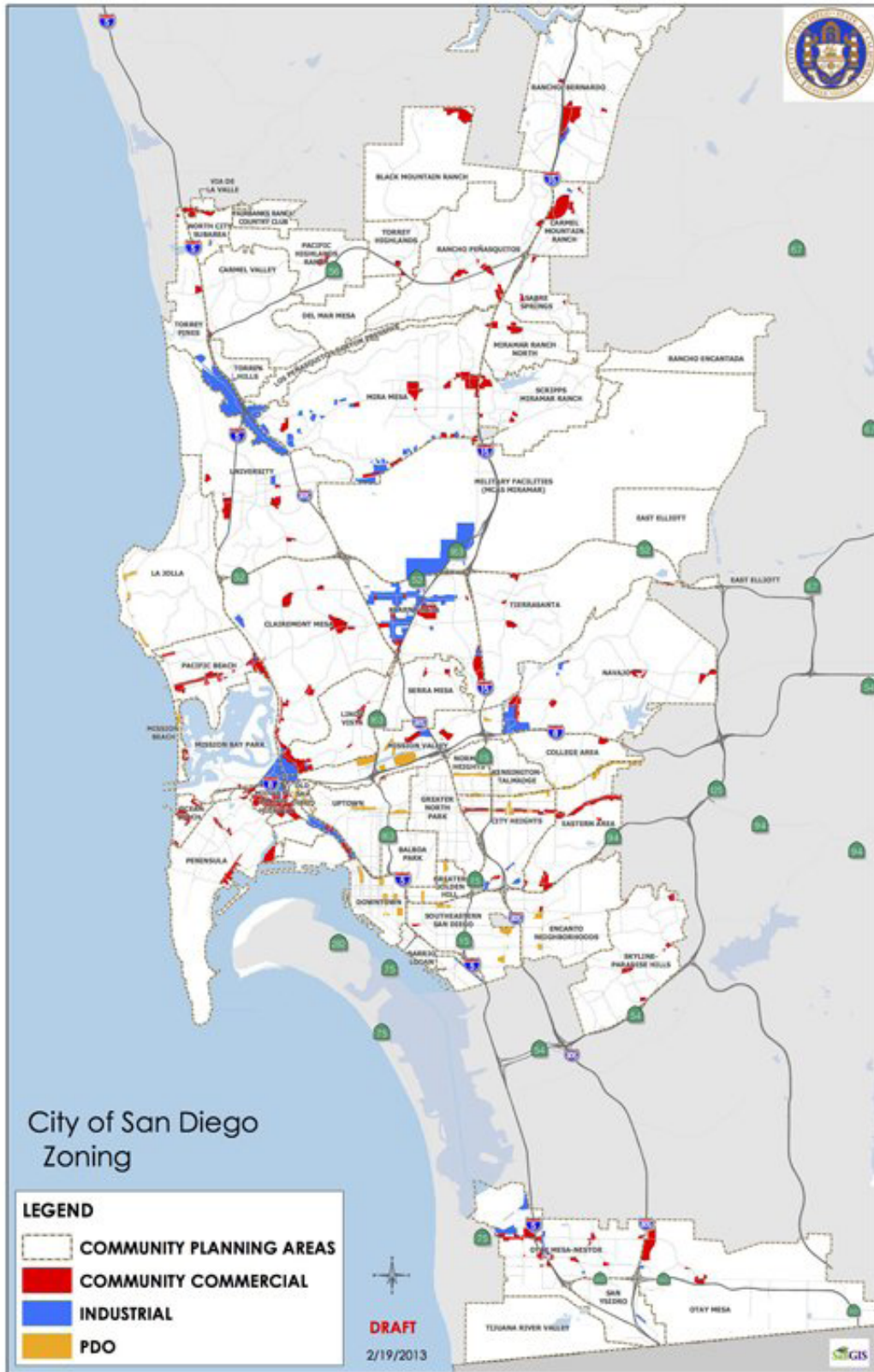


Figure 14 - City of San Diego Zoning. Source: City of San Diego

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Notes

¹ This section is the result of the activity held by the "Reggio Unit" that has collected, verified, systematized and analysed all the data deriving from the analytical tools (survey forms, interview forms, case study reports and all the material useful for this section) of the Working Package No. 2 the Cluds Research Methodology is the same for the First Scientific Report.

CLUDs Case Study Selection and Research Tools

In continuity with the first scientific report, the aim is to give the full description of the Working Package No. 2 activities held in San Diego (San Diego State University – CLUDs Project Partner) that focused on “Setting up an analytical process to understand how a territorial milieu can reinforce local urban regeneration initiatives”.

The main objectives are articulated with respect the following two actions:

1. Incorporating urban-rural interactions into implement urban management tools.
2. Exploiting the potential of grass-rooted community-driven initiatives into urban management tools.

The methodological approach, based on case study analysis, has been defined by firstly considering the key factors in urban regeneration initiatives able to improve the supply of public services for the local communities.

Two are the key factors investigated. The first one related on the involvement of the community in PPPs initiatives with the role of guarantee for the balance among private and public sectors; more specifically, if the generation of the so-called surplus in market oriented operations can be transformed into social benefits by improving the supply of public services. The second one related to all the aspects linked to the local production system, that can valorise the link between urban and rural areas, particularly the presence of farmers’ market, community gardens and urban agriculture are analysed.

The 9 case studies selected have been considered adequate to investigate this topic.



Figure 15 - THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

WP 2 Research Methodology

The research methodology, summarized in Figure 15, fixes the theoretical framework under which the case studies have been analysed, and the expected findings we intend to acquire.

The theoretical approach aims to explain the concept of “milieu” we used in order to better understand the interaction of the local networks that aim to valorise natural resources, actors involved (public and private) and governance.

Among the different contributions in literature about the meaning of milieu, the more suitable explanation, according with the CLUDs project, is the following: “a set of potential expressed by a particular territory that should be recognised and captured by the organisation of local actors in order to be exploited as sources of local development”. Considering participation and identity then, widely explored in the Italian literature by Lorenzo and Magnaghi, in the production of values for the territory, urban regeneration better address sustainability. Our premise is that tools that stimulate the growth of new and existing businesses across a territory that includes urban and rural spaces best serve sustainable local development in the 21st century. The role of space in innovative and localised processes depends on its capacity to promote local initiatives, to create a wave of new forms and to activate a territorial dynamic of innovation. The CLUDs research uses the concept of milieu to understand the new spatial dynamics affecting both urban and rural areas and their interdependencies and connections. It is possible to identify two aggregative dimensions of milieu concept based on innovation-oriented and territorial-oriented approaches. A relatively common definition describes a milieu as “... a territorialized set in which interactions amongst economies agents develop as they learn about multilateral transactions that generate innovation-specific externalities, and as the learning processes converge towards increasingly efficient forms of joint management of resources” (D. Maillat, 1995). The concept of milieu is largely associated with the work of the Groupe de Recherche Europeen sur les Milieux Innovateurs (GREMI), mostly based on the innovation-oriented approach, and this idea has been continually improved (D. Maillat, 1998). The “milieu” is defined somewhat differently among the representatives of this approach (D. Maillat, 1991). In view of the variety of milieu approaches and the lack of clarity with respect to spatial distinctions, it is hardly surprising that quantitative and comparative studies describing and explaining innovative milieux are quite rare. This might be interpreted as a major deficit of this approach (R. Sternberg, 2000). For the advocates from the school of innovative milieux, innovations and innovative businesses are the result of a collective, dynamic process of numerous players in a region creating a network of synergy promoting linkages. Therefore, the milieu develops from the interaction of businesses, political decision-makers, institutions and the workforce, who work to reduce the uncertainties or technological change through joint and cooperative learning (R. Sternberg, 2000). Accordingly to the territorial oriented approach, a milieu does not necessarily have to be restricted to a region; however, spatial

proximity significantly raises its effect owing to the spatial determination of numerous elements of a milieu (Castells, Crévoisier & Maillat, Rallet, in R. Sternberg, 2000). In fact, development processes do not belong only to pure economic rationales (F. Governa, 2001). Friedman and Weaver, in 1979, indicate how the functional development is related with the planning and distribution of economic activities on a “rationally structured” space, and indicate as territorial development that one based on endogenous potentials, local peculiarities and the role played by the local actors. In this approach the local characteristics (...) natural resources both infrastructural and socio-cultural and local institutions have a crucial role (J. Friedmann and C. Weaver, 1979). The main feature of the milieu is the capability to relate physical resources with local actors, by covering three dimensional aspects: the individual (value attitudes, life-style, actions, perceptions); the level of the district/neighbourhood (locality); and the level of the network. Our broader notion of territory is based, in part, on the work of Dematteis (G. Dematteis, 1994) who describes the concept of territorial milieu as an evolution from the environmental and physical notions of territory to one that captures the institutional thickness and complex social networks of urban-rural territories. We offer a richer concept of sustainability defined as the interaction among environmental, social and economic factors (F. Governa, 1995) by incorporating the idea of territorial milieu into our concept of urban management tools.

The theoretical conceptualization of the “milieu” represented the first stage of the research methodology (Fig. 16) that we have implemented during the Working Package No. 2 of the CLUDs project.

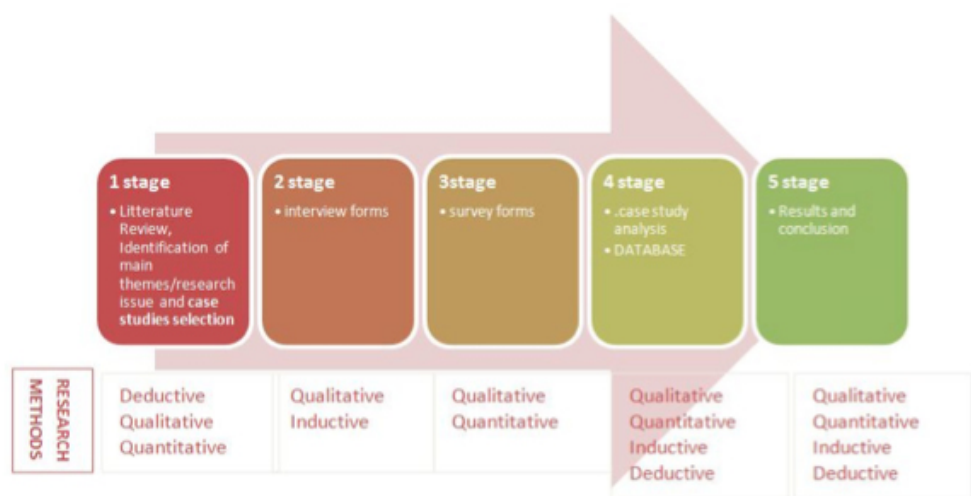


Figure 16 - Methodological Stages

First stage - Case Studies Selection

The first step of the research methodology-case study selection- consisted in evaluating which typology best suits the features of each case according with the main research themes identified.

Firstly, a set of potential case study was selected by the San Diego State University Unit, and discussed during the CLUDs second mid-term meeting that took place in San Diego (August 2012).

In order to investigate the consistency of potential case studies with the objectives of the research, on desk analysis has been conducted. Further, case studies were classified with respect the following criteria: typology, size, characterization (community led, urban-rural led), complemented by informal discussion with the experts of the San Diego State University. Case studies have been selected also on the base of the urban management tools and the characteristics of the partnership typology, e.g. BID (Business Improvement District), CBD (Community Benefit District), NGO (Non Governmental Organisation). Then for the presence of new urban regeneration initiatives that contribute to offer more services to the community, such as farmers' market and community gardens.

The methodology for the case studies selection refers on two different categories:

- 1) Case studies with a strong intrinsic urban regeneration and PPP component, whose major interest for the research goals is to investigate if and how the urban regeneration has been driven also by an urban-rural relationship. They belong of the same typology of case studies than those selected in the first part of the research in Boston, in order to investigate the urban rural connections. The case studies were also analysed according to urban management tools applied in San Diego planning, TODs, BIDs and Smart Growth.
- 2) Case studies with a strong intrinsic urban-rural component. Here the goal was to investigate if and how they determined impacts in terms of urban regeneration and PPPs composed by selected farmers markets in the San Diego area. Therefore, BIDs and Main Streets initiatives have been selected, as well as farmers' markets, among comparable initiatives.

With respect to TOD, under the Smart growth rationale, the case studies are analysed with the goal to stress the function of hub that marginal areas of the city might play within urban regeneration initiatives. The study of urban-rural interaction is focused on the spatial functions that depressed urban areas can acquire in a TOD system based on the mixed-used approach.

BIDs initiatives have been analysed because considered highly representatives of hybrid partnerships, cooperating in the same area and sharing programmes

and for their wide spread use in the are of San Diego.

With respect to Main Streets, among all the initiatives of the California Main Street Program, possible case studies have been identified not only in the City of San Diego, but also into minor municipalities in San Diego County. The existence of a farmers’ market has been considered a necessary criterion for the final selection.

Finally, further initiatives have been picked out among farmers’ markets in the California FMkt Association – selecting those initiatives taking place in minor unincorporated municipalities in San Diego County.

In conclusion, the case study selection has been based on two phases interconnected each other: the classification of case studies (A) and the test phase (B).

- A. The results of classification phase, based on a judgment value scale divided in Highly recommended, Recommended, Average and Not recommended;
- B. The results of test phase, based on an adjustment process of the analytical tools and on some suggestions to better match the selection of case studies with the general objective of the research.

The case studies selected are listed in the table below:

Case Study	Unit	Researcher
Hill Crest	PAU- Reggio Calabria IT	Freancesco Bonsinetto
Little Italy	PAU - Reggio Calabria IT	Jusy Calabrò
Jacobs Market	PAU - Reggio Calabria IT	Carla Maione
National City	PAU - Reggio Calabria IT	Pasquale Pizzimenti
Imperial Avenue	PAU - Reggio Calabria IT	Luciano Zingali
San Diego Public Market	FOCUS - Roma IT	Alessandro Boca
One World Market/Project New Village	FOCUS – Roma IT	Enzo Falco
North Park FM, BID and Main Street	FOCUS – Roma	Alessia Ferretti
New Roots Community Farm/International Rescue Committee	FOCUS – Roma IT	Enrica Polizzi

Table 1 - Case Studies List

Moreover, the set of case studies selected have been organized on the basis of two main categories which could represent a driver to better understand the final model of the research: “Community led” and “Urban-Rural led”.

Case Study	Category
National City	Community-led approach
Little Italy, BID	
Hill Crest	
Jacobs Market Village	
Imperial Avenue	
City Heights	
New Roots Community Farm/International Rescue Committee	Urban –Rural interaction
One World Market/Project New Village	
North Park FM, BID and Main Street	
San Diego Public Market	

Table 2 - Case Studies selection

Stage 2 and 3 - Analytical Tools

The analytical tools used for the case study analysis, characterised both of on desk and on field activities are the following:

- A. A survey form defined by following the general criterion of conferring a spatial connotation to economic forces affect of physical transformation. It is functional to collect quantitative data in a homogeneous way for each case study in order to make a comparative analysis by using evaluation criteria..
- B. A interview form, that allows to gather qualitative information about governance, organizational structure, stakeholder and governance, regional-urban Linkages, Farmer market characteristics.

The analytical tools are organized in specific sections: Overall outline of the initiative; Socio-Economic Structure; Marketing and Promotion; Stakeholders and Governance; Regional-urban linkages and Farmers market characteristic. The first section (Overall outline of the initiative) is focused on what are the main objectives and strategies pursued by local stakeholders and community in relationship to the case study area. Marketing and Promotion is based on the local development organization and community members involved in the urban regeneration initiatives. The Stakeholders and Governance section is focused on the role and the influence of stakeholders within the initiative. The urban regional linkages section analysed the relationship between the local urban area and the regional context. The Farmers Market section is focused on the description of how the supply chain commonly works in the targeted urban areas.

Stage 4 - Database Construction Process

The database construction process starts from the theoretical approach of the Land Use Suitability Analysis.

Thanks to the combined implementation of Land use suitability analysis and GIS has been possible to select the most important features and the key factors in urban-rural planning, in relationship with the socioeconomic and environmental data (Luo Lingjun, He Zong, Hu yan, 2008). As a matter of fact “GIS based on land-use suitability analysis provides the foundation for urban-rural planning through the combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis” (J.Malczewski,2004).

The GIS software plays a central role (O’Sullivan and Unwin, 2003) and include techniques that are in the forefront of the advances in the land-use suitability analysis such as: multicriteria decision analysis or analytical hierarchies process (Diamond and Wright, 1988; Carver, 1991; Malczewski, 1999; Thill, 1999). In the case studies analysis GIS has been a powerful tool to handle spatial data in land-use analysis, and used in combination with Analytical Hierarchy Process (Saaty, 1980), are able to determine the construction of structural hierarchies of the database and establishing a set of priorities. Case studies analysis has been conducted starting from the construction of a Database, which includes a short description of the major features of each case study and the reasons for including it in a specific typology. The database “explains, either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied—the key factors, concepts, or variables—and the presumed relationships among them” (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

The database construction process is based on three main phases. The First focused on the collection of qualitative and quantitative data obtained from Survey form, interview form and GIS tools (fig. 17); the second phase is based on evaluation and criteria analysis; the third phase focused on the spatial socioeconomic structure analysis.

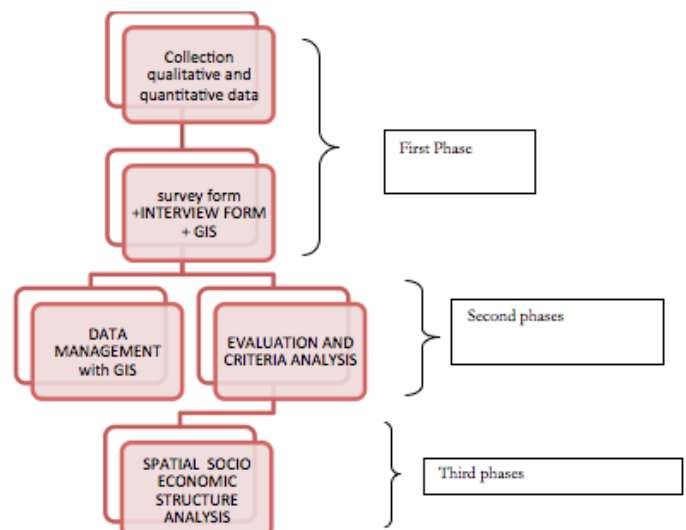


Figure 17
General Flow-chart of database construction process

Phases 1 - Database Structure

The Database process represents a set of spatial and non-spatial data collected in according to the structure developed in the research tools (survey form and interview form) in relation with spatial data developed through GIS tools available (SANDAG GIS data).

The database has been structured in five sections: Governance; Socioeconomic Structure; Fiscal Analysis; Spatial Data; Urban Rural Link. This structure allows the integration of qualitative and quantitative criteria for assessing the case studies analysis.

Once developed the database, the goal of the case studies analysis has been evaluated through the (Saaty Models) "The Analytic Hierarchy Process" (1985), it has a role to recognize whether one criterion is more important than another (Malczewski, 1999). The approach aimed to built a matrix of criteria belonging to the database, to which were assigned weights, in according to the AHP Scale of Relative Importance (Saaty,1985). This approach aims to select the criteria with high level of relevance for the objectives of the case studies analysis. Indeed the graph (Fig. 18) shows that land use planned and urban rural interaction are positioned in a very high level of relevance, the socioeconomic structure is located in a medium level of relevance respect the low level of relevance of Governance and Fiscal analysis.

Intensity of relative importance	Definition	Explanation
1	Equal Importance	Two activities combine equally to the objective.
3	Moderate importance of one over another	Experience and judgment slightly favour one activity over another.
5	Essential or strong importance	Experience and judgment strongly favour one activity over another.
7	Demonstrated importance	An Activity is strongly favoured and its dominance is demonstrated in practice.
9	Extreme Importance	The evidence favouring one activity over another is of the highest possible order of affirmation.
2,4,6,8	Intermediate values between the two adjacent judgments	When compromise is needed.
Reciprocals of above non-zero numbers.	If an activity has one of the above numbers (e.g. 3) compared with a second activity, then the second activity has the reciprocal value (i.e.1/3) when compared to the first.	

Figure 18 - AHP Scale of Relative Importance (Saaty,1985)

	Governance	Socioeconomic	Fiscal Analysis	Land Use	Urban Rural Connection	Priority Vector/Weight
Governance	1	1/2	1/5	1/3	1/2	0,05
Socioeconomic	1/2	1	3	7	1/5	0,23
Fiscal Analysis	1/5	1/2	1	1/3	1/2	0,05
Land Use	3	5	7	1	2	0,36
Urban Rural Connection	4	3	7	1/2	1	0,31
Total Weights($\sum w_i=1.0$)						1

Table3 Relative Weightage of Criteria based on Case studies analysis

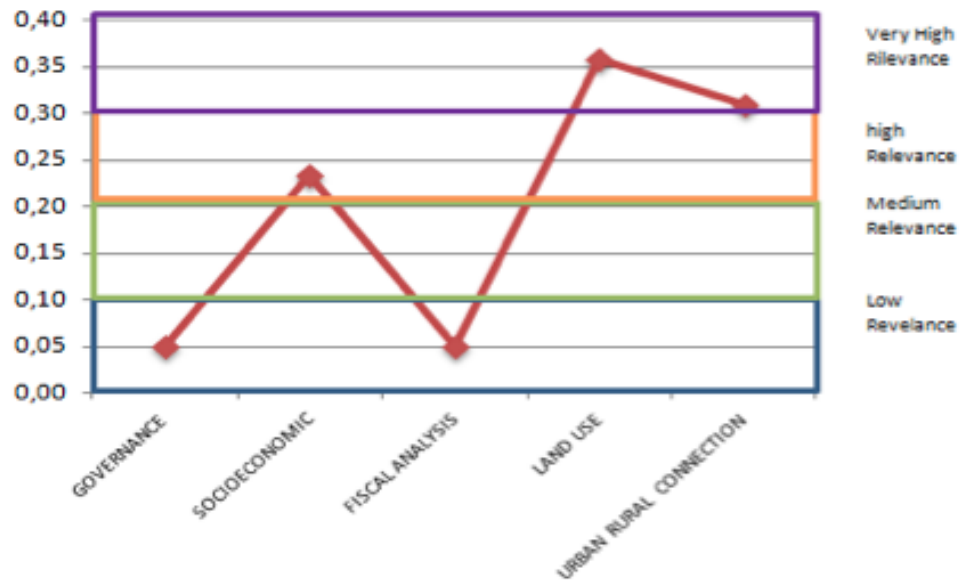


Figure 19 - Level of Relevance of the Database Criteria

The core of the Database is the Structure Hierarchies of the case studies analysis, and it is organized in according to Malczewski Model in 1999(Fig.20) in three consecutive and interactive level; the first level have a role to collected qualitative and quantitative data and so defines the problem; the second level is based on criteria/factors; the third level consists of various sub-criteria/parameters.

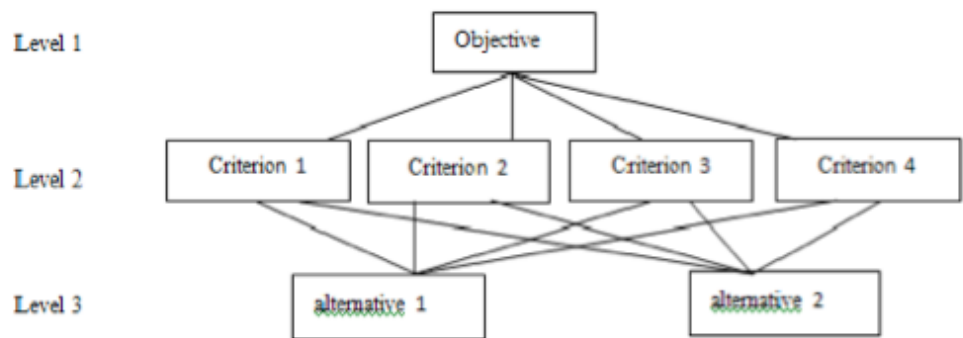


Figure 19 - Structured problem with three different hierarchy levels - Source: Malczewski 1999

Applying the AHP Process and Malczewski hierarchies model we have identified the main criteria A) Socio Economic structure, B) Spatial dimension on Land Use planned C) Urban-rural Interaction. The main criteria are further divided in sub-criteria.

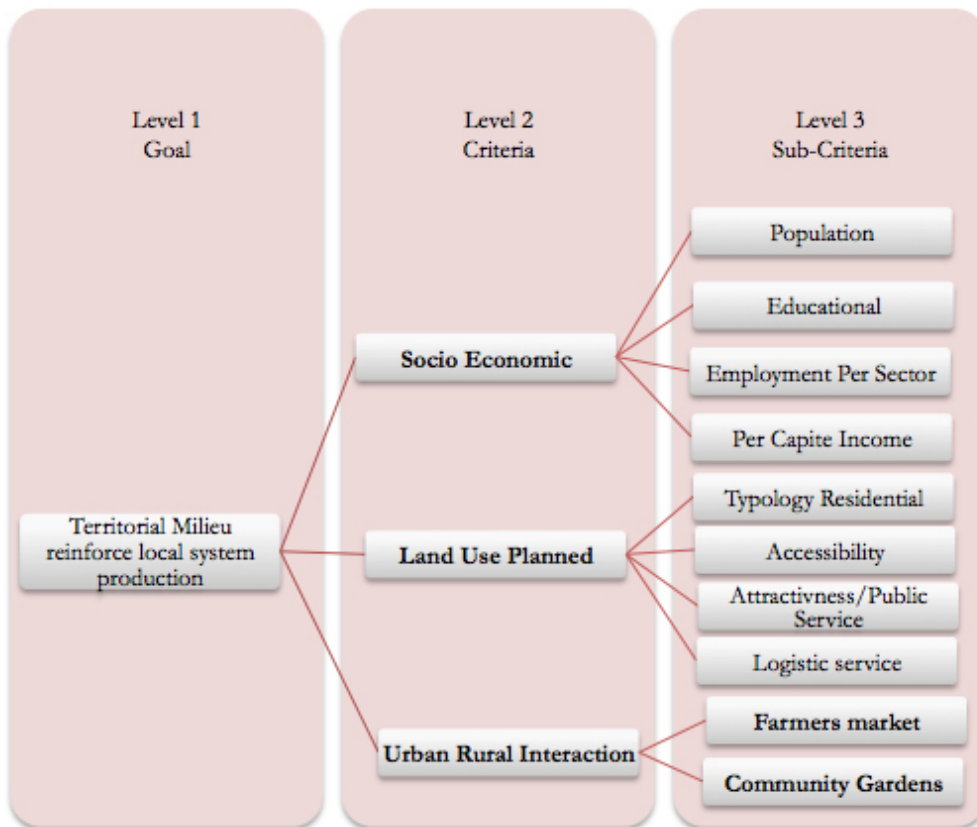


Figure 21 - Database Hierarchies' Level in the case studies analysis

Phases 2 - GIS and Data Base Development

In this phase of the case studies analysis, the software GIS (Geographic Information Systems) has played a key role. Indeed "Geographic Information Systems (GIS) are capable of handling massive amounts of data ".....When coupled with physical or economic models, a GIS may be employed to transform and manipulate spatial and attribute data as needed to express values for evaluation criteria" (Sadasivuni, Charles G. O'Hara, J. Nobrega, Dumas, 2009).

The technical approach for the collection of quantitative data object-oriented on the case studies area is based on the US Census Tract (2000-2010) (<http://www.sandag.org/>), was aimed at the query of the key element of Land Use Map. "Land-use map is an expression of physical, social, and economic goals. It is the combination of these goals and the public and private powers to realize them that justifies the term "plan." A plan includes a question of demand, a resolution of demand relative to supply, and the incorporation of the capacity of the society or institution to realize its objectives (public participation)"(Joseph A. MacDonald, 2006).

Land Use in this phase of the research has been considered as a control variable to understand the spatial effects of the initiative especially to whom it concerns public services and facilities. "Existing uses (Fig. 22) represent those uses as they are currently developed throughout the City. Planned land uses (Fig. 23) are the recommended land use designations as identified in the adopted community plans"(Land Use, San Diego 2008).

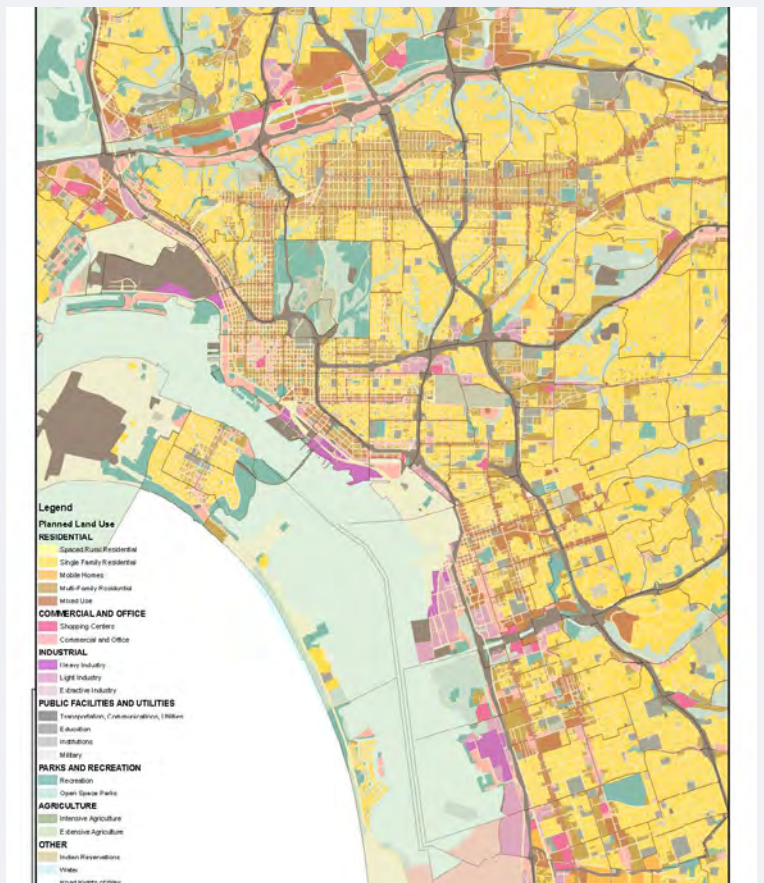


Figure 22:
Existing and Planned
Land Use

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Case Studies Synthesis

Calabrò J., Maione C., Pizzimenti P., Zingali L.

This section is the results of the activity held by the “Reggio Unit” that has collected, verified, systematized and analysed all the data on the nine case studies selected in San Diego deriving from the case studies analytical tools (survey forms, interview forms, case study reports and all the material useful for this section) of the Working Package No. 2 of the CLUDs Research Project.

The Case Studies Synthesis has been organized on the basis of two main categories:

1. Case Studies Synthesis Urban-Rural Interaction;
2. Case Studies Synthesis Community-Led.

Case studies synthesis is based on the major findings deriving from the analytical tools: Survey Forms, Interview Forms, Case Studies Reports.

Findings are synthesised in specific sheets and organized on the following specific sections:

- 1) General Information on the case studies. The first section describes the General Information on the case study area, and is based on the local development organization and community members involved in the urban regeneration initiatives;
- 2) The Land Use structure. The Land Use Analysis is based on the main category of the Existing Land Use (residential, commercial, industrial, public facilities, park and recreation and vacant land) and Planned Land Use (residential, commercial, industrial, public facilities, park and recreation and mixed use). In particular, this section is focused on the main category of the Residential Typology divided in subcategory (Multifamily Residential, Single Room occupancy units, Single Family Residential, Single Family Detached, Single Family Multiple-units), in order to understand the spatial configuration of the case study area;
- 3) Partnership Typology. The Partnership Typology analyse the role and the influence of stakeholders within the initiative;
- 4) Overall Outline of the Initiative. The fourth section is focused on what are the main objectives and strategies pursued by local stakeholders and the community involvement;
- 5) Socio-Economic Structure. The Socio Economic Structure describes the main social and economic features of the communities in the case study areas selected, such as: Demographic, Race, Educational Attainment, Labour Market, Housing, Per Capita Income, Median Household Income, Poverty Level;

6) Urban-Rural Characteristics. The last section is focused on the description of farmers' market and community garden initiatives, and analyses the relationship between the selected areas and the regional context highlighting how the supply chain commonly works in connecting the case studies areas with the surrounding areas.

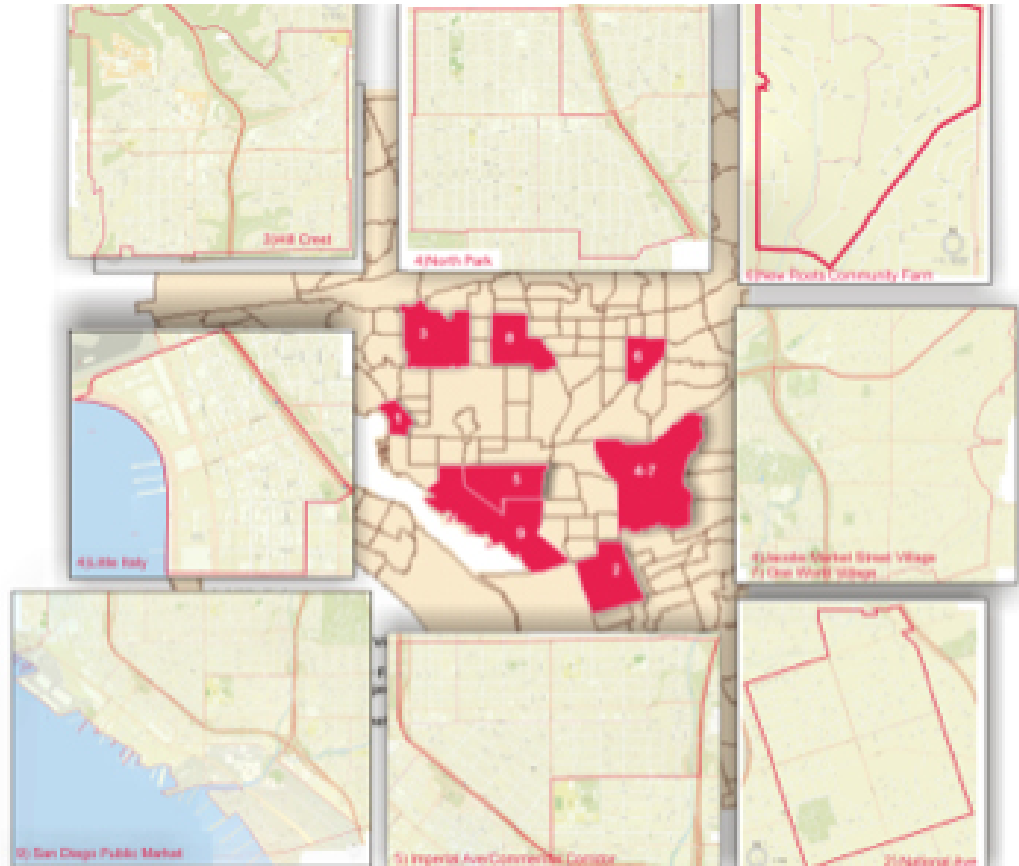


Figure 23: Case Studies Synthesis Maps

The Case Studies Synthesis: Urban Agriculture, Food Network and Farmers Market

The attention toward the urban-rural interaction is quickly increasing among academics, policy makers and professionals. In a period in which the common spatial paradigm points at the reduction of land consumption and at the reduction of sprawl, especially in United States, the urban-rural interaction is becoming crucial for a new development paradigm. Being the CLUDs project aim “to understand how territorial milieu can reinforce local urban regeneration initiatives, especially incorporating urban-rural interactions into urban management tools implementation and exploiting the potential of grass-rooted community-driven initiatives into urban management tools”, urban-rural interactions, emerged from different perspectives in the case studies analysed, is important in determining the sustainability of urban regeneration initiatives. Indeed, from evidence we might argue as the enhancement of urban-rural

connections might help the reduction of soil exploitation, addressing toward more sustainable concentration of activities, and right use of natural resources, by helping the local production system reinforcement. Though some literature agree on the negative perspective associated with the so-called urban fringe, often considered as failure of the planning system approaches, because of the spatial fragmentation due to sprawled development (Micarelli, Pezzolli 2008, quoted by Scott, Carter et al., 2013). It shows a gap to be possibly overcome by Smart Growth and Sustainable development principles application. However, the meaning of urban rural fringe itself has changed through times, acquiring renewed positive opportunity of development, both for cities and rural areas, changing into a more rural centric perspective, where the fringe is opportunity for city self-sustain but also provider of economic values and different kinds of lifestyles, not merely a transitory space for housing, transportation and retail development demands.

From evidences of case studies analysed, we might suggest the urban- rural interaction as supportive of the territorial milieu preservation, where the role of community and local stakeholders are drivers of sustainable urban regeneration initiatives. Our premise is that tools that stimulate the growth of new and existing businesses across a territory that includes urban and rural spaces best serve sustainable local development in the 21st century. Particularly, the role of space in innovative and localised processes depends on its capacity to promote local initiatives, to create a wave of new forms activating a territorial dynamic of innovation. The CLUDs research uses the concept of milieu to understand new spatial dynamics affecting both urban and rural areas and their interdependencies and connections.

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NEW ROOTS COMMUNITY FARM

San Diego, CA

Enrica Polizzi Di Sorrentino, ESR, Focus Unit

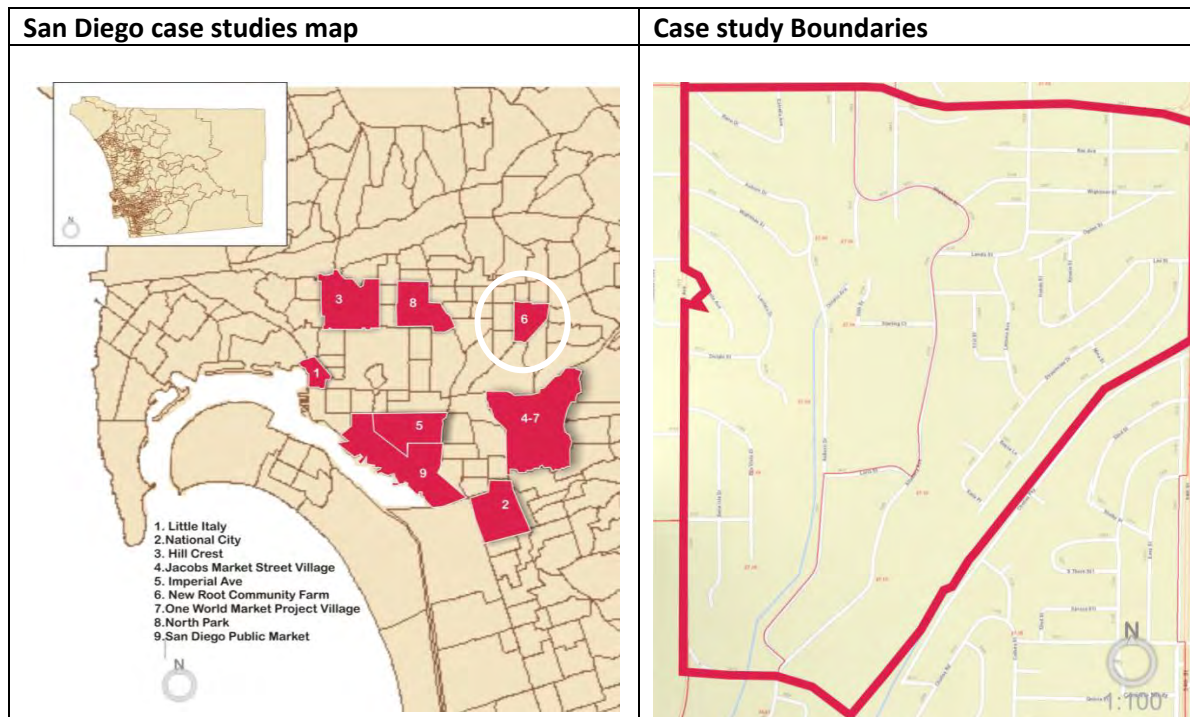
THE CASE STUDIES: Urban-Rural Linkages

The role of community-based approach with respect to the research objectives of the Working Package No. 2.

1. Case Study general Information

Case Study: **NEW ROOTS COMMUNITY FARM (San Diego, CA)**

Researcher: **Enrica POLIZZI DI SORRENTINO, ESR**



Case Study Typology: NPCBPO Non Profit Community-Based Planning Organization other than CDC, SE,MS
City: Chollas Creek, San Diego, CA, (USA)
Residents (2010 US Census): 4.228 ab.
Case Study Area: 0,69 (sq Km)
Area by Census Tracts*: 0,81 (sq Km)
*The area considered is the US Census Tract area because the case study area was too small or at the borders of different census tracts making difficult the collection and the analysis of data.
Per Capita Income: \$ 12555

2. Brief description of the case study

New Roots Community Farm is one of the most significant urban agriculture's projects in San Diego. Based in the distressed neighborhood of Chollas Creek - in the wider City Heights planning district - the initiative is highly interesting for its aim to revitalize urban spaces through the involvement of refugee's communities in urban farming. Since 2007 the International Rescue Committee (IRC), an international no-profit organization, worked with other community-based associations, the City of San Diego, and the San Diego County Farm Bureau to develop an urban farming initiative located on public vacant land. In 2009 the project started on a 2,3 acres land with 85 families participating, and its successful results are now being replicated by IRC nationwide as a way to tackle food insecurity, health problems, and economic hardship through community based food and farming projects. New Roots is now a network of neighbourhood-based initiatives serving communities' needs,

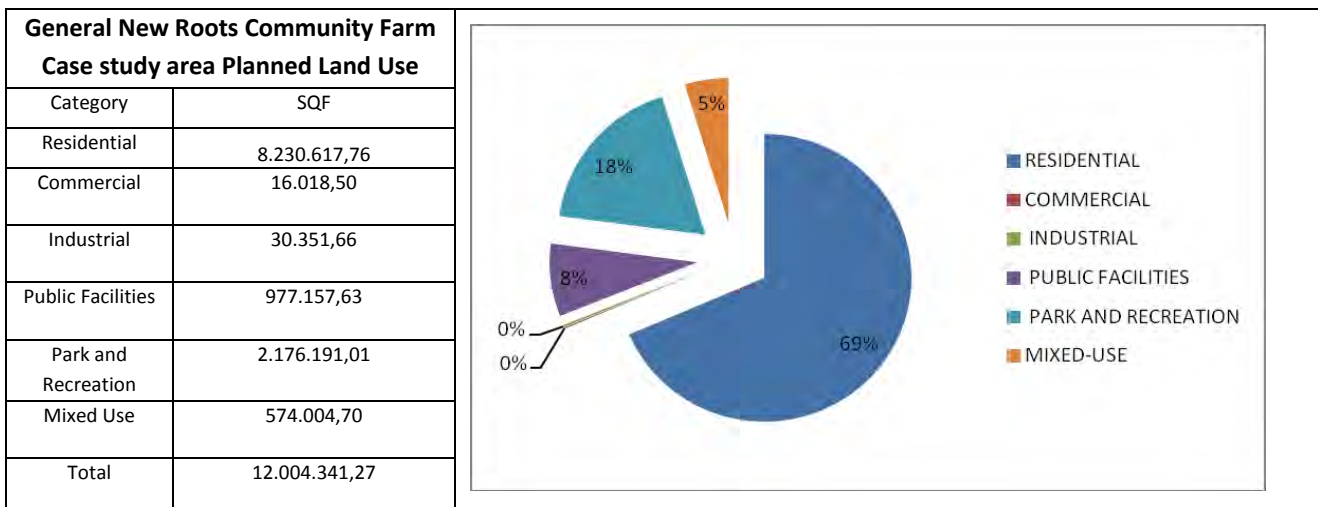
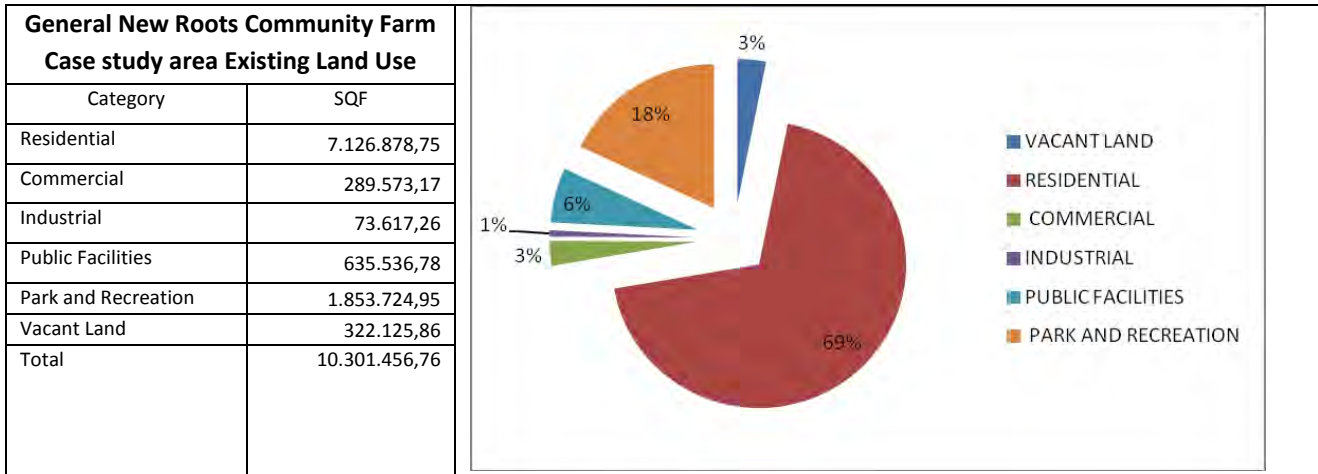
developing local economy both within the neighbourhood (City Heights Farmers Market) and beyond urban borders (Pauma Valley, El Cajon Farmers Market).

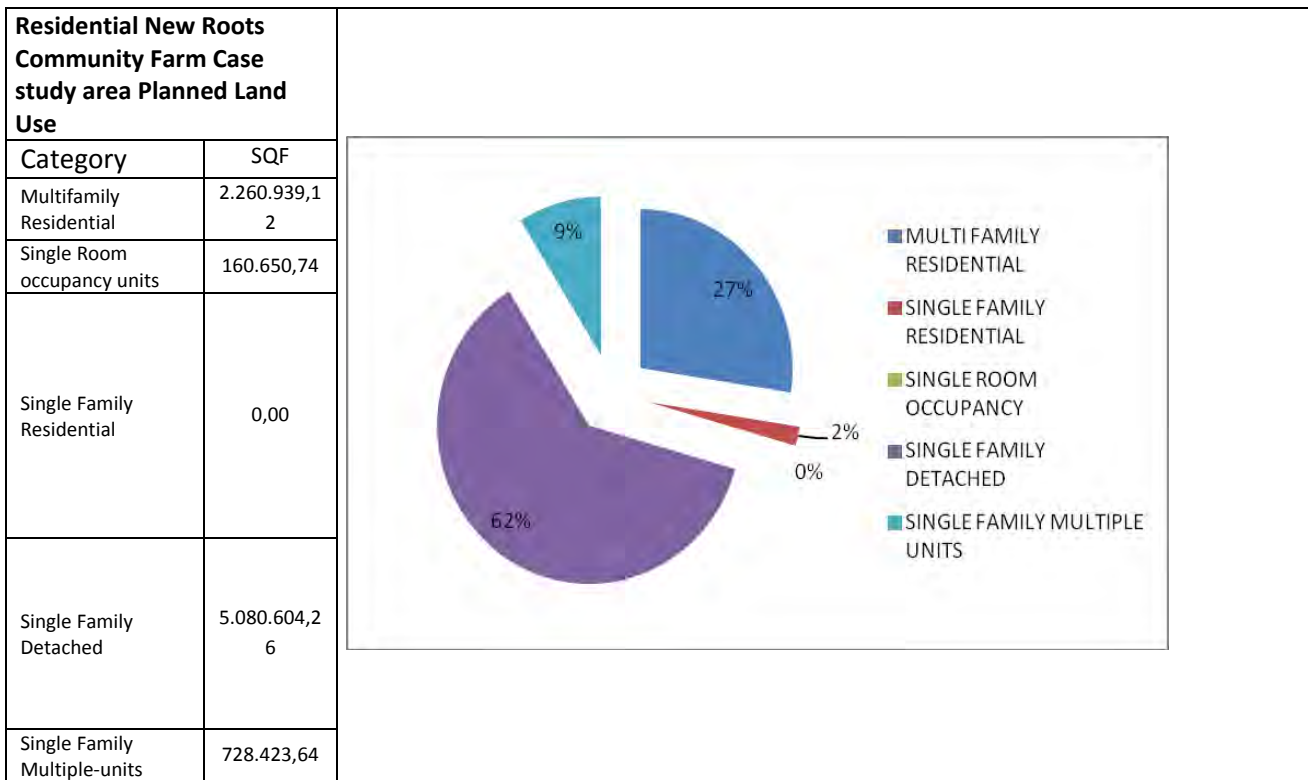
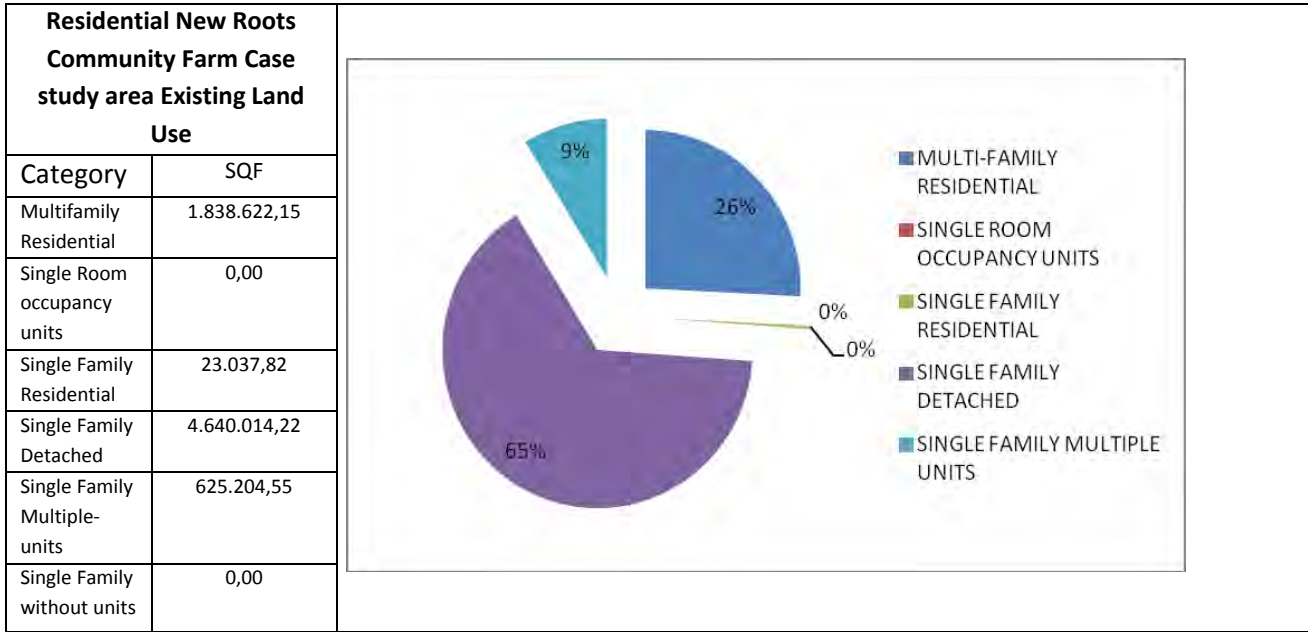
3. Why this case study

In According to the Objectives of the WP2, the case study is particularly interesting for its aim to revitalize “rurban” spaces through the involvement of refugee’s communities in urban farming and it’s considered a incubator farm that gives entrepreneurial residents additional space to grow. Whereas the larger City Heights has experienced several redevelopment projects within its core area – near the Fairmont and University Avenues intersection – the morphologically different “fringe” at the eastern part of this community has not been touched by the regeneration processes. Interestingly, project New Roots is the first attempt to involve the eastern stretch of the neighborhood, connecting a rural framework into the urban redevelopment policy (following a “place-based” strategy).

4. Land Use

The difference between the existing and planned land use shows first of all a high percentage of open space and park preservation, indeed the planned land use maintains high this percentage, probably with the goal to preserve the community gardens. The most interesting data is transformation of the vacant land in mixed-use areas and the reduction of industrial activities, the planned land use highlights the increase of the multi-family residential and the percentage of single family detached remains unchanged.





5. Partnership Typology and Composition

The New Roots Community Farm is the first of several initiatives put in action by IRC (International Rescue Committee) under the broader umbrella of Food Security and Community Health (FSCH) Program. IRC started a bottom-up process working with refugees communities, residents and local groups to set up the community garden and meet the needs of different ethnic groups, the strategy was oriented towards a better understanding of market dynamics, business and marketing. In 1997, IRC worked with other community-based associations, the City of San Diego, and the San Diego County Farm Bureau with the goal to develop an urban farming initiative located on public vacant land. IRC is constantly collaborating with local authorities and community-based organizations for a structural change in the food system policy of San Diego.



6. Strategic Priorities

In New Roots Community Farms overall strategy is mostly focused on economic revitalization and education programs both in schools and in the broader community provide a better understanding of nutrition and of food-related issues. IRC-facilities sustained business capacity building and microenterprises.

Strategic Priorities are:

- Retail Enhancement;
- Economic Revitalization;
- education and training;
- Cultural enrichment;
- Local produce valorisation through farmers' market;

PRIORITIES	PROGRAMS	TARGET	PARTNERSHIP
Food access Food security	Community Farm	Residents and refugees	IRC – local communities – City of San Diego
	AquaFarm	Residents and refugees	IRC – Kaiser Permanente -
	Community and remedy garden	Residents and refugees	PriceCharity
	Community Farm in El Cajon	Residents and refugees	IRC – City of El Cajon
	FreshFund @ City Heights Farmers Market and management	Residents and refugees	IRC – San Diego County Farm Bureau
Education&Training	Healthy Food Security and Nutrition	Residents and refugees	IRC
	Youth Food Justice program	Residents and refugees	IRC -schools
	New Farmers Initiative	Refugees	IRC
Food Business Business Incubator	El Cajon Farmers Market	Residents and refugees	IRC
	REAP -Farming Enterprise	Refugees	IRC
Development	Land Bank		IRC

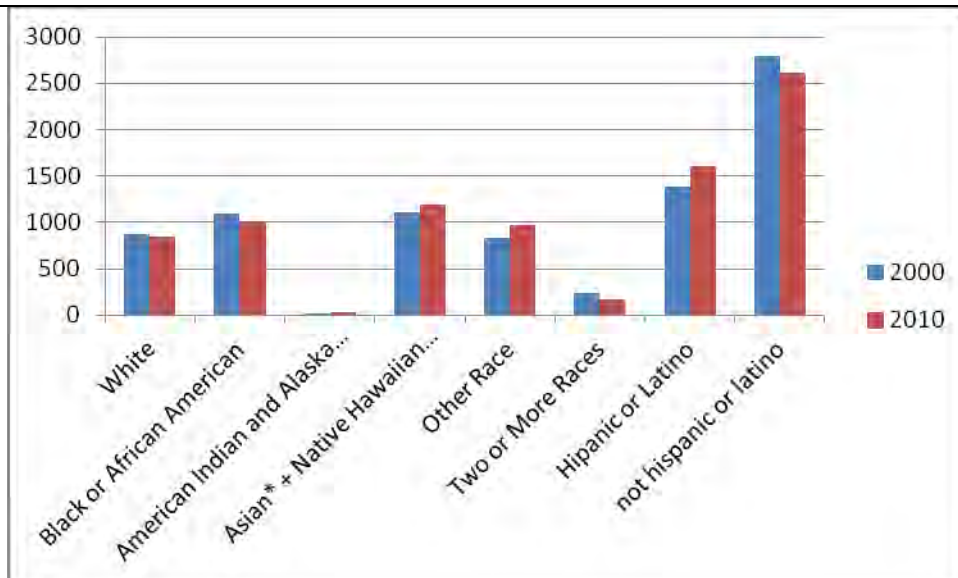
7. Main initiatives and projects linked with the case study

New Roots Community Farm have the specific goal of improving refugees and residents access to fresh, healthy, culturally appropriate food. The initiative is highly interesting because its interconnected approach creates a “neighborhood-scale food system” that empowers residents as producers, vendors, and consumers of healthy food and builds local economic development. From a micro point of view, it concretely acts to meet its community needs (both clients/refugees and residents), first of all in terms of food security and nutrition. In a “critical food access area” such as City Heights, farmers not only have land to farm and access to fresh and “cultural” food, but also technical assistance, credit facilities and business training to improve their business knowledge. New Roots locally grown food may allow for households extra-income (especially by woman) and, also thanks to FreshFunds initiative, for a better diet intake. IRC have launched the Land Bank that have two important challenges to analyze mapping communities to find suitable land other community gardens or community farms and matching new farmers with people that have available land. In this case study, the expertise and organizational capabilities of IRC played a fundamental role in supporting dialogue with refugees communities, businesses and institutions, in connecting an urban farm with a change in the food system policy, and replicating the experience in 22 cities throughout the States.

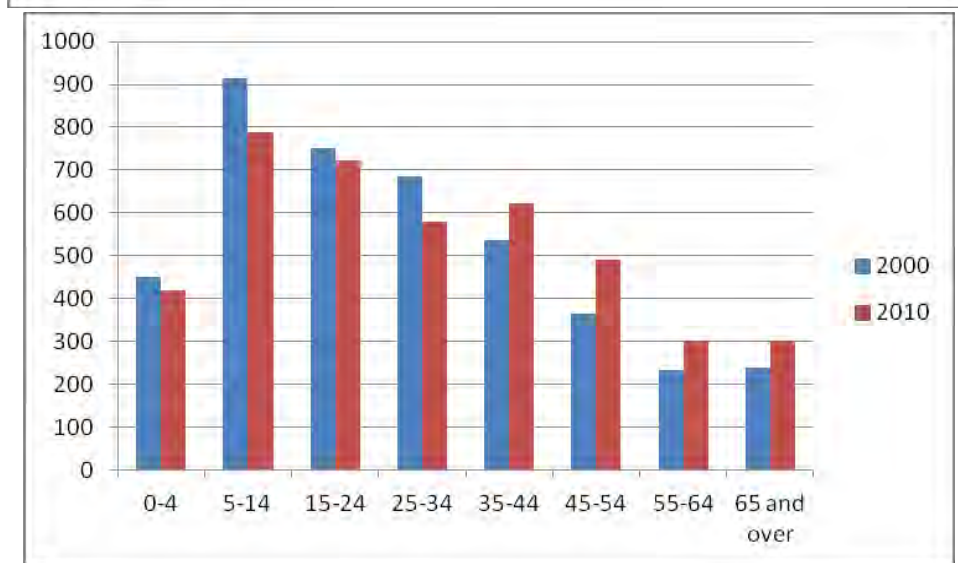
8. Fast socio-economic facts

The analysis of socio-economic data shows three main characteristics to deepen: the population by race decrease from the comparison between 2000 and 2010, the per capita income and the median household income also from the comparison between 2000 and 2010

Population by race



From graphs population by race emerges the community identity, indeed the composition have an high percentage of Asian and Black or African American and other major ethnical groups. From data comparison the decrease of the population is clear and the cause could be a high crime rates. The community structure is very young and much concentrated in the 5-35 years old group, which means high birth rates and larger families.

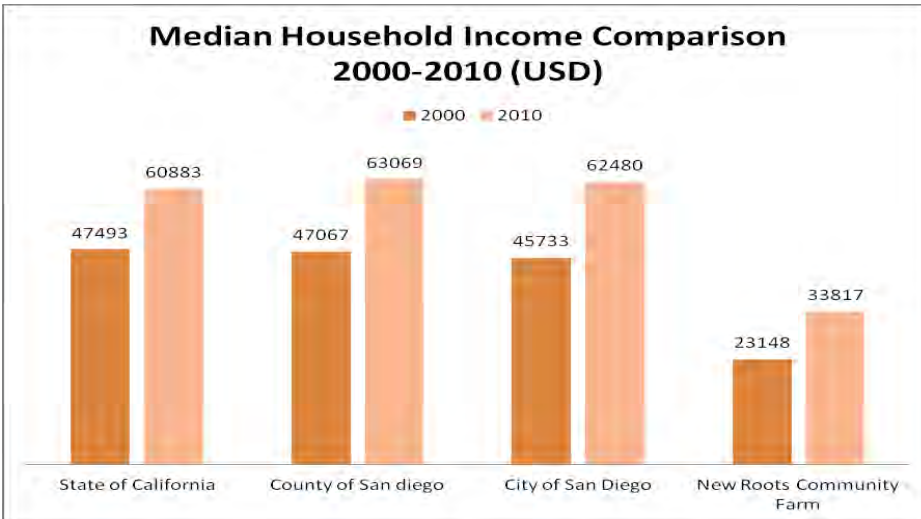


Per capite income



The increase of the per capita income and the median household income in new roots community farm is evident. The case study is composed from two particular area 1) City Heights that has experienced a number of renewal projects and community-based initiatives, 2) Chollas Creek that have a low urban density and many single family detached, in this area is particularly evident urban agriculture opportunities on vacant or underdeveloped land.

Median household income

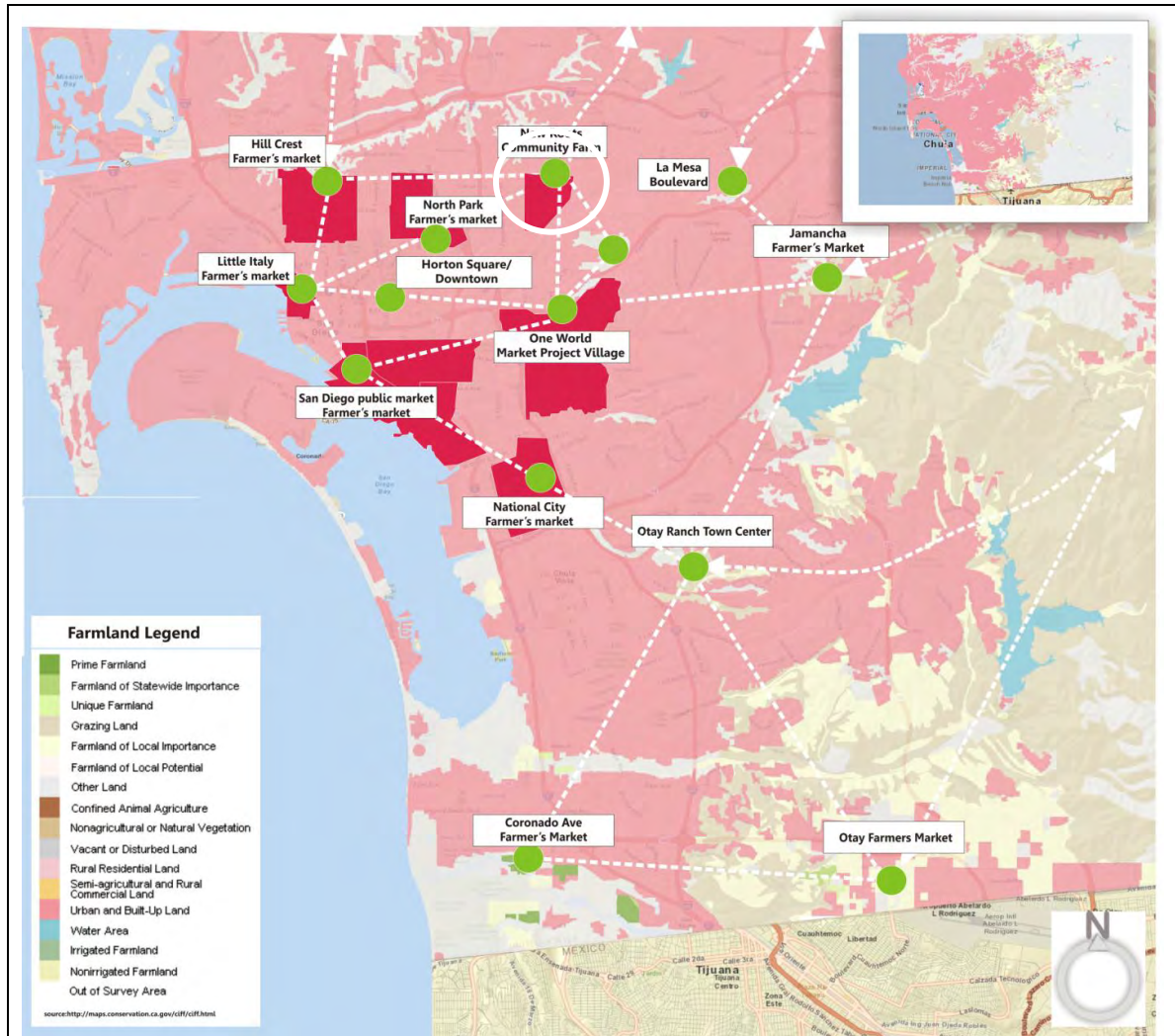


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9. Urban-Rural Linkage

The urban-rural linkage in the case study exist thanks at the natural conformation of the area. The case study is located in the City Heights Neighborhood and, more specifically, in Chollas Creek neighbourhood's sub-division, there are several and variegated neighbourhoods, each of which has its own identity, ranging from the very urban higher density to low-density and shows a rural character with small single-family detached. New Roots Community Farm initiative consist to establish new community gardens in San Diego and, more generally, a new food related trend especially in low-income neighbourhoods. The community garden represents an incubator farm that gives entrepreneurial residents additional space to grow. Today, New Roots Community Farm have about 16 gardening plots for community residents and an herbal medicinal garden, where two high school garden programs train youth in urban farming and food justice advocacy

9.1 Urban-Rural Linkage map



ONE WORLD MARKET/ PROJECT NEW VILLAGE San Diego, CA

Enzo Falco, ESR, Focus Unit

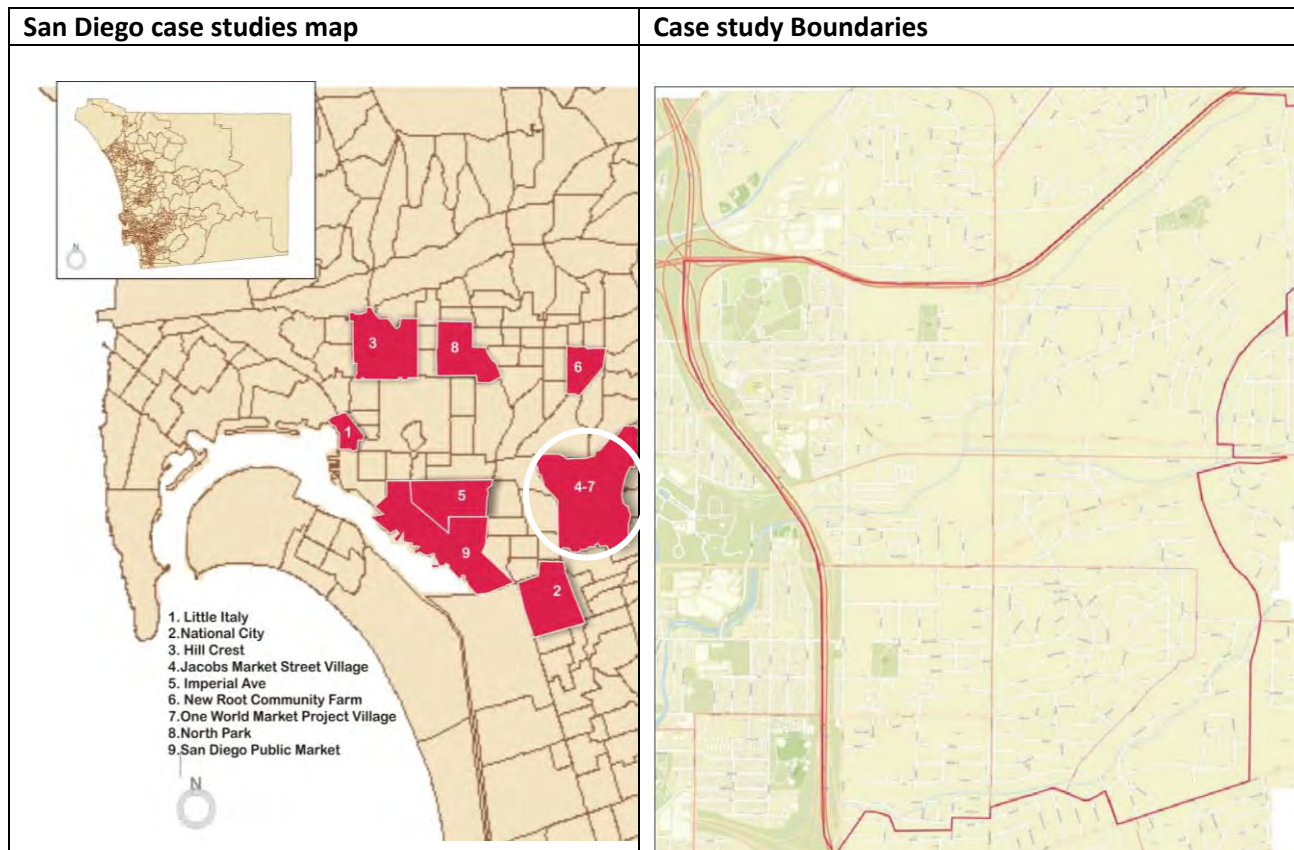
THE CASE STUDIES: Urban-Rural Linkages

The role of community-based approach with respect to the research objectives of the Working Package No. 2.

1. Case Study general Information

Case Study: ONE WORLD FOOD CORNER (San Diego, CA)

Researcher: Enzo FALCO, ESR



Case Study Typology: urban – rural interaction
City: Diamond Neighborhood, San Diego, CA, (USA)
Residents (2010 US Census): 28,129
Case Study Area: 1,65 (sq Km)
Area by Census Tracts*: 8,37(sq Km)
*The area considered is the US Census Tract area because the case study area was too small or at the borders of different census tracts making difficult the collection and the analysis of data.
Per Capita Income: \$ 14557

2. Brief description of the case study

The One World Food Corner initiative is located in the Encanto Community Planning and is currently being updated, simultaneously with the Southeastern San Diego Community Plan. The One World Food Corner is a planned “village” area within Encanto, and comprises two important initiatives: 1) One World Market, an ethnic grocery store, and other retail shops and 2) the community garden, an incubator farm that gives entrepreneurial residents additional space to grow. One World Food Corner has a strong focus on urban agriculture which is seen as a key part of a multifaceted revitalization effort. Efforts are made not just in the direction of physically

recovering land, important social as well as economic objectives are part of the project which tries to reverse the tendencies that currently characterise the area as a food desert. The mission consist in the transformation of vacant-industrial zone and put it into productive use growing crops while providing training for food and agriculture related jobs, indeed the rationale of the project is delete negative perception of the community to the vacant and unused land.

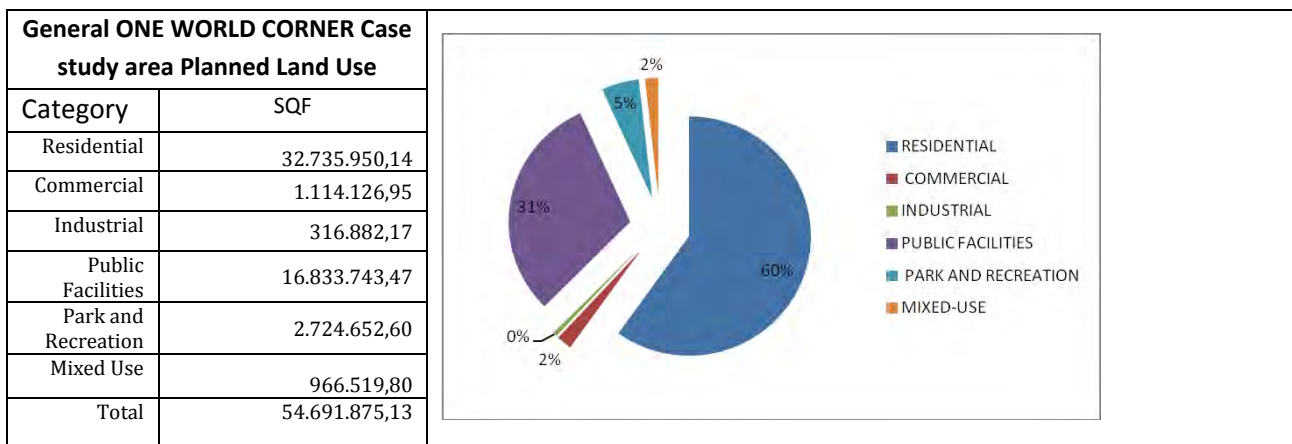
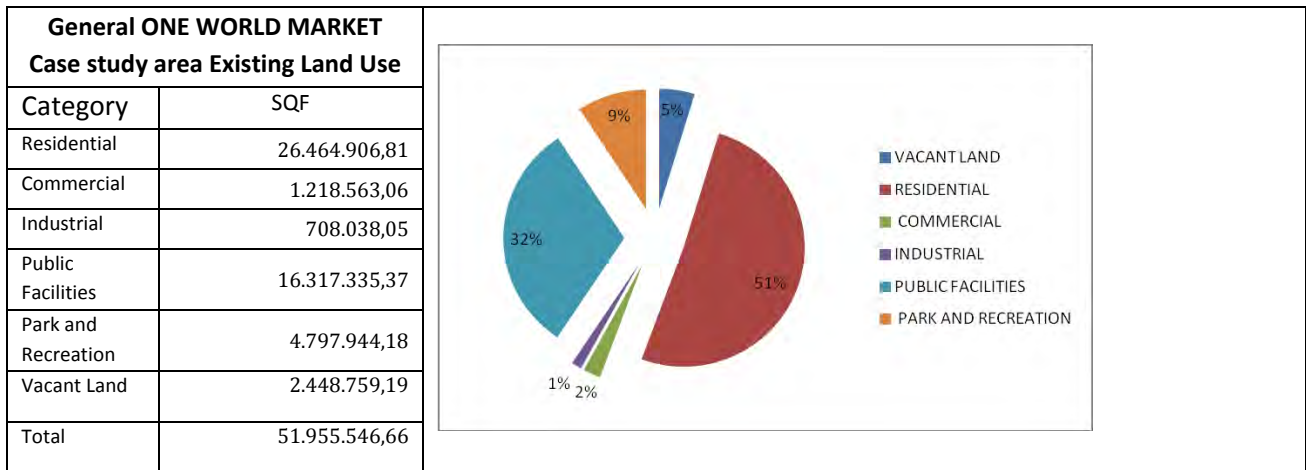
The project as a whole can have a great impact within the community if all of the actions are taken into consideration. It is estimated that this project will probably contribute to the creation of at least 100 new jobs. Their missions to revitalise the community and increase their access to healthy food are very well embedded within the project

3. Why this case study

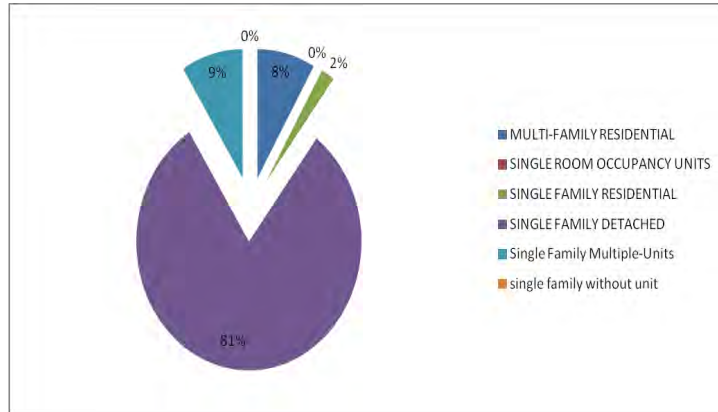
The case study appears to be very relevant and interesting within the framework of urban agriculture linkages in according to WP2. The One World Food Corner is an ambitious project which aims at putting together the physical as well as the social and economic sides of the urban regeneration process, leveraging on the role of urban agriculture as a catalyst and trigger of a renewed season of urban regeneration. The purposes of producing sustainable food within the city, thus reducing the transport costs and supporting the local economy, are coupled with the need to revitalise deprived areas and improve accessibility to healthy food for low income communities.

4. Land Use

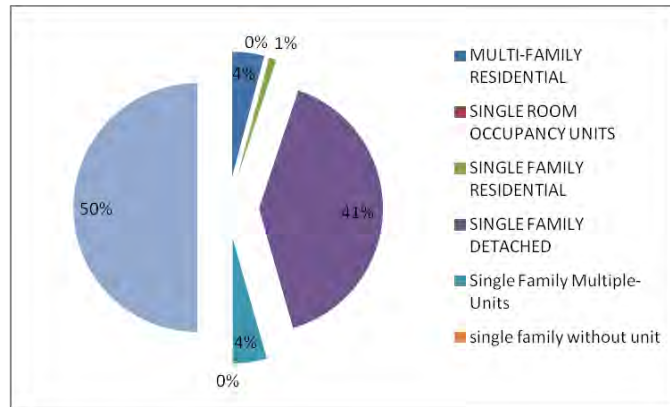
From comparison between existing and planned land use emerges an high percentage of public facilities (not easily usable due to the morphology of the land) and a low percentage of commercial area. The most interesting data is the percentage of park and open space results more high of the 4% in the existing land use map respect the 5% of the planned land use, could be for the presence of the transit station and for the transformation from vacant land to mixed use area. From residential existing land use map is highlighted an high number of the Single Family detached, instead in the residential planned use there is a reduction of the single family detached and a increase of multifamily residential.



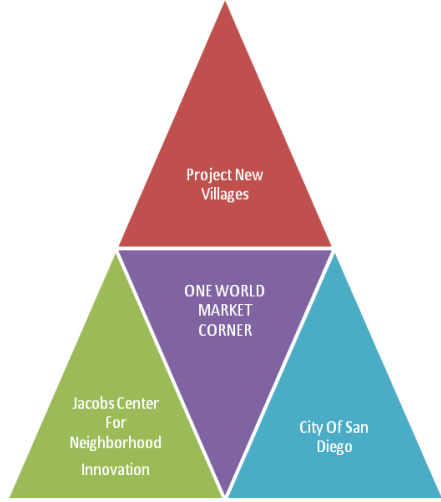
Residential ONE WORLD Case study area Existing Land Use	
Category	SQF
Multifamily Residential	2.198.162,98
Single Room occupancy units	0,00
Single Family Residential	516.526,02
Single Family Detached	21.399.438,28
Single Family Multiple-units	2.342.972,51
Single Family without units	7.807,01



Residential ONE WORLD Case study area Planned Land Use	
Category	SQF
Multifamily Residential	12.844.820,52
Single Room occupancy units	596.812,87
Single Family Residential	0,00
Single Family Detached	18.695.069,53
Single Family Multiple-units	599.247,22



5. Partnership Typology and Composition

<p>Involved in the initiative there are several partners that play an equal important role. The proponent, Juarez Associates; the land owner, The Jacobs Center; the developers; a non-profit organization, Project New Village; and the city of San Diego. Each one of those plays a different role and has different aims and strategies but the crucial role is played from community local. The proponent has come up with the initiative a new market and community garden aims at increasing accessibility to healthy and fresh food and the awareness of the resident population. The initiative is based on the idea that ethnic food which matches the needs of the resident population will provide the community with better and healthier choices trying to face the challenge posed by the food desert condition the area is in.</p>	
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6. Strategic Priorities

The main priority of the project is that of achieving physical redevelopment coupled with social and economic benefits for the whole community. The diverse and several initiatives which are comprehended in the development confirm the willingness to produce wider benefits than physical redevelopment alone. The potential economic impact of training classes, commercial kitchen and food incubators, the community garden associated with the farmers' market is not to be underestimated.

Strategic Priorities are:

- Retail Enhancement;
- Economic Revitalization;
- Education and training
- Local produce valorisation through farmers' market;

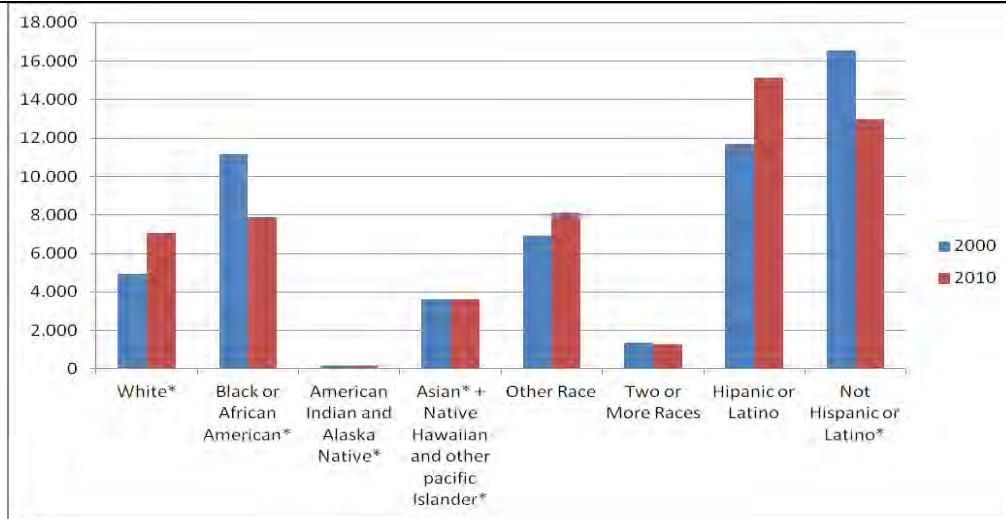
7. Main initiatives and projects linked with the case study

There are two equally important initiatives. The first one comprises the One World Market, an ethnic grocery store, and other retail shops within the area on the northwest corner of Market Street and Euclid Avenue. The second initiative is the community garden which will be sited on the southeast corner of the Market and Euclid intersection. The other part of the initiative, the community garden, will serve as a fundamental part of the strategy for an agriculture-based regeneration initiative. The community garden will have social targets trying to involve the resident community in healthy and organic growing activities so as to encourage consumption of locally grown produce.

8. Fast socio-economic facts

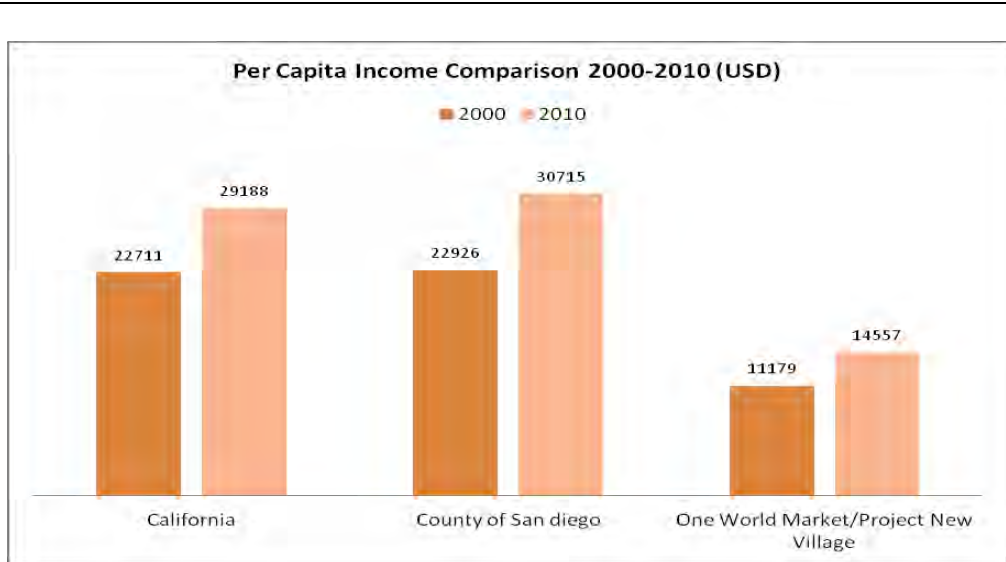
The analysis of socio-economic data shows three main characteristics to deepen: in this case study differently from city, county and state population which increased over the 10 years from 2000 to 2010, the area's population has remained basically the same, the per capita income and the median household income also from the comparison between 2000 and 2010

Population by race



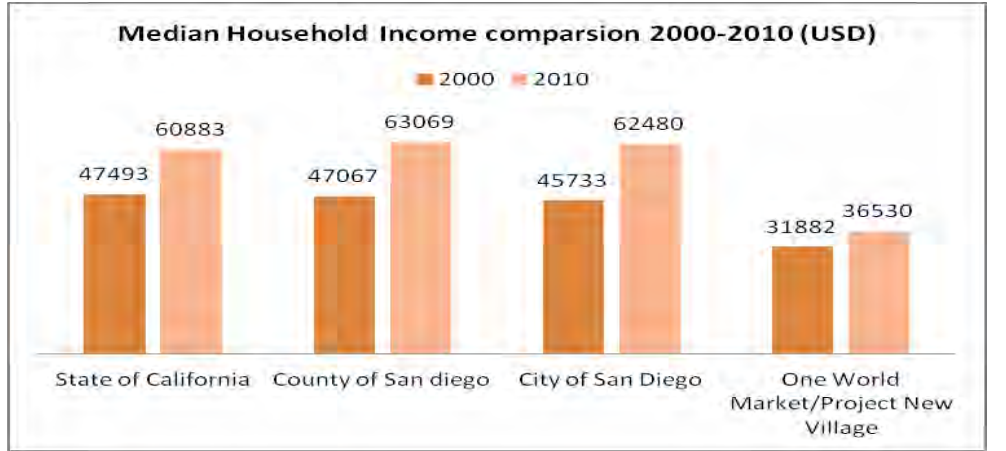
From graph emerges a multi ethnics community with high percentage of Asian and Native Hawaiian, but most important data are the high number of Hispanic, which is constantly experiencing an increase at all levels (State County And City).

Per capite income



The area is one of the poorest of the whole city. Data show that the case study area in 2010 had a per-capita income of \$ 14,557 in 2010 compared to the \$ 32,553 city's per capita income. This huge difference is confirmed for the whole Encanto Community that showed a 2010 per-capita income of \$ 16,369. The household median income, just as well as the per-capita income, shows lower than average data. The city has a median income of about \$ 62,000, whilst the case study area a \$ 36,530 median household income and the community planning area shows a median household income of \$ 44,186.

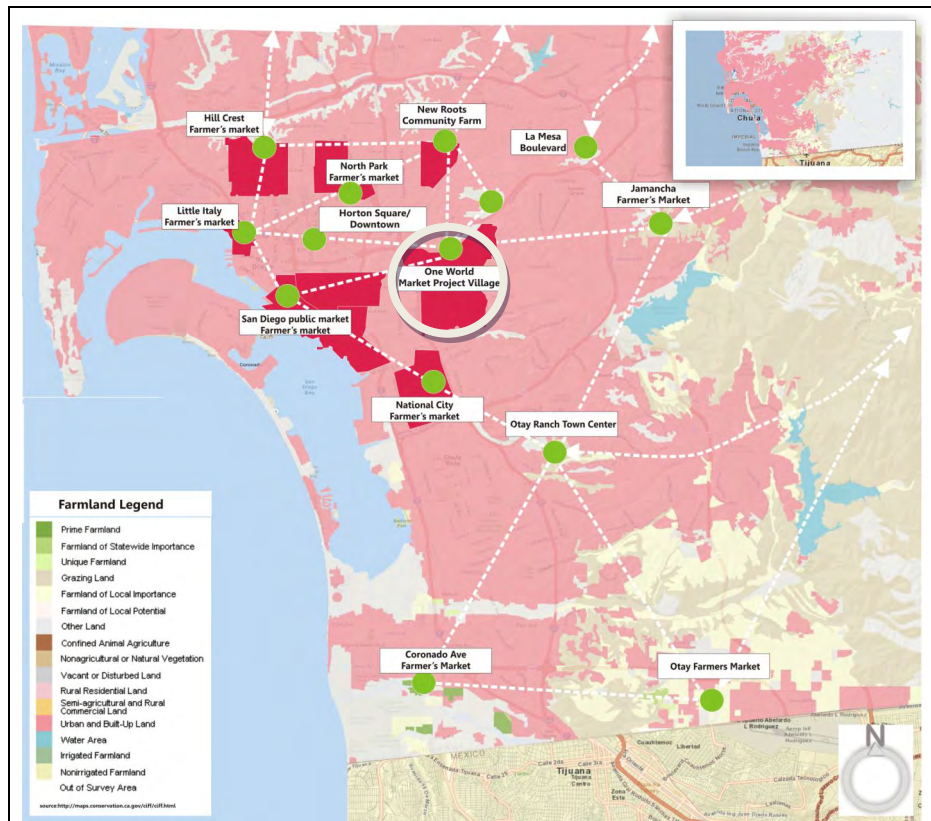
Median household income



9. Urban-Rural Linkage

Urban-Rural Linkages in this case study is very strong thanks to the presence of the local farmer’s market, it’s called One World Food Corner will be a destination for growing, eating, cooking, buying, and selling healthy fresh food in the heart of Southeastern San Diego within the Ecanto Community. There are two major components; one is a Multi-Ethnic Foods Marketplace which will feature a full-service 30,000 square metre multi-ethnic Supermarket (One World Farmers Market) which will host small independent artisan food purveyors offering a variety of ethnic food products, a commercial kitchen, a food business incubator, and a professional culinary arts training centre. There will also be a wellness and nutrition program, providing classes, counseling, and printed materials on healthy foods and family nutrition, and cooking classes for adults and youth on healthy eating and favorite international foods. The second major component is the One World Community Garden & Urban Agriculture Training Center. It will contain individual plots in a community garden, a production garden, a fruit tree-forest garden area, work areas for propagation, grafting and tool repair, a tool library, classroom space, a summer food camp for kids, a weekly outdoor farmers market, vocational training in irrigation installation, hoop house construction, hydroponic and aquaponic growing, permaculture design etc., and hands-on classes and workshops on every conceivable aspect of growing, harvesting, propagating, marketing, selling, cooking, canning, recycling and eating FOOD.

9.1 Urban-Rural Linkage map



NORTH PARK San Diego, CA

Alessia Ferretti, ESR, Focus Unit

THE CASE STUDIES: Urban - Agriculture linkages

The role of community-based approach with respect to the research objectives of the Working Package No. 2.

1. Case Study general Information

Case Study: North Park, San Diego, CA (USA)

Researcher: Alessia FERRETTI, ESR

San Diego case studies map	Case study Boundaries
<p>1. Little Italy 2. National City 3. Hill Crest 4. Jacobs Market Street Village 5. Imperial Ave 6. New Root Community Farm 7. One World Market Project Village 8. North Park 9. San Diego Public Market</p>	

Case Study Typology: Public Agency; Non Profit Organization for implementing the Main Street initiative
City: San Diego, CA, (USA)
Residents (2010 US Census): 13215
Case Study Area:1,64 (sq Km)
Area by Census Tracts*: 1,60 (sq Km)
*The area considered is the US Census Tract area because the case study area was too small or at the borders of different census tracts making difficult the collection and the analysis of data.
Per Capita Income: \$ 32988

2. Brief description of the case study

North Park Main Street is an interesting case of different associations and varied initiatives in the same area; indeed, it is a BID – established by the City of San Diego and supported by the San Diego BID Council – and a Main Street program affiliated with the National Trust for Historic Preservation. As a volunteer-based non-profit organization – it is a 501(c)6 non-profit corporation exempt from federal income taxes, Section 501(c) of the United States Internal Revenue Code – North Park Main Street administers the BID and promotes the development of the area while preserving its historic integrity; moreover, it supports the Arts, Culture & Entertainment District and promotes an urban pedestrian-friendly environment. North Park Main Street is an interesting case of different associations and varied initiatives in the same area; indeed, it is a BID – established by the City of San Diego and supported by the San Diego BID Council – and a Main Street program affiliated with the National Trust for Historic Preservation. As a volunteer-based non-profit organization – it is a 501(c)6 non-profit corporation exempt from federal income taxes, Section 501(c) of the United States Internal Revenue Code – North Park Main Street administers the BID and promotes the development of the area while preserving its

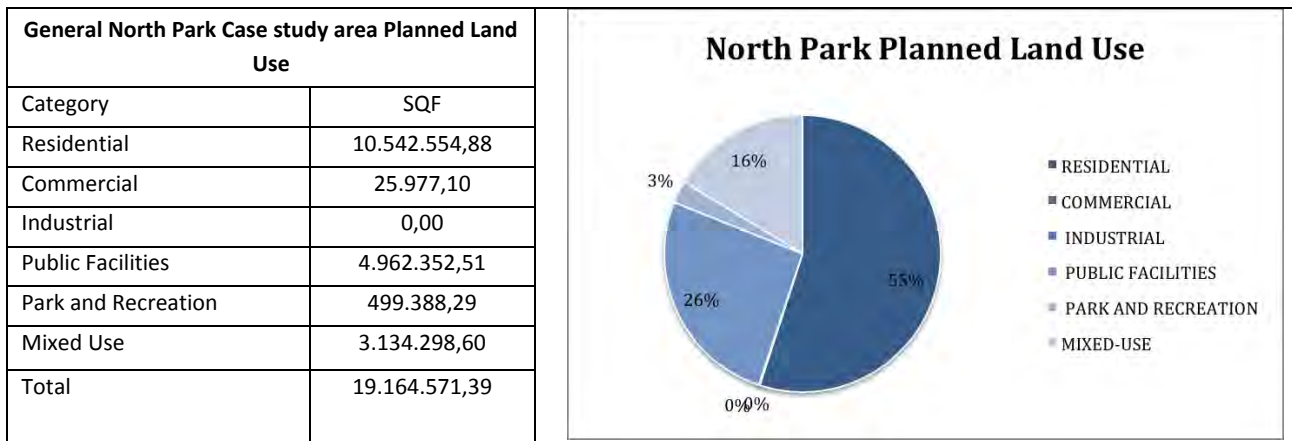
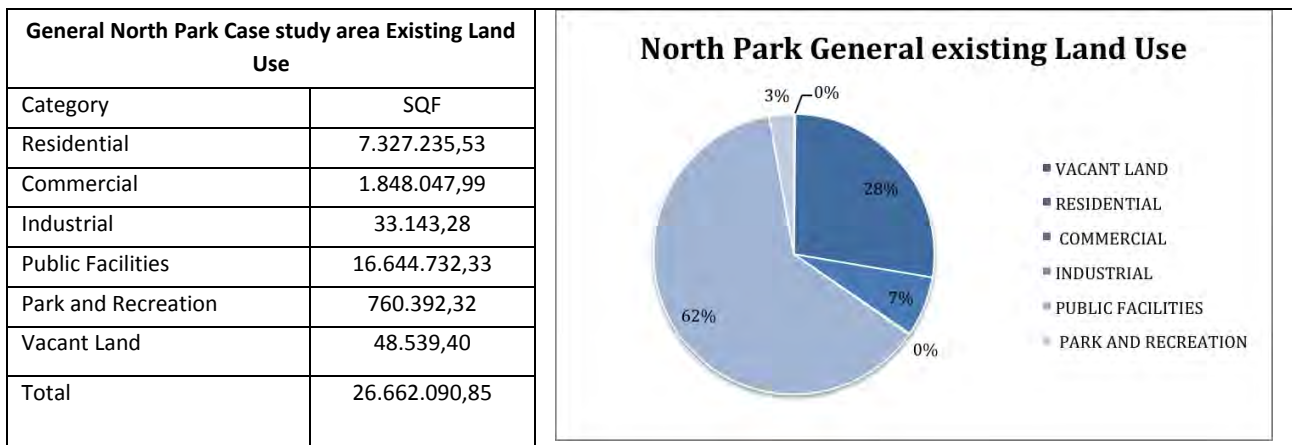
historic integrity; moreover, it supports the Arts, Culture & Entertainment District and promotes an urban pedestrian-friendly environment.

3. Why this case study

North Park Main Street is a volunteer based organization dedicated to the revitalization of the North Park. The Main Street has played a pivotal role in the community’s commercial revival. The association has galvanized local businesses to pursue revitalization of the University Avenue/30th Street hub, showcasing the area’s historic architecture and walkable environment. With the help of the City of San Diego, the Redevelopment Agency and others stakeholders, this Main Street has generated significant improvements in the area.

4. Land Use

The Land use analysis for the North Park case study shows how the existing land use is characterized by an high presence of Public Facilities and Residential areas with a low presence of commercial areas. The planned land use shows one of the higher values for mixed-use areas within the set of WP2 case studies (18%, 2nd) and the choice to increase residential and public facilities areas.



5. Partnership Typology and Composition

<p>North Park Main Street is a 501(c)6 non-profit corporation exempt from some federal income taxes – Section 501(c) of the United States Internal Revenue Code (26 U.S.C. § 501(c). As mentioned before, the North Park initiative is an interesting example of public-private partnership supporting urban and economic redevelopment. The whole process took place through an original alliance of non-profit organizations, artists, developers, community leaders and city government, working together to make North Park a model for urban revitalization. Indeed, the partnership put together the Main Street and the BID, the Redevelopment Agency and the City of San Diego itself, the whole North Park community – plus other associations in the area and strategic quasi-autonomous non-governmental organizations.</p>	<p>Composition</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Owners – BID members - North Park Main Street - City of San Diego - City of San Diego Redevelopment Agency (now dissolved)

6. Strategic Priorities

The main goal of the redevelopment process was to preserve North Park’s cultural resources and its historical integrity while creating a pedestrian-friendly destination for shopping, dining and entertainment, at the same time promoting local businesses and supporting arts and culture. More in detail, “promotion of business” includes those activities set out in the *California Parking and Business Improvement Law* and its successors: general promotion of businesses; acquisition, construction or maintenance of parking facilities; decoration of any public place; furnishing of music and visual arts in the area; and, as stated in the Main Street bylaws, any other related activities which will directly improve the economic prosperity of business within North Park.

On the other hand, the whole array of interventions carried out in North Park was definitely affected by the idea of cultivating an art district to address the blighting conditions – woo the starving artists and the money will follow (interview 3). The logic behind this is that arts and entertainment venues not only attract foot traffic to businesses and retail activities, but at the same time the patrons tend to be well-educated and to have more disposable income (interview 3). At the same time, the effort of attracting new demographic categories – “twenty-to-thirty” people, considered the strategic target to bring new activities into the commercial district (interview 3) – has proved to be decisive

7. Main initiatives and projects linked with the case study

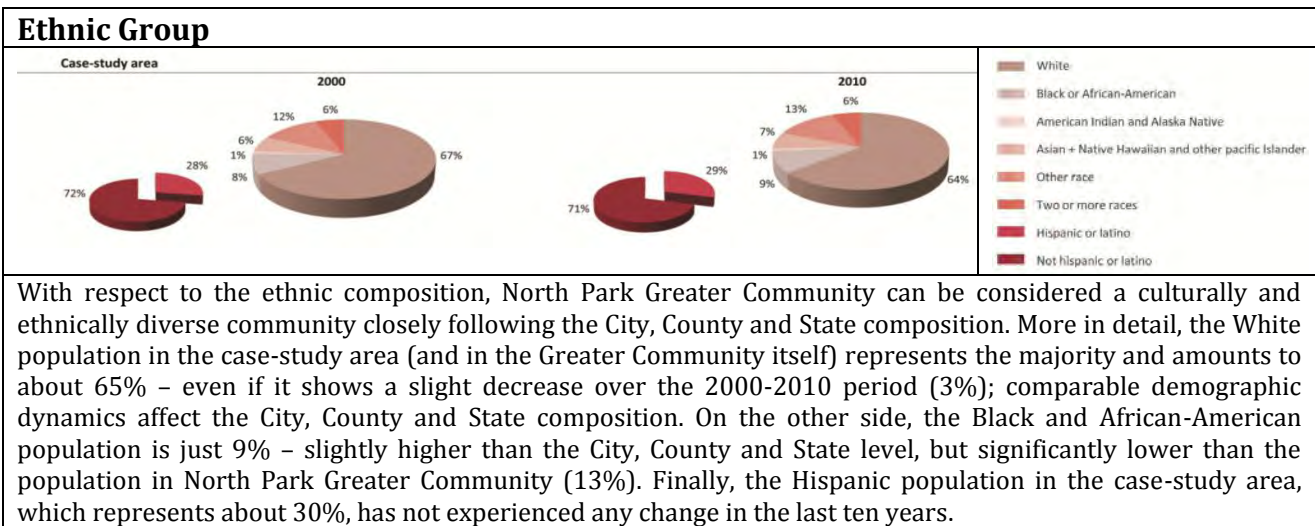
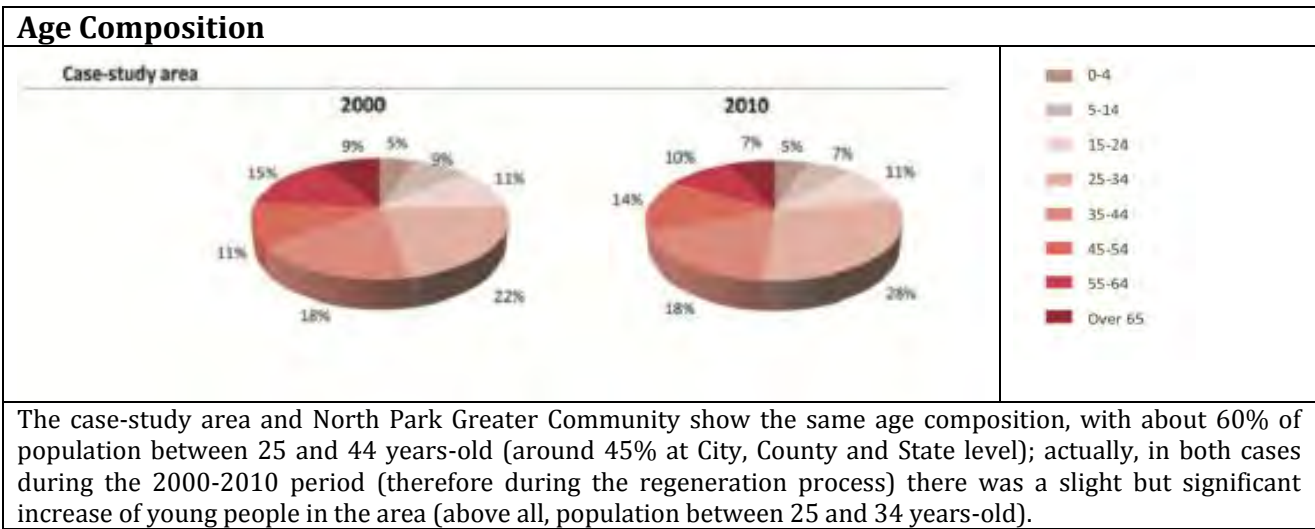
The Redevelopment Agency facilitated public/private ventures that served as catalysts for North Park’s regeneration and the community-based Project Area Committee (PAC) promoted revitalization, historic preservation and incorporation of art into all projects along El Cajon Boulevard and University Avenue. Nevertheless, the public role was basically economic. The Redevelopment Agency funded most of the physical interventions in the area, but there was not a clear vision for the neighbourhood coming from the public authorities and all the actions were based on the demand of the community itself (interview 2). The local *Community Planning Group*, as a quasi-autonomous non-governmental organization, strategically helped in expressing the demands of the local community and acting as a go-between among the neighbourhood, the private sector and the public authorities in the implementation of physical interventions.

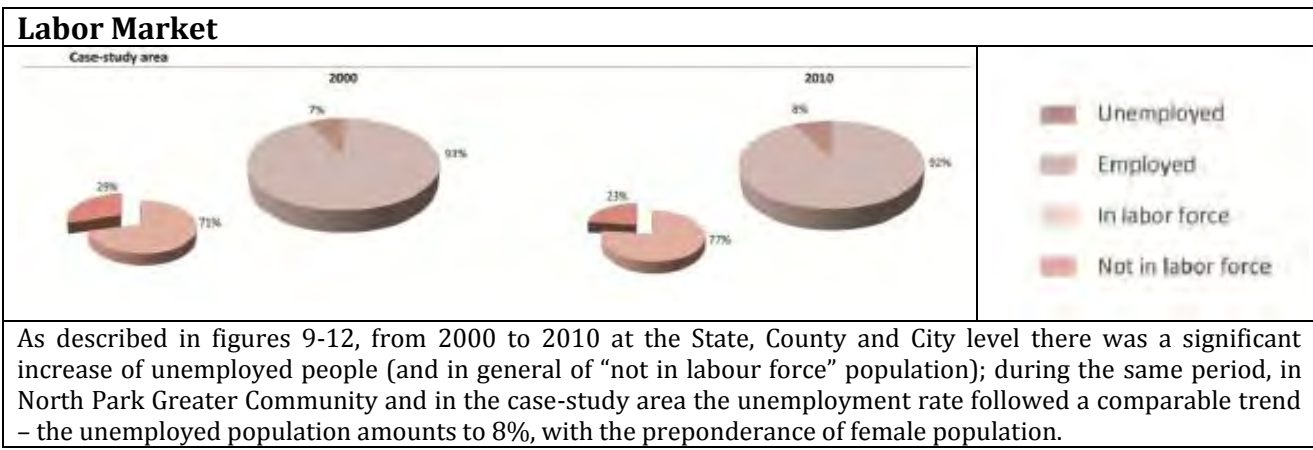
Funding for the implementation of such a diversified program has come not only from the BID membership fees, but also from the City of San Diego and the Redevelopment Agency grants, foundation and other governmental

grants, special events and sponsorships. More in detail, the public authorities provided specific redevelopment incentives to pursue the main goals – among these, the *Housing Compliance Plan*¹², the *Storefront Improvement Program*¹³ and the *Housing Enhancement Loan Program*¹⁴ (the Agency was not expected to develop interventions itself, but it assisted private entities and other public agencies by leveraging its resources). Moreover, the implementation of the Community Plan’s main objectives could benefit from specific financing tools, the *Capital Improvements Program* and the *Public Facility Financing Plan* – plus other potential funding sources, as special bonds by the local government¹⁵, special fees¹⁶ and Community Development Block Grant

8. Fast socio-economic facts

The analysis of socio-economic data shows three main characteristics to deepen: the population increase from the comparison between 2000 and 2010, the per capita income and the median household income also from the comparison between 2000 and 2010





9. Urban-Rural linkage

Farmers’ market

North Park Farmers’ Market was established in 2000 as part of the array of events promoted by the Main Street. After experiencing some changes in location and management over the years, it now features over 40 independent vendors selling locally grown seasonal and organic produce, handmade arts and crafts, prepared gourmet foods.

The Main Street supported the creation of the local farmers’ market, it installed banners throughout the district and re-launched and increased the size of the market itself.

Evidently, North Park Farmers’ Market is not able to satisfy the community’s need for fresh and healthy food, which is confirmed by the presence of biggest grocery of fresh food in the area – following the successful redevelopment process, in 2009 a Fresh & Easy store opened close to the farmers’ market actual location.

Another significant weakness of the North Park Farmers’ Market emerges considering its role as part of the local Food System. Even though Food played a strategic role during the redevelopment process as many food-related businesses relocated in the area bringing a new typology of activities (figure 11), there is no clear connection between these businesses and the farmers’ market itself. Indeed, just 7% of local food-businesses serve fresh food (figure 12) and even less are directly supplied by local farmers – and their supply chain has no connection at all with the farmers’ market, even when the local farmer join it.

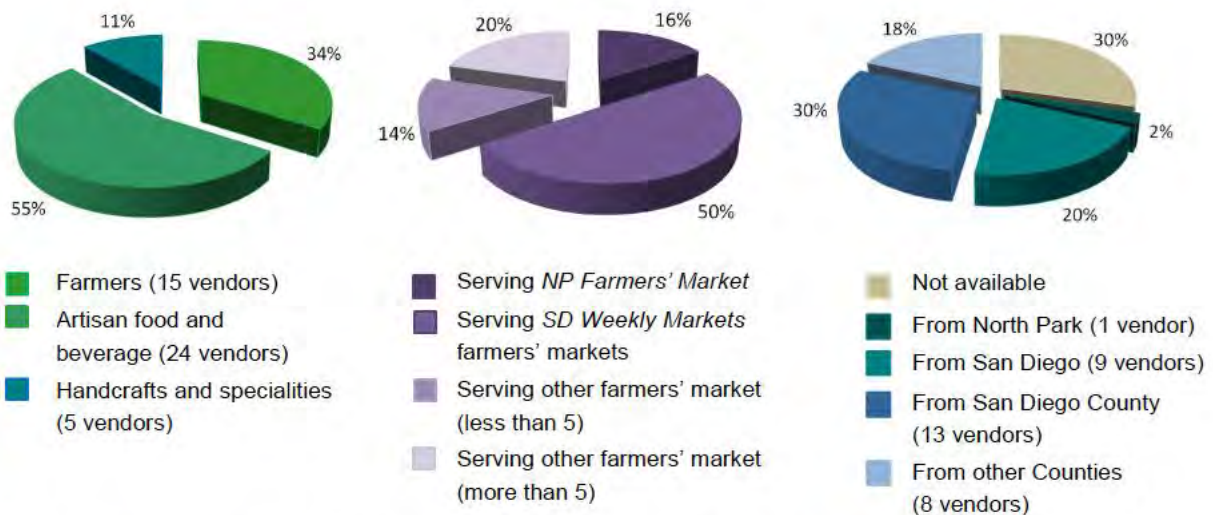
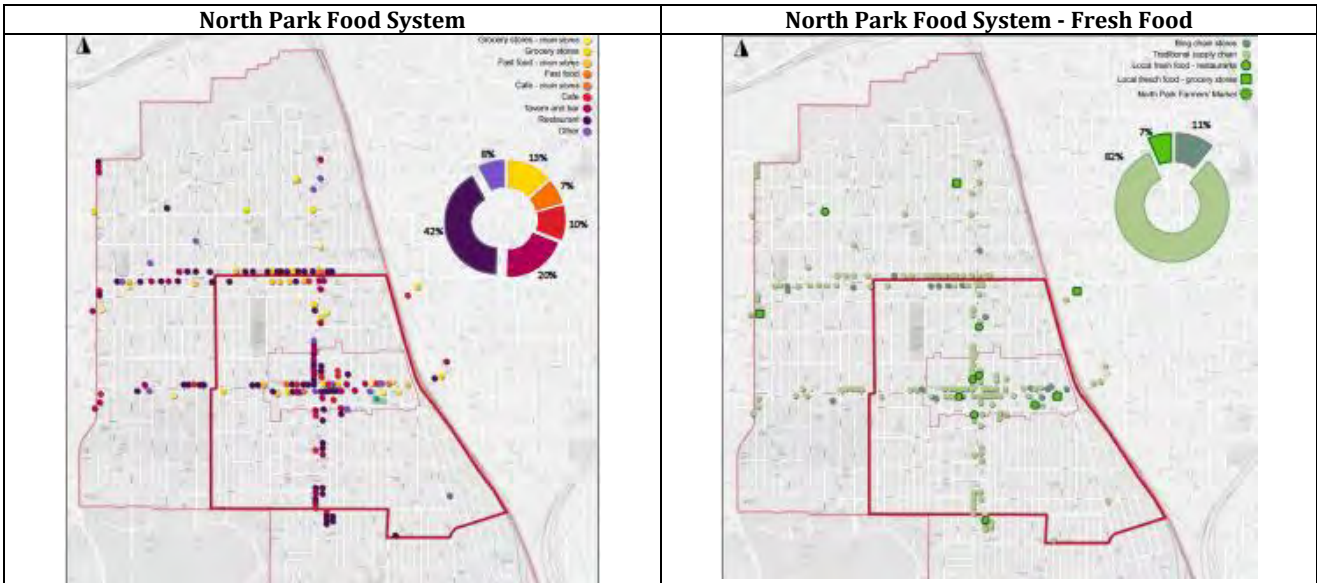
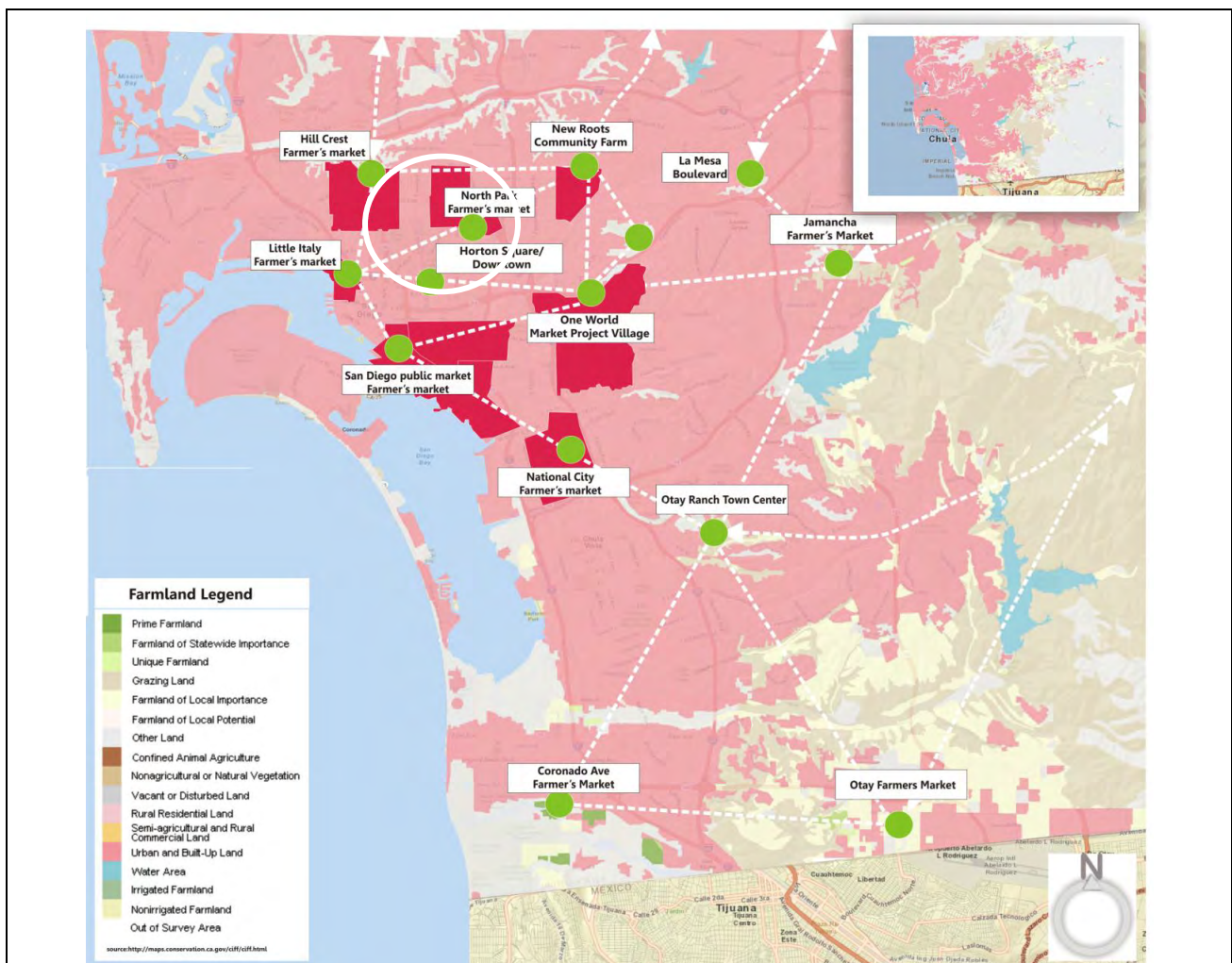


Figure 8 – North Park Farmers’ Market. Typology, main activity, origin

The Farmers' Market is managed by SD Weekly Markets – also managing Little Italy Farmers' Market, Pacific beach Farmers' Market, San Diego Public Market. SD Weekly Markets professionally supports farmers and manages the market in order to provide the highest quality farm-fresh produce, meats, fish, eggs, and artisan foods.



9.1 Urban-Rural Linkage map



SAN DIEGO PUBLIC MARKET

San Diego, CA

Alessandro Boca, ESR, FOCUS Unit

THE CASE STUDIES: Urban-Rural Linkages

The role of community-based approach with respect to the research objectives of the Working Package No. 2.

1. Case Study general Information

Case Study: San Diego Public Market, San Diego, CA (USA)

Researcher: Alessandro BOCA, ESR

San Diego case studies map	Case study Boundaries

Case Study Typology: OTHER: Public Market
City: San Diego, CA, (USA)
Residents (2010 US Census): 7140
Case Study Area: 0,58 (sq Km)
Area by Census Tracts*: 1,61 (sq Km)
*The area considered is the US Census Tract area because the case study area was too small or at the borders of different census tracts making difficult the collection and the analysis of data.
Per Capita Income: \$ 27281

2. Brief description of the case study

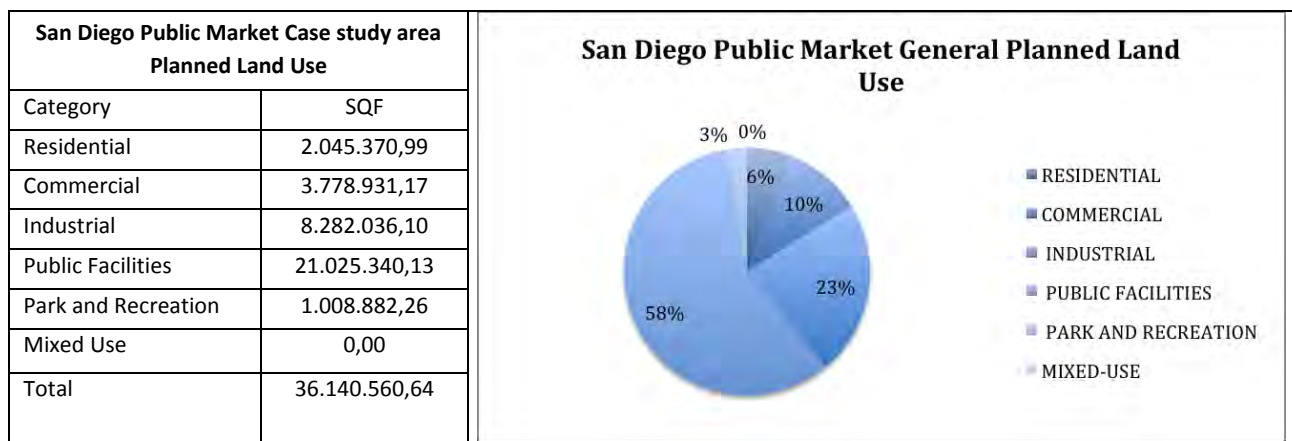
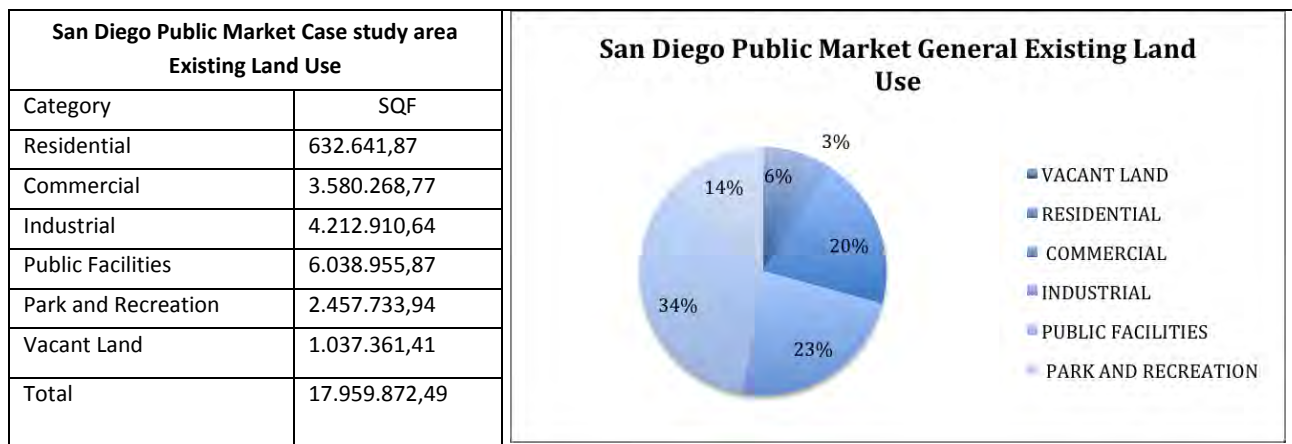
The San Diego Public Market case study falls within the research branch named “Food System and Farmers’ Markets”, which aims at understanding how the food supply network in general, and the system of the farmers’ markets in particular, can be considered as resources in urban regeneration and redevelopment projects. The case study starts from the analysis of the ongoing realization of a permanent 92,000 square foot food market located in Barrio Logan, in south-east of Downtown San Diego, mainly dedicated to fresh and un-processed food. Despite its name, the San Diego Public Market starts as a private for profit activity which focuses its business model on the increasing demand for healthy food and eating, and for related issue of healthy lifestyle. Differently from a shopping mall, it hosts independent business despite franchised, and differently from a weekly farmers’ market it permits a 6-day per week and extended hours opening. Furthermore, and in addition to the market hall, the Public Market expects to spread the range of activities including also spaces dedicated to commercial kitchens, education programs, special events, agriculture workshops, micro business incubator and, in extension, what can outreach the mission of a service center for quality-food industry and nutrition.

3. Why this case study

The San Diego Public Market case study falls within the research branch named “Food System and Farmers’ Markets”, which aims at understanding how the food supply network in general, and the system of the farmers’ markets in particular, can be considered as resources in urban regeneration and redevelopment projects. The case study starts from the analysis of the ongoing realization of a permanent 92,000 square foot food market located in Barrio Logan, in south-east of Downtown San Diego, mainly dedicated to fresh and un-processed food.

4. Land Use

With respect to the WP2 set of case studies San Diego Public Market presents the higher value for commercial, industrial and public facilities Land Use. This neighbourhood is affected by the presence of the naval base and all the industrial-related activities. Despite this the high commercial and public facilities value show the will by the City to make this neighbourhood more liveable for citizens through the implementation of the community plan and the implementation of initiatives such as farmers’ market in order to boost local economic development.



5. Partnership Typology and Composition

<p>Partnership Typology (Survey Form and Case Study Report)</p> <p>The San Diego Public Market Case study is a for-profit General Partnership Typology (Survey Form) composed by owners and vendors.</p> <p>Despite an increasing interest for the nutrition topic, in the San Diego area a similar kind of initiative was still missing, until between 2010 and 2012 a couple of local entrepreneurs, Dale Fitzmorris Steele and Catt Fields White, started being involved in the launch of the San Diego Public Market. The concept of such an initiative was explicitly to bring also in the San Diego area the same experience of other known public market across the US, like San Francisco, Seattle and Milwaukee, in order to accommodate on the one hand a wide trend of local food consumption well know in the County and, on the other one, to take economic advantage of an industry not yet capitalized. As the co-founders point out, in fact, the current network of the farmers' markets in the San Diego County suffers from an inadequate coverage and from a limited business hours which limit the potential demand for local and un-processed food. Moreover, the neighborhood dimension of these markets reflects a lack in polarization that a permanent market could solve, also in consideration of the touristic traffics affecting the close Downtown area (SDPM, 2012).</p>	<p>Composition (Survey Form)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Owners and Vendors <p>Partnership scheme</p> <pre> graph TD A[San Diego Association of Farmers' market] --> B((San Diego Public Market)) C[Owners] --> B D[Vendors] --> B </pre>
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6. Strategic Priorities

The San Diego Public Market (SDPM) is a new entrepreneurial initiative, located in San Diego's Barrio Logan neighborhood, which aims at the realization of a number of mixed activities all related with the topic of healthy food and nutrition. Strategic Priorities for this case study are:

- Retail enhancement
- Economic Revitalization;
- Building Restoration/Renewal;
- Education and Training;
- Job Creation/Social work;
- Cultural Enrichment;

7. Main initiatives and projects linked with the case study

Most of strategies and goals stated by the 1978 Barrio Logan/Harbor 101 Community Plan, and later implemented through a range of projects such as Mercado del Barrio, can be considered still up-to-date nowadays as confirmed by the Community Plan updating process started by the City of San Diego in 2008, and by its draft version published in 2013.

As for the 1978 Community Plan, also in the 2013 version of the Barrio Logan Community Plan the main goal remains the minimization of the issues related to the coexistence between residential and industrial uses that, despite the main activities encouraged by the former plan, can be considered actual. In particular, the new goals stated by the 2013 draft Plan are:

- to be a blueprint for development that builds on Barrio Logan's established character as a mixed-use, working neighborhood;
- to focus on land use, public facilities, and development policies for Barrio Logan, as a component of the City of San Diego's General Plan;
- to set out strategies and specific implementing actions to help ensure that the Community Plan's vision is accomplished;
- to set out detailed policies that provide a basis for evaluating whether specific development proposals

- and public projects are consistent with the Plan;
- to set out guidance that facilitates the City of San Diego, other public agencies, and private developers to design projects that enhance the character of the community, taking advantage of its setting and amenities;
 - to set out detailed implementing programs including zoning regulations and a public facilities financing plan.

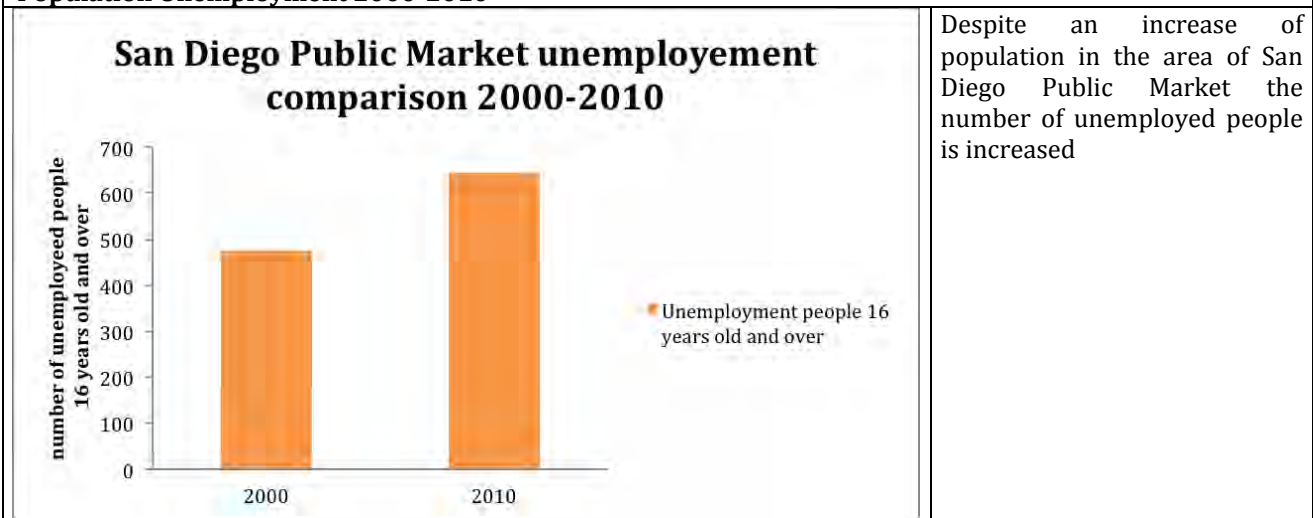
With the implementation of the Barrio Logan Community Plan, a series of physical actions have finally been undertaken in order to catalyze an overall redevelopment process for the whole neighborhood. Among a certain number of smaller redevelopment projects, the probably best known and more important is a massive one formally named “Barrio Logan Redevelopment Project Area”, but also known as “Mercado del Barrio”.

The Barrio Logan Redevelopment Project Area⁴ is a 133-acre mixed-use redevelopment project located along the San Diego Bay Tidelands and close to the Coronado Bridge, which aims at a «redevelopment that focuses on eliminating blight while preserving the neighborhood’s distinctive character. A major objective is development that enhances the community’s cultural and ethnic qualities» (San Diego Redevelopment Agency, 1991)

8. Fast socio-economic facts

The neighborhood in which the San Diego Public Market is located, Barrio Logan which covers approximately 1,000 acres, is still considered one of the poorest and more neglect of the inner San Diego, where former and current industrial plants live with a multi-ethnic and generally low-income population. The residential population is approximately of 6,000 inhabitants, more than an half living in the Naval Base and the remaining mostly of Mexican origins, which on the other hand contributes in creating a strong community identity. In addition to the military installations, the main economic activity is still the industrial sector, while the commercial businesses are poor and lower quality. The neighborhood is also considered a *food desert* because of the bad physical access to main grocery stores, and issues related to a poor transportation system remain.

Population Unemployment 2000-2010



Employees per sector																																														
<p>San Diego Public Market Employees per Sector comparison 2000-2010</p> <table border="1"> <caption>San Diego Public Market Employees per Sector comparison 2000-2010</caption> <thead> <tr> <th>Sector</th> <th>2000</th> <th>2010</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>OTHER SERVICES</td><td>34</td><td>144</td></tr> <tr><td>PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION</td><td>0</td><td>51</td></tr> <tr><td>ACCOMMODATION AND FOOD SERVICES</td><td>156</td><td>291</td></tr> <tr><td>ARTS, ENTERTAINMENT AND RECREATION</td><td>20</td><td>42</td></tr> <tr><td>EDUCATIONAL, HEALTH AND SOCIAL</td><td>84</td><td>295</td></tr> <tr><td>PROFESSIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, MANAGEMENT, FINANCE, INSURANCE, REAL ESTATE ETC</td><td>194</td><td>556</td></tr> <tr><td>FINANCE, INSURANCE, REAL ESTATE ETC</td><td>12</td><td>262</td></tr> <tr><td>INFORMATION</td><td>5</td><td>77</td></tr> <tr><td>TRANSPORTATION</td><td>26</td><td>133</td></tr> <tr><td>RETAIL TRADE</td><td>75</td><td>57</td></tr> <tr><td>WHOLESALE TRADE</td><td>32</td><td>65</td></tr> <tr><td>MANUFACTURING</td><td>62</td><td>302</td></tr> <tr><td>CONSTRUCTION</td><td>64</td><td>86</td></tr> <tr><td>AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, FISHING</td><td>0</td><td>20</td></tr> </tbody> </table>	Sector	2000	2010	OTHER SERVICES	34	144	PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	0	51	ACCOMMODATION AND FOOD SERVICES	156	291	ARTS, ENTERTAINMENT AND RECREATION	20	42	EDUCATIONAL, HEALTH AND SOCIAL	84	295	PROFESSIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, MANAGEMENT, FINANCE, INSURANCE, REAL ESTATE ETC	194	556	FINANCE, INSURANCE, REAL ESTATE ETC	12	262	INFORMATION	5	77	TRANSPORTATION	26	133	RETAIL TRADE	75	57	WHOLESALE TRADE	32	65	MANUFACTURING	62	302	CONSTRUCTION	64	86	AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, FISHING	0	20	<p>From the analysis of the employees per sector data for the area of the San Diego Public Market case studies the shift from the traditional industrial-related employment to service and commerce oriented development emerged even if the unemployment is increased in 2010. Indeed, the increase interests sectors such as manufacturing, professional, finance, retail and public administration.</p>
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Per capita income																
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Area	2000	2010														
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Area	2000	2010														
State of California	47493	60883														
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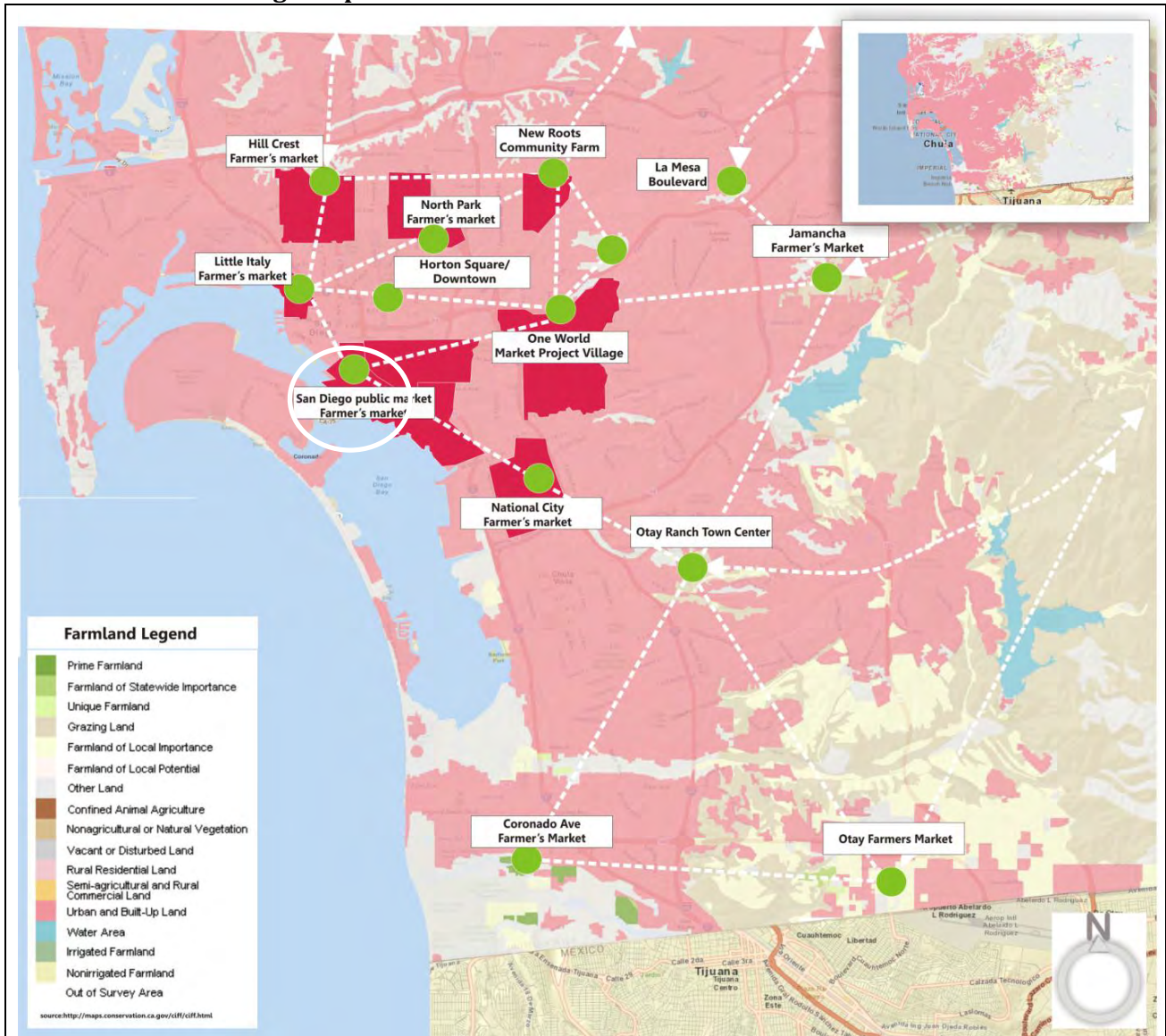
9. Urban-Rural linkage

Local production and local producers are the main target of the Public Market, so this initiative should be read also as a way for encouraging the presence of this component in the urban arena. In addition to the retail, in fact, the Public Market is determined to become also a wholesale spot or a food hub for local goods destined, for example, to restaurants, schools and hospitals, in order to promote a more general awareness of the importance of the local production in the food industry.

Furthermore, as written before the San Diego Public Market should represent an attraction which diverges from the typical farmers' market concept. In the intentions of its promoters, the wide range of activities of the Public

Market should create a continuous point of convergence for permanent flows, which should overcome the episodic nature of the farmers' market. Therefore due to its different activities, the SDPM should be able to create a district specialized in the local food and nutrition topic, with a range of attraction that goes beyond the single neighborhood level reaching a metropolitan sphere. Nevertheless, despite the ambitions the Public Market should be able also to feed new kind of flows not existent at the moment in the neighborhood, then playing a role also in an overall urban regeneration process. An overall evaluation of the San Diego Public Market experience is at the moment difficult to carry out, mainly because what has been described so far is both a recent and ambitious initiative. Nevertheless what is possible to note is how, despite a certain interest by the urban community, this project is still facing some difficulties.

9.1 Urban-Rural Linkage map



The Case Studies Synthesis: Community-Led Approach

The role of community for urban development has always been crucial, especially within the decision-making and urban planning processes. It is increasingly becoming a key success factor in several urban projects and it seems to be crucial to achieve sustainable urban regeneration goals.

Participatory urban planning, charette meetings, workshops, laboratoires de quartier: more or less cities have been moving toward this direction since few decades. Then, “current trend toward multi-level governance has created important opportunities for increased community involvement and enhancing local democratic processes” (Bailey, 2010:6) through a wide range of methods used to make people involved within the planning and policy making processes. The reason is that local involvement is expected to be guaranty in the achievement of sustainable initiatives, an indicator of their efficacy. Nevertheless, the “broad context of community involvement is highly contested” (Bailey, 2010: 13) according to different contexts and belonging to different scales. Arguing that the building of urban identities claims for well-structured civic contents (Talen, 2008 quoted by Vall Casas- Koschinsky-Mendoza, 2011:172), the importance of local community awareness about urban transformation objectives is expected to play a central role. “The results of local visioning/planning efforts are determined by both the preferences of residents and community needs” (Walzer–Hamm, 2010: 154). Moreover, Healey claims for a process of “inclusionary argumentation” in which “participants come together, build understanding and trust among themselves, and develop ownership of the strategy” (Healey, 1997:249).

As far as the community involvement in US, a general trend of “retrofitting suburbia” is strongly pushing forward urban regeneration initiatives that involve people in order to cope with the lack of “sense of place” coming from the sprawl direction of the last decades.

In US we can see as this trend is increasingly involving private actors within the planning process, shifting toward a decentralized planning system in which local actors and stakeholders play a crucial role. Frequently, private organizations and planning consultants are hired from public – private coalitions to shape the vision of the cities’ future development, or redevelopment, while addressing choices toward a consensus- based approach (McCann, 2001). So that the product is a sort of collaborative planning process through meetings in which community representatives and local actors have a proactive role in shaping urban development, often institutional places of political struggle to affirm a kind of urban growth instrumental to political choices. As suggested by McCann (2001), the increase in privatization, due to the reduced economic resources, is improving a sort of lack of accountability of planning services with a wider popular critique of bureaucracy “in favour of a rhetoric in bottom up policy making” so that “urban policy is increasingly left in the hands of

corporate-supported organizations" (MacCann, 2001:209) while no profits keep growing. Their role is increasingly gaining the ground in guiding people toward a right lifestyle, since a liveable neighbourhood is becoming a health related issue. Pedestrian and friendly environments are desirable actions to be pursued in urban regeneration initiatives in most of US cities affected by sprawl phenomenon: community acknowledgement here is a key factor to gain higher standards of urban environment, since the consensus allows to implement those actions easily. In some cases community involvement does not refer to a specific project or master plan, rather it is a mean to sensitize people toward a particular health issue: they are made aware of risks and possibility to be considered with respect to sustainability in urban regeneration initiatives or about gaps to be filled in order to reach higher standards of quality of life. Then, in suburban landscapes these actions assume the role of physical identity restoration by taking into account the importance of the sense of community (Calthorpe 1993, Calthorpe and Fulton 2001). The outcome is twofold: on one hand social and health related organizations give strength to the social component of the planning process, addressing people to consider the city as a place they have to care of; on the other hand the community participation, oriented from private actors, sometimes seems to be politically influenced toward a decision. Otherwise, studies about community participation show how the more a community is represented by people with high level of education, with a personal perspective about their neighbourhood, the less this kind of guide influence and address the final outcomes. Generally, from evidences of case studies analysed in US, the aim is to create more informed and engaged communities, increasing the physical places where people can participate in leading the change, through an inclusionary but also proactive approach. Community involvement indeed is about inclusiveness, as far as procedures, transparency, as far as government transactions, accountability of planners to the citizens they work for: to cope with socio-economic inequality, sharing information, giving accessibility to knowledge.

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NATIONAL CITY San Diego, CA

Pasquale Pizzimenti, ESR-Reggio Calabria Unit



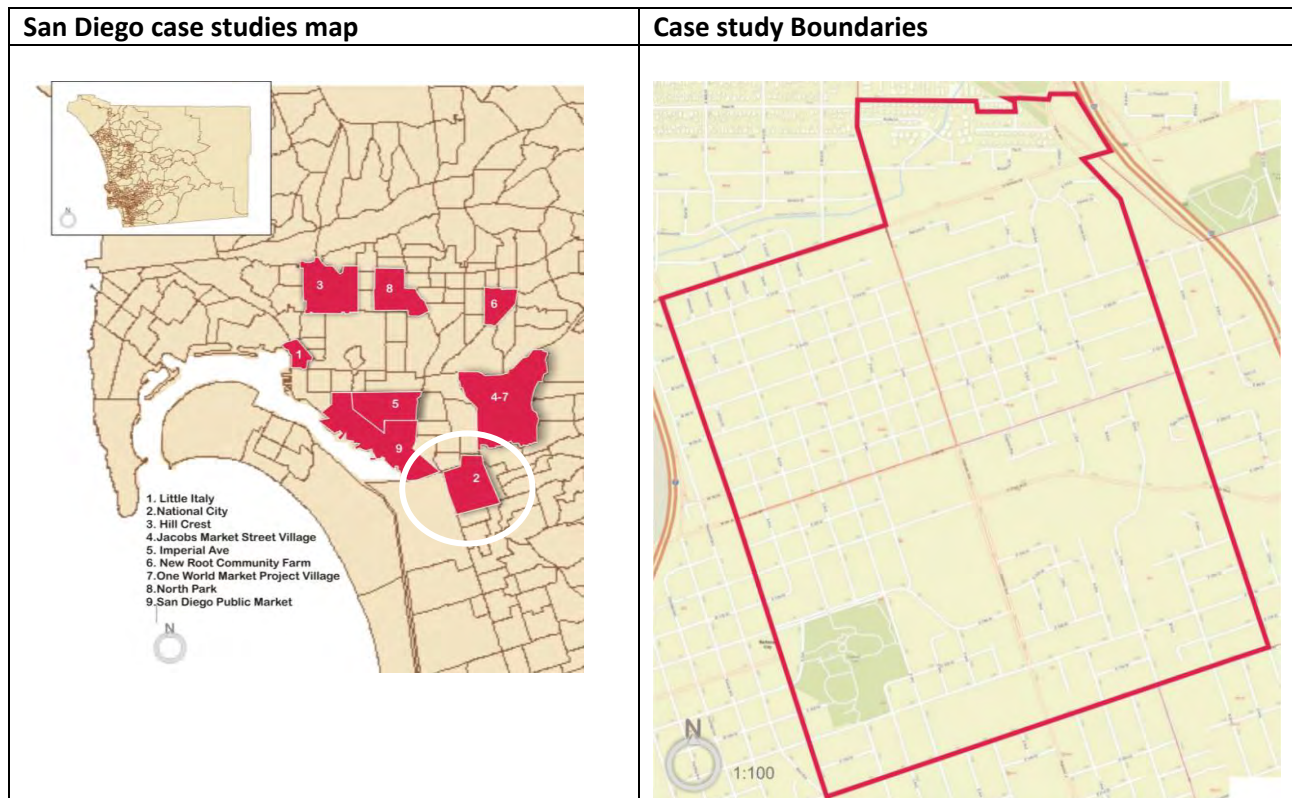
THE CASE STUDIES: Community-led approach

The role of community-based approach with respect to the research objectives of the Working Package No. 2.

1. Case Study general Information

Case Study: National City, City of National City, CA (USA)

Researcher: Pasquale PIZZIMENTI, ESR



Case Study Typology: Other: Smart Growth Incentive Program
City: City of National City, CA, (USA)
Residents (2010 US Census): 17475
Case Study Area: 1,88 (sq Km)
Area by Census Tracts*: 3,32 (sq Km)
*The area considered is the US Census Tract area because the case study area was too small or at the borders of different census tracts making difficult the collection and the analysis of data.
Per Capita Income: \$ 13.565

2. Brief description of the case study

The **Downtown-Westside Connector Project (National City)** case study aims to enhance the application of Smart Growth principles and strategies within National City area in San Diego, CA. This project is part of the SANDAG regional strategy for Smart Growth in the San Diego area. To reach these goals SANDAG has set up the TransNet Smart Growth Incentive Program (SGIP) to fund transportation infrastructures in order to foster smart growth planning development in the area. It will award two percent of the annual TransNet revenues for the next 40 years to local governments through a competitive grant program. The main aim of the project is to better coordinate comprehensive public infrastructure and planning activities to foster compact and mixed use development focused around public transportation facilities. These kind of investments should attract new

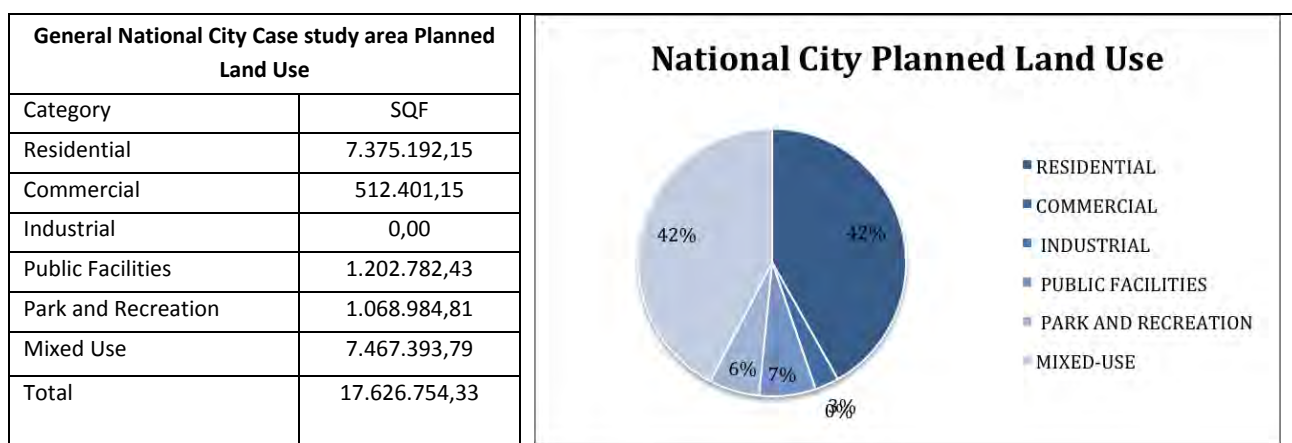
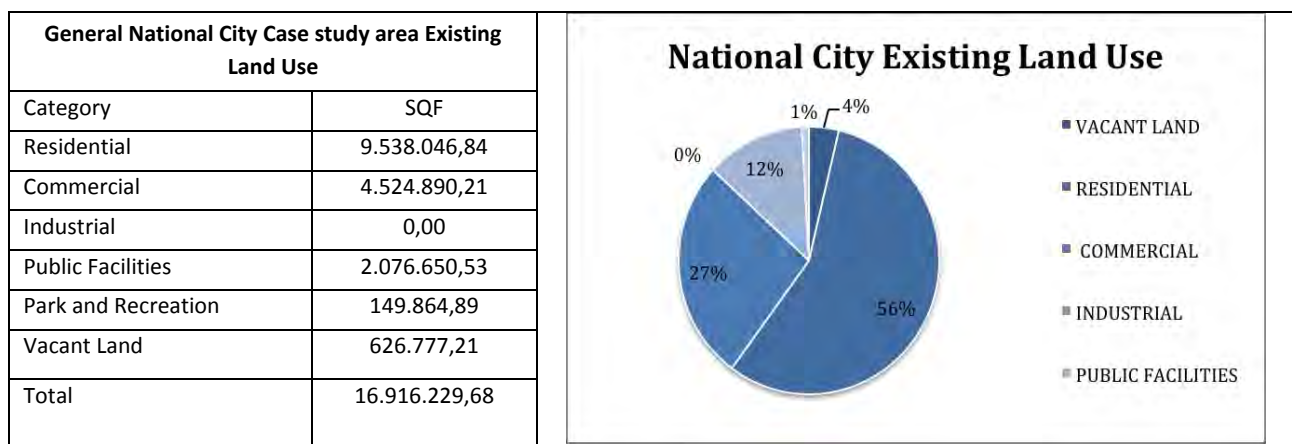
capitals and new businesses and boost local involvement in order to build up a good environment for communities.

3. Why this case study

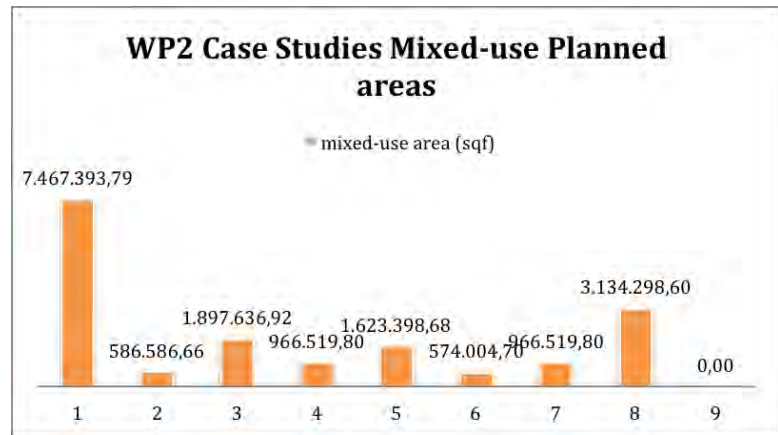
The importance of this case study lies on the aim to foster local economic development and urban regeneration through the implementation of mixed-use and Transit-oriented development thanks to the implementation of Smart Growth principles, guidelines and programs provided by SANDAG. Even if the objectives and strategies set up by the SANDAG are not compulsory, the incentive programs push local administrations and local stakeholders to build new strategies in order to reach Smart Growth goals. The case study shows a good level of consistency with the objectives of the second working package: the community-led approach (that is one of SG general principles, together with the empowerment of urban-rural linkage thank to the land preservation principle). Further it seems particularly interesting for the interconnection among projects oriented to the mixed-use approach in order to make attractive one of the poorest area of the County of San Diego.

4. Land Use

The difference between the existing and planned land use shows some interesting findings. The Case study of National City is characterized by a higher percentage of Residential (56%) and Commercial areas (27%) and by a low percentage of public facilities (12%). The difference between the existing and the planned land use shows the percentage of mixed-use area (42%) within the set of WP2 case studies. The Smart Growth Incentive Program (SANDAG) interests the project area, and it is connected with other initiatives linked to the mixed-use approach such as TOD implementation.



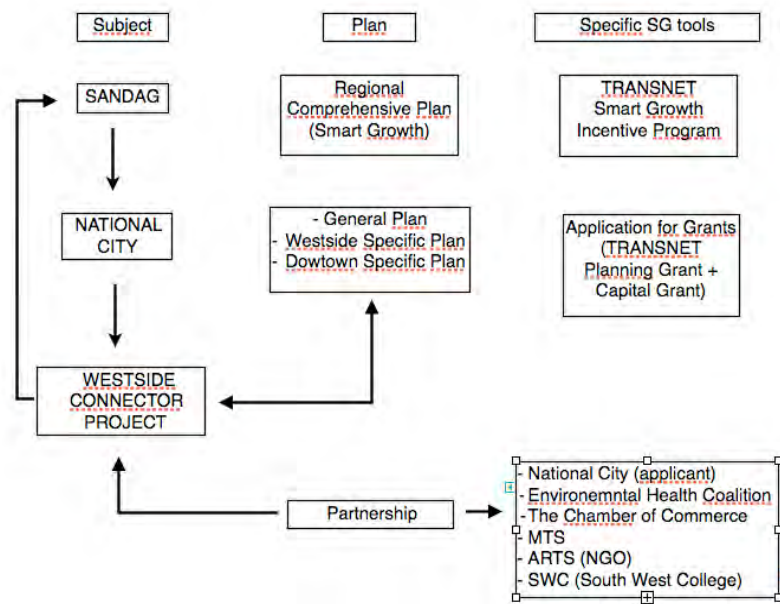
WP2 Case Studies Mixed-Use Planned areas	
Category	SQF
National City	7.467.393,79 (43%)
Little Italy	586.586,66 (3%)
Hill Crest	1.897.636,92 (11%)
Jacobs Market Village	966.519,80 (6%)
Imperial Avenue	1.623.398,68 (9%)
New Roots Community Farm	574.004,70 (3%)
One World Market	966.519,80 (6%)
North Park FM	3.134.298,60 (18%)
San Diego Public Market	0,00 (0%)



5. Partnership Typology and Composition

The project partnership has still to be composed. However is possible to highlight the most important actors for the implementation of the project. SANDAG is the key actor for several reasons: it is the subject that draws up the Regional Comprehensive Plan based on Smart Growth principles, and it is the subject giving grants for smart growth program such as this one. The city of the National City is the applicant and received the attendance of Public-Private (MTS), NGOs (EHC) and Private subject (SWC). Partnership is composed as follows:

- City of National City (Applicant)
- EHC
- National City Chamber of Commerce
- MTS
- ARTS (NGO)
- SWC (South Western College)



6. Strategic Priorities

The main aim of the project is to implement Smart Growth strategies to enhance economic revitalization in the area, one of the poorest of the County of San Diego in terms of Per Capita Income. The project is still in the initial phase: the city of National City has just received the Grant by SANDAG. . Strategic Priorities are:

- Retail Enhancement;
- Economic Revitalization;
- Job Creation;
- Cultural enrichment;
- Local produce valorisation through farmers' market;
- Implementation of Smart Growth Strategies

7. Main initiatives and projects linked with the case study

The project would improve connections along four significant streets in National City. Three of the four streets being improved are identified as Community Corridors in the City's 2012 General Plan Update. Community corridors are "complete streets" designed to increase the comfort of walking and bicycling through traffic calming measures. The project will also provide connections between the Downtown planning area and the Westside planning area. These two areas are the business centers of National City. By improving connectivity, aesthetic appeal, and transportation choices, the City hopes to encourage new businesses, attract private development and sustain existing businesses. The Downtown-Westside Community Connections Project is partly within the National City Downtown Specific Plan (DSP) area and partly within the Westside Specific Plan (WSP) area. The process involves a consistency review which includes project compliance with clearly defined Smart Growth policies and development standards.

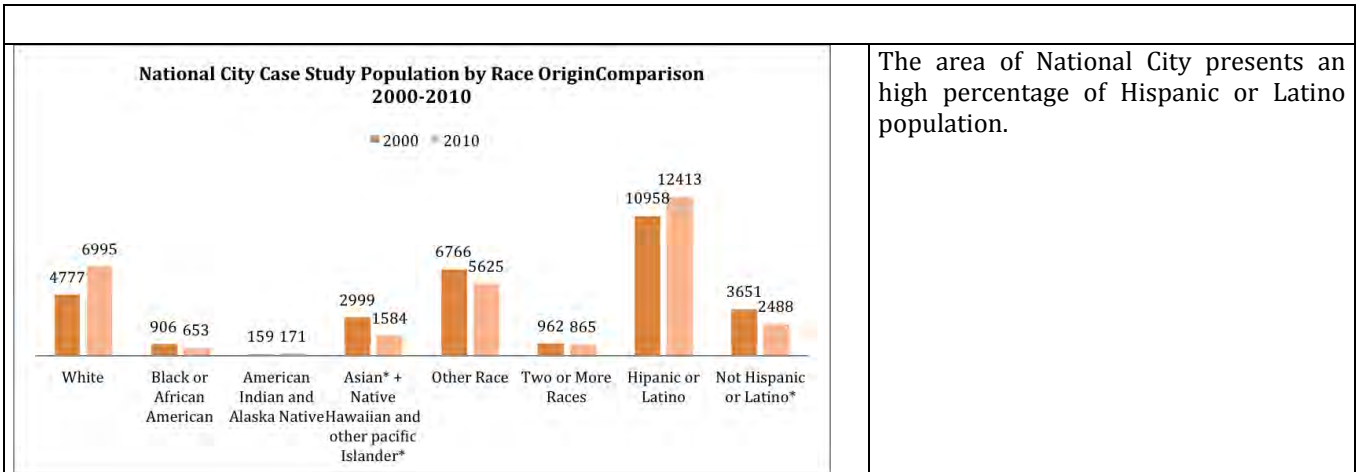
Other projects provided in the area by the municipality of National City that can have a positive impact on the initiative and that are partially related:

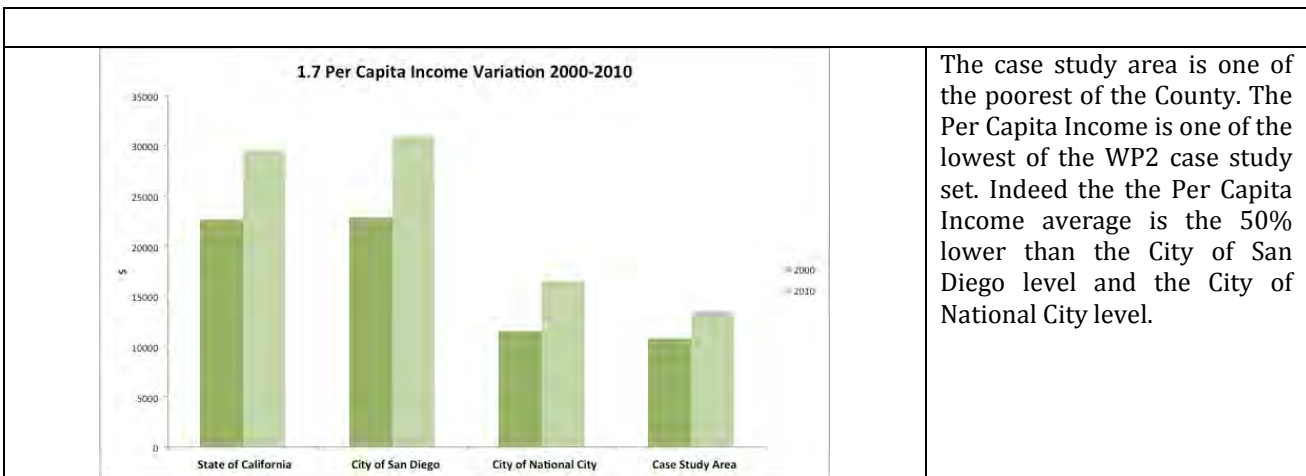
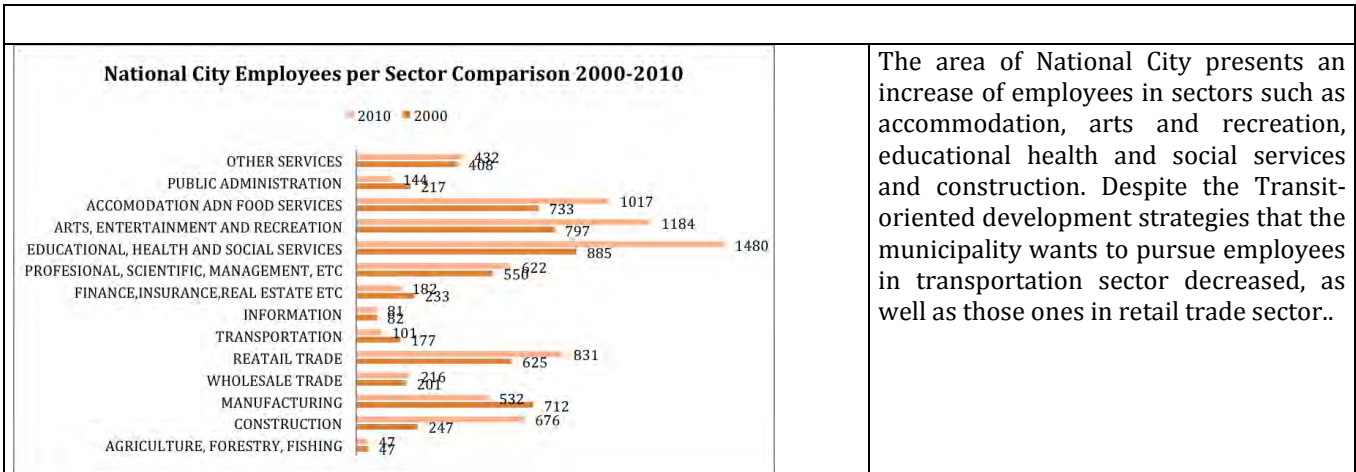
- 7th Street Park (Recreation);
- Big Bon's Plaza (Commercial);
- Mand and Goodies Revitalization (Mixed-use);
- Park Village (Mixed-use);
- Senior Village Expansion (Residential);
- Paradise Creek Revitalization (Smart Growth improvement in the area);
- WI-TOD (Mixed-Use)

As mentioned in the section 4 (Land Use) mixed-use projects are taken into account in the area.

8. Fast socio-economic facts

The analysis of socio-economic data shows three main characteristics to deepen: the population increase from the comparison between 2000 and 2010, the per capita income and the median household income also from the comparison between 2000 and 2010

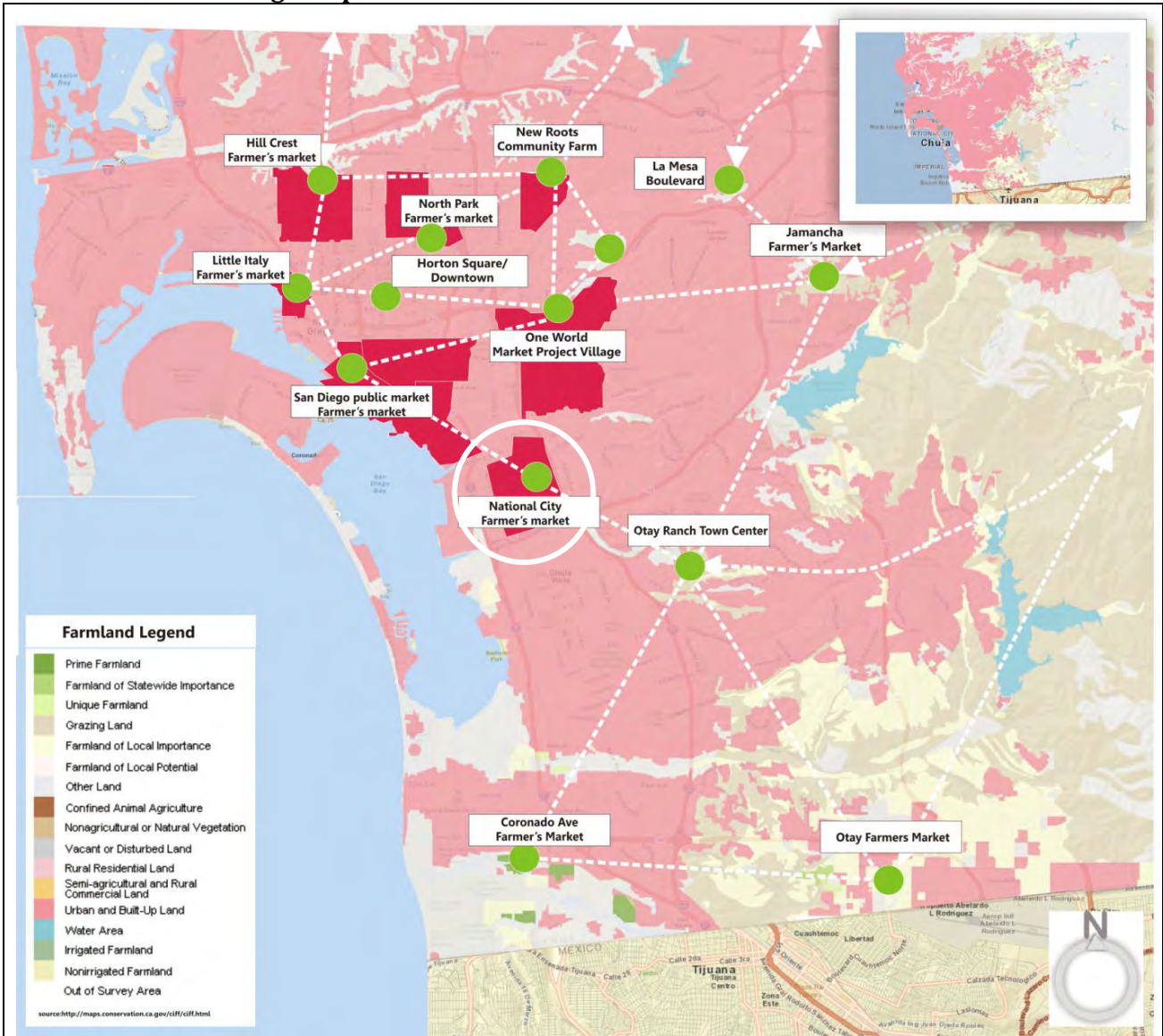




9. Urban-Rural linkage

The urban-rural linkage in the area is twofold: urban agriculture* and community gardens**, farmers’ market. The first one is a precise goal of the National City General Plan (OS-3 Open Space and Agriculture). Precisely the general plan indicates that: “Urban Agriculture thoughtfully integrated into the urban fabric that serves as open space, foster community involvement, and provide a local food source”. In this case study area there is not a high level of interaction with respect to the urban-rural linkage, however there is a high level of integration between the project and the urban planning tool. It means that even if the urban-rural interaction is not a clear aim of the project it will be included later as indirect aim coming from other tools such as the implementation of the General Plan through the specific plans as in this case. Indeed the project of Westside Connector is strictly connected with the Specific Plan of Down Town and Westside area. Plus, recently, in the area farmers’ market was realized thank to the cooperation among the municipality, the chamber of commerce and the San Diego County Farm Bureau.

9.1 Urban-Rural Linkage map



*"The growing, processing, and/or distribution of good through intensive plant cultivation in and around cities (Community Food Security Coalition, North American Urban Agriculture Commettee, 2003)

** A community garden is "a piece of land gardened collectively by a group of people" (American Community Garden Association,2007)

LITTLE ITALY, BID_s San Diego, CA

Jusy Calabro', ESR, Reggio Calabria Unit

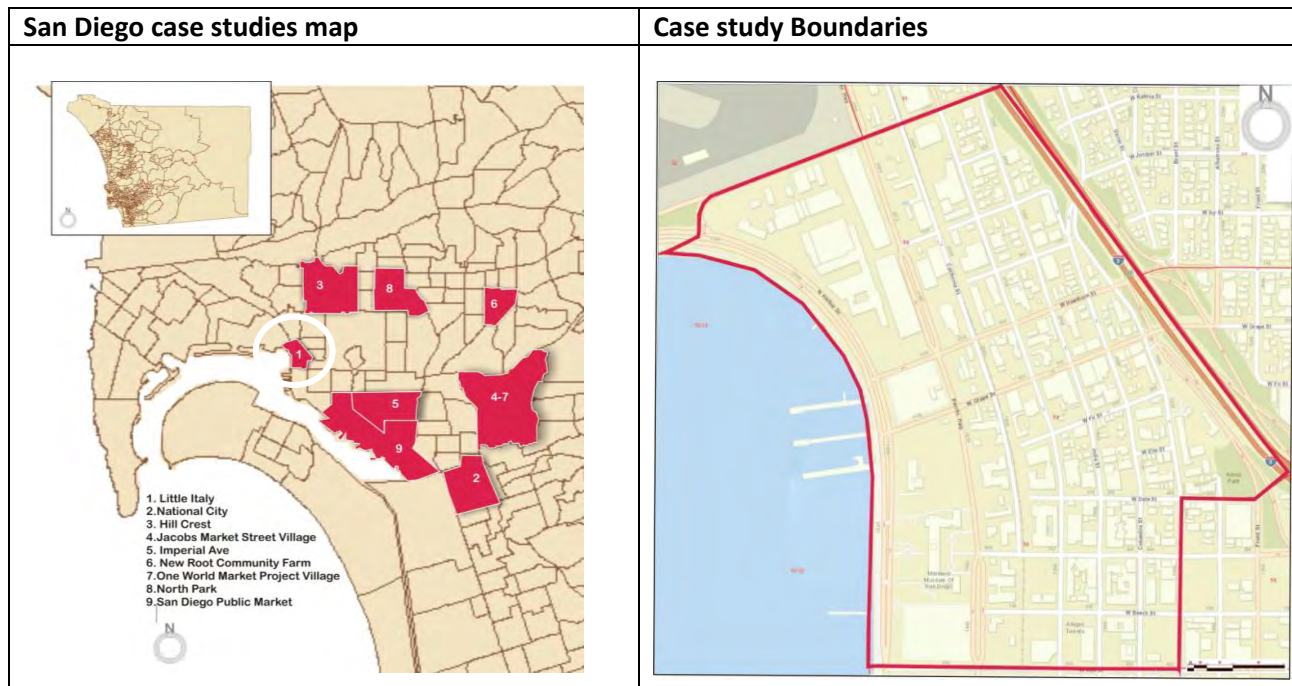
THE CASE STUDIES: Community-led approach

The role of community-based approach with respect to the research objectives of the Working Package No. 2.

1. Case Study general Information

Case Study: Little Italy, San Diego, CA (USA)

Researcher: Jusy CALABRÒ, ESR



Case Study Typology: BID (Business Improvement District)
City: San Diego, CA, (USA)
Residents (2010 US Census): 2725
Case Study Area: 0,25 (sq Km)
Area by Census Tracts*: 0,81 (sq Km)
*The area considered is the US Census Tract area because the case study area was too small or at the borders of different census tracts making difficult the collection and the analysis of data.
Per Capita Income: \$ 51.059,00

2. Brief description of the case study

The Little Italy neighbourhood is included in the San Diego Downtown Community Plan, the most central plan in the city of San Diego. It is characterized by a strong presence of the Italian community reflected by an high number of commercial activities owned by Italian people, especially restaurants and small retail businesses. During the last decade the neighbourhood experienced a new form of revitalization thanks to the implementation of a Community Benefit District (a particular form of Business Improvement District) in which the role of community has played a crucial role. In 1996 the Little Italy Association (LIA) was created: a non-profit 501(c)(3) corporation for the public's benefit, that advocates on behalf of its members' best interests in the areas for public safety, beautification, promotion and economic development, trying to preserve the unique cultural resources that exist in the Little Italy neighbourhood of Downtown San Diego. With the creation of the Little Italy Association in 1996, the neighbourhood started changing into a District specialized in Italian food, boutique shopping and maintenance. The neighbourhood, originally mainly composed of low-density commercial businesses and single-family detached homes, currently, it is composed of residential units, with

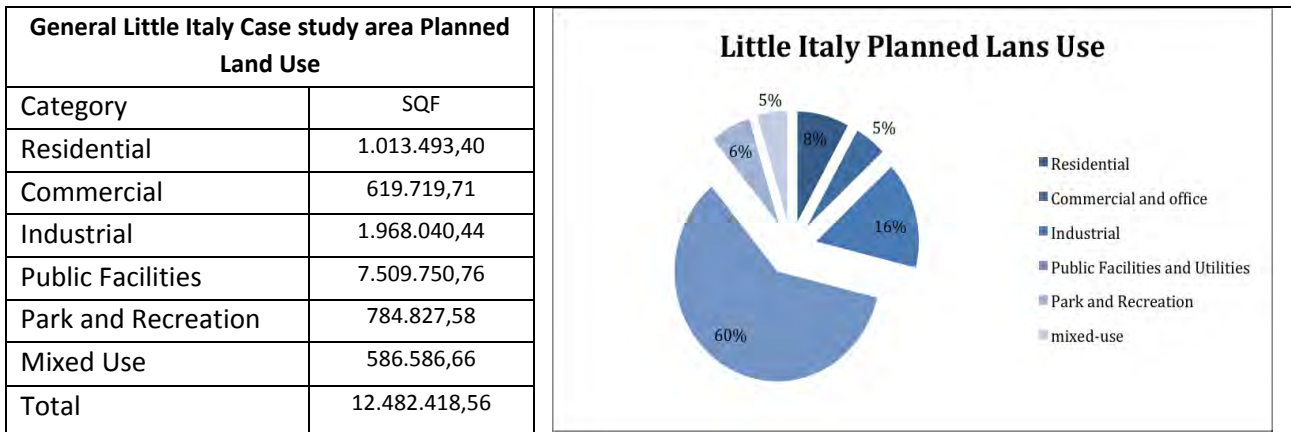
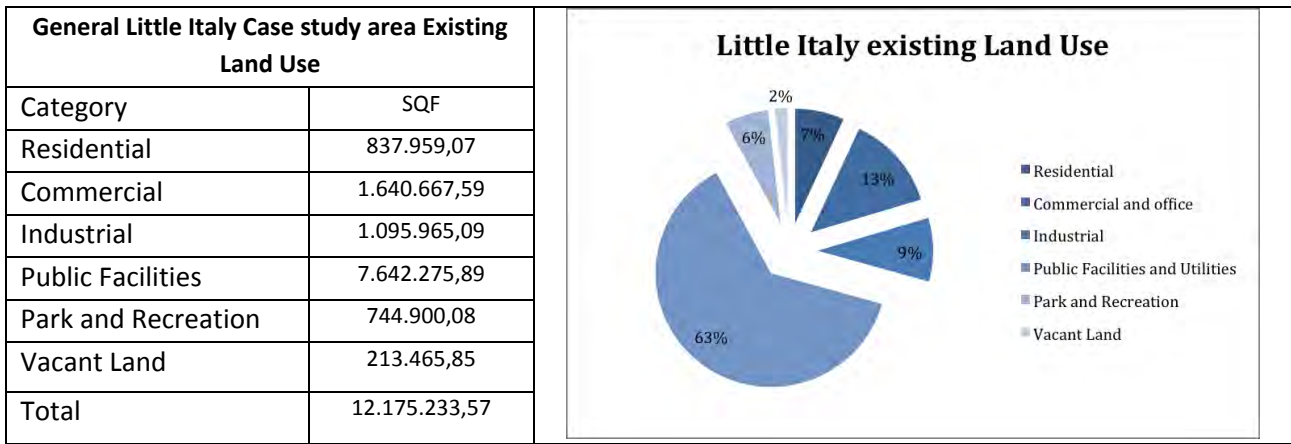
ground floor retail stores and a few commercial buildings. Little Italy is one of the more active downtown neighbourhoods, since it organizes frequent festivals and events including a weekly farmers market, also known as the Mercato.

3. Why this case study

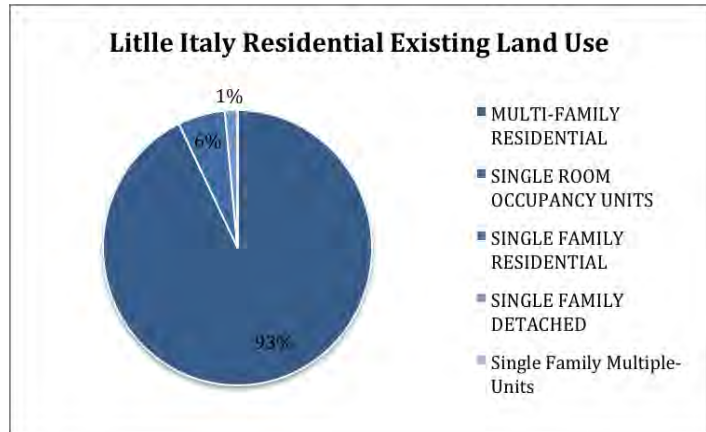
According to the WP2 objectives, the case study is particularly interesting for the implementation of BIDs and CBD (Community Benefit Districts) as tools for local economic development enhancement and urban regeneration initiatives. Thus from evidences, in the overall economy of San Diego County, BIDs are playing an important and widely recognized role to improve economic growth through public benefits implementation. Then, the presence of an important Farmer Market within the area, attracting hundred of vendors weekly, promoting local products, could be an opportunity to investigate the possible rural-urban connections in the San Diego area. This case study is interesting for the new form of involvement of the community in the regeneration process of the neighbourhood. This particular form of BID allowed and facilitated the community to associate businesses creating the conditions to attract new ones. The retention and the development of the existing businesses and the attraction of the new ones combined with actions of the urban planning tool (community plan) have generated positive effects for the community. Indeed the place became attractive for residents, the population increased, and per capita income of the area is the higher within the set of case studies selected, even higher than the average per capita income of the City of San Diego. The neighbourhood has attracted new investments from urban developers that have built in the area several housing units, especially multi residential units.

4. Land Use

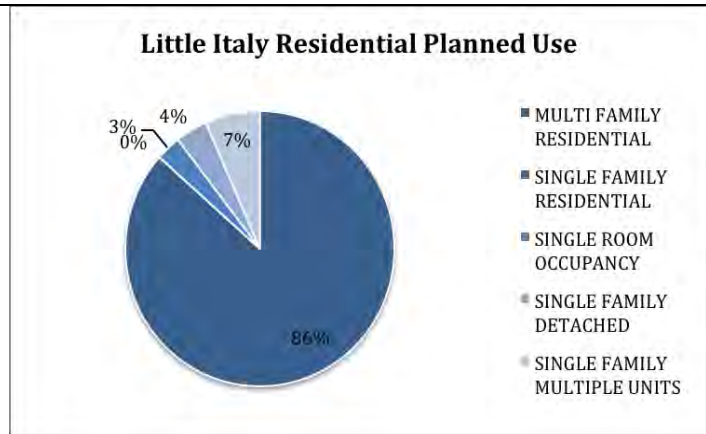
The difference between the existing and planned land use shows some interesting findings. First of all an high percentage of public facilities even if the planned land use reduce it by the 3%, however the area maintain an high level of public facilities(60%). The most interesting data is about the will to transform vacant land in mixed-use areas and reduction of industrial activities favoring the localization of light industrial activity and the increase of multi-family residential units that will increase the urban density in the area (66% of the planned land use for residential use). The reduction of commercial areas is due to the already existence of an high number of commercial activities.



Residential Little Italy Case study area Existing Land Use	
Category	SQF
Multifamily Residential	579.525,05
Single Room occupancy units	35.493,95
Single Family Residential	0
Single Family Detached	9.474,22
Single Family Multiple-units	0
Single Family without units	0



Residential Little Italy Case study area Planned Land Use	
Category	SQF
Multifamily Residential	877.152,12
Single Room occupancy units	35.493,95
Single Family Residential	30.328,45
Single Family Detached	39.123,78
Single Family Multiple-units	66.889,05



5. Partnership Typology and Composition

<p>A CBD “is a local enabling ordinance that allows the establishment of a special benefit district” in order to create a stable source of revenue to fund special services. (source: Property and Business Improvement Districts Law, 1994, California, Streets and Highways Code; Community Benefit District Act, 2005). In Little Italy, BID and CBD are managed by the same no-profit organization Little Italy Association (LIA), it can be considered a unique tool: indeed, the first one collecting assessments from business owners, the second from the residents of the area, both providing additional services to those expected to be given by the city. The BID/CBD overall strategy is retail retention, business attraction, beautification and, above all, create a brand that implies quality and reliance on the neighborhood as desirable place to live and work in San Diego (source: interview).</p>	
<p>All business have representatives within the BID Bord of Directors (23 people) managed by LIA district. management corporation through the “New City of America inc.” staff. However, taking from official documents and interviews, it can be stated that the BID within Little Italy is a very small part in the general economy of the neighborhood, mostly managed through funds coming from property tax assessment of the CBD, donations and grants, the Farmers’ Market. The Civic San Diego, a redevelopment agency acting on behalf of the State as catalyst for public-private partnerships to facilitate redevelopment projects, funded through years some initiatives and entered partnership agreements with LIA to enhance some public benefits (parking and streets above all).</p>	<p>Local development organization involved in the initiative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - DISI committee; - CAB - SOBO - Project Review - Legacy - Citrus PR - LIRA; - New City America (Management – Administrative role of all activities under the LIA)

6. Strategic Priorities

The BID/CBD overall strategy is mostly focused on retail retention, business attraction, maintenance and beautification. Above all, the creation of a brand that implies quality and reliance in the neighborhood as desirable place to live and work in San Diego is highly pursued. The Little Italy Association is a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt corporation, which administers various revenue streams and assessment districts to improve the Little Italy neighborhood. The BID operates also as CBD, where property owners, except for businesses, vote to pay an additional property tax assessment. Strategic Priorities are:

- Retail Enhancement;
- Economic Revitalization;
- Maintenance and Beautification;
- Cultural enrichment;
- Local produce valorisation through farmers’ market;
- Building Restoration and Renewal

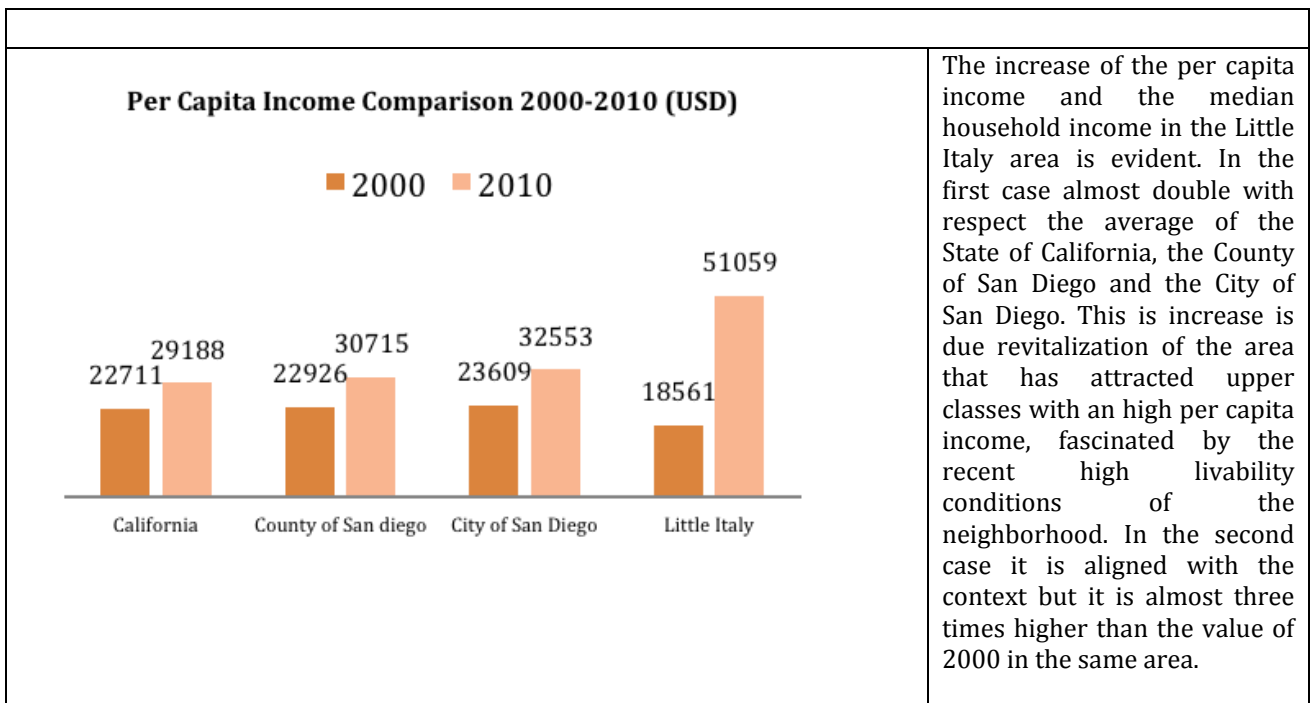
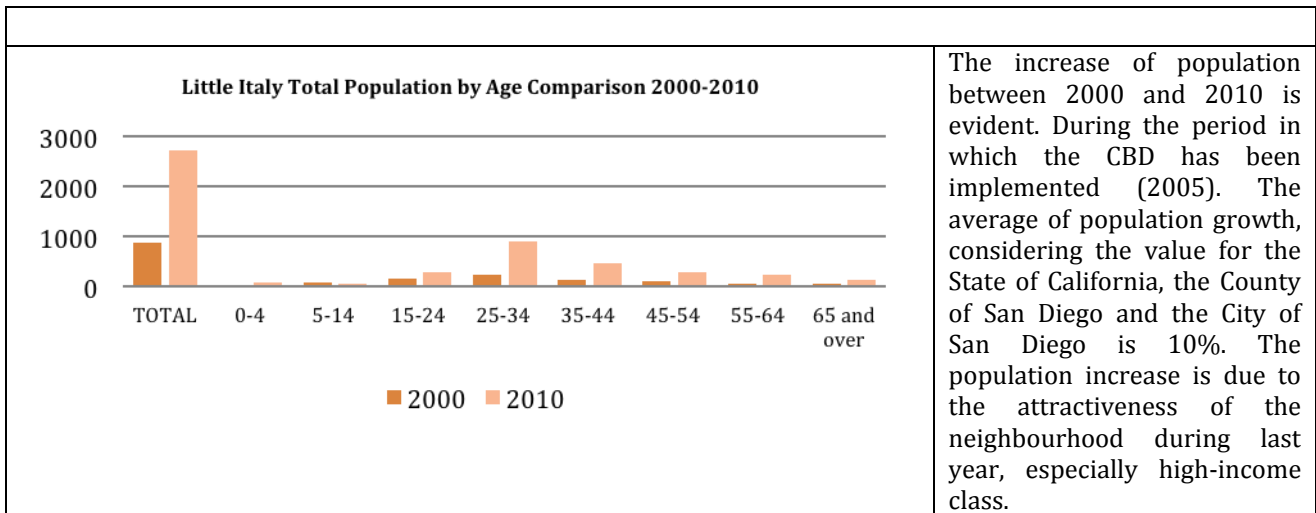
7. Main initiatives and projects linked with the case study

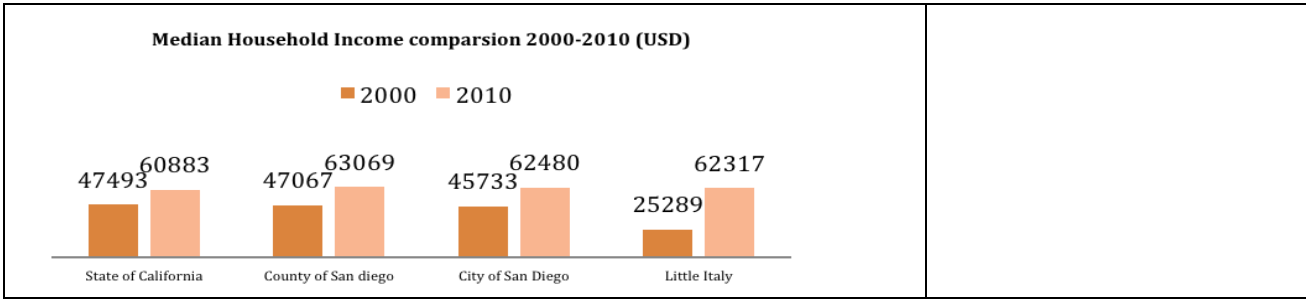
The Italian Community Center of San Diego, a 500 member non-profit organization founded in 1981 for people interested in Italian culture and language, is located in this neighborhood. This foundation is focused on maintaining the original feeling of Italy. The Convivio Center & Little Italy Heritage Museum is Little Italy’s newest destination for food, arts, culture, heritage and all things Italian in San Diego. The Center serves as a community resource and provides programs and events. The association manages both the BID and the CBD. The “sense of place” is a peculiar characteristic of the neighborhood, whose main objective is to preserve the Italian

community traditions and places. The community participation within the BID/CBA is strongly taken into account. Periodically the board meets to discuss about the initiatives and the issues of the area, mostly following a problem solving approach. For the Parking district, in early 2010, the Centre City Development Corporation (CCDC), now Civic San Diego, entered into an agreement with the Little Italy Association to manage the 45% of parking meter revenues that are allocated to San Diego's Little Italy; to maximize parking and alleviate the strain of parking on surface streets.

8. Fast socio-economic facts

The analysis of socio-economic data shows three main characteristics to deepen: the population increase from the comparison between 2000 and 2010, the per capita income and the median household income also from the comparison between 2000 and 2010

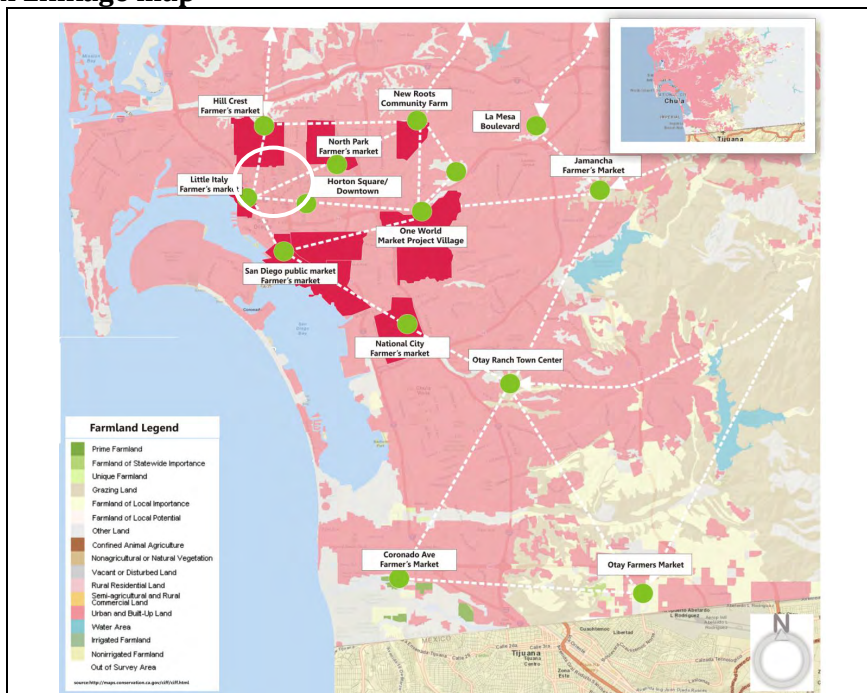




9. Urban-Rural linkage

The urban-rural linkage in the area occurs thanks to the presence of the local weekly farmer’s market that take place on the main street each Saturday. The local farmer’s market is associated with other farmer’s market of the city of San Diego that group local farmer’s for the valorisation and promotion of local production. The marketing activity then contributed to create a brand synonymous of quality and reliance for business or art galleries that move there aware to make safe investments. India Street vacancy rate, for example, is almost 0% (source:interview). The weekly Farmer’s Market in Little Itlay, born in 2007, is a strong and successful marketing and business initiative. Hundreds of vendors join the mercato each wek from all over the San Diego Count to sell their fresh, not processed, products. Most of them are certified, organic farms: the aim is to sell local products within a very eco-friendly context. The neighborhood indeed becomes pedestrian and walkable each Saturday to welcome thousands of people than come in India Street to enjoy the Mercato area. It is not just about fresh foods and drinks, it is also about livable place to stay a healthy routine to do every Saturday: the outdoor life improved increasingly thanks to initiatives like the Mercato. People come to Little Italy to stay there all day long, to buy food but also to walk among vendors and artists that show their creation, it is much more like an event that attract people, improving the livability and the attractiveness of the neighborhood. The Little Italy Mercato began officially in June 2008 with few merchants guided by the common vision to create a destination-worthy farmers' market for their community and Greater San Diego. Since then, the Mercato has grown into a nationally-recognized model for its commitment to farm-fresh goods and artisan craft. Today, local shoppers and visitors to Little Italy are able to discover and purchase Southern California's best seasonal offerings each weekend in the heart of San Diego's Little Italy. The Mercato runs every Saturday along Date Street. In the past months, there has been its expansion to west of Kettner Street bringing the full event footprint to six blocks with more than 130 merchants, making it San Diego's largest and most visited farmers' market.

9.1 Urban-Rural Linkage map



HILL CREST, BID_s San Diego, CA

Francesco Bonsinetto, ESR, Reggio Calabria Unit

THE CASE STUDIES: Community-led approach

The role of community-based approach with respect to the research objectives of the Working Package No. 2.

1. Case Study general Information

Case Study: HILLCREST BUSINESS IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT (San Diego, CA)

Researcher: Francesco BONNETTO, ESR

San Diego case studies map	Case study Boundaries

Case Study Typology: BID (Business Improvement District)
City: San Diego, CA, (USA)
Residents (2010 US Census): 15263
Case Study Area: 1.45(sq Km)/(360 acres)
Area by Census Tracts*: 3,80 (sq Km)
*The area considered is the US Census Tract area because the case study area was too small or at the borders of different census tracts making difficult the collection and the analysis of data.
Per Capita Income: \$ 44.702,00

2. Brief description of the case study

“Hillcrest Business Improvement District” is one of the 18 BIDs designated by city of San Diego and it’s included in the Uptown community planning. This Case Study acts as the central node of community activity for Uptown as it features a myriad of mixed uses and entertainment activities. The major role in this process has been played by HBIA(Hillcrest Business Improvement Association) a no profit corporation that today represents over 1.300 businesses acting as a liaison between the business community and the city. HBIA, that is part of the city’s BID Council, encourages economic development for the Hillcrest Community through events and promotions as well as physically improvements. Hillcrest is a really old part of the town as it is the San Diego’s first urban village which has celebrate its centennial in the 2007. Eclectic and village-like, Hillcrest constitutes the most predominant community commercial retail district in Uptown with two-story buildings along tree-lined streets rich of antique stores, specialty shops, bookstores, entertainment venues and pedestrian sidewalk areas. Several areas feature ground level retail with upper story residential use. The local community are highly engaged, from

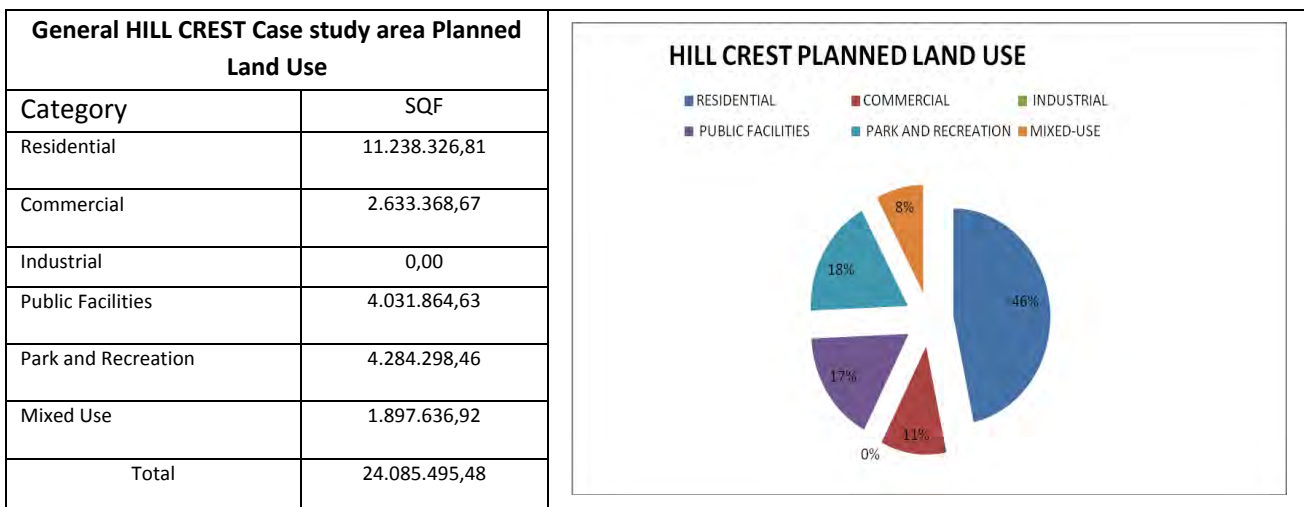
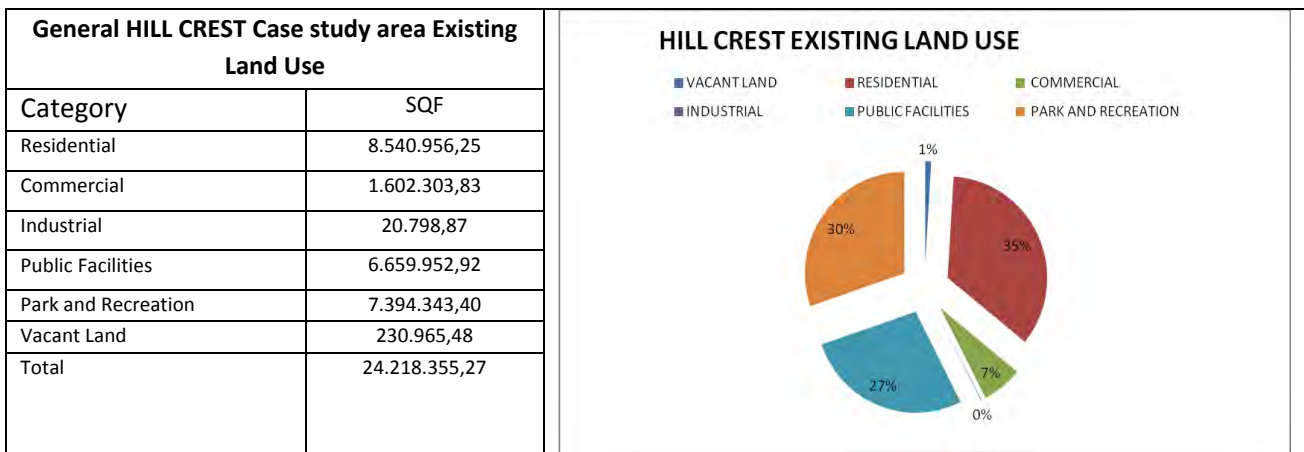
organizing clean-up events to getting involved with local planning issues. This distinctive neighbourhood is a favourite for San Diego's artistic community, and houses also a very huge Farmers Market.

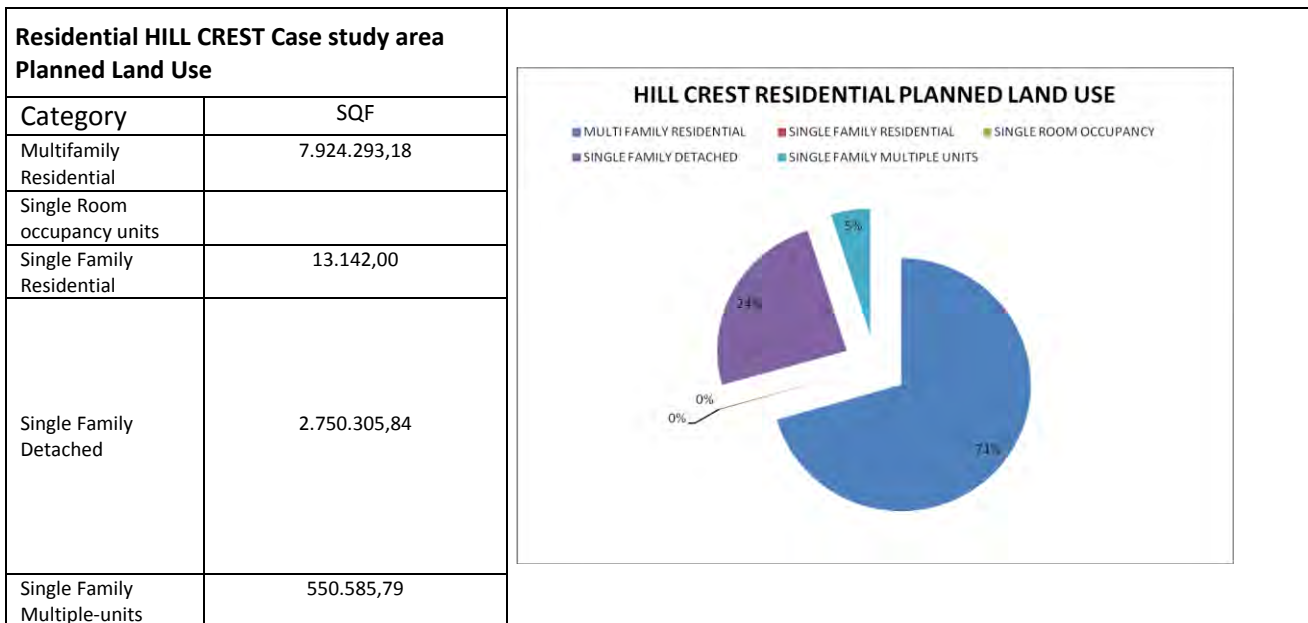
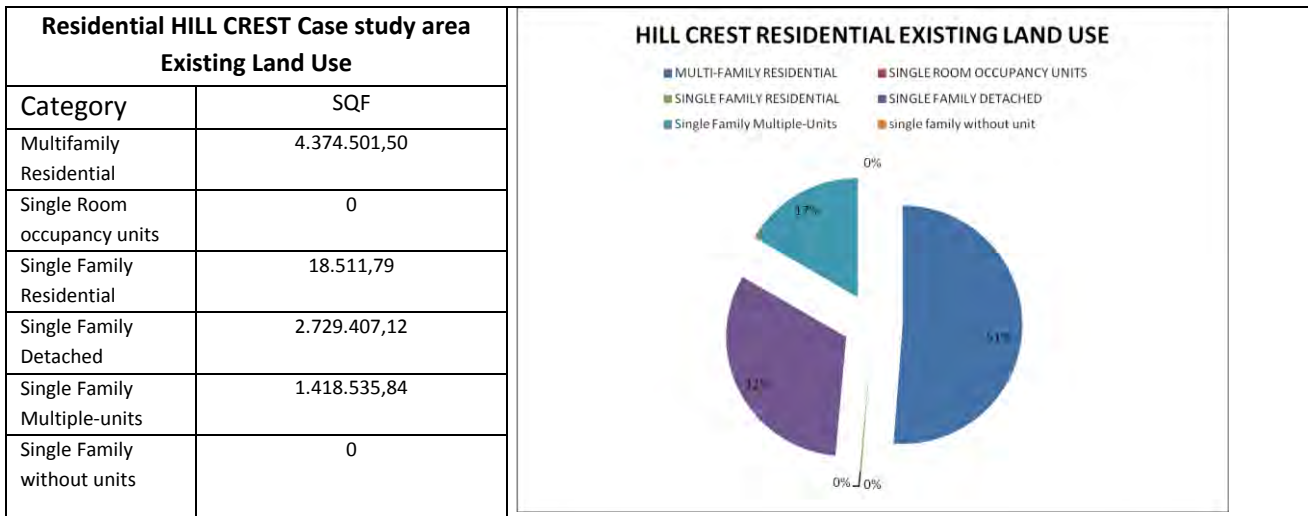
3. Why this case study

According to the WP2 objectives, this case study is particularly interesting for the implementation of San Diego's Business Improvement Districts (BIDs), they are City-designated geographic based areas where the business owners are assessed annually to fund activities and improvements to promote the business district. The City of San Diego supports BIDs as a tool for strengthening small business communities, creating new jobs, attracting new businesses, and revitalizing older commercial neighborhoods across the city. The City partners with merchants associations, representing the assessed business owners, to implement the BID program. The case study emerges for 6 reasons: 1) Hillcrest has been designated as one of APA's top 10 "Great Neighbourhoods" in US for 2007; 2) legacy of activism and trendsetting; 3) an early model of "smart growth"; 4) compact and pedestrian-oriented commercial district; 5) the biggest and busiest farmers market in San Diego; 6) presence of different community and merchant based organizations.

4. Land Use

From comparison between existing and planned land use emerges an high percentage of public facilities and open space, even if the planned land use reduce it by the 10%, however the area maintain an high level of public facilities. The most interesting data is that in the existing land use map the percentage of commercial area is low of the 3% respect the 7% of the planned land use, which instead shows a high percentage of Mixed Use structures and adds parking spaces to complement the growing population in Hillcrest's commercial core. The difference between the existing and planned land use highlighted a reduction of the Single Family Detached of about 8% and a increase of 20% of the multifamily residential, and may be due by urban regeneration process that exchange the spatial connotation of the area from rural to urban.

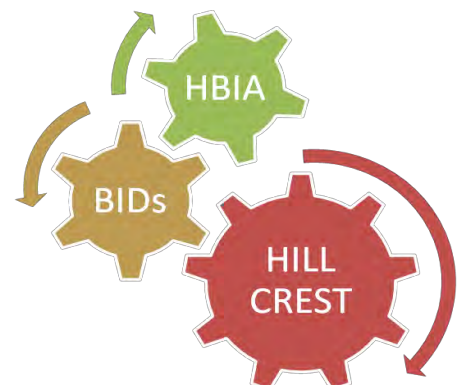




5. Partnership Typology and Composition

Hillcrest BIA is a California non-profit corporation and is exempt from income taxes under Section 501(c)(6) of the Internal Revenue Code and Section 23701(d) of the California Code and generally is not subject to income taxes.

The Hillcrest BIA is working to consolidate the identity of the neighborhood, in collaboration with the Uptown planners, through marketing and diverse programs, civic beautification projects, commercial recruitment, parking and transportation improvements, and special events such as “city fest”, street fair annual events and the weekly farmers market. The HBIA represents over 1200 businesses, administering a portion of the grant collected by the city through local business licenses.



6. Strategic Priorities

HBIA is currently working on three strategies in particular to strengthen business attractiveness: 1) cleaning daily streets with a focus on keeping the neighborhood clean; 2) marketing efforts to attract both businesses and community members to shop Hillcrest; 3) improve the mixité of businesses to fill the many vacant storefronts in the area. Strategic Priorities are:

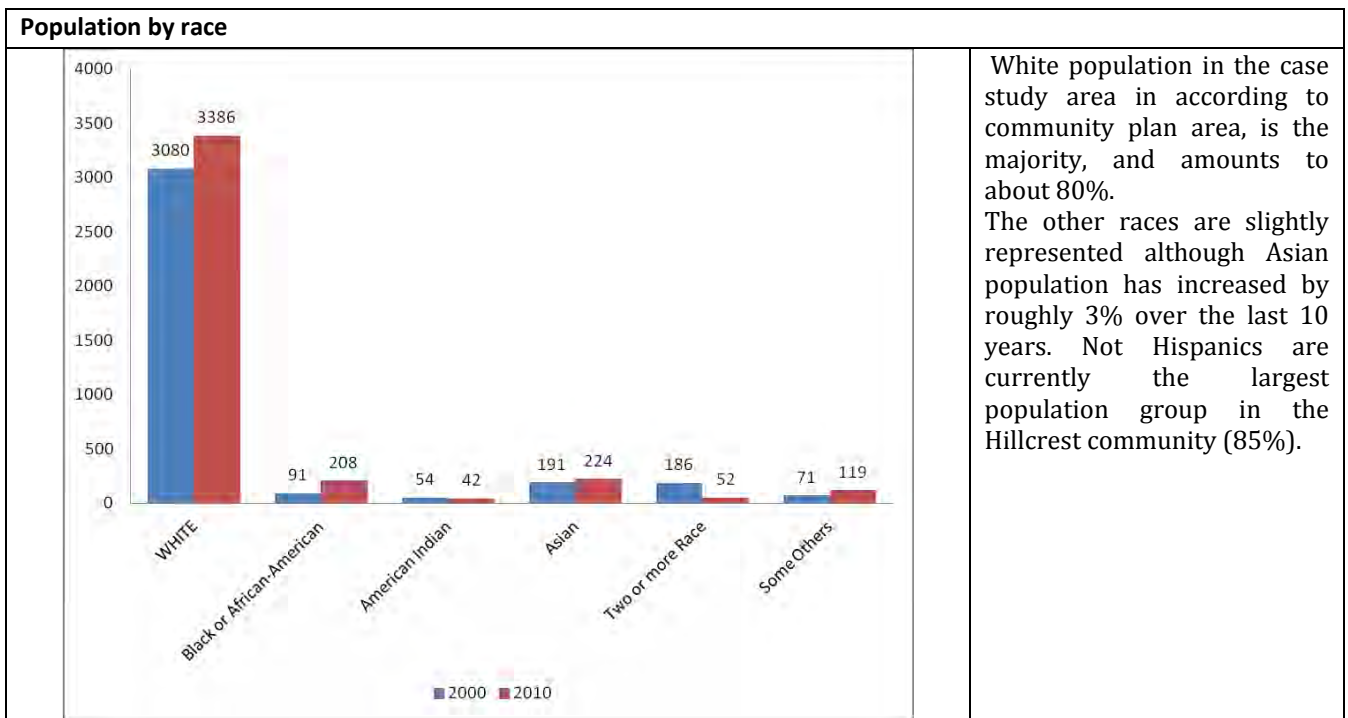
- Retail Enhancement;
- Economic Revitalization;
- Maintenance and Beautification;
- Cultural enrichment;
- Local produce valorisation through farmers' market;
- Building Restoration and Renewal
- Others: Marketing and Communication

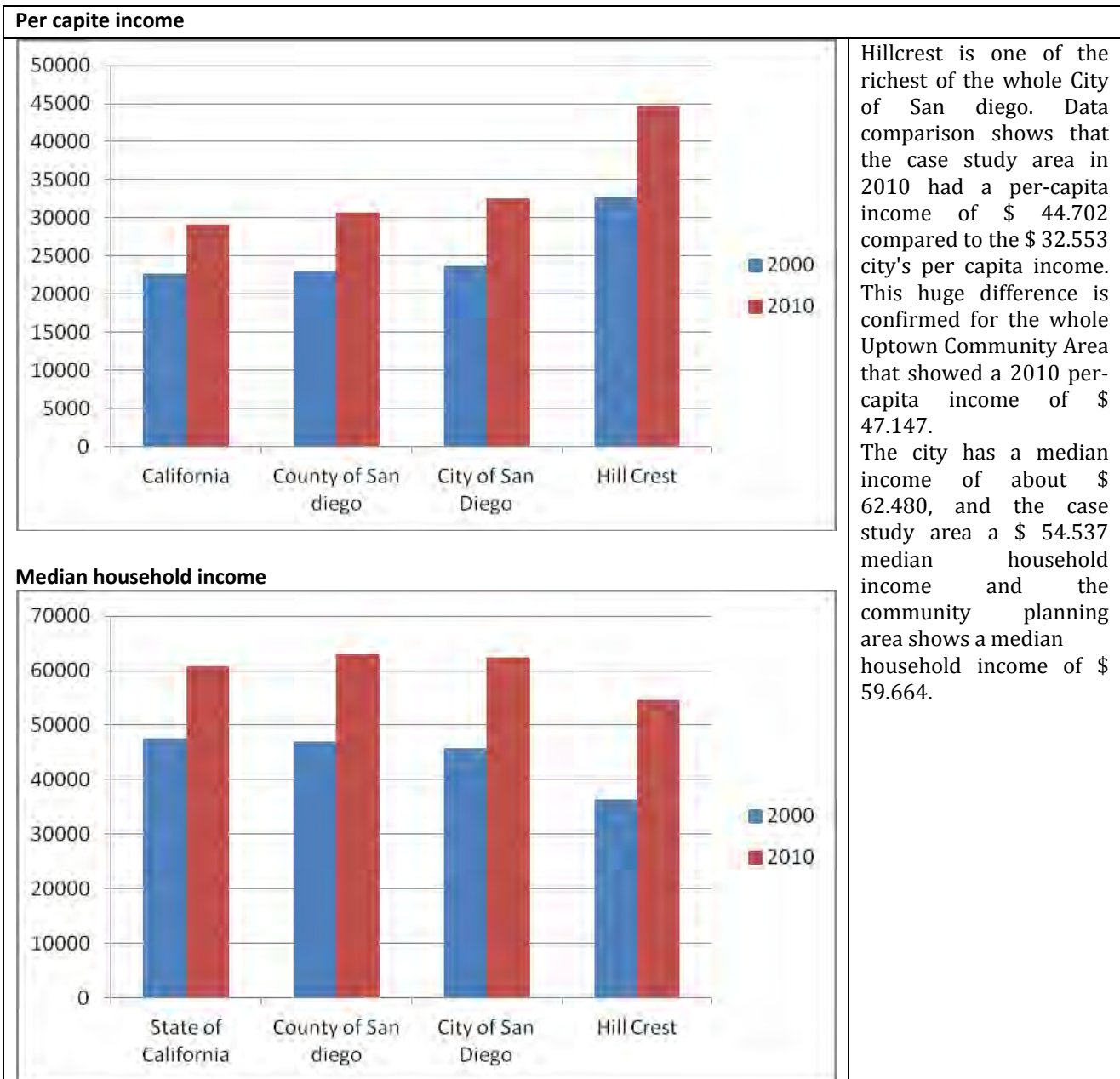
7. Main initiatives and projects linked with the case study

This case study underlines the importance of the BIDs as a “tool” for maintaining and enhancing the vitality of the areas they serve, as well as a “model” of urban and community revitalization. The development of Hillcrest has been successful in relating what the community involvement has done in the past to follow “smart growth” principles and the APA’s guidelines for honoring Hillcrest as one of the Nation’s Top Ten Neighbourhoods. If it’s still vibrant, rich and well organized, probably it’s thanks to the work of the Hillcrest Business Association. This means that the decision of the city to select Hillcrest as one of San Diego’s Business Improvement Districts in 1984 was a success. Indeed according to a new study carried out by the National University System Institute for Policy Research, San Diego’s business improvement districts generate major economic benefits for their businesses and the region.

8. Fast socio-economic facts

The analysis of socio-economic data shows three main characteristics to deepen: the population by race increase from the comparison between 2000 and 2010, the per capita income and the median household income also from the comparison between 2000 and 2010



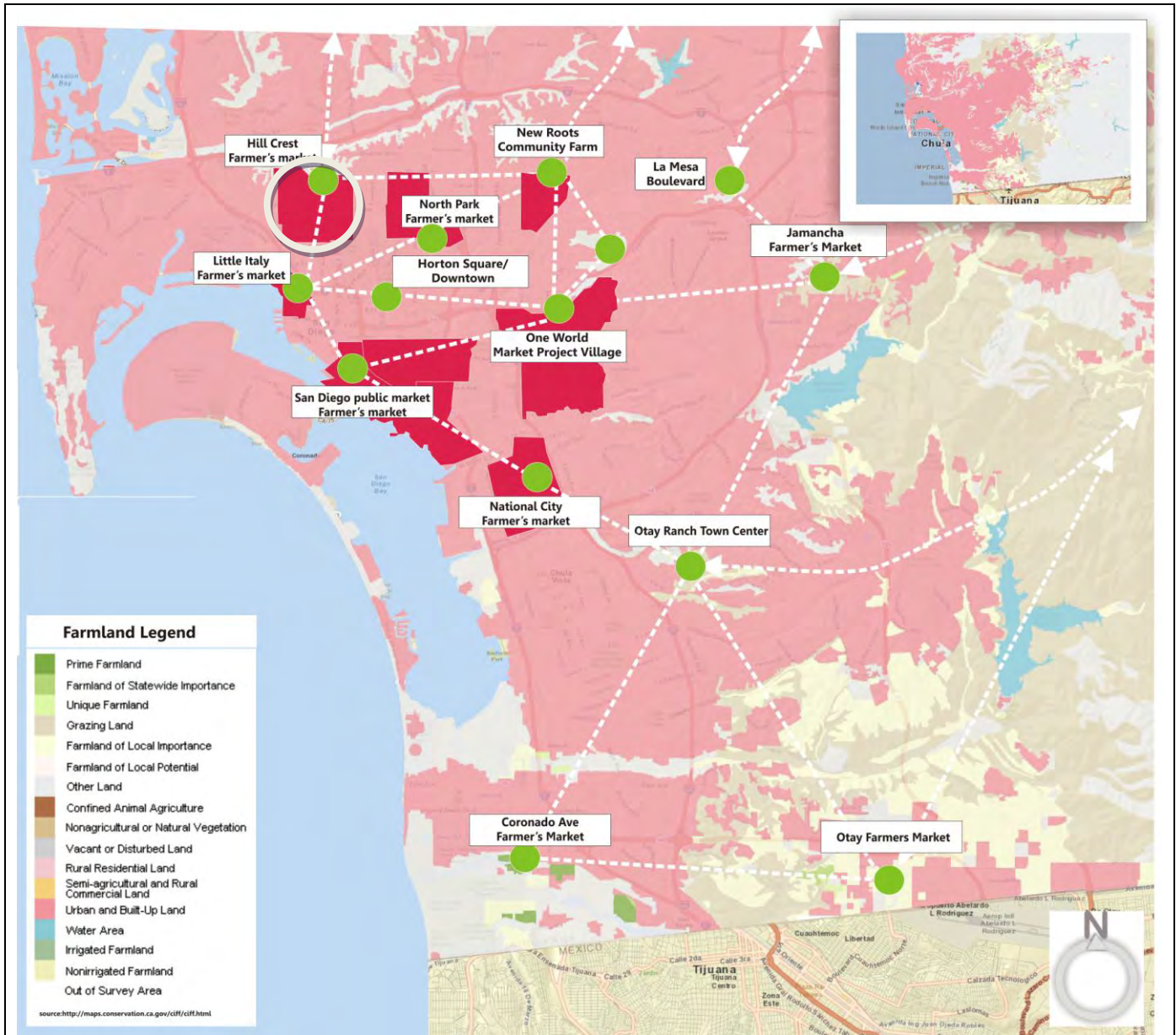


9. Urban-Rural linkage

Urban-Rural Linkages in this case study is very strong thanks to the presence of the local farmer's market, it's called Hillcrest Farmers Market and consists of 140 vendors offering a wide variety of locally grown in-season fruit, produce, gifts, arts and crafts, and flowers. It is one of the biggest in terms of size and scope and one of the most popular of the San Diego farmer's markets. This market occupies 3960 Normal Street, on the intersection of Normal and Lincoln, and is a big draw for Hillcrest, one of San Diego's most eclectic and happening neighborhoods. Many of the local farmers participating in the market grow their produce organically or with no pesticides. The market also hosts a large variety of prepared food and hot food items with an emphasis on international cuisine. Additionally, each week, there are a large number of arts and crafts vendors participating, as well as weekly entertainment performed by Shawn Rohlf and the 7th Day Buskers, a local folk band playing in the heart of the market. The market originally opened with only 35 vendors on the second Sunday in April 1997. The market has been incredibly successful since it first opened and retains the reputation as "The Best" Farmers Market in San Diego County. It was late in 1995 when then acting President of the Hillcrest Business Association, David Cohen, determined that Hillcrest needed a farmers market and that the Hillcrest Business Association was

going to be the market sponsor and find a suitable location in Hillcrest to host it. After tirelessly searching for a site and with the help and influence of Congresswoman Susan Davis, State Assembly Person at the time, a deal was finally made with the Department of Motor Vehicles to use their parking lot.

9.1 Urban-Rural Linkage map



JACOBS MARKET STREET VILLAGE/MARKET CREECK PLAZA

San Diego, CA

Carla Maione, ESR, Reggio Calabria Unit

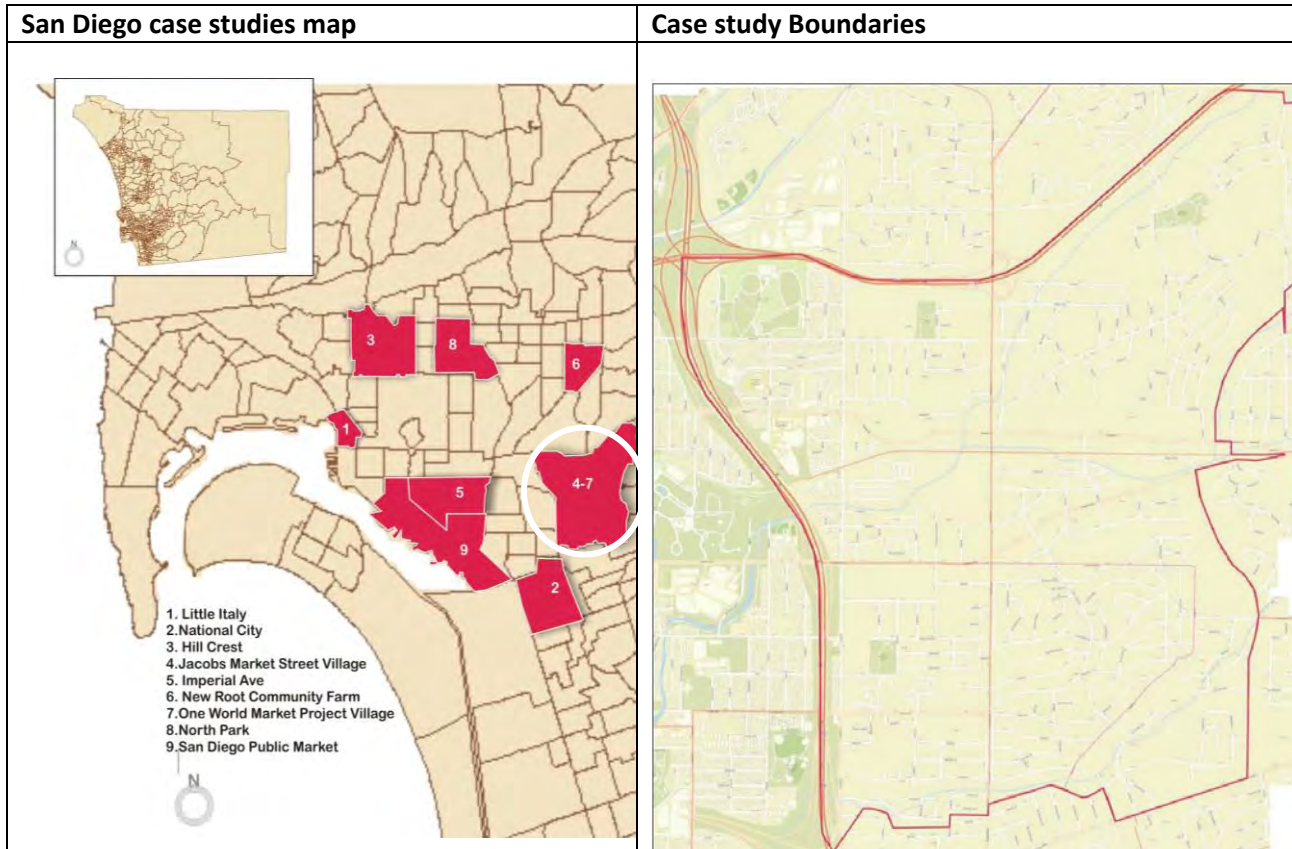
THE CASE STUDIES: Community Led Approach

The role of community-based approach with respect to the research objectives of the Working Package No. 2.

1. Case Study general Information

Case Study: JACOBS MARKET STREET VILLAGES/MARKET CREECK PLAZA (San Diego, CA)

Researcher: Carla MAIONE, ESR



Case Study Typology: NPCBPO: Non Profit Community-Based Planning Organization other than CDC, SE, MS
City: Diamond Neighborhood, San Diego, CA, (USA)
Residents (2010 US Census): 28,129
Case Study Area: 0,24 sq/km
Area by Census Tracts*: 8,37(sq Km)
*The area considered is the US Census Tract area because the case study area was too small or at the borders of different census tracts making difficult the collection and the analysis of data.
Per Capita Income: \$ 14557

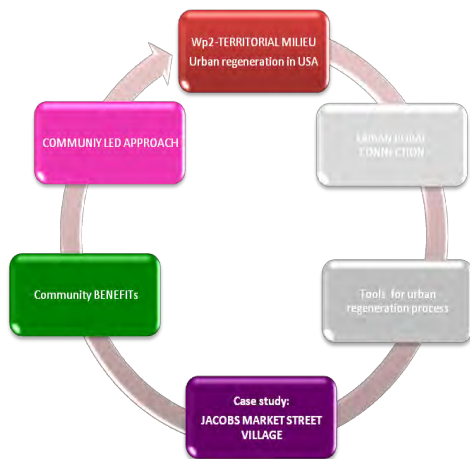
2. Brief description of the case study

Jacobs Market Street Village/Market Creek Plaza is located in Encanto Community Plan is currently being updated, simultaneously with the Southeastern San Diego Community Plan. The case study is envisioned as a vibrant community, residential, commercial, and multi cultural district. The community local in this case study has played a key role in the processes of urban regeneration, indeed it could be considered as "pilot case study" for community involvement and shows the ability of individuals to cooperate with the planning forces for a strategic Joint Action. A shared decision-making process to create new opportunities, following a consensus based approach, implementing, and evaluating works, preserving the community identity. J'sMSV is a mixed use area, belonging to the category of Transit Village/city of village strategy, the core of the case study is the transit

station, redesigned as a public space, which has the important function of being a meeting place for the community, a place for special events, “it is a modern version of Greek agora”(Bernick-Cervero, 1997:5). In this case study, the community involvement strategy opens the door to economic opportunity and improves the health, education and community safety, and the strength of JMSVs is not only technical but also sociological because is also considered the node of networks connection with other community in the region.

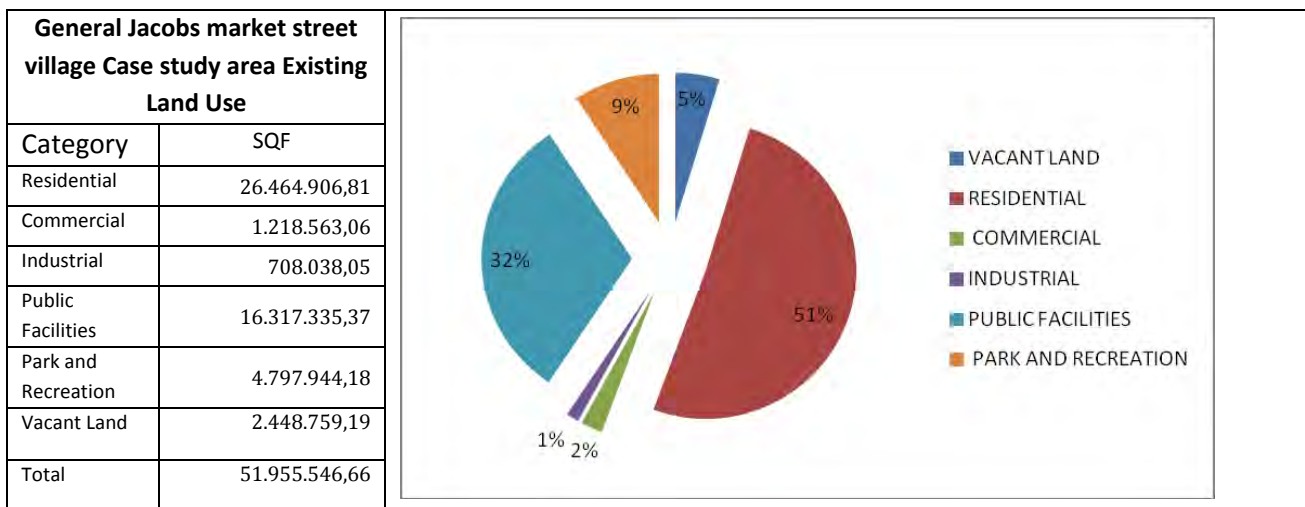
3. Why this case study

In according to the Wp2 objective in JMSVs focal point is the role of the partnership that had created the vision for the case study through two particular strategies, first the Community Engagement for the planning participation process, and the second COMMUNITY OWNERSHIP in fact for Joe Jacobs promoter of the initiative philosophy was “Resident Ownership of Neighborhood Change”. Then, the presence of an important Farmer Market within the area, attracting hundred of vendors weekly, promoting local products, could be an opportunity to investigate the rural-urban connections in the San Diego area.

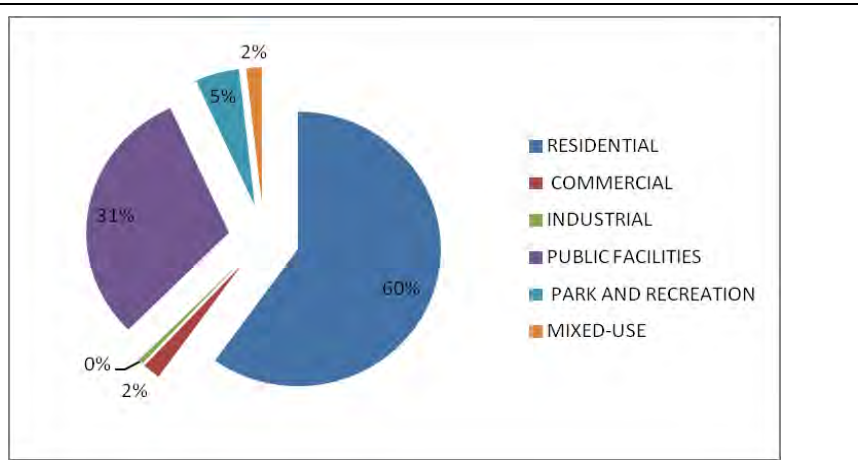


4. Land Use

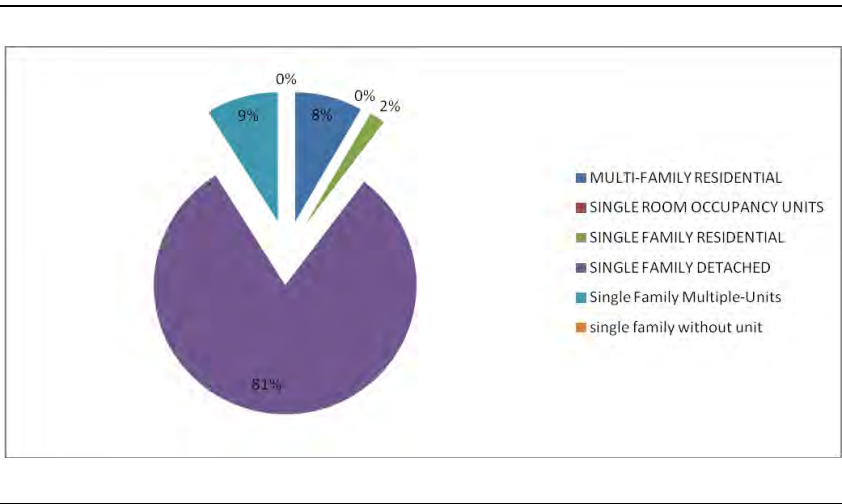
From comparison between existing and planned land use emerges an high percentage of public facilities (not easily usable due to the morphology of the land) and a low percentage of commercial area. The most interesting data is that in the existing land use map the percentage of park and open space results more high of the 4% respect the 5% of the planned land use, could be for the presence of the transit station and probably for the transformation from vacant land to mixed use area of the planned land use. From residential existing land use map is highlighted an high number of the Single Family detached, instead in the residential planned use there is a reduction of the single family detached and a increase of multi-family residential, could be for urban regeneration initiative that works for a physical conversion from rural contest to urban.



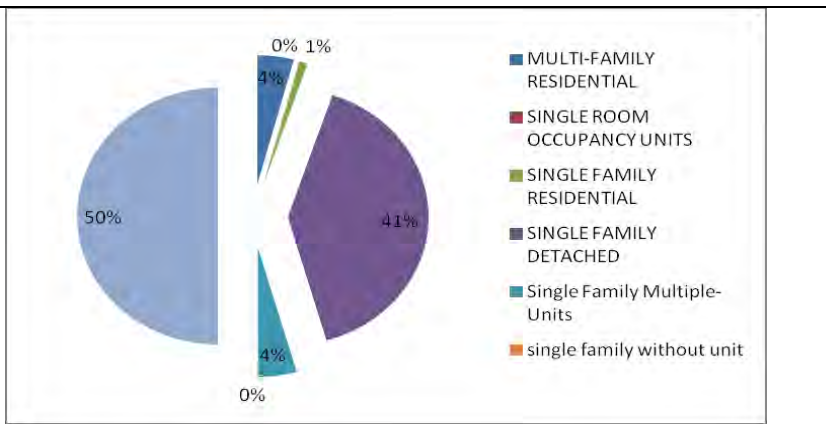
General Jacobs market street village Case study area Planned Land Use	
Category	SQF
Residential	32.735.950,14
Commercial	1.114.126,95
Industrial	316.882,17
Public Facilities	16.833.743,47
Park and Recreation	2.724.652,60
Mixed Use	966.519,80
Total	54.691.875,13



Residential Jacobs market street village Case study area Existing Land Use	
Category	SQF
Multifamily Residential	2.198.162,98
Single Room occupancy units	0,00
Single Family Residential	516.526,02
Single Family Detached	21.399.438,28
Single Family Multiple-units	2.342.972,51
Single Family without units	7.807,01

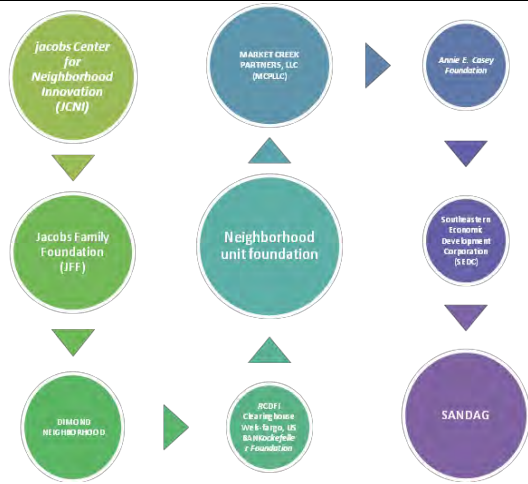


Residential Jacobs market street village Case study area Planned Land Use	
Category	SQF
Multifamily Residential	12.844.820,52
Single Room occupancy units	596.812,87
Single Family Residential	0,00
Single Family Detached	18.695.069,53
Single Family Multiple-units	599.247,22



5. Partnership Typology and Composition

In 1998, Jacobs Family Foundation (JFF) and Jacobs Center for Neighborhood Innovation (JCNI) had created the vision for JMSV, through an community engagement process with about 3,000 local residents. The Partnerships is focused on health, education, family services, and youth developments are important to the long-term sustainability of programs that enhance quality of life for community local. JFF and JCNI have fulfilled their investor criteria of strategic investment and sustainable development, as well as the social return criteria of community visioning, a high and ongoing level of community engagement, and the first steps toward actual community ownership of the Market Creek developments



Name	Public/Private/NGO	% Initial Capital Invested 100% Total \$23.6 Million
Jacobs Family Foundation (JFF)	No profit organization	8.5%
Jacobs Center for Neighborhood Innovation (JCNI)	No profit organization	10%
Diamond Management, Inc. (DMI)	PRIVATE	2.1%
Market Creek Partners, LLC (MCPLLC)	PRIVATE "Community Development IPO" creates access for residents to participate as individual owners.	60%-23,5 milion 10-acre community-planned project featuring a major supermarket, restaurants and retail shops, as well as multicultural public art.
Neighborhood unit foundation	PRIVATE	2,1%
CDFI Clearinghouse Wels-fargo, US BANK		63.6%
Rockefeller Foundation	PRIVATE	4.2%
Annie E. Casey Foundation	PRIVATE	5.3%
F.B. Heron Foundation	PRIVATE	2.1%
Legler Benbough Foundation	PRIVATE	2.1%
Southeastern Economic Development Corporation	PUBLIC	N.A
City Planning	PUBLIC	N.A
Sandag	PUBLIC	N.A

6. Strategic Priorities

JMSVs is particularly interesting for two main strategy within the community plan one is the City of Villages(it is to focus growth into mixed-use activity centers that are pedestrian-friendly, centers of community, and linked to the regional transit system) and two Transit Oriented Development (TODs), they are an application of Smart Growth program, the planning approach that tries to encourage development in already urbanized communities for environmental, equity and economic reasons. City of San Diego and the State of California encourage this approach with grant and supports projects and plans that exemplify strategies to increase affordable housing supply, employment opportunities and transportation choices that reflect community values and reduce greenhouse emissions.

Strategic Priorities are:

- Retail Enhancement;
- Economic Revitalization;
- Maintenance and Beautification;
- Education and Training
- Cultural enrichment;
- Local produce valorisation through farmers' market;
- Building Restoration and Renewal

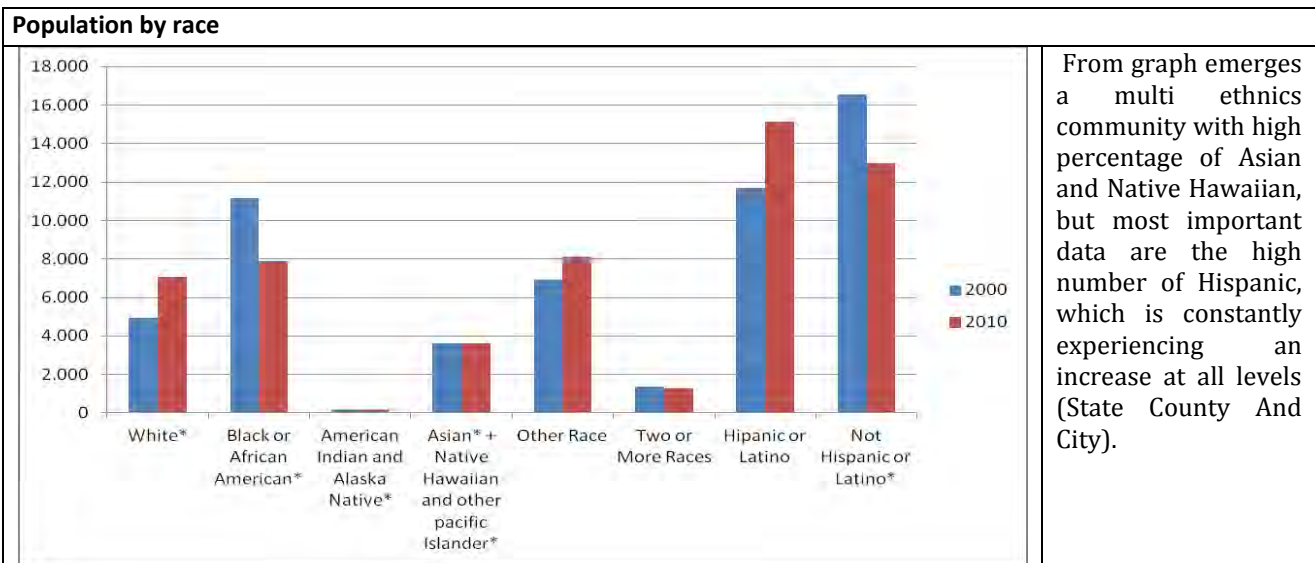
7. Main initiatives and projects linked with the case study

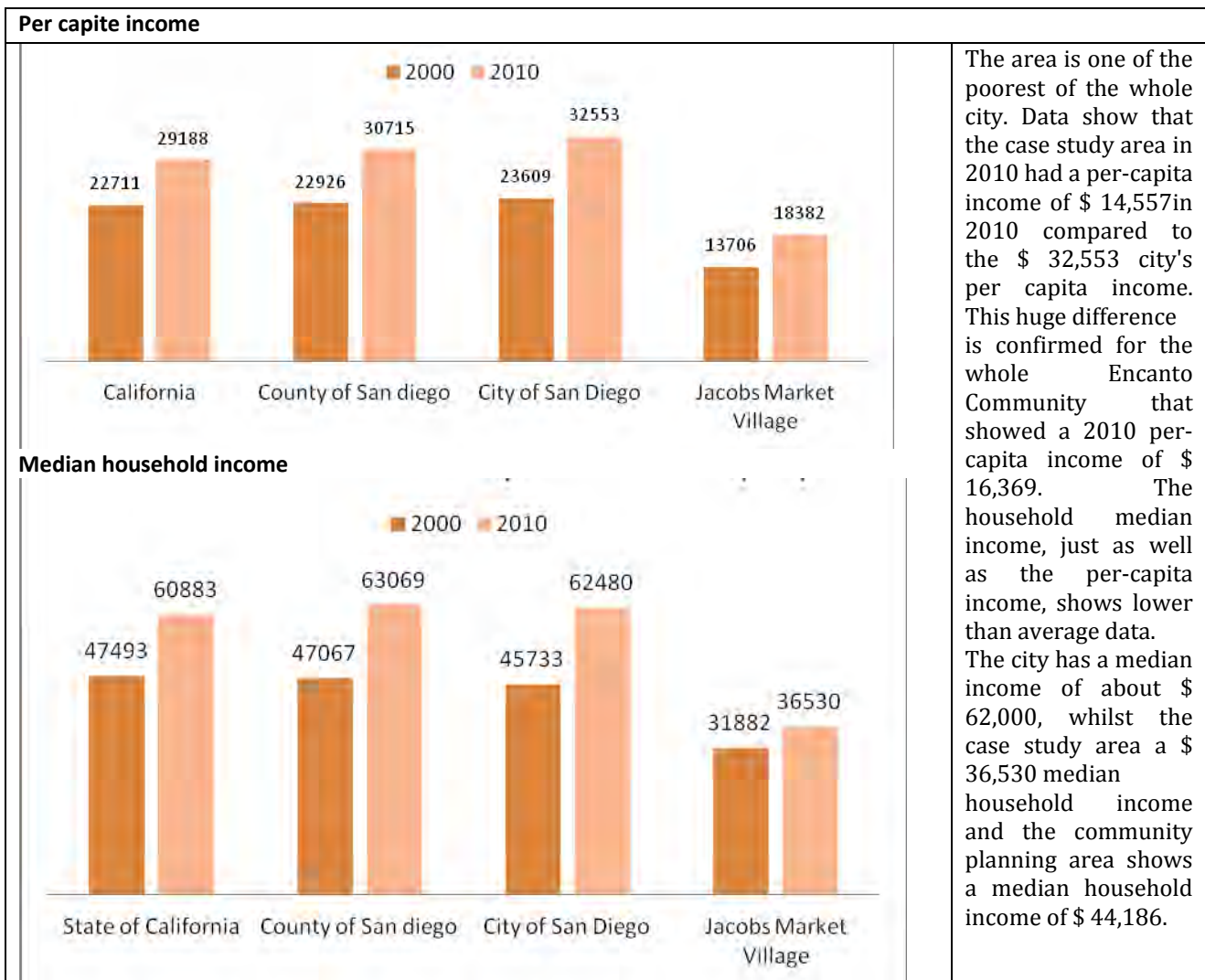
Main initiatives in the planning process tool are divided in 4 particular objectives:

- 1) Business Development, have a role to attract new businesses and jobs to the community and to build up a vibrant business community.
- 2) Community Ownership, it Provide opportunities for residents to invest in the development of their community and to create community benefit.
- 3) Social Enterprise, with the goal to attract businesses that fill a community need, develop jobs, and create social and positive impact.
- 4) Community Employment, to increase a range of job and career opportunities.

8. Fast socio-economic facts

The analysis of socio-economic data shows three main characteristics to deepen: in this case study differently from city, county and state population which increased over the 10 years from 2000 to 2010, the area's population has remained basically the same, the per capita income and the median household income also from the comparison between 2000 and 2010.





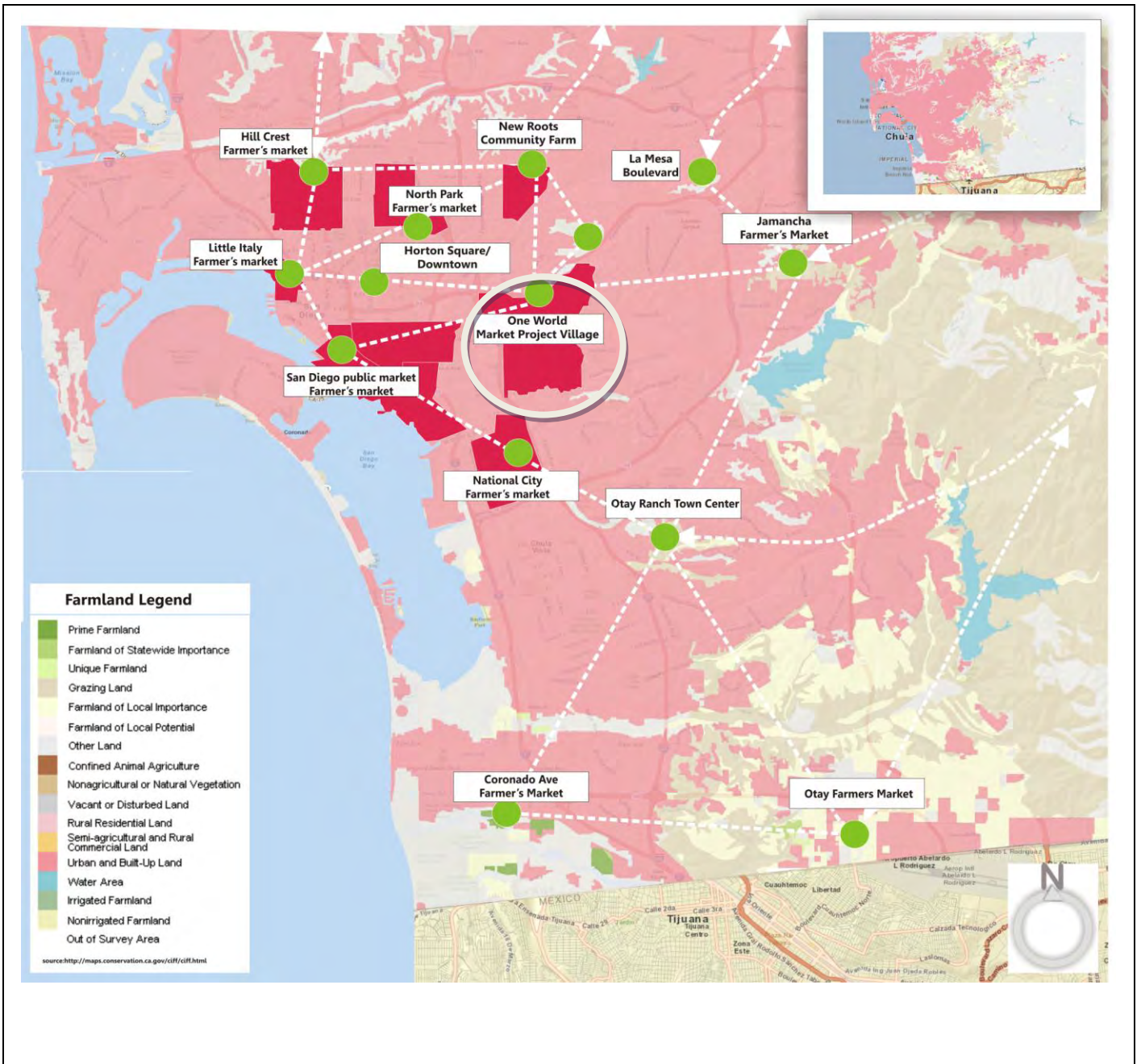
9. Urban-Rural Linkage

Urban-Rural Linkages in this case study is very strong thanks to the presence of the local farmer's market, it's called One World Food Corner will be a destination for growing, eating, cooking, buying, and selling healthy fresh food in the heart of Southeastern San Diego within the Encanto Community. Project New Village is a non-profit organization that work in collaboration with Jcni and have a mission "to collaborate with organizations and community members to promote personal, community and communal wellness in Southeastern San Diego", they have developed a program called "People's Produce Farmers Market" it's intended to address the growing need for food and health advocacy in the village. The purpose of this initiative is to create, collaborate and coordinate efforts to grow, harvest and distribute fresh, nutritious fruits and vegetables in Southeastern San Diego.

This particular program has 4 different goals:

- Include increasing access to locally grown organic public produce
- Facilitating skill development and new job opportunities to support public produce production and distribution
- Cultivating a political and social agenda that encourages and supports active participation in food justice movement
- Re-energizing a community of connected caring residents participating in communal living and community development.

9.1 Urban-Rural Linkage map



IMPERIAL AVE/COMMERCIAL CORRIDOR San Diego, CA

Luciano Zingali, ESR, Reggio Calabria Unit

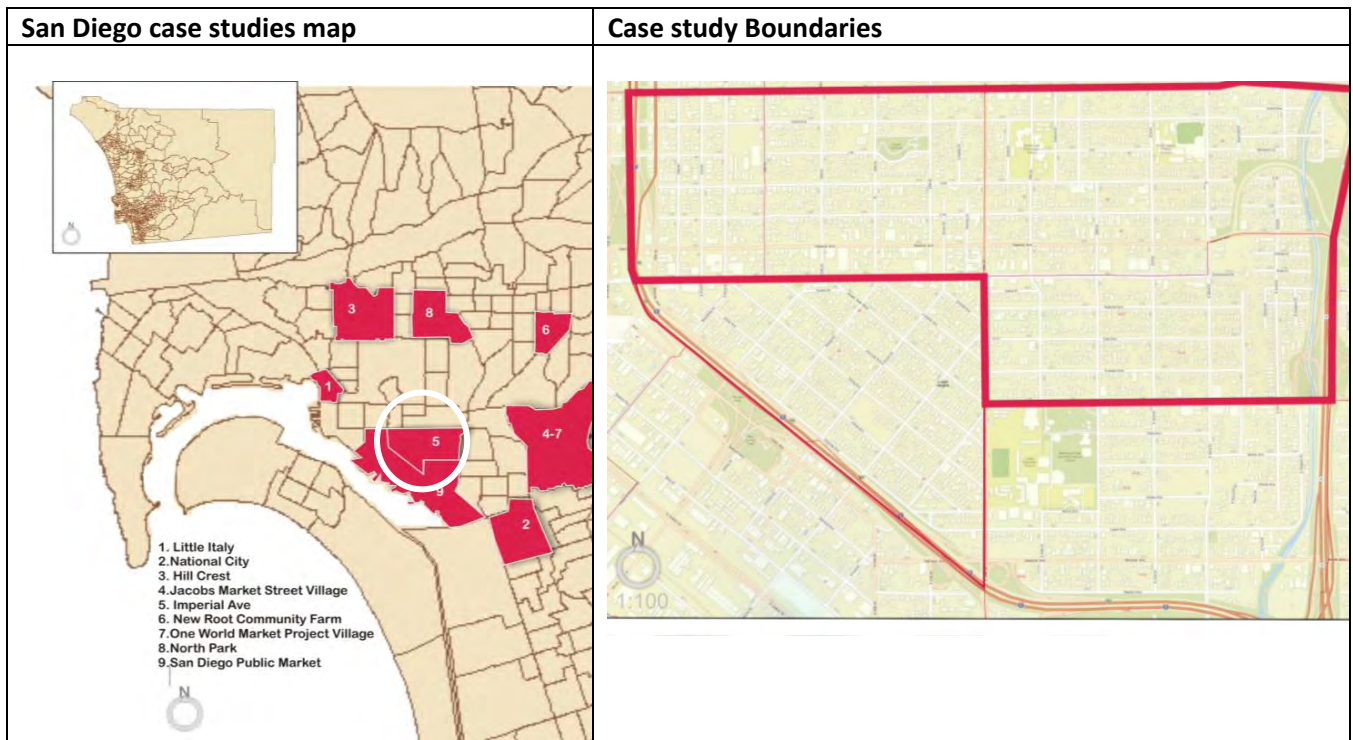
THE CASE STUDIES: Community-led approach

The role of community-based approach with respect to the research objectives of the Working Package No. 2.

1. Case Study general Information

Case Study: Commercial/ Imperial Corridor(San Diego, CA)

Researcher: Luciano ZINGALI,ESR



Case Study Typology: Community Led-Smart Growth Opportunity
City: San Diego, CA, (USA)
Residents (2010 US Census): 43.267
Case Study Area: 0,24 (sq/km)
Area by Census Tracts*: 8,37 (sq/km)
*The area considered is the US Census Tract area because the case study area was too small or at the borders of different census tracts making difficult the collection and the analysis of data.
Per Capita Income: \$ 11879

2. Brief description of the case study

The Imperial/Commercial Corridor could be considered the gateway to the greater Southeastern San Diego community plan. It enjoys the benefits of adjacency to downtown, and convenient local and regional access by freeways and a trolley line. The case study is characterized by a community-driven process very strong, indeed Imperial/Commercial Corridor Master Plan embodies the community's vision to enable a more vibrant future that supports a mix of culturally-relevant uses integrated with transit, streetscape and public space enhancements to promote vitality and livability. The Commercial/Imperial Corridor in according to the Community Plan capitalizes on its transit access to support a mix of culturally relevant uses, including stores, restaurants, and other businesses; a diverse range of housing; and public facilities, arts, education, recreation and open space. The imperial/commercial corridor is characterized by a fine-grain pattern, with small building footprints and lot sizes. Many of the businesses are targeted to the varied ethnicities within the surrounding

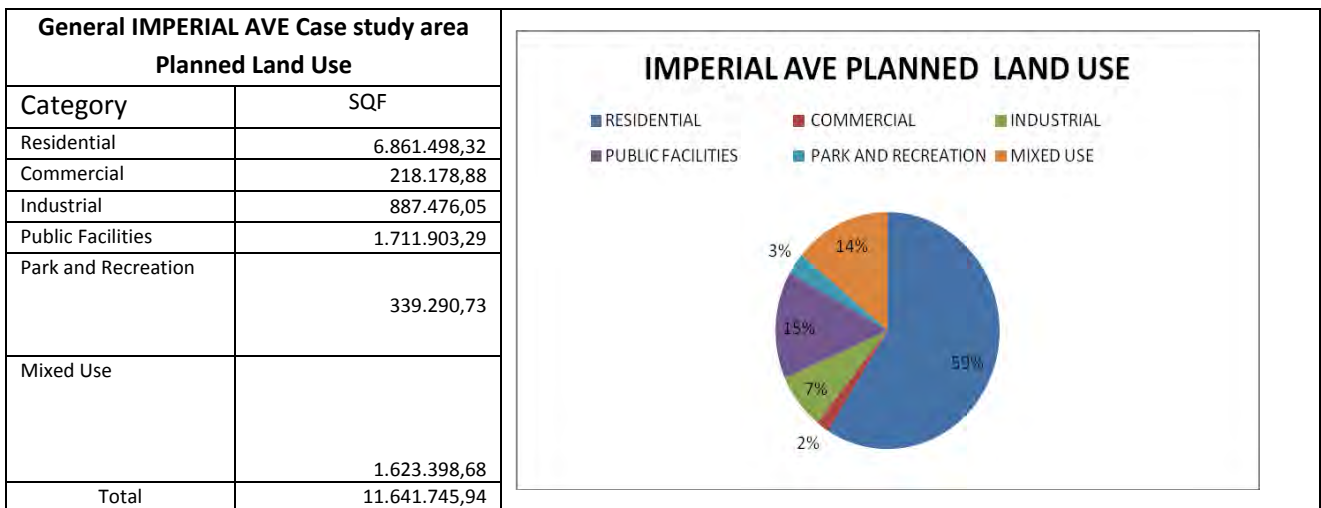
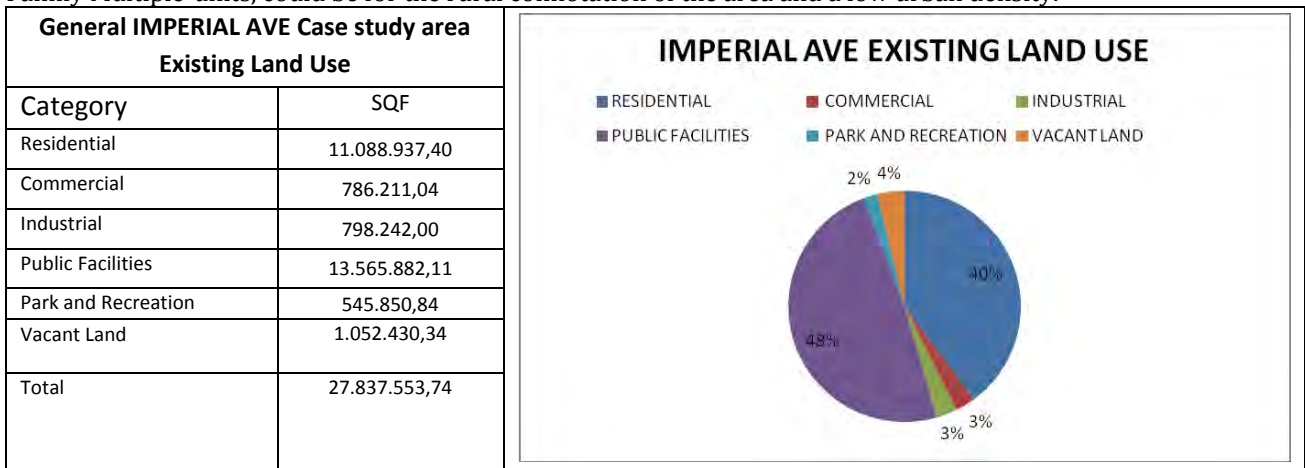
neighborhood, which contributes to a strong identity of the community local and fairly cohesive streetscape character with a heavily Hispanic influence. This case study represent a node of connection with other communities through a material and immaterial network.

3. Why this case study

According to the WP2 objectives, the case study is particularly interesting for the community involvement in the planning process, in particular for the implementation strategy of the Imperial/Commercial Corridor Master Plan. Through the planning process, community members were offered a variety of opportunities to help develop a vision and plan for the corridor that reflects the community’s priorities. Community workshops, a community character survey, and ongoing updates to the project website offered ways to share information, discuss issues and aspirations, and provide feedback on interim products. The community visions consist in to develop a family oriented zone, based on history and sense of community. The corridor capitalizes on its transit access to support a mix of culturally relevant uses, including stores, restaurants, and other businesses; a diverse range of housing; and public facilities, including arts, education, recreation and open space. Streetscapes foster community identity, provide opportunities for plazas and other gathering spaces; and enhance pedestrian and bicyclist safety and comfort, while preserving automobile movement. A network of northsouth transit routes complements the eastwest trolley lines.

4. Land Use

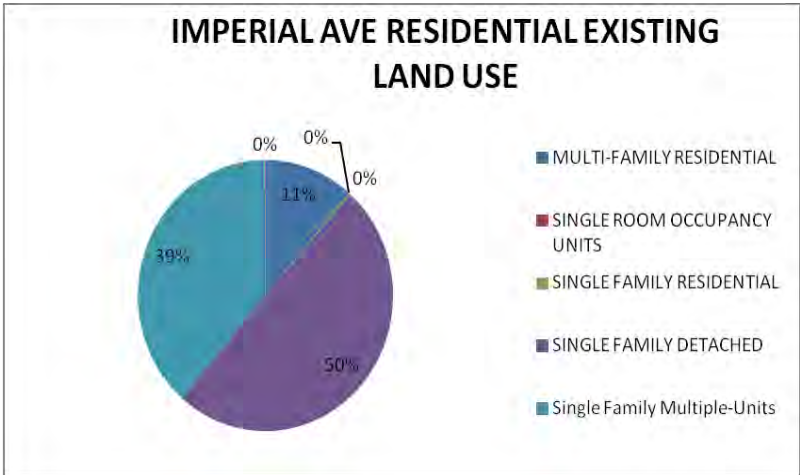
The difference between existing and planned land use highlights the strong reduction in the planned land use of the public facilities, instead the existing land use shows a high percentage of public facilities about 48% respect the total, the high percentage of religious facilities shows the strong presence of Hispanic or Latin residents and for the high level of poverty. The most interesting data is about the probably transformation of the vacant land to mixed-use, and the increase of the light industry for to create the jobs creation. From comparison between existing and planned land use residential emerges a high percentage of Single Family Detached units and Single Family Multiple-units, could be for the rural connotation of the area and a low urban density.



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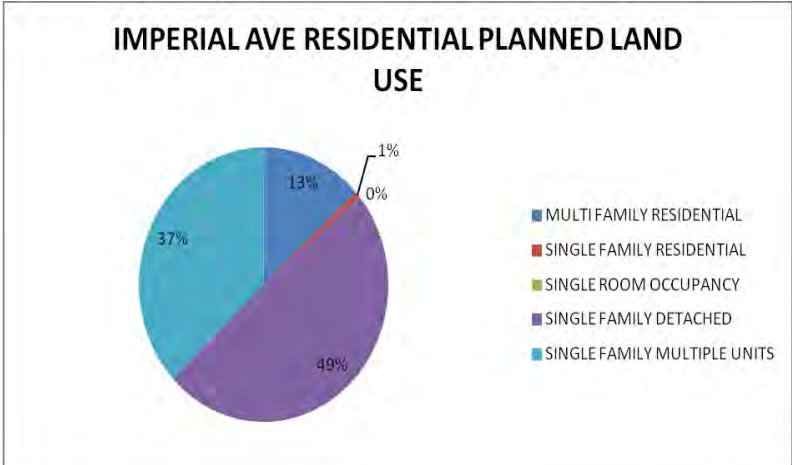
Residential IMPERIAL AVE
Case study area Existing
Land Use

Category	SQF
Multifamily Residential	1.256.683,13
Single Room occupancy units	0,00
Single Family Residential	30.520,58
Single Family Detached	5.510.630,03
Single Family Multiple-units	4.278.787,43
Single Family without units	12.316,23



Residential IMPERIAL AVE
Case study area Planned
Land Use

Category	SQF
Multi Family Residential	910.191,18
Single Family Residential	51.852,37
Single Room Occupancy	0,00
single family detached	3.361.362,02
Single Family Multiple Units	2.538.092,75



5. Partnership Typology and Composition

<p>The general partnership is composed from public and private stakeholder and some members of the community local, in particular emerges the role of the SEDC (Southeastern Economic Development Corporation) a no profit corporation, responsible for redevelopment in Southeastern San Diego Community, that works in collaboration with SANDAG the San Diego Association of Governments with the goal to supports through different community workshops the development of the planning area.</p>	
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6. Strategic Priorities

The initiative aims to identify development opportunities and business improvement, provide a variety of housing types, including work/live options, and have potential to become major pedestrian-oriented corridors and it's a particular “nodes” that could be identified as a “City of Village”. The City of Villages strategy within the community plan was the city’s response to the need to accommodate population growth in a city that has run out of raw land and in particular the strategy consist to accommodate growth in centers close to transit where the people can live/work and play.

The Strategic Priorities are:

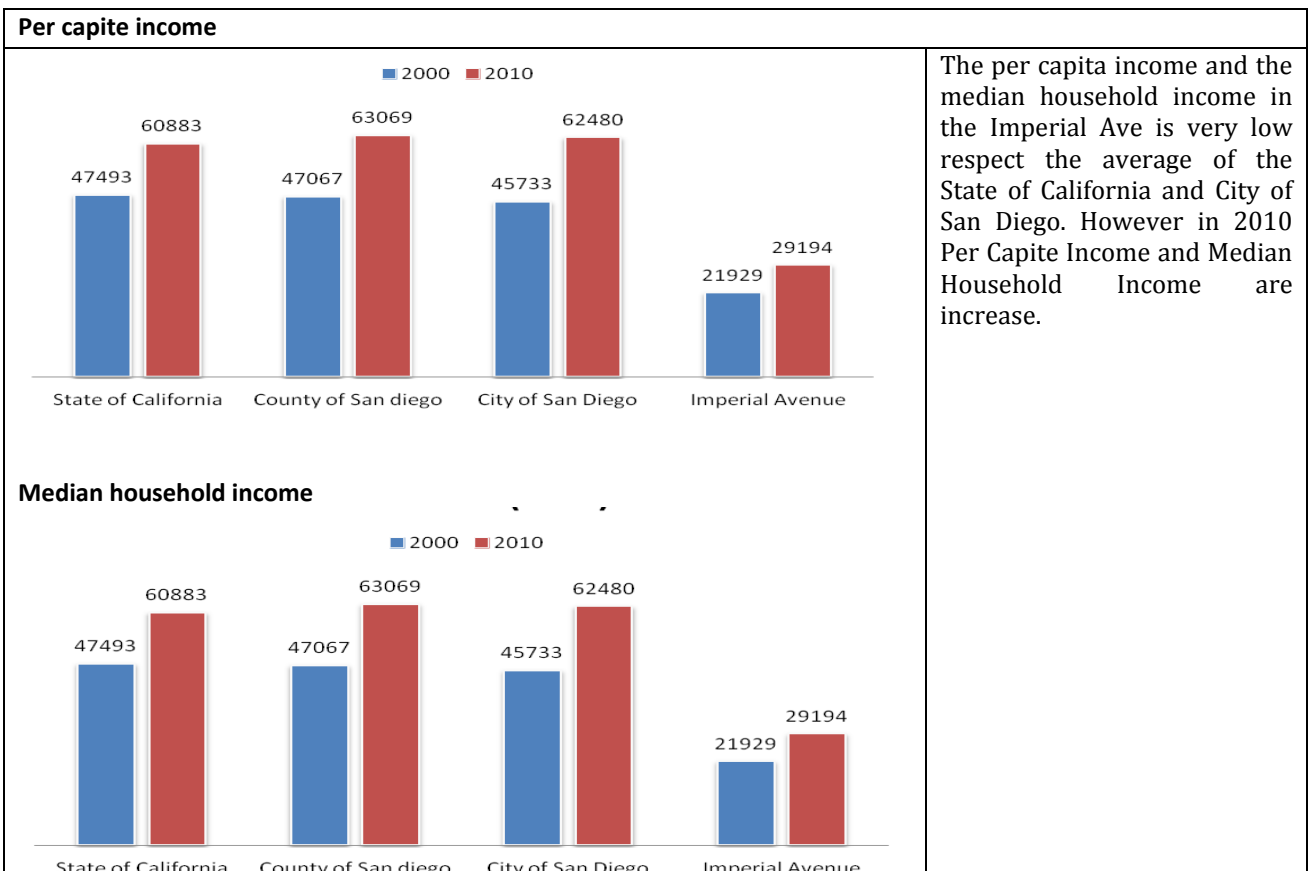
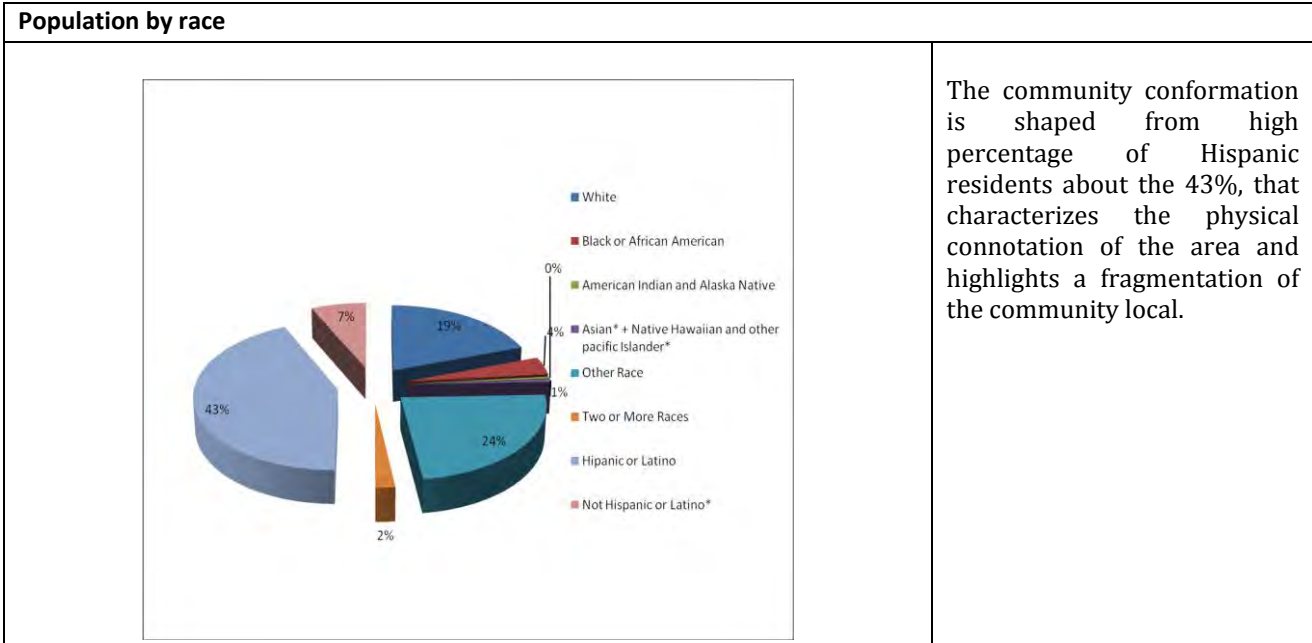
- Retail Enhancement;
- Economic Revitalization;
- Maintenance and Beautification;
- Cultural enrichment;
- Local produce valorisation through farmers’ market;
- Building Restoration and Renewal
- Security and Safety

7. Main initiatives and projects linked with the case study

The Commercial and Imperial Corridor Master Plan (CICMP) will be implemented by folding the master planning goals, policies and implementation measures into the greater Southeastern San Diego (SESD) Community Plan update process and particular goals are to create an inclusive community that supports a diversity of ethnicities, income level, ages, businesses, and architectural styles and to Develop a mix of employment, residential, live/work, retail, restaurant, public gathering space, and cultural uses and a variety of amenities and services to support a balance and vibrant community, to support job opportunities in light industrial, commercial, and new start-up sectors.

8. Fast socio-economic facts

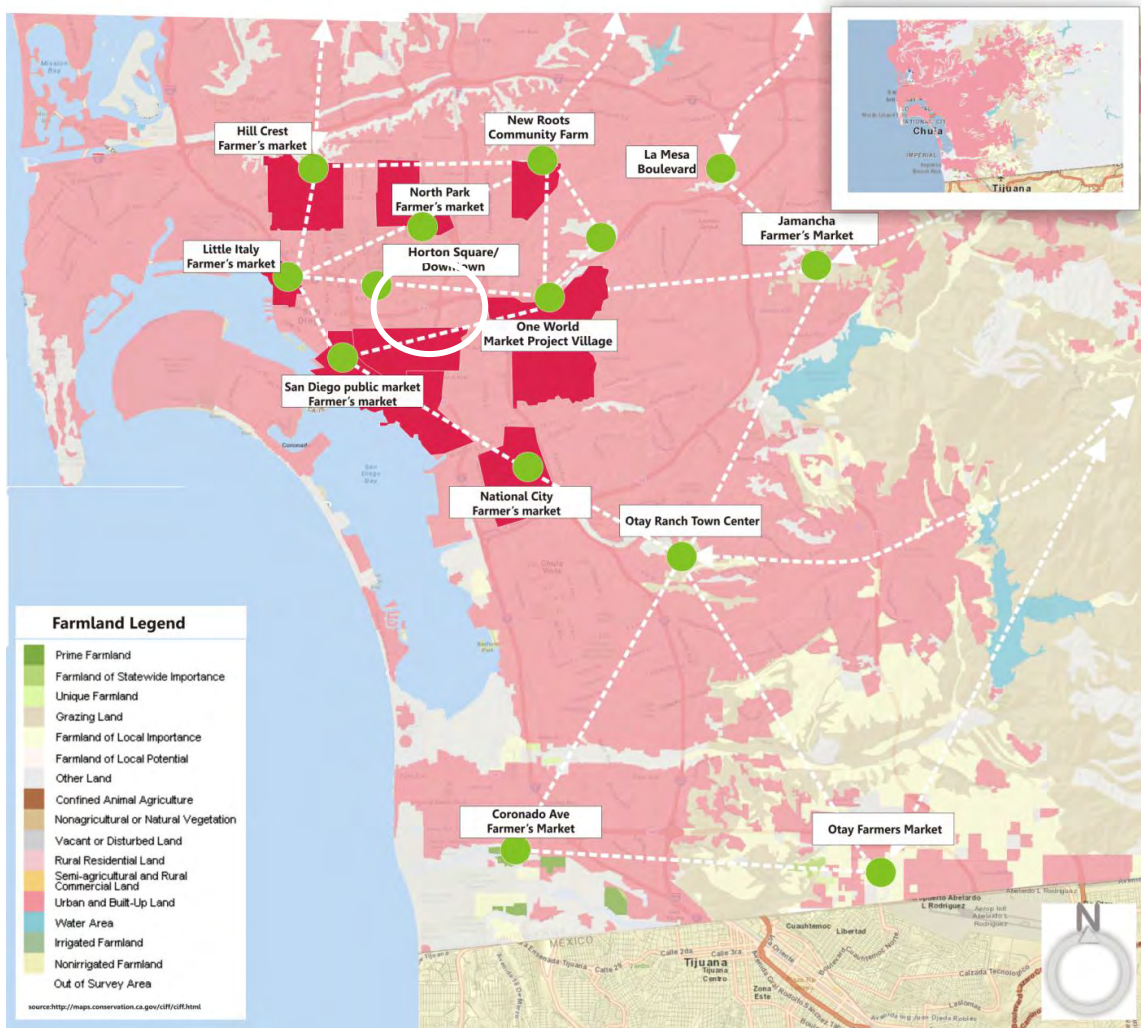
The analysis of socio-economic data shows three main characteristics to deepen: the population by race decrease from the comparison between 2000 and 2010, the per capita income and the median household income also from the comparison between 2000 and 2010



9. Urban-Rural Linkage

In this case study the local farmer’s market has been substituted from Walmart Neighborhood market, the will match classic products with those from local agricultural production. Replacing the old farmer's market.

9.1 Urban-Rural Linkage map



The Case Studies Comparison: Data Analysis

The comparison of case studies has been conducted through the selection of a set of variables in order to understand how the Territorial Milieu can reinforce urban regeneration initiatives in generating a surplus of social benefits for the community. The variable chosen are:

- A. The socioeconomic structure;
- B. The Urban-Rural Interaction;
- C. The Existing and Planned Land Use.

A) The socioeconomic structure analysis has been taken into account firstly in order to understand the effects of the initiatives on the social dimension, that is one of the pillars of sustainability principle, and if the initiatives have generated positive or negative effects for the socio-economic structure in the area. Socioeconomic data have been divided into three main groups accordingly with the structure pointed out for the survey form used to investigate case studies: demographic and housing; labour market; educational attainment and income (Per Capita Income and Median Household Income). Here, we have considered three main socioeconomic characteristics: the Educational Attainment, the Per Capita Income and Employees Per Sector.

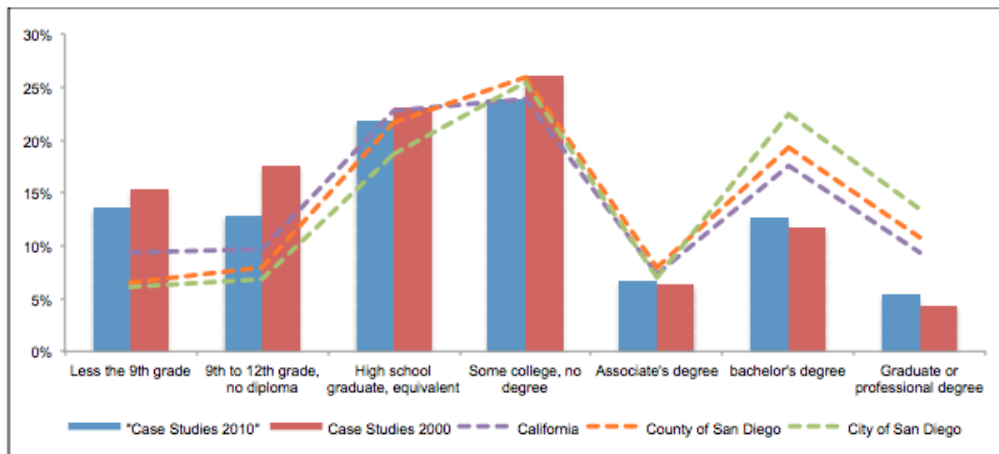


Figure 24: Educational attainments for the total of case studies by age 2010. Source: US Census

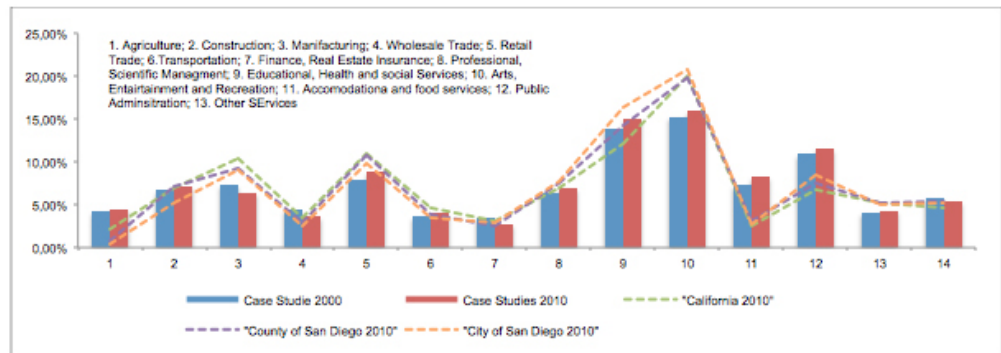


Figure 25: Per Capita Income Variation (2000-2010). Source: US Census

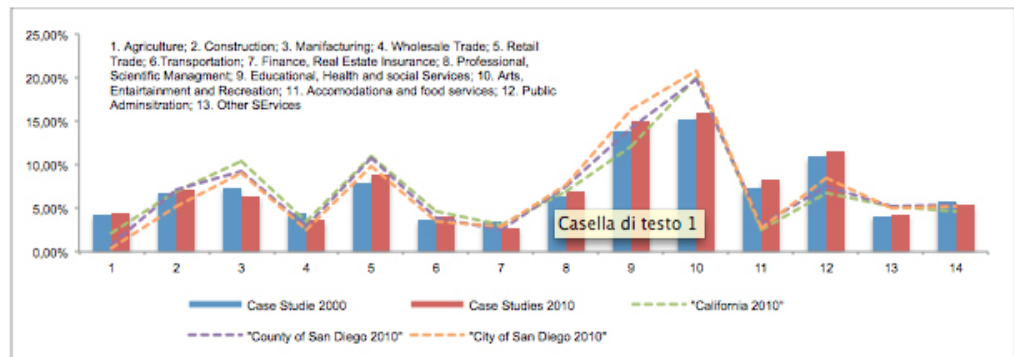


Figure 26: Case Studies Employees per sector Variation (2000-2010). Source: US Census

Charts show that, even if the amount of people with degree (associate, bachelor or professional) is lower than the people with no degree (fig.24), the per capita income in the totality of the case studies is increased (fig. 25); the employees in advanced service sector are increased (fig. 26) especially in the public administration, arts entertainment and recreation, educational and health, professional scientific and management, finance real estate and insurance.

B) Urban-Rural interaction The second explanatory variable considered refers to the Urban-Rural interaction in the case studies analysed. From the results of the research methodological tools, such as the Interview Form, some interesting finding emerged: the presence of farmers’ market and initiatives related to community gardens (Table 4) and urban agriculture phenomena. The definition of the last two categories shows their relevance with the objectives of the analytical activities:

- a) The urban agriculture phenomenon is defined as “The growing, processing, and/or distribution of good through intensive plant cultivation in and around cities (Magnaghi, 2000);
- b) A community garden is defined “a piece of land gardened collectively by a group of people” highlighting the involvement of people and communities (American Community Garden Association, 2007).

From the analysis of the interview forms, the presence of both farmer's market and community gardens highlights a strong connection with the surrounding areas in terms of valorisation of local production system and an additional method to involve people in local initiatives. In the following figure (Fig.27) the presence of farmers' market in the case studies has been put in relationship with the presence of local farms in the surrounding areas in order to understand what is the level of connection of the localised production that occurs in urban-rural link.

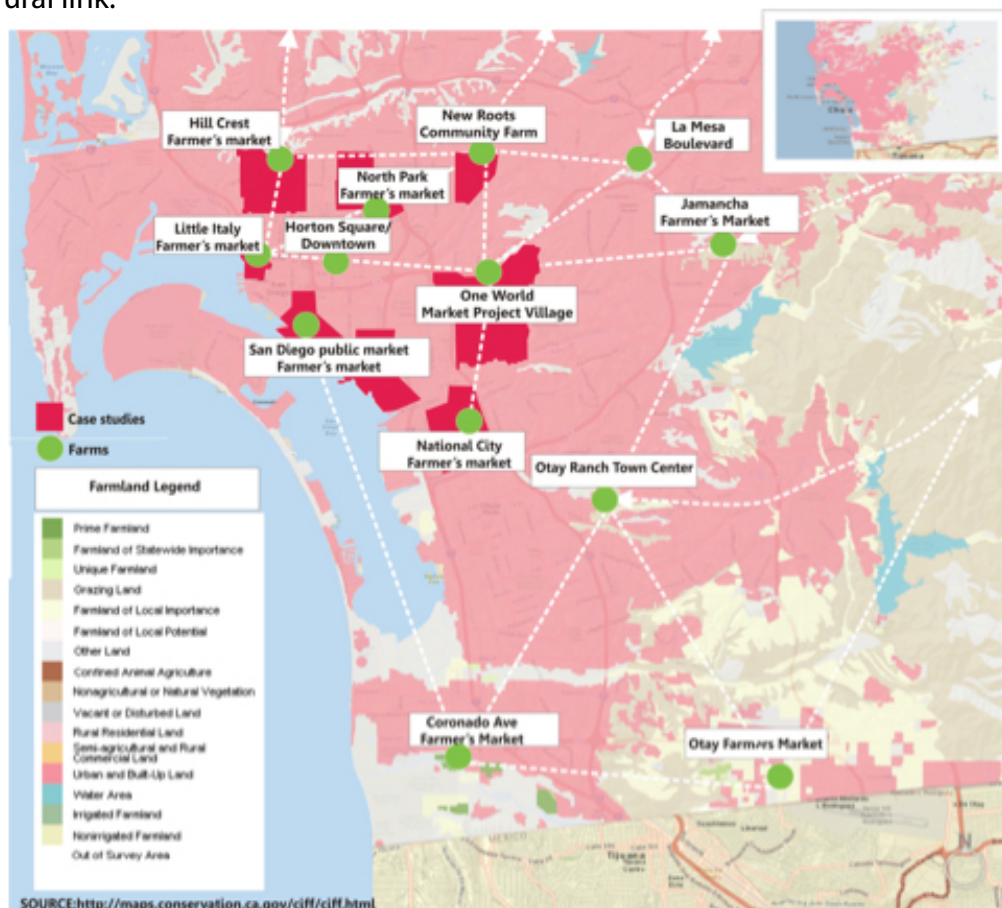


Figure 27: Farmers' Market in the selected case studies and Local Farms in the surrounding areas (elaboration on the base of GIS SANDAG map) and List of Community Gardens

Community garden Network	Address	Size [SQF]
Juniper front community garden (little Italy)	2260 front street	100
Altadena Community Pocket Garden	3245 32nd St	16
Golden Hill Community Garden	2440 Russ Blvd, San Diego	60
Vera House Community Garden	34th and N.Mountain View, Normal Heights	200
Altadena Community Pocket Garde	3245 32nd St,	16
San Diego Peace Garden	3850 Westgate Place, San Diego	48
City Heights Community Garden	3800 43rd St, San Diego	100
New Roots Community Farm	5326 Chollas Pkwy	600
College Area Community Garden	Access is next to 6246 Montezuma Road	32
San Diego Peace Garden	3850 Westgate Place, San Diego	48
Mt Hope Community Garden	4261 Market Street, San Diego Mt Hope (Southeastern San Diego)	100
Smart farm	1505 F Street	64
Town and Country Community Garden	4066 Messina Dr	50

Source: <http://greenteamcommunities.org>

Table 4: Community Gardens localized in case studies surrounding areas.

C) The Existing and Planned Land Use The difference between the Existing and Planned Land Use (Fig. 28) for the set of case studies selected shows that the planned residential use increased (+6%), especially in those cases where the level of public facilities was medium-high. In many cases, where the amount of public facilities was high, we registered a low level of residential use with the consequent increasing of residential planned areas, also to improve urban density, one of the principle of the Smart Growth strategy promoted in the County by the SANDAG. Conversely, in those areas characterised by a low level of existing facilities, but with a high level of residential use areas, the level increased jointly with the mixed-use areas.

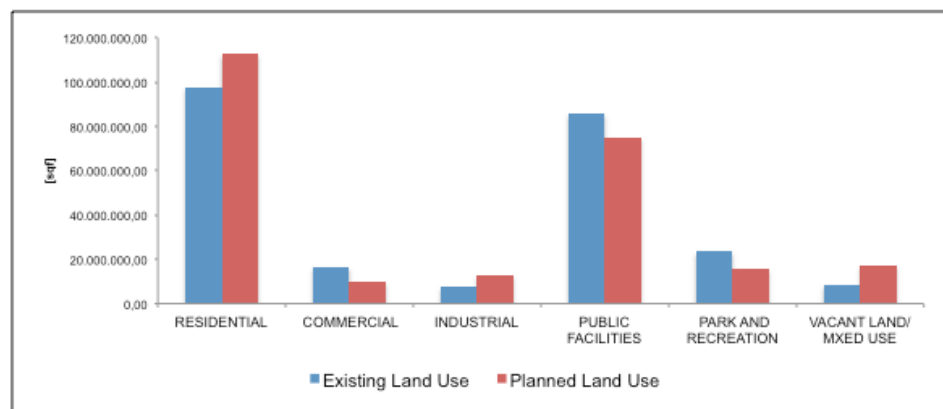


Figure 28: Percentage of existing and planned land use by codes
(Source: elaboration on SANDAG GIS data 2008)

As emerged from the analysis of official documents, “Public input is essential in ensuring that tailored community needs are addressed in the community plan. Stakeholders in a community, along with the recognised community planning group, play a major role and are key partners in creating a plan that sets forth a joint vision for the future of a community” (Land Use and Community Planning Element. City of San Diego General Plan, 2008).

Within this process particular attention is given to the public facilities sector in order to “carefully balance how to accommodate growth while also requiring the timely provision of public facilities. Each community must have the opportunity to establish, through its adopted community plan and public facilities financing plan, a specific framework to prioritise the provision of needed public facilities and services. Additionally, each new development proposal must be carefully evaluated to determine both its benefit and impact upon the community to ensure that it contributes to public facilities commensurate with the level of impact” (Land Use and Community Planning Element. City of San Diego General Plan , 2008).

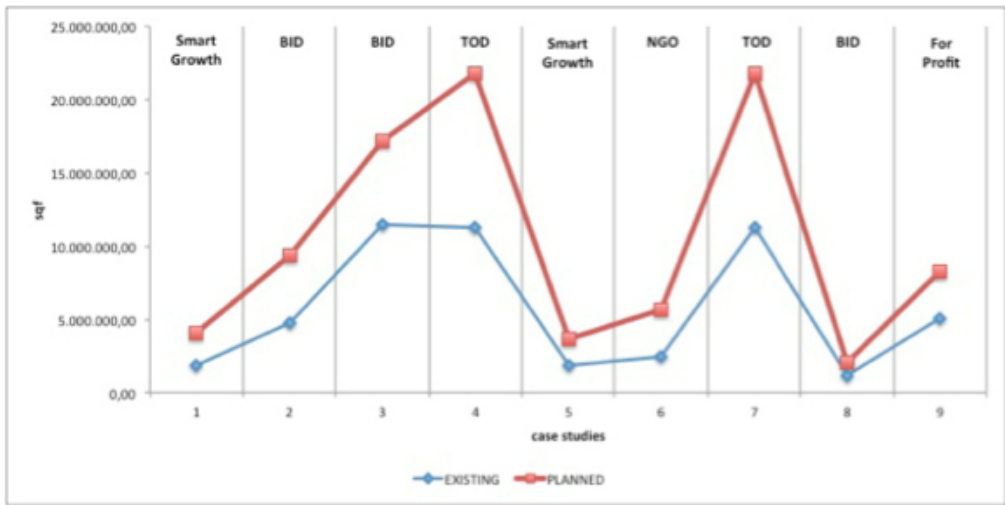


Figure 29: Comparison among case studies: existing and planned Public Facilities and Park Recreational Areas. (Source: elaboration on SANDAG GIS data 2008)

From the analysis of specific data referred to the Existing and Planned Public Facilities (Fig.29) and services, strong relevance has been given to the educational, healthcare, transportation services, religious facilities and other public services. In the case studies selected the level of Planned Public Facilities and park and recreational areas increased with respect the existing level.

Toward a Local Action Plan for Urban-Rural Regeneration in Europe 2020

In order to demonstrate how territorial milieu play an important role in reinforcing local economy by generating a surplus of public benefits, we considered 4 spatial dimensions of the urban/rural system: accessibility, attractiveness, local system production and surplus of social benefits.

In this phase was necessary to understand if the variables selected (attractiveness, accessibility, local system production and a surplus of social benefits) were suitable for the case study analysis in the urban-rural system. The criteria evaluation for the spatial dimensions of the case studies follows the logic of Land Use Suitability Criteria Analysis (Figure 29), constructed following four main steps:

1. Computation matrix based on 4 spatial dimensions selected (accessibility, attractiveness, local production system, the surplus of social benefits)
2. Assignment of values according to evaluation scale of Saaty (1985)
3. Normalization Data with the goal to assign weights
4. Data comparison through the graph for Evaluation of land suitability criterion based on planned land use

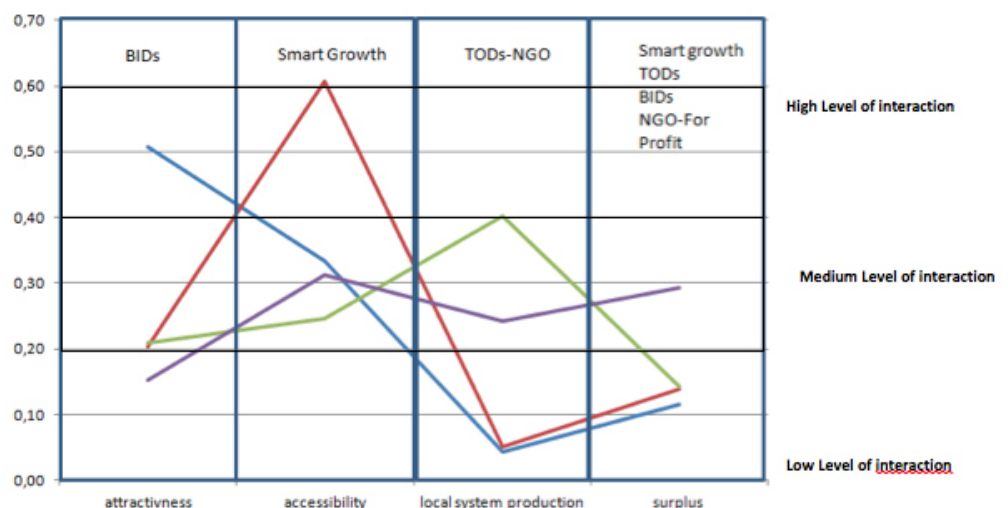


Figure 30: Evaluation of land suitability criterion based on planned land use

The graph shows the strong interaction between urban management tools and planned land use.

The Land Use Suitability Analysis shows how in BIDs case studies a strong relationship between attractiveness and planned land use exists, while in Smart Growth case studies the link between planned land use and accessibility is improved. Finally, under the application of TOD and NGO tools, the planned land use is oriented toward the increase of housing and economic logistic.

All urban management tools generate a surplus of social benefits. Their interaction is based on the rationale of territorial milieu, is able to generate a surplus of social benefits, coming from sustainable initiatives of regeneration enhanced in local contexts.

From the analysis of the variables selected in order to compare the case studies analysed during the Working Package No. 2, the urban and rural typologies in a bi-dimensional system has been considered.

The x-axis measures the level of urban typology (land use planned, high concentration of multi-family residential) and the y-axis measures the level of rural typology (land use planned, high concentration of single family detached).

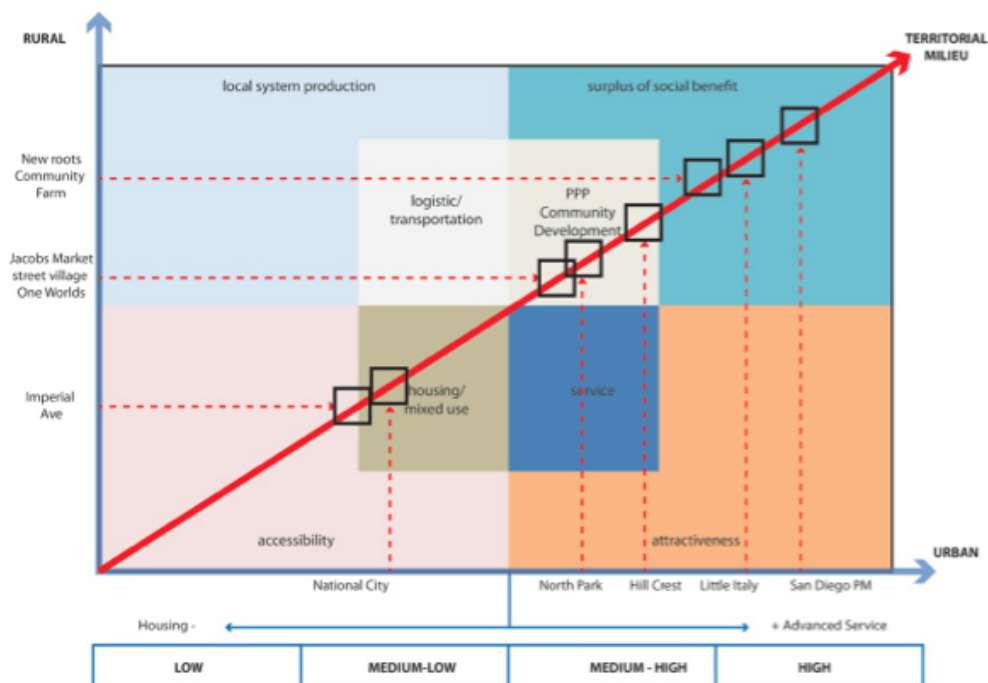


Figure 31: Relationship between urban and rural case studies in function of territorial milieu

In the first Quadrant, where both Urban and Rural levels are low (it means that case studies are localised between urban and rural areas), the accessibility increases, due to the presence of sprawl. In the second Quadrant, where the

level of urban is high (case studies localised in urban areas), attractiveness increases and we have a high concentration of services. In the third Quadrant, where the level of rural is high (case studies localised in rural areas), economic logistics increases for the local products commercialisation. In the fourth Quadrant, where both urban and rural levels are high (here we have both case studies localised in urban and rural areas), social benefits increase together with exports.

From the comparison of the three variables considered (Socioeconomic Structure; Urban-Rural Interaction; Land Use) we have localised 9 case studies (Fig.30) on an ideal line that represents the progressive increase of "territorial milieu" value. In order to highlight their interaction with the urban-rural system, we have assigned 4 levels of degree (low, medium low, medium-high and high) to each case study, localising them with respect to the Planned Land Use, the supply of services as housing, logistics, and advanced services. At medium level of Urban, according to Planned Land Use, advanced services start growing, whilst at the medium-low level of Urban the supply of housing starts to increase, at the medium-high level of Rural, the supply of logistics services increases.

1. Little Italy, San Diego Public Market and Hill Crest, which belong to BID category, show a high number of multi-family residential, so that the Planned Land Use in this area provides an increase of public facilities;
2. National Ave and Imperial Ave, under the umbrella of Smart Growth rationale, are localised in the medium-low urban and medium-low Rural systems, and present a good level of "accessibility". From Planned Land Use the mixed use (social housing and services) emerged;
3. Jacobs Market Street Village and One World Market are localised at the medium level of Rural system and the Planned Land Use shows an increase of housing and logistic services;
4. New Roots Community Farm has a big production of local products and the presence of the largest community garden. Here the planned land use provides an improvement of logistic services.

Evidences show that the urban regeneration initiatives analysed in the San Diego Area, during the second year of the CLUDs research project, generated benefits for the communities responding to local social needs. This is due to some specific reasons. First of all the context is characterised by the presence of a strong tradition in term of Community involvement and Community planning.

This process also helps the participation of community in the partnership typology analysed: NGO and other community-based associations are indirectly involved in the management of initiatives such as in BID, or directly involved in initiatives such as the CBD in Little Italy or North Park. These processes reinforce the socioeconomic structure empowering local communities,

enhance the competitiveness of the urban area attracting both public and private investments and businesses; promote the valorisation of local natural resources, through the valorisation of the network composed by local producers and vendors (farmers' market) that help to exploit local products valorising the surrounding areas. Findings, resulting from the analysis of the set of variables chosen, show how the initiatives are effectively able to generate a surplus of social benefits for the communities of the case study areas.

The explanatory variable "Urban-Rural linkage" points out how the presence of Farmers' market and community gardens in the area produce the effect of empowering local communities and the valorisation of the local production system, making effective the link between urban and rural areas, providing more services for the community.

The amount of Existing and Planned areas for public facilities for the case studies selected shows a general trend of increasing supply of public services and facilities in the selected areas.

Considering the evidences analysed, the urban regeneration initiatives based on an integrated approach that valorises the concept of the "milieu" are potentially drivers of sustainability and produce positive effects for communities by improving the supply of public services.

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