

What do we understand by a sustainable urban regeneration process?

Visions about the future of restructured housing estates in Spain

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Abstract

Sustainability is easily introduced in new housing and urban developments: environmental efficiency, social balance and economic feasibility are frequently taken into account when these processes take place. However, the built environment and its restructuring, especially those housing estates built after the II WW where many social problems are concentrated, pose a major challenge for putting into action sustainable strategies. Usually, policies and practices are focused into solving problems of a great social dimension that need an immediate solution, making difficult and sometimes even impeding, the introduction of long term assumptions while implementing these actions.

The Restate¹ project carried out a survey in spring 2004 in 31 European housing estates. The purpose was to analyse opinions and prospects of inhabitants about their own neighbourhood. One of the parts of the survey was related to the opinion of residents about the future of the estates and specifically, their plans to move out or stay.

The aim of this paper is to show the results of this part of the survey in those estates that have been regenerated or are under a restructuring process in Spain. Besides, to go in depth about the determinants of leaving or staying at the neighbourhood, paying special attention to the type of regeneration policy that has been or is currently implemented there. Our hypothesis is that, if the regeneration process implemented there creates a more sustainable environment, residents won't wish to move. We will use indicators that could identify sustainable actions. Under the light of these results, the requirements for regeneration processes that last will be considered.

Keywords: social sustainability, regeneration, estates, governance

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¹ Restructuring large housing estates in Europe. Good practices and new visions for sustainable neighbourhoods. <http://www.restate.geog.uu.nl>

1. Introduction

The Restate project “Restructuring Large Housing Estates in Europe: Good Practices and New Visions for Sustainable Neighbourhoods”, funded by the Vth Framework Programme of the European Union, is the basis for our paper.

The project identifies which are or have been the best practises in the regeneration processes of those estates which were built in Europe after the II World War in Europe and during the 50's and 60's in Spain.

The aim of this paper is to analyse, from the sustainable perspective, which practises in regeneration produce a desirable neighbourhood where inhabitants wish to stay forever and which the main determinants are to adopt this decision. We would like to stress that if researchers and policy makers are trying to deal with the implementation of sustainability criteria in the urban environment, the great majority of this space has already been built. Therefore, although sustainable development is necessary, sustainable regeneration practises are essential as well.

Even considering that sustainability is formed by four pillars: ecological, social, economic and governance (Pareja and Støa, 2004), we will focus our analysis of sustainability from a social perspective in the outcome of regeneration practises. For this reason, in our analysis, concepts such as urban governance or collaborative planning will be used as a framework for implementing and operationalise the concept of sustainability.

The research question we want to answer along this paper is why, even being regenerated there are people who wish to leave the estate. Which are the determinants of staying or leaving at the neighbourhood? What determines the success of policies? Are the effects of policies sustainable? How policies, programmes and actions determine the social sustainability of a neighbourhood?

In order to do this, we will elaborate an operationalisation of the sustainability concept from a social perspective based on the elements pointed out by Stren and Polèse (2000) in “The Social Sustainability of Cities” in combination with other elements we consider that, in our opinion, should be taken into account as well.

PART I. Theoretical framework

2. A few remarks on social sustainability at the estate level

2.1 Social sustainability and the context

Broad definitions of the concept involve well researched concepts such as social cohesion or the improvement of quality of life for inhabitants. For instance, Stren and Polèse (2000) develop a definition which contains many elements to be taken into account:

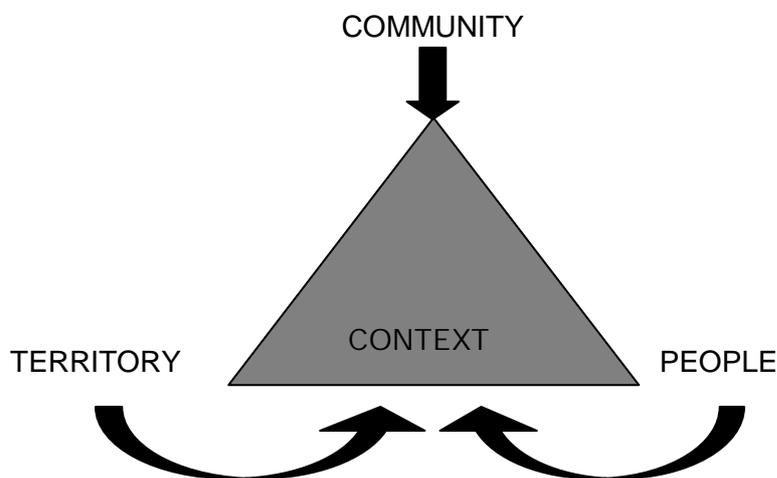
Social sustainability as development (and/or growth) that is compatible with the harmonious evolution of civil society fostering and environment conducive to the compatible cohabitation of culturally and socially diverse groups while at the same time encouraging social integration, with improvements in the quality of life for all segments of the population (Stren and Polèse, 2000: 15-16).

Usually, sustainability as a broad definition is identified with new developments or the growth of the already existing city. The social aspect might be less relevant in these

new or recently created spaces. If we pay attention to the existing built environment, the already built city, the need of social sustainability becomes essential, especially when regeneration programmes are being implemented. If the money spent in restructuring those spaces do not create a long-standing sense of attachment among neighbours or, in other words, a neighbourhood improvement which lasts in time due to the renewed confidence in its future, it results in a waste of money (and of course, time and feelings).

In order to build up the dimensions of social sustainability, we have considered different structural axis as we will first define the context where social sustainability must be analysed. The first axis is the territory and all the physical variables which might influence the neighbourhood sustainability. A second axis is the individual and its own perception of certain aspects linked with the sustainability of the area. Finally, a third axis would be the outcome of the interaction between the territory and the individual, that is, the community. This third axis reflects how the interaction between the territory and its own characteristics jointly with the distinguishing features of the individuals conform the main trends of the community directly determining the context where the sustainability should be measured.

CONTEXT	Individual	Social and cultural characteristics
		Economic activity
		Subjective perception
	Community	Social cohesion
		Social exclusion /inclusion
		Social capital
	Territory	Urban transport
		Infrastructures public services
		Housing
		Built environment



Therefore, the context is not identical everywhere, as it is diverse the outcome of the combination of three elements; the territory, the individual and the community.

If we consider as social sustainability the progress towards a harmonious, inclusive society, the starting point, that is the specific combination of the three axes, matters. However, social sustainability is not a static idea as it depends on the configuration of these three axes over a period of time. The evaluation of social sustainability in a determined context must include the idea of **progress** towards a sustainable situation though the context constantly varies according to the variability of the three axes and, of course, due to public policy intervention.

2.2. The progress towards social sustainability: policy practices

Stren and Polèse give some clues about what a social sustainable urban policy is:

“Urban policies conducive to social sustainability must, among other things, seek to bring people together, to weave the various parts of the city into a cohesive whole, and to increase accessibility (spatial and otherwise) to public services and employment, within the framework, ideally, of a local governance structure which is democratic, efficient and equitable.” (Stren and Polèse, 2002: 16)

According to Lyons et al. (2001) three levels of sustainability can be distinguished—all of them linked with long term developments—the community, the project and the individual level. At the first level, they use as indicators of sustainability the ability of communities to negotiate with governments, the existence of community leadership with capacity to promote and articulate the urban space and those individuals directly involved in development initiatives pointing towards employment. At the second level, they use as indicators the creation of employment opportunities, the successful maintenance and operation of the building and the running and adaptation of programmes. Finally, where individual skills have not been enhanced, empowerment does not develop at any of the three levels and individuals are not able to contribute to the development of sustainable projects. However, they stress the following:

“while development programmes may incorporate a greater emphasis on capacity-building, skills training and other empowerment initiatives, the outcome still depends, by and large, on local politics and the community structure” (Lyons et al., 2000: 1249).

However, the priorities of those living in the neighbourhood and those implementing policies are not always identical. An unsolved question is how residents could be stimulated in order to involve them in neighbourhood projects. Regarding the main trends of the context and, specially, the attributes of the population, a positive relationship could be established between high degrees of social problems (unemployment, marginalisation, etc.) and low rates of participation. Taking this correlation to a maximum, the following question must be posed (and answered): up to what extent it is possible to build up sustainable communities in a problematic context dominated by unemployment, criminality and social conflict? And in addition, as Hall and Rowlands (2005) underline, the distribution of power between those who aim to be involved in regeneration programmes is not equally distributed. Urban governance and collaborative planning disguise a competitive play of power distribution. Besides, as Lyon et al. (2000) point out, community participation is of anarchic nature, without any possibility to be influenced.

Mugnano *et al.* (2005) define three scenarios where the public action, the fourth axis, will take place:

- An *interactive partnership* scenario where the local context both welcomes the implementation of the programme and offers the pre-condition upon which the programme can operate. This is also helped by a positive interplay among the actors and by a visible, stable and structurally organised network. Besides, the leadership role is clearly defined
- A *top-down partnership scenario*: the policy conditions (instruments, programme, etc.) facilitate and develop forms of partnership, but it lacks of a positive response

by the local context. In this case, actors are not formally recognised and problems might appear while acknowledging the knot of the networks

- A *bottom-up partnership scenario*: the local context and the actors' involvement are vibrant but no positive response is found from the policy level, providing a stable policy framework. This causes a high dispersion of resources and loss of the local dimension perspective

These scenarios will decisively influence the outcome of policies looking forward social sustainability. They are defined according to the different contexts that policy intervention encounters in the daily practice.

Broadly speaking, sustainability of these policies implemented over a regeneration process should be evaluated in order to identify up to which extent the outcome of policies benefit the standard of living of population. In fact, the identification of good practises in regeneration programmes over Europe should include as an indicator, the lead to sustainable outcomes under these programmes.

Throughout the RESTATE project, and particularly in the Catalan case studies, it has become clear that physical renewal do not necessarily involve the improvement of the residents' quality of life². Therefore, the creation of "sustainable" communities not only depends upon the characteristics of the place where they live. In fact, they basically rely on their own capacities to build up social networks and, as main outcome, reinforce their confidence in their future through their own action. Therefore, during this paper, we will pay more attention to social aspects rather than physical ones.

Sustainability of regeneration practises certainly depend on the surrounding context not only physical - material, that is, location of the estate and characteristics of inhabitants but also governmental, that is, the levels of government involved in the delivery of policies and the amount of policies involved. This is the reason why we have considered the operationalisation of the sustainability concept with respect to two items: on the one hand, inhabitants and environment and, on the other, government, policies and actions. The importance of the context is clearly stressed by Rydin *et al.* (2003) when they question the possibility of transferability of policies and indicators related to sustainability without giving enough importance to the context. In fact, their approach (and the one pointed out by Owens and Cowell, 2001 and 2002) coincides with ours as they consider:

"(...) any policy tool is an integral aspect of the process of planning, policy making and politics, within which it is situated, not a separate entity" (Rydin *et al.* 2003: 547).

Transferability and comparability should, therefore, be carefully adapted to the existing landscape even when sustainability is concerned.

From the local perspective, the Aalborg chart provides a set of ten commitments which specify how local action should be promoted under their policy-making strategy. In our opinion, to develop these principles do not represent the same effort for the different local situations.

² Garcia, L. & Tapada, T. (2005).

Aalborg Chart principles

1. Governance – increase citizen's participation and all spheres of governance
2. Urban management – formulation, implementation and management of urban sustainability
3. Natural common goods – preservation of these goods
4. Responsible consumption – sustainable consumer habits
5. Planning and design – include sustainable principles
6. Better mobility – sustainable transport
7. Local action for health – citizen's health protection
8. Sustainable local economy – vibrant local economies
9. Social equity and justice – inclusive and supportive communities
10. Local to global - improve sustainability beyond EU

In terms of policy making, those elements which, under the opinion of residents, can turn the future into a brighter one or a darker one, should be taken into account in order to design sustainable regeneration policies

In our evaluation of social sustainability and policy practices towards it, we will add an additional dimension as we also consider that a sustainable estate necessarily means the wish to stay at the neighbourhood, no plans to move "*sustainability must involve estates where people want to live and remain*", therefore we will take into account plans for moving of the population and their future perspectives about the neighbourhood.

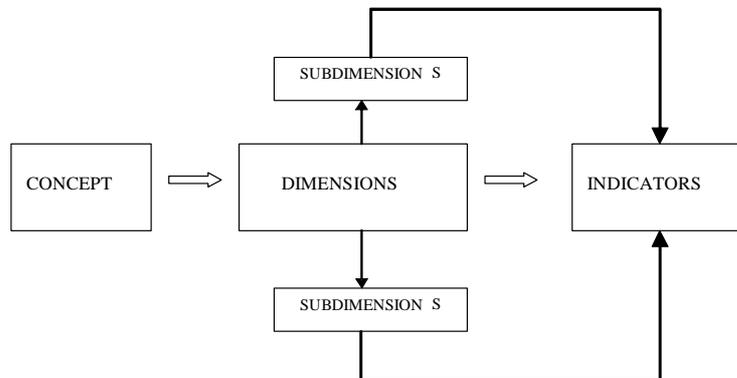
3. Operationalising the concept of social sustainability; Summary of dimensions, variables and indicators used

The aim of this section is to analyse social sustainability in four Spanish case studies. In two of them (Sant Roc and Trinitat Nova), a regeneration process is taking place nowadays. One of the Madrid case studies (Orcasitas) is a result of a general regeneration programme in Madrid which took place during the eighties. The last one, Simancas, has been partially regenerated at the end of the nineties.

Once we have already developed the social sustainability concept, theoretically defining the key elements of this concept through literature revision and the evaluation of useful definitions, we are going to pay attention to the operationalisation of the concept.

We understand as operationalising the concept, the assignment of units, able to be measured in our case studies, to the abstract concept of sustainability. The operationalisation goes hand in hand with the process of designing a dimension which will allow us to observe the abstract concept into the reality. The establishment of dimensions implies the allocation of different elements and factors which all together represent the concept; to define dimensions and even sub-dimensions is to move from the abstract level to the real world, our four case studies.

However, dimensions and sub-dimensions might be excessively abstract; therefore, the definition of indicators constitutes the last step of the process (observed data related to the structure of the concept).



We have used a multiple operationalisation of social sustainability in the four case studies due to the high degree of complexity of the estates. Our approach is a holistic approach of the concept. However, the analysis is two-folded: on the one hand, we will look at the inhabitants, their perception of the estate and their feelings towards the regeneration process. On the other, we will investigate if the policies, programmes or actions adopted will improve or not (from the resident's perspective) the quality of life at the estate.

Table 1 in the Annex shows a tentative operationalisation (given the constraints of the RESTATE database) of the concept based on the Stren and Polèse operationalisation. The lack of certain information determines not only a quantitative approach but also a qualitative one, based on interviews.

4 The estates: a brief description

TRINITAT NOVA	
	CHARACTERISTICS
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Built around 1955• 3.200 dwellings´. 7.686 inhabitants (2001)• 70.8% owner-occupied• Deficient building materials, Structural pathologies• Small flats (30-60 sq. metres)• Low quality of public spaces• Sleeping neighbourhood• Non-existence of economic activity• Lack of infrastructure and services• High unemployment rates, Low rates of education
REGENERATION FEATURES	CHALLENGES
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Endogenous push• 1,000 flats affected by structural decay• Integral approach over intervention: physical and social• Key role played by resident's association since 1999• Global intervention in the area• Relatively high citizens' participation• Organisational forms reinforced• Eco-neighbourhood	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sleeping neighbourhood• Stagnation of population• Lack of specific rules over the re-location process of the neighbours

SANT ROC	
	CHARACTERISTICS
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Built during 1962-1965• Population proceeding from different forms of low quality housing• 3,400 dwellings in 154 blocks• Technical problems from the beginning; Structural decay• Neighbourhood connected with the rest of the city• Lack of maintenance, Small dwellings• Low maintenance of public spaces• 1986 → 70% of population illegally occupied the dwellings• High rates of unemployment• Lose of population (22% in 1986)• Social problems: co-existence of different collectives
REGENERATION FEATURES	CHALLENGES
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Historical conflict in assigning responsibilities in the neighbourhood• Top-down perspective implementing policies• Visual reference of the Regeneration Office• Integration blocks• Stigmatization of neighborhood• Good connectivity with the rest of the city• Urban intervention as a tool for change• Physical regeneration linked with social programmes	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Intervention decided by administration• Difficulties in co-ordination of levels of Government• Lack of interest of neighbours• Households with more income sources leave the neighborhood• Partial regeneration programme

MESETA DE ORCASITAS

CHARACTERISTICS

- Built around 1974-1976, under the regional programme "*Regeneración de barrios*". It relocated people living in self-built houses.
- 7,382 dwellings distributed in multi-storey blocks (3-4 and 8)
- 19,518 inhabitants
- 65.1% of inhabitants are between 15-64 years
- The majority of population is native (97%)
- The owner-occupied sector represent 91.4%

REGENERATION FEATURES

- The design and built up of the neighbourhood was characterised by a high degree of resident's involvement
- A new population movement is taking place in order to improve the present situation of the neighbourhood "*Activa Orcasitas*"
- An Investment Plan (which involves two districts) has been carried out since the end of the nineties

CHALLENGES

- The new process of participation
- The recognition by authorities of the necessary improvements
- The implementation under a long term strategy of social programmes

SIMANCAS

CHARACTERISTICS

- Built between 1957-1959
- 9,923 dwellings
- 21,681 inhabitants
- Predominant building type is multi-storey blocks (from 3 to 10)
- Good connections through public transportation
- The majority of population is native
- Closing down of services at the neighbourhood
- 28.5% of the population is more than 65 years old
- Lack of intervention in all aspects
- Lack of neighbourhood feeling

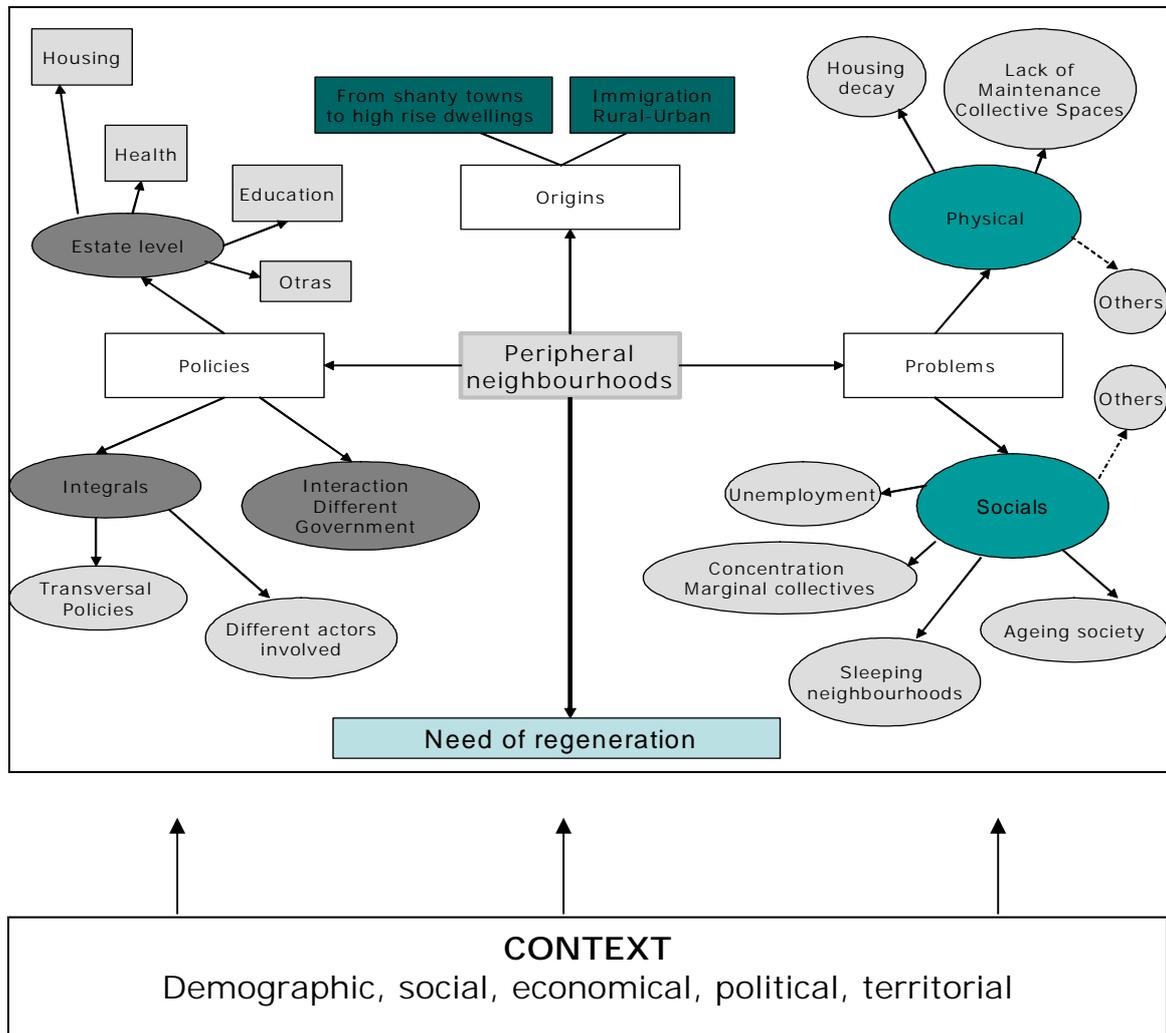
REGENERATION FEATURES

- No regeneration process implemented
- 920 VPO building were built at the beginning of 80's in order to relocate people living in shanty towns in a close by area
- Not many policy initiatives developed

CHALLENGES

- Central location in the city
- Madrid 2012 development area is next to the neighbourhood
- Recently built dwelling of higher quality and price have been built surrounding the area

The process of regeneration could be summarised as follows:



PART II. Results

In this section we will show some of the results of the operationalisation of the concept (see table 1 in annex) using the RESTATE database for the Spanish case studies. We have followed three steps in order to analyse social sustainability, firstly we will show the main characteristics of the context, secondly, we will describe the main items related to the process towards sustainability (policies and governance), and finally, we will consider the residents' decision about staying or leaving the neighbourhood and their feelings about the future.

5 Context

5.1 Population characteristics

The survey was carried out during March-April 2004. The representativity of the sample has been broadly discussed in Pareja et al (2005). Those that were interviewed were

considerable representative of the whole population except in one case, immigrants. Old population was overrepresented.

Table 1. Main characteristics of interviewees

	Sant Roc	Trinitat Nova	Orcasitas	Simancas
Population	12,476 ³	7,686 ²	19,518 ¹	21,681 ¹
Gender⁵				
Male	37,3%	31,7%	30,6%	29,5%
Female	62,7%	68,3%	69,4%	70,5%
Age Structure				
0-14 years	17%	11%	11,3%	10,6%
15-64 years	67%	59%	65,1%	60,9%
> 64 years	17%	30%	23,6%	28,5%
Ethnic composition				
Natives	95,7%	98,0%	97%	86,6%
No-natives	4,3%	2,0%	3%	13,4%
Composition of household				
Alone	9,5%	19,7%	11,2%	8,7%
Partner, no children	19,8%	21,3%	8,8%	18,1%
Partner and children	35,7%	27,9%	42,4%	37,8%
Single-parent with children	7,9%	8,2%	6,4%	5,5%
Alone with others	11,1%	2,5%	10,4%	4,7%
Partner and others	1,6%	3,3%	,8%	3,1%
Partner and others and children	1,6%	1,6%	5,6%	1,6%
Other	12,7%	15,6%	14,4%	20,5%
Type of dwelling	Dwellings 5-, 8-, 10- and 14 floors	Dwellings 3-, 4-, 5-, 6- floors	Dwellings 3-, 4- and 8- floors	S.F.H. Dwellings 3-, 4-, 5-, 6, and 10- floors
Tenancy⁶				
Owner	—	70,8%	91,4%	69,8%
Rent	—	20,0%	0,4%	9,9%
Other	—	1,9%	3,3%	5,1%

Source: RESTATE Database, 2004. (S.F.H: Single Family Houses)

¹ Departamento de Estadística de Madrid (1-1- 2002).

² Padrón municipal 1996.

³ Censo 2001.

⁴ Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2003.

⁵ Restate questionnaires.

⁶ Censo 1991.

5.2 Social and cultural background

As social cohesion is quite often considered as a symptom of social sustainability, social networks and communication between residents are analysed under this heading. Contacts between residents, frequency of interaction and their opinion about neighbours will be showed.

The great majority of residents consider that contacts with their neighbours are quite good, with percentages close to 70%, except for the Simancas case, where only 56.6% consider them acceptable.

Table 2. Contacts with neighbours (%)

	Sant Roc	Trinitat Nova	Orcasitas	Simancas
Good	68,9	68,0	70,6	55,6
Moderate	27,9	31,1	27,8	40,5
Bad	3,3	0,8	1,6	4,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: RESTATE Database, 2004.

In terms of with whom do people interact, in Orcasitas most of them (68.3%) communicate with relatives or friends while in Trinitat Nova, residents do not show any contact with family members and friends (!)

Table 3. Sense of attachment (%)

	Sant Roc	Trinitat Nova	Orcasitas	Simancas
Weak	16,0	13,3	7,9	19,8
Neutral	18,4	8,3	16,7	38,1
Strong	65,6	78,3	75,4	42,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: RESTATE Database, 2004.

The interviewees were asked about their sense of attachment to the place they live; in Trinitat Nova and Orcasitas, the respondents show a strong sense of attachment, (78.3%) and (75.4%), followed by those living in Sant Roc (65.6%). In Simancas, only 42.1% judge their attachment as strong while 38.1% is neutral and 19.8% weak (the highest percentage in all neighbourhoods).

The question about how socially mixed³ they consider their own neighbourhood varies according to each estate; in Sant Roc, the predominant opinion is that it is a socially mixed estate (52.85) although 45.3% of respondents see it as socially homogeneous. For Orcasitas and Trinitat Nova, the predominant answer is that they are socially homogeneous while in Simancas respondents opt for a moderate consideration.

Table 4. Social composition

	Sant Roc	Trinitat Nova	Orcasitas	Simancas
Socially mixed	52,8	32,1	32,0	20,8
Moderately mixed	1,9	24,5	25,4	40,8
Socially homogeneous	45,3	43,4	42,6	38,3
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: RESTATE Database, 2004.

However, when asked about their opinion on social mix, 59% of residents in Sant Roc consider it as bad for interaction.

Table 5. "High level of social mix is good/bad for interaction" (%)

	Sant Roc	Trinitat Nova	Orcasitas	Simancas
Good	12,8	28,9	25,2	36,3
Neutral	28,2	47,0	45,9	39,8
Bad	59,0	24,1	28,8	23,9
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: RESTATE Database, 2004.

³ Income diversity

5.3 Infrastructures and public services

The perception of residents about the availability of infrastructure and facilities is certainly relevant. These services do help to reinforce the relationship between the community and the territory and might be a decisive variable which influence their wish to stay at the neighbourhood.

Interviewees were asked to mention the main services available (or not) at their estate. There are not big differences between the four case studies. Lack of post-office in Trinitat Nova (95%) and Orcasitas (82.3%) and lack of G.P in Simancas (47.2%) are considered the main absences.

The availability of green spaces could be an indicator not only of spaces to share by the community but also as a first tentative idea of environmental sustainability. Residents are aware of the availability of green spaces except for the case of Trinitat Nova, where 25% of interviewees assert that they do not enjoy any green space or park.

Schools are a basic infrastructure present in all the areas while specific medical care is not available everywhere (for instance, dentists in Trinitat Nova)

5.4 Employment and economic activity

The relationship with the labour market is an essential piece in the life of people and highly determinant of their quality of life and their possibilities to move. High rates of employment are desirable in order to achieve a sustainable community. Besides, the economic health of the neighbourhood is associated to a high level of economic activities within the area.

In general, the case studies in Barcelona denote higher rates of unemployment than those in Madrid. The same trend appears in relation to the labour situation of the partner of the person interviewed. In Trinitat Nova and Sant Roc, 26.4% and 23.3% of the respondents did not have any income source. These percentages were lower for the Madrid cases being 10.2% in Orcasitas and 14.4% in Simancas.

In general, residents allocate themselves in the lower range of income earners. Simancas in Madrid is the only one which slightly moves in the upper range position. Not only salaries were considered as main source of income; especially pensions and unemployment aid were mentioned as well.

We want to pay special attention to those groups which show a higher risk of being excluded of the labour market or being employed under poor conditions; women, young people and immigrants.

For instance, in Sant Roc, 63.2% of people younger than 39, do not work. In Simancas this percentage is 46.2%. Orcasitas and Trinitat Nova show lower rates, 35% and 29.2%, respectively.

Concerning woman, the situation is serious in all cases although the Madrid case studies show a lower percentage of women that do not work —55.3% in Simancas and 59.8% in Orcasitas— than in Barcelona —80.5% in Sant Roc and 72.3% in Trinitat Nova— .

As we will analyse later on, the personal situation with respect to the labour market is a powerful determinant to stay or leave at the neighbourhood. The wish of leaving the neighbourhood is higher for those who work. They have more resources to improve their situation over their housing career. Among those that do not want to leave, the presence of those who do not work is higher. The fact of not working limits the possibilities for moving.

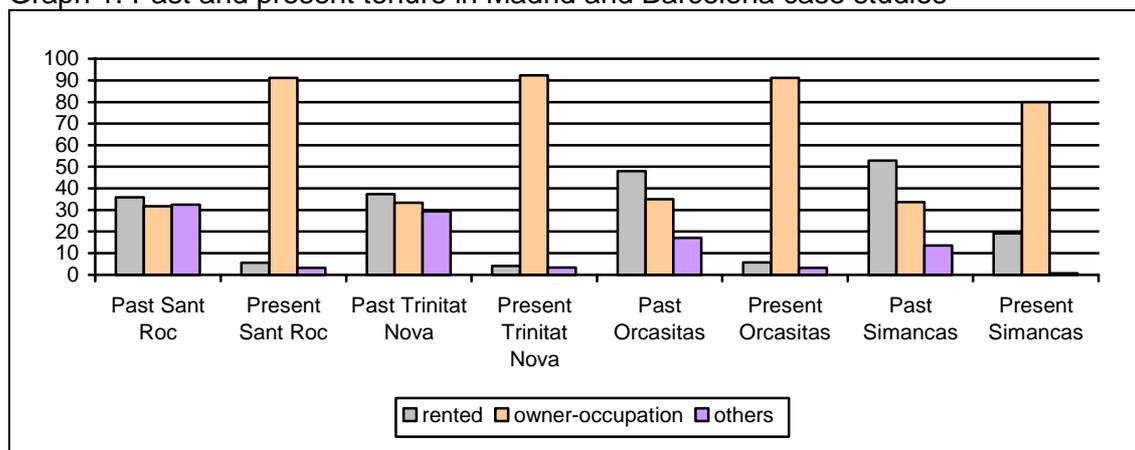
5.5 Housing

Another relevant dimension of sustainability is the relationship of the individual and the community with the environment. Among all the possible relations, housing is, probably, the most important.

As a first item to be considered, tenure reveals an important aspect of the life of respondents. The situation at the estates follows the general pattern in Spain; the predominance of owner-occupied houses (aprox. 81%) and a tiny rented sector (11%).

The predominant situation of the residents in the estates in Barcelona is the outright ownership as in Madrid, the majority still show an outstanding mortgage. Compared to their past situation in terms of tenure, most of the residents were living in the private rented sector except for the case of Sant roc where most of the residents were living in the shanty towns.

Graph 1. Past and present tenure in Madrid and Barcelona case studies



Source: RESTATE Database, 2004.

If people wish to stay where they live, because they feel attached to the neighbourhood or even in the case that they do not have means to improve their situation in the housing market, they might renovate and refurbish their own flat, specially taking into account that most of them live in owner-occupied housing.

While in Barcelona, the majority of residents have not improved their dwelling, in Madrid, the great majority have done so. Kitchen and floors are the most common aspects already improved.

Table 6. "Has the dwelling been renovated/refurbished?" (%)

	Sant Roc	Trinitat Nova	Orcasitas	Simancas
No	60,0	50,4	41,9	41,8
Yes	40,0	49,6	58,1	58,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: RESTATE Database, 2004.

The majority of residents are more satisfied with their private environment rather than with the collective one. The highest punctuation is achieved in Orcasitas (8.78 in a scale from 1 to 10)

Tabla 7. Satisfaction with the dwelling and the neighbourhood (From 1 to 10 scale)

	Dwelling satisfaction	Neighbourhood satisfaction
Sant Roc	7,17	4,60
Trinitat Nova	7,34	7,48
Orcasitas	8,78	7,75
Simancas	6,78	6,23
Total	7,52	6,52

Source: RESTATE Database, 2004.

Simultaneously, satisfaction with the neighbourhood is lower in all cases. Orcasitas shows the higher percentage followed by Trinitat Nova. In Sant Roc, satisfaction with the neighbourhood is the lowest. In Trinitat Nova, residents recognise a higher satisfaction than in the past; the situation in Madrid concerning satisfaction is quite stable. However, Sant Roc shows the lower percentage, 62.6% of residents are less satisfied than in the past.

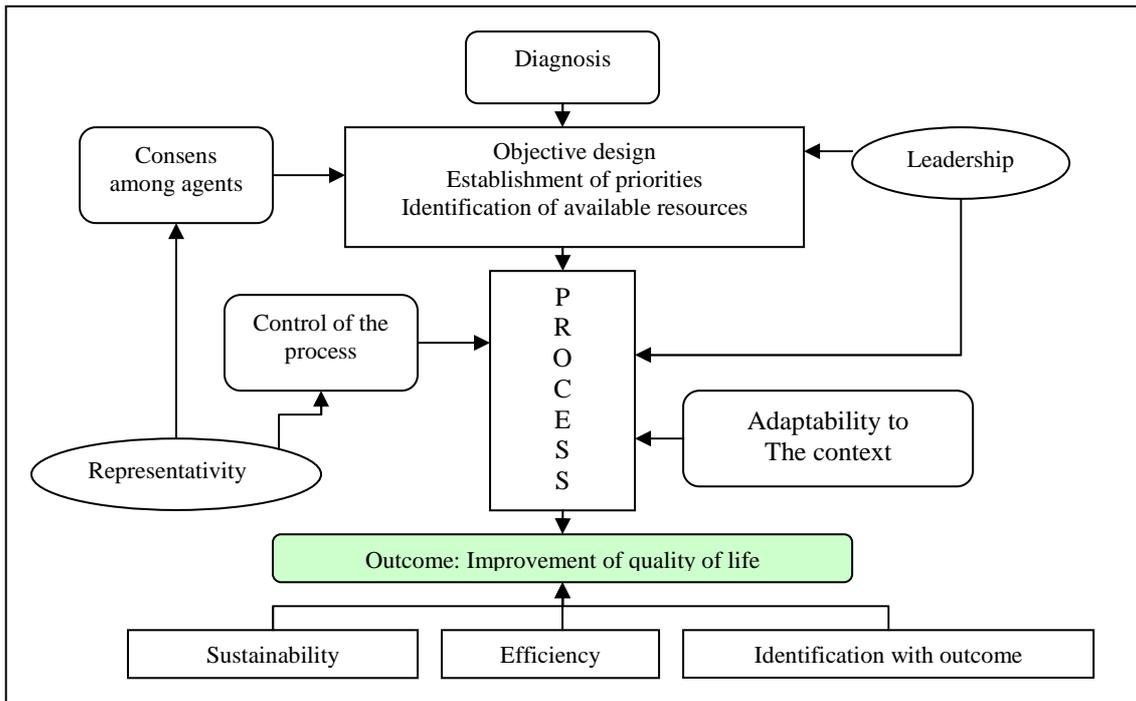
6 Policies

6.1 Policies implemented; brief summary

The RESTATE project carried out an evaluation of the policies implemented at the neighbourhood level (Pareja et al, 2004). In the Spanish case these policies were characterised as follows;

- There is no general policy to regenerate neighbourhoods
- Regeneration requires of the coordination of different levels of government and different aspects involved such as physical improvement or social programmes
- Each process is self-defined given the diverse characteristics of the context
- Difficulties in translating policy philosophies into practice
- Non-maturity in the policy strategy of renovation; too much influenced by political colours
- Lack of clear assignment of responsibilities between actors involved

Next scheme shows a synthesis of good practises in regeneration processes in Spain (Pareja and Simó, 2005).

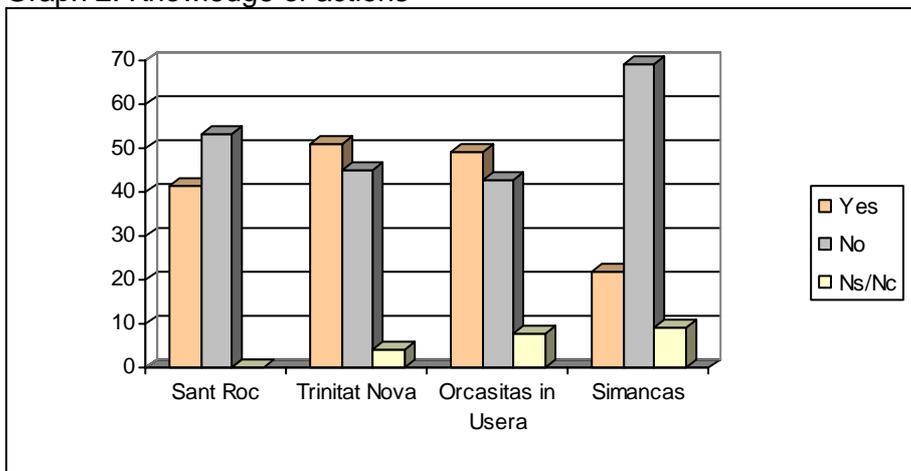


6.2 Governance and political participation

Collaborative planning (Healey, 2000) has been used in RESTATE as a framework to analyse the policy implementation at the neighbourhood level.

In our case, the four case studies show low percentages of participation in associations created to improve the neighbourhood; they move in between 70% (Orcasitas) and 89% (Simancas). Besides, this low participation is reinforced by a very weak social associative fabric in general. In the majority of our case studies, people do not belong to any association, which makes even more difficult to create social networks among people which do not favour the intervention in processes of policy decision making. Again, Simancas and Sant Roc show 87% and 86.2%, respectively, the highest percentages.

Graph 2. Knowledge of actions



Source: RESTATE Database, 2004.

Taking into account this situation, residents perceive regeneration processes or policy intervention from a distant perspective. Their knowledge of activities developed in their

estate in order to improve the neighbourhood is quite vague. Trinitat Nova and Orcasitas, neighbourhoods with a strong sense of attachment and political involvement of their residents, especially in the past, answered quite affirmatively to the question of knowledge of actions in their neighbourhood, 52.9% and 53.4%, respectively. However, in Sant Roc and Simancas the percentages exhibited are just the opposite, 55.6% (Sant Roc) and 56.3% (Simancas).

Table 8. Knowledge of intervention according to participation

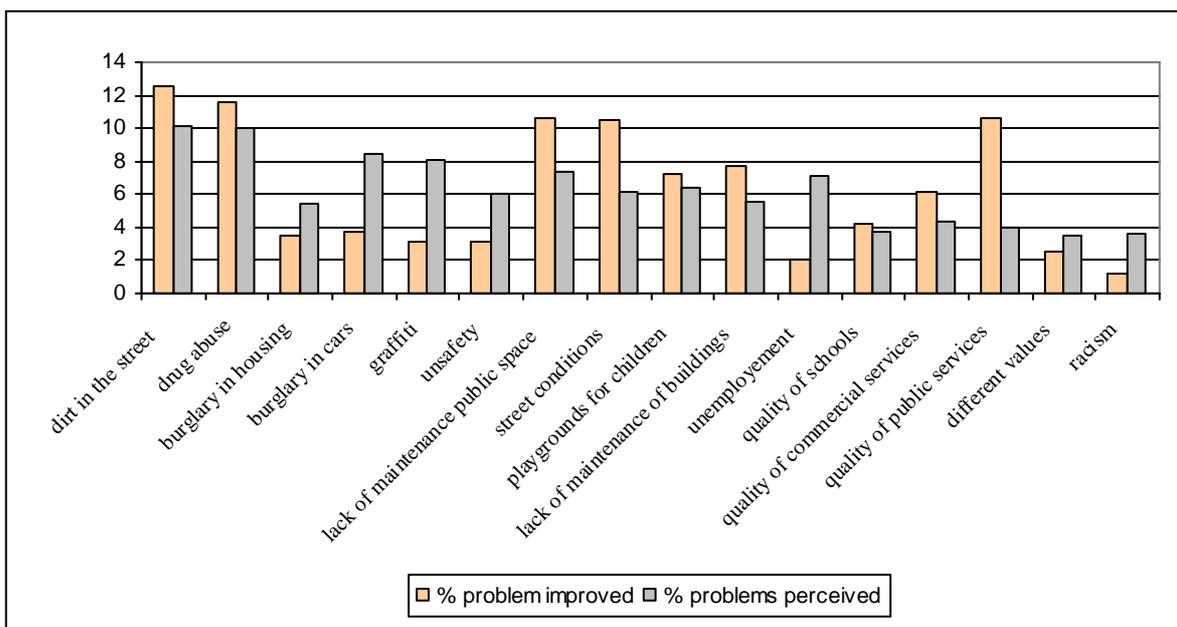
			Participation in associations to improve the neighbourhood		
			Yes	No	Total
Sant Roc	Knowledge of actions to improve the neighbourhood	Yes	63,3	37,0	43,4
		No	36,7	63,0	56,6
		Total	100,0	100,0	100,0
Trinitat Nova	Knowledge of actions to improve the neighbourhood	Sí	77,8	46,2	53,4
		No	22,2	53,8	46,6
		Total	100,0	100,0	100,0
Orcasitas	Knowledge of actions to improve the neighbourhood	Sí	72,2	45,0	53,4
		No	27,8	55,0	46,6
		Total	100,0	100,0	100,0
Simancas	Knowledge of actions to improve the neighbourhood	Sí	61,5	19,6	24,3
		No	38,5	80,4	75,7
		Total	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: RESTATE Database, 2004.

Without regard to the neighbourhood, people involved in any kind of association show more knowledge of those that are not. Particularly, the percentage of knowledge in Trinitat Nova and Orcasitas is 77.8% and 72.2% respectively. In Sant Roc and Simancas, these percentages are important as well, 63.3% and 61.5%. However, the trend is just the opposite among those who do not actively participate in any sort of associative activity to improve the neighbourhood.

Among those who knew the existence of interventions, there is a considerable amount of residents who do not know the effects of these actions (60.3% of answers), the most recognisable effect which follows the unknown is the improvement of buildings -12.7%-. As it has always been mentioned, physical improvements are more noticeable than social ones, therefore, improvement of public spaces (6.8%) and the improvement of public transport (6.3%) are the answers which follow considering their importance.

Graph 3. Problems perceived, problems improved



Source: RESTATE database, 2004.

Building up an index

7 Future

7.1 Staying or leaving: plans to move

The resident's opinion about moving has a direct relationship not only with the sustainability of actions implemented but also with the potential sustainability of the context.

Results will inform us about the willingness to stay or leave and also their perception of the future. We can relate these results to the particular characteristics of the context in each situation.

Table 9. Plans to move within 2 years related with age

	Sant Roc	Trinitat Nova	Orcasitas	Simancas
Yes	24,2	16,9	16,0	23,4
No	75,8	78,2	80,8	73,4
Unknown	0,0	4,8	3,2	3,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: RESTATE Database, 2004

In the four case studies, the majority opt for staying instead of moving out of the estate although the percentage in Sant Roc and Simancas of those who want to leave is slightly higher. The main reasons for moving are varied; in Barcelona, most of the residents are forced to move because of the relocation programme associated to the regeneration process; in Madrid, reasons are mainly related to improvement in the housing careers of residents.

Table 10. Reasons for considering moving

	Sant Roc	Trinitat Nova	Orcasitas	Simancas
home too small	3,6	5,0	15,8	23,3
home too expensive	0,0	5,0	5,3	3,3
want to buy a dwelling	10,7	10,0	15,8	23,3
closer to relatives and friends	3,6	5,0	10,5	3,3
more quiet environment	7,1	0,0	10,5	10,0
more safe environment	10,7	0,0	0,0	0,0
other	64,3	75,0	42,1	36,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: RESTATE Database, 2004.

Besides, the intention to move *within* the neighbourhood is higher in Trinitat Nova where 76.2% would like to stay in the same area.

Among those who want to leave the neighbourhood young population is the majority (younger than 30 years) excepting for the Sant Roc case where those between 45 and 54 want to move as well. Those belonging to the higher range of income want to move in Sant Roc and Trinitat Nova. 37.5% and 33.3%, respectively. In Madrid, those with medium income level are predominant among those who want to move.

Sense of attachment to the neighbourhood is a good variable to understand why some people want to move. Our expectations on this aspect are the following: in those estates where people feel a high sense of attachment, population might show no intention to leave the neighbourhood. In those places where the population has a very poor feeling of attachment, we expect a high willingness to move out. Results partially confirm our previous hypothesis: on the one hand, in those places such as Sant Roc or Simancas where the attachment to the neighbourhood is very low, people want to leave. However, in Trinitat Nova and Orcasitas where the attachment of place is quite high, the outcome is not that clear. In these estates, people wish to move. It might be the results of their own housing career, looking for a better place to live, even at the same neighbourhood.

Crossing “reasons to move” with other personal characteristics, we would like to point out two findings: on the one hand, if native people wish to move, they look for a better place to live, according to their housing careers. Foreigners’ reasons to move are two-folded: they look for social networks and more space. On the other hand, young people wish to move because they want to enter in the housing market as first-buyers and old people look for staying closer to relatives and friends, forecasting a high degree of dependency in the future.

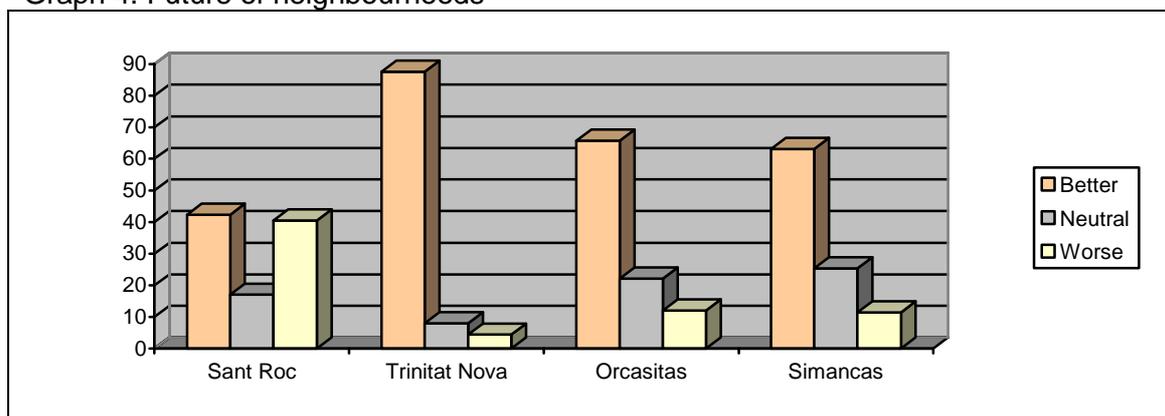
7.2 Opinion about the future

Sustainability is seen as a process over the paper; not only the starting point (context) is important but also the expectations that might be created through the regeneration programmes implemented.

Trinitat Nova shows a completely different landscape compared to the rest of the case studies: 87.6% of residents think that the neighbourhood will be better in the future. However, the residents living in the rest of the case studies are not so optimistic, especially in Sant Roc, where approximately 40% of population consider the future darker than the present.

Interviewees do not give a particular hint of why the situation will be brighter or darker. In Sant Roc, Trinitat Nova and Simancas, the physical improvements are mentioned and “the neighbourhood will be livelier” as well. In Orcasitas, active participation of population is considered as one of the most important reasons for a brighter future. Comparing these results to the satisfaction with the neighbourhood, Sant Roc, which shows one of the most unsatisfied situations of residents, is quite pessimistic about the future. However, Simancas, denotes a more positive expectation about the future (63.2% consider that the future will be better).

Graph 4. Future of neighbourhoods



Source: RESTATE Database, 2004.

Perception and expectation about the future is highly correlated to the present and past situation of the neighbourhoods. Positive expectations in Trinitat Nova are associated to the implementation of a successful Community Plan since 1998. The same is the case of Orcasitas in relation to the development of the Investment Plan in the South of Madrid. However in Sant Roc, bad feelings are associated to the failure of different programmes enforced.

Aspects

8 Conclusions

Social sustainability is a dynamic process which depends not only on the means used for its achievement but also on the context. The context is formed by the interaction of three different issues: the individual, the community and the territory which highly influences the outcome of the process. We have focused on the perception by the residents of the policies and actions looking for a better neighbourhood. These practises create expectations (positive and negative) on the residents which will determine their plans for moving out or staying at the neighbourhood.

The results show which neighbourhoods are closer to the objective of improving their quality of life and which denote more difficulties in working out a better situation. As a process, social sustainability has no threshold; policy design and practices oriented towards a better quality of life at the neighbourhood should be adapted and re-orientated taking into account changes in the context. Because of this, the control over the process of intervention results indispensable as they might recognise how those, living day to day in the area, react to constant changes and outputs of the intervention process.

The quantitative approach that we have followed in the paper should be accompanied by a qualitative analysis. The complete knowledge on the context, its past, its evolution

and the prospects of inhabitants make it possible to ascertain through which channels the policy intervention must take place and which should the priorities be.

Although it is possible to set indicator parameters for certain regeneration outputs (number of jobs created, number of public transports in the area, etc), it is difficult to extend the same rationale to more general sustainability criteria (quality of life, social networks, etc). However, broadly speaking, it becomes clear which neighbourhoods are in a proper path towards social sustainability, for instance, Trinitat Nova and Orcasitas. In both cases, active participation of population over the regeneration process is a key fact. In Sant Roc or Simancas, the characteristics of the context impede such a transparent and empowered process. Therefore, in those cases where the complexity of the situation is enormous, an integral approach towards the improvement of the resident's situation is required. Social sustainability of the regeneration process would be, afterwards, guaranteed.

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Annex

Table 1. Operationalising the concept of social sustainability

	Dimensions	Sub-dimensions	Indicators
SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY OF NEIGHBOURHOOD	Context of state	Densification	
	Governance and political participation	Governance	Participation Knowledge of policies Knowledge of effects of policies Identification of actors Kind of participation Associations Participation in past elections
		Political participation (residents responsibility)	
		Gender participation	Qualitative approach
		Diversity well represented	Qualitative approach
		Policies or actions to improve	Policies or actions Problems improved by actions Important effects of policies
	Social and cultural policy	Social networks	Rate contacts with other residents Friends or relatives live in the state
		Social cohesion	Attached to neighbourhood Estate socially mixed Solidarity Opinion about social mix
	Infrastructures public services/Community benefits		Facilities
	Employment and economic revitalisation	Attracting private investment	Qualitative data Place of work
		Income	Paid job Paid job partner People are income earners Monthly household income Main source of income Share of income to cover housing costs
	Urban transport		Qualitative data Bus stop
	Urban land and housing	Tenancy	Tenancy present Tenancy previous
		Housing management	Qualitative data
		Home facilities	Been renovated/refurbished (conservation) What has been improved
		Satisfaction	Satisfaction home / increase? Satisfaction neighbourhood /increase?
	Subjective perception	Plans to move	Yes or no Reasons Where
		Future perspectives	Future perspectives How future be turned brighter Reason future will be brighter
		Individual perception about problems	Feelings of unsafety Crime Drug addition and traffic (reactions) V35... Aspects neighbourhood most liked Aspects neighbourhood least liked
		Popularity/Marginalisation/Poverty	Reputation Agreement with this reputation Stigma

