Social cohesion
and decentralised cooperation

The Europe-Latin America experience

Research Papers / Number 2

A European Union-Latin America Observatory on
Decentralised Cooperation publication

Author

Víctor M. Godínez

Contents

1. General presentation

Since the 1999 Rio de Janeiro Summit, the Heads of State and Government of Latin America and the Caribbean and of the European Union have been building and strengthening a wide co-operation and development platform. In the Madrid (2002), Guadalajara (2004) and Vienna (2006) meetings the terms of the bi-regional strategic partnership have gained precision and expanded their scope.

In the Guadalajara Declaration, social cohesion was identified as a main responsibility for governments. The signatories to the Guadalajara Declaration underlined their determination to build fairer societies "by fighting poverty, inequality and social exclusion". This commitment was fully ratified in the Vienna Declaration, which assumed social cohesion is a "relevant priority" in the bi-regional cooperation programmes, and at the same time identified it as an opportunity to "access the fundamental rights and employment, enjoy the benefits of economic growth with equality and social justice, and fully play a role in society".[1]

Likewise, within the framework of the Internarional Summit of the EUROsociAL Network (Encuentro Internacional De Redes EUROsociAL Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, June 2006), the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) suggested a global and operative definition that aims to provide a working tool both for Europe and Latin America: "Social cohesion is defined as the dialectics between current social inclusion/exclusion mechanisms and the reactions, perceptions and decisions of the citizens with regard to the way such mechanisms operate (sense of belonging)".

The issue of social cohesion is nowadays gaining importance in the international debate concerning sustainable growth with equality, together with the need to build an inclusive development. Within the European context, social cohesion constitutes an explicit objective of the development policies. As for Latin America, a series of sectorial initiatives that are directly connected with social cohesion have recently arisen both in the fields of public policies and research.

In Latin America, in particular, the concept of social cohesion frequently lacks conceptual and operative clarifications which would enable differentiating it from the concepts of poverty, inequality and social exclusion - which represents a significant difference with the countries of the European Union. The idea of poverty, inequality and social exclusion are at the core of Latin American debates on the effects of development and the population's quality of life, and social cohesion frequently appears to be a mere sub-product of the debate.

Different bi-regional cooperation forums –and especially in the Brussels and Cartagena de Indias meetings which took place in March and June respectively[2]– have emphasized the need to develop an operational concept for an approach to social cohesion which is, at the same time multidisciplinary, multi-sectorial, participative and decentralised. In both regions, as well as in international organizations the idea of there being a lot more to social cohesion than the fight against poverty and social exclusion is rapidly growing; social cohesion has other relevant sociological dimensions.

The present study was carried out on the grounds of the above mentioned background and general concerns. The scope of its application is very specific: the study is applicable to a framework of bi-regional decentralised cooperation and focuses on the role this particular kind of cooperation plays in strengthening sub-

national (or local) social cohesion policies. Despite the need for social cohesion to be holistically regarded at different levels throughout this study, we aim to deepen the analysis of the sub-national (or local) public policies concerned with economic growth and social participation and integration alike.

The study originated in the following two starting points. Firstly, local and regional governments, due to their nature, are ideally located within the institutional network of democratic nations, and thus they can efficiently implement public policies and strategies aiming at social cohesion. Secondly, decentralised co-operation evidences a great potential to contribute, by means of exchanging experiences and its natural reciprocity, for the institutional strengthening of local and regional governments in terms of the design and implementation of social cohesion policies.

The study is slightly comparative, with the purpose of presenting the multiple differences in an explicit and evident way, the same as it does with regard to similarities and affinities at social and institutional levels and in terms of the development of local and regional entities in Latin America and the European Union. In any case, this study focuses on the Latin-American towns or cities, as their institutional experiences in the field are more unknown than those of their European counterparts, and given the fact that Latin-American experiences have suffered major limitations and evidence qualitatively poorer social and economic development.

The document presents three general chapters. The first chapter presents a summary of trends in theoretical and applied research on the social cohesion concept. It focuses on the dynamic nature of the different concepts, which always reflects the path followed by local public policies involved in fighting social exclusion. The following chapter analyses the main social cohesion strategies and tools used by the local governments of the Euro-

pean Union and Latin America, identifying its most significant similarities and differences. The empirical reference of the present study is made up by over sixty sectorial experiences of many other European and Latin American entities. Starting from this analysis, we aimed to identify the tools used by the local governments to carry out concrete activities to attain social cohesion. The third chapter deals with the relations between the Europe-Latin America decentralised and the local social cohesion policies. A few meaningful cases are mentioned, such as the experience of the city of Rosario, which illustrates the way in which local development plans, the social cohesion policies and the decentralised cooperation programmes can reciprocally nurture one another. Lastly, the study produces a summary containing conclusions and recommendations.

Notes

1 Vienna Declaration, Fourth European Union-Latin-America and the Caribbean, Vienna, Austria, 12 May, 2006.

2 High Level Conference *"Promoting social cohesion: European and Latin-American experiences"*, Brussels, March, 2006, and International Metting of EUROsocial Networks , Cartagena de Indias, June, 2006

2. The social cohesion concept: scope, potential and limitations

2.1. Concept evolution and nature: from social theory to a public policy

Upon exploring the main academic, institutional sources and documents seeking for the "social cohesion" concept we found a relatively wide range of definitions. Generally speaking, the most important definitions –i.e. those that are today's unquestionable references in the theoretical and practical debates– are all included within particular theoretical-analytical frameworks or else arise from approaches in public policy which are within specific institutional contexts.

In the field of scientific research, the social cohesion concept was introduced in the late 19th century by Émile Durkheim (1858-1917). Durkheim uses the concept to refer to the interdependent relations between members of a society, to the loyalties these members share and also to their solidarity. The concept was further developed in the first third of the 20th century by Talcott Parsons (1902-1979), who believes that the social system originates on the grounds of shared values upon which consent can be built in order to resolve conflicts of interest. It is worth mentioning that both Durkheim and Parsons used the social cohesion concept to analyse the implications in the mechanisms of deep structural change of the social and economic order. Durkheim dealt with issues such as industrialization, urbanization and the massive migrations of the late 19th century, whilst Parsons dealt with the 1930 Great Depression and the political crisis of the thirties (Jenson 1998). In the light of the great changes in the economic structure, the adjustment and globalization processes observed worldwide since the early 20th century, we are not surprised by the fact that the social cohesion concept has clearly appeared once again. The same as

other terms which refer to the nature of our current society and its problems –*sustainable development* being the best example– , social cohesion presently attracts the attention of the academic circles and, particularly in the spheres of design and implementation of public policies at different territorial levels (supranational, national, regional and local).

Criticisms to the academic and practical research carried out in the past two decades evidence the existence of certain main lines of work in the debate on the social cohesion concept.[3] One of these lines of work, widely shared with specialists, has to do with understanding social cohesion as a process which values relationships between individuals and society[4] and aims to attain the quality of its relationship, rather than regarding it as a static concept. Another line of work is connected with the criteria applied to determine the social inclusion and exclusion contexts. Exclusion mechanisms not only have tangible implications, but also symbolic ones, as well as implications that are connected with the individuals' lack of participation in the main social institutions, and the obstacles that prevent them from doing so, what hinders their full exercise of citizenship.[5] A third line of work deals with the values and identities shared by the individuals of a particular society, on which they can build a sense of belonging to a local, national and even supranational community.[6] Both the theoretical debates as well as the design of public policies concerning social cohesion around the world represent the core of these three general lines of work.

Nevertheless, in spite of the current wide range of definitions, levels of analysis and operative approaches concerning the social cohesion concept, there is, outside academic circles, an agreement –which is frequently an implicit one– over its practical usefulness and significance. According to the Council of Europe (2001), "Social cohesion is a flagship concept which constantly reminds us of the need to be collectively attentive to, and aware

of, any kind of discrimination, inequality, marginality or exclusion".

According to the aims of the present study we are interested in focusing on the analytical value as well as on the operative functionality of the social cohesion concept, specifically with regard to it usage in public policy.

The phrase 'social cohesion' is used in the field of public policy to refer to complex social relations and to set goals and programmes that originate in and reflect on such complex reality. Though this may be the starting point for the most important and widely used definitions of social cohesion, there is no universal definition for this phrase. A thorough study on the matter (Jeannette 2000) evidenced that this term lacks a widely accepted work definition in spite of the fact that the European Union, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the Council of Europe programmes are using it more and more - the same as the national programmes of the European countries themselves and Canada. Although this reflects the lack of agreement on the very profile of a typical "cohesioned society", such study also evidenced that the most widely used operative definitions all agree on the design of strategies and public programmes which ensure that all citizens have access to material welfare within the framework of "social quality".[7] This common goal is perhaps the grounds for each one to build his/her own institutional and operative architecture on the subject.

For the purposes of public policy, the social cohesion concept has witnessed one of its most fruitful applications in the European Union integration process. Likewise, it may well be regarded as a key concept in that process. EU regulations contemplate specific mandates to implement actions towards strengthening economic, territorial and social cohesion in Europe. Based on the social cohesion concept, the European Commission has sought

to permanently promote the interaction between social, economic and employment policies based on the interdependence criteria. Here we find a clear difference –if not a breakthrough– with regard to the conventional conceptions concerning public policies which are widely spread worldwide (such as the policies which subordinate countries governmental policies to merely financial criteria and they further adapt this programmes to such criteria).[8]

This transversal approach to public policies can be found in the European Commission's programmes and also in member states programmes, at national, regional and local levels alike. Several studies provide evidence as to how social cohesion policies in these countries, at different territorial levels, face problems of social exclusion from a multidimensional perspective. For this purpose, encouraging empowerment is a basic tool, which is reflected in an active call for the socially excluded to participate in their own (re)integration. Either having this empowerment or lacking it, are situations which must be faced with the citizen's real participation in public affairs. This approach enables us to see community partnerships in a different light and, in the local context, are successful tools in fighting social exclusion.

In Canada, there is a growing desire to link the results obtained in the field of economic performance, security, education, health and community welfare, among others, with social cohesion. This link can also be achieved through public programmes and citizen and community participation, with civil society organizations, social and economic policies, which in turn, directly affect the social results obtained (Jeannotte et al. 2006).

All of the above shows that one of the most relevant aspects concerning the link between social cohesion and public policies is the way in which this concept is implemented in order to provide an operative framework of reference for the debate on the

needs of society as a whole rather than a mere part of it. It is interesting to quote the Council of Europe (2000) once more, which supports the need to develop a social cohesion strategy instead of exclusively focusing on fighting exclusion (or poverty, discrimination, etc.):

> We need (...) to find ways to face not only the problems of the excluded from society, but also, being more ambitious, we need to find the way to build societies which are more cohesive, where the risk of social exclusion can be minimal. Therefore, social cohesion involves the entire society and all of its members, and not only the excluded groups.

A few multilateral bodies such as UNESCO, the World Bank and several national, regional or local public entities in Europe and America, have adopted similar approaches in terms of social cohesion. In all cases it is regarded as a useful tool to foster commitment practices and a sincere dialogue among citizens of different communities, and to appropriately solve dilemmas such as making a choice from different public policies upon scarce or limited resources. According to ECLAC (2007) social cohesion "may be understood as the combined object resulting from the level of welfare gaps between individuals and between groups, as well as the mechanisms that integrate those individuals and groups into the social dynamics and their sense of adhesion and belonging to society".

2.2. Social cohesion and quality of life in democratic societies

The analytical exactness of the social cohesion concept has been controversial among theoreticians. This still ongoing debate focuses on what Bernard summarized back in 2000, when he postulated that, in actual fact, we are dealing with an "almost-concept" or with a "hybrid" built on the grounds of a scientific methodology, although carrying a great adaptability in the face of political actions needs.[9] The controversy is unavoidable in the light of the wide range of definitions and theoretical frameworks for this concept and the great number of operative and instrumental actions it is invoked.

As previously mentioned, social cohesion is relevant for this document mainly because of its use in the public policies design and implementation circles. With regard to this, Beauvais and Jenson (2002) claim that social cohesion tends to be an inevitable referent when the policy designers face the reality that the strategies that aim to fight poverty, improve employment levels and community development and work on other social contexts do not achieve their goals. The complex and multidimensional nature of these social problems creates the need to coin concepts which are sensible and work in a wide range of spheres. Such is the case of the social cohesion concept, which provides us with a framework to process the different areas of public policies at a horizontal interrelation axis level.

The social cohesion approach is not found in the same sphere where the social programmes specially designed for the "excluded" are prepared, and thus constitutes a powerful mechanism which favours universal programmes, which, due to their very nature disregard stigmatization and generate legitimacy. "Social cohesion concerns the entire society and every one of its member, not only those who are excluded" (Council of Europe 2000).

Therefore, social cohesion is a political approach which is likewise directly linked to building democratic citizenship and governance.

There are a great many functional links between social cohesion and quality of life. Social cohesion may be perceived as a qualitative dimension of society which is reflected on individuals' every day life by means of perceptions and verifications on equality, employment security, education opportunities, access to other basic services, the community's social environment, among other factors which are closely linked to the quality of life.

The different aspects of social cohesion have implications in society's quality of life. The dynamics of interpersonal relationships, associations and intermediary organizations and institutions produce more than the mere addition of differentiated attitudes; it produces shared values and norms of behaviour which are expressed in different degrees of social trust and responsibility. It generates identity signals and governance modalities, cultural norms and social rules, which are essential to build a certain social order. The citizens of a cohesive society develop a sense of belonging and inclusion which resembles the "animal instinct" Keynes attributed to the *homo oeconomicus*. They actively participate in the social life, their differences are explicit, recognizable and recognized, and they are treated as equals and enjoy a certain degree of equality in a context where both public and private institutions are recognized.

Jeannotte et al. (2002) pointed out that the existing cohesion is reciprocal and it is reinforced by values such as liberty, equality, democracy, respect for human rights, tolerance, inclusion, collective responsibility and respect for the rule of law. The above mentioned authors eventually claim that "dictatorships may mimic social cohesion signals by creating guidelines, shared val-

ues and a capacity for collective actions. However, these processes may be coercive, excluding and unsustainable. All of this undermines the conditions required by a real cohesion". This difference can be easily noticed. There is no social cohesion without democracy; neither is there democracy under coercion.

2.3. Social cohesion basic vectors

The fact that the people who design public policies at different levels of responsibility –including international cooperation– have adopted the social cohesion concept, has enabled them to successfully face the imbalances resulting from global economic restructuring and social changes that occurred in the last four or five years. Within this general framework, five basic dimensions of social cohesion have been identified, on which a certain degree of consent has been achieved in the theoretical, analytical and instrumental spheres:

i. Belonging / isolation: social cohesion implies sharing values and a sense of being a part of the same community.

ii. Insertion / exclusion: social cohesion implies a general ability to penetrate the market, particularly in terms of employment

iii. Participation / passivity: social cohesion implies that citizens are involved in public affairs, understanding them from a holistic perspective.

iv. Recognition / rejection: social cohesion implies plurality/differences, and at the same time tolerance of those differences.

v. Legitimacy / illegitimacy: social cohesion implies the existence of private and public institutions that have management abilities and can mediate in conflicts.

Bernard (2000), in his essay on the social cohesion concept, argues that the liberty-equality-solidarity trio is a substantial element of democracy, and he further postulates that a cohesive society needs to struggle to accomplish a balance between these three terms. His analysis –to be summarized below– leads us to add a sixth element to the social cohesion concept:

vi. Equality / inequality: social cohesion implies a deep and systemic commitment towards distributive justice and equality.

The relations between the above mentioned dimensions are complex. According to the same author, the presence of one or more of these dimensions does not automatically ensure the presence of the remaining dimensions. Setting up a social cohesion environment requires establishing a "dialectical balance" of the meanings of each one of the relations that are implicit in every element. How else could we understand why they are sometimes opposite and at other times agree? In order to advance in this direction, they are classified according to the order presented in chart 1: (2) and (6) correspond to the economic sphere in society, (3) and (5) correspond to the political sphere, and (4) and (1) correspond to the socio-cultural sphere.

Chart 1 / Sixs Basic dimensions of social cohesion

Sphere of activity	Nature of relationship	
	Formal	**Substantial**
Economic	(2) Inclusion / exclusion	(6) Equality / inequality
Political	(5) Legitimacy / illegitimacy	(3) Participation / inactivity
Sociocultural	(4) Recognition / rejection	(1) Belonging / isolation
Source: Bernard (2000)		

2

The above classification is based on the distinctions made by Wooley (1998) between formal relations (which imply participation at grass-roots levels and, in principle, accessible by all members of society) and the substantial relations (which imply a constant commitment in the economic, political and socio-cultural spheres).

How do we interpret Bernard's (2000) typology in Chart 1, between the formal and the substantial? This is how Bernard puts it (2000):

> In the sociocultural sphere, recognition simply obliges differences to be tolerated, while belonging signifies belonging to the construction of a community, to and the sharing of values; not unanimously but through an active dialogue. In the political sphere, legitimacy refers to recognition of the institutions by citizens, but participation goes much further by calling for a more active involvement on their part. In the economic sphere, particularly with respect to employment, it is obviously necessary to exclude exclusion, but a deeper commitment supposes (...) the pursuit of equality, that is, of social justice and equity.

The key of this typology between the formal and the substantial aspects of social cohesion is its interdependence (or "dialectic relation"). They all accumulate tension so we must again avoid unilateral or unipolar distortions. Evidently, with regard to this, institutions are highly relevant for democracies, since they offer members of community the opportunity to participate and set the game rules, which enable them to create social cohesion conditions for every specific circumstance. It is now relevant to refer to one of the definitions of social cohesion by the ECLAC (2007), considering it a means and an objective. It is an objective when the public policies create the conditions for the members of a society to feel they are an active part of it by contributing to general

progress and at the same time benefiting from such progress. In the latter case, public policies reflect and reinforce individuals' sense of belonging and inclusion. However, social cohesion is also a means for the construction of lasting consensus concerning long-term policies especially designed to achieve equal opportunities and the pursuit of equality. Social arrangements of this sort suppose the existence of the authors' willingness to cooperate, to the extent of "being ready to compromise their personal interests for collective benefit", according to this study by the ECLAC.

> The higher the citizens' willingness is to participate in public affaire and debates, to rely on institutions, the higher is the sense of belonging to a community and feeling of solidarity with the excluded and the vulnerable; and this contributes to the signing of social pacts that are needed to support policies aiming to attain inclusion and equality.

In the theoretical and applied research context we find certain questions that are closely linked to the above mentioned reflections, the analytical exploration which enables a certain approach to the institutional devices and the mechanisms and relations involved in social cohesion processes. What is the input and what are the results of these kinds of processes? What basic coincidental relations may be noticed around them and how are they evidenced? How can public policies contribute to the creation of virtuous circles in favour of social cohesion? The *Department of Canadian Heritage International Comparative Research Group* suggested a "preliminary model" to illustrate the operative complexity of the process through which societies may generate cohesion among its members (Jeannotte et al. 2002).

Diagram 1 summarizes this struggle presenting two important aspects. In the first place, social cohesion implies several inputs, and the public policies –which are essential–, are only one aspect of it. The organization of civil societies and their social

capital wealth, as with various institutions and the prevailing system of values, all contribute to the social cohesion process. Secondly, there is a high degree of "systemic lack of foresight" in social cohesion patterns which inevitably hinders the governments actions and responses on the topic

Diagram 1 / Social Cohesion: towards a model representing its basic causal relationships and general operation
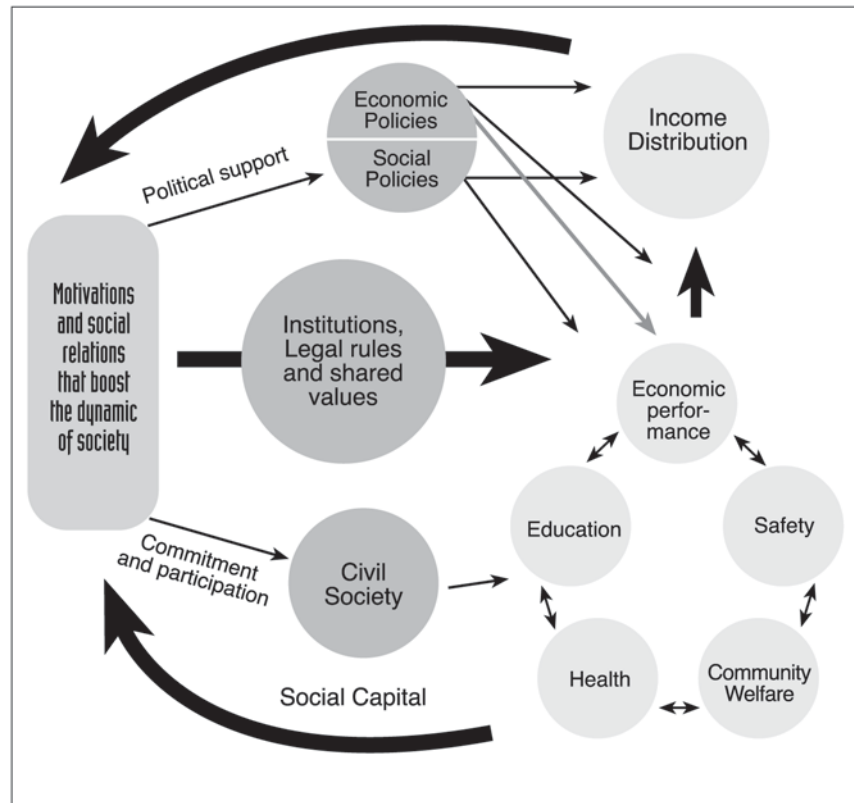
Source: Jeannotte et al. (2002) based on Stanley (1997), Levis and Stoddart (1999) and MaCracken (1999).

This graphic representation also demonstrates the existence of no less than three basic causal relationships between social cohesion and the quality of the social process as a whole. According to this model a higher degree of social cohesion leads to the following:

i) Greater support of public policies and programmes in education, health, security; universal access to these services which produce tangible results on the population's quality of life.

ii) Greater support and compliance with regulations, institutions and social values (such as respect for the law); this fosters cooperation and increases the efficiency of the "social product".

iii) Greater participation of individuals and organized groups of the civil society, which increases social capital wealth.

Another relevant aspect of this model is that it illustrates how improvements in cohesion may be achieved, to the extent that institutional devices for distribution can generate a fairer society. When cohesion and equality reciprocally reinforce one another, a virtuous circle is produced. However, if this spiral does not go upwards and the social climate deteriorates due to a lack of equality, social cohesion starts to erode, which in turn damages the social atmosphere, giving rise to a vicious circle. It also proves that every modification in the causality chain may affect other dimensions of the model. A decrease in political support of a certain social programme may seem to have no direct effects on specific fields (health, education, etc), although when it erodes social cohesion, it has long term general implications in the quality of social mechanisms. Lastly, the model represented in the diagram shows that above all the process variables, a "good public policy" is an essential input and the strongest institutional force to set up conditions which favour social cohesion and its improvement.

The present model trial confirms that with the purpose of research or in order to design public policies, the social cohesion phenomenon needs to be understood by means of a "multisector" and "horizontal" approach which contemplates its institutional and operative complexity. Therefore, it clearly moves away from the idea of social capital[10], which refers to a rather limited range of social relations, although they still have some common identity. Both terms identify social relations and the forms of government with cultural expressions, ethical values and individual and collective behaviours which result in society being more than the mere addition of people, and enable it to attain several degrees of connections and adhesion among its own members. Both notions highly value the horizontal institutional arrangements for analytical and operative purposes, since they generate trust, solidarity, equality or reciprocity networks thorough which individuals express themselves and mobilize their concerns on public issues (Kliksberg 2000).[11]

2.4. Toward an operational definition of social cohesion applicable to different social settings

Therefore, based on the above, social cohesion is grounded on the willingness of social actors to cooperate at all levels of society to attain a common good. However, social cohesion as a whole, the same as the different dimensions that make it up, is undoubtedly far from being a mere analysis of the problems or design of national programmes or projects. On the contrary, due to its nature, social cohesion takes us back to the regional and local community levels, which are the very field and essence of this study.

There are at least two reasons to explain the above. Firstly, as it is widely known, the local community (just as a regional community) is the most immediate and direct way for citizens to contact and interact with institutions and other social actors. The second reason is more analytical, rather than practical. According to an expert (Sheleff 1997), "community life at the local level is the paradigm of social cohesion". In any case, both reasons gain significance in the light of major structural changes to the so called globalization process, both nationally and internationally. Such process accelerated and at the same time expanded local and regional government participation and competence in the design and implementation of policies directed towards social cohesion.

In fact, one of the most distinctive features of globalization is that economic competition is fought from the countries' territorial system. Therefore, regions, provinces, states and cities actively seek to improve, expand and value their own resources and features. This process –widely illustrated by theoretical and empirical research for a long time– gave rise to spaces and opportunities to reinforce their own identity (Godinez 2004). Simultaneously, globalization also encouraged local governments to play a more active role in the struggle for development and wellbeing, which usually implies looking for a wider scope of legitimacy and for improvements in governance.[12]

In the context of those changes, local governmental entities emphatically claim their role and the scope of their competence with the purpose of facing their traditional duties more effectively, while they also respond to the new challenges resulting from the double simultaneous process of globalization and decentralisation. In this way, "the territory starts to be perceived as a matrix for social organization and interactions, rather than a simple

abstract space or a place where activities are held. Thus, *extra-economic* aspects play an essential role and are located at the very foundations of real economy" (Alburquerque 2000). Globalization implies higher competition between territories and local actors, although at the same time, its consequences demand the design and implementation of social cohesion policies. This process implies that the traditional demanding and delegating attitude of territorial actors be transformed to an attitude which is more participative and committed to democratic governance.

Social cohesion is essential to foster consensus for the design and implementation of development policies which are not reduced and restricted to the mere economic sphere. In order to achieve social cohesion, we need "an extremely complex construction and development process, which involves favourable constant and increasing levels of economic growth, social interaction, the right institutions, cultural guidelines and the relations of powers in authority" (Madoery 2005).

Lack of social cohesion usually implies that human and social rights of citizens are degraded, that primary social links are broken and that individuals and the relations that define their social belonging and identity are impoverished. Such a significant phenomenon can only be reverted by implementing local and regional cohesion strategies. In democracy, the local and regional governments are the ideal entities to act with a two-fold purpose: to act against the dissolution of the belonging bonds caused by space segregation, urban deterioration, isolation, reduction of opportunities and to encourage mechanisms that aim to reconstruct social fabric. Likewise, by taking advantage of institutional mechanisms and collective learning applicable to that same territory, local and regional governments may be better prepared to identify situations which give rise to social exclusion, in order to counteract or eliminate them through *ad hoc* interventions.

Encouraging and strengthening social cohesion is the responsibility of all the sectors that make up society, although, for two reasons at least, it is the local government that needs to guarantee social cohesion. The first reason is that it is the institutional channel closest to the community, and it therefore channels the preferences and interests of individuals. The second reason is that the local government is the entity that holds local public authority, controls certain mechanisms that deal with re-distributing funds and the authority that implements local public policies that are articulated and coherent. This is in no way contradictory, and it does not imply forgetting that "the State is the last resort to safeguard social rights. This is the State's main function and it cannot be substituted by any other actor or society. Furthermore, those rights can only be regarded as universal when they are circumscribed in the State's legal-juridical institutionality" (Draibe 2004). We also need to bear in mind that governmental local entities are a substantial part of the State's organic order in every democratic society.

Developing public policies aiming to attain social cohesion requires simultaneous strengthening of the democratic institutionality and the State's decentralisation. According to Rodrik (2000) "constructing institutions is a process which needs to be carried out locally, relying on the accumulated experience, the knowledge of local reality and trials. Thus, democratic and decentralised systems are utterly important".

Effective decentralisation is reflected at the legal-juridical level and at the same time at the political participative level. In other words, it has implications within the representative institutional structures which help society recover political functions, thus contributing to democratization.[13]

Formally, participation of the local and regional governments in the design and implementation of social cohesion public

2

policies is usually justified by the States' legal system of rules, whose constitutions establish a democratic system. However, reality proves that there are substantial differences between territories in terms of their capacity to take formal institutionality into practice.

A general approach to the experience of the European from European and Latin-American communities selected for the present study, evidences that –beyond the existing differences and asymmetries– the ability of local individuals to attain consensus, to get organized and to participate in collective actions is as important a factor for local development as the existence of other prevailing conditions such as: public policies in terms of social cohesion, predominance of the Rule of Law, institutional flexibility to adapt to the global changes and local needs, availability of financial resources, among others. There is a close relationship between social cohesion and democratic institutionality, so much so that it may be suggested that the lack of social cohesion evidences the inexistence of a real and effective democratic institutionality.

Therefore, creating the conditions that lead to social cohesion is circumscribed within the context of the State's democratization-decentralisation, an area where governments and other local actors may set clear rules that are accepted by everybody, to take part in the selection of development policies. Otherwise we could easily increase the already large number of detached policies and programmes which have little or no influence whatsoever on social cohesion.

In the end, the dynamics of a World order which has been transformed by a technological paradigm, which virtually reduces the spatial and temporal dimensions between territories, implies corrosive processes, although at the same time it results in constructive processes. Therefore, the opportunities that actors and territorial entities have to mould institutional arrangements in terms

of development policies may be regarded as an historical opportunity. The level of social cohesion achieved by each community is a determining factor for the local and regional governmental policies to reflect the collective aspirations and decisions and respond to them.

Notes

3 See Jenson (1998), Jeannotte (2000) and Jeannotte, et. al (2002) works.

4 This is the analytical framework of the interesting research and analysis work about social cohesion sponsored by the Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate of the Department of Canadian Heritage.

5 This is one of the lines of work and reflection emphasized in the documents and analysis prepared by the Social Cohesion Development Department of the Council of Europe.

6 The sense of belonging and the values it is supported on are one of the dimensions included in the great report of the Wealth Creation and Social Cohesion European Commission, Dahrendorf (1995), about wealth creation and social cohesion. Also, the World Bank initiative concerning social capital, SCI (1998) also contemplates the topic from a different point of view.

7 The term "social quality" became popular in the last two decades of the 20th century. According to Veenhoven (1996) social quality is defined as the degree to which the provisions and requirements of a certain society adapt to its citizens' needs and abilities. The author talks about "physiological" (food, housing) and psychological (safety, self-security, identity) needs.

8 This public policies conception was discussed in the Lisbon European Summit (March, 2000), within the framework of a general thesis postulating that the search for economic efficacy should not have a negative influence on social cohesion.

9 According to the author, conceptual constructions such as "social cohesion" are "hybrid" because *"they have two faces: on the one hand they are partially and selectively based on data analysis and situations which enable them to be relatively realistic, benefiting from the legitimate aura granted by the scientific method. On the other hand, they remain so vague that they adapt to several situations and are flexible enough to follow the winding road and needs of the every day political actions."* Bernard (2000).

10 As we know, the idea of social capital originates in the precursory study by Putman (1993), on the forms of local development in Italy, and the role trust, behavioural norms, ways of association and cooperation play to strengthen social fabric.

11 Within the context of this document "public" (public concerns, public policies, etc) does not mean governmental. It refers to collective circumstances and actions that have to do with the promotion and the validity of social rights and it equally includes the different sectors of the civil society, the private sector and the government.

12 Prats defined governance as *"the ability for a social system to face the challenges and take advantages of the opportunities positively, in order to meet its members' expectations and needs, pursuant to certain standards and formal and informal procedures that make up a system where such expectations and strategies are presented"* Quoted by Riveros (2004).
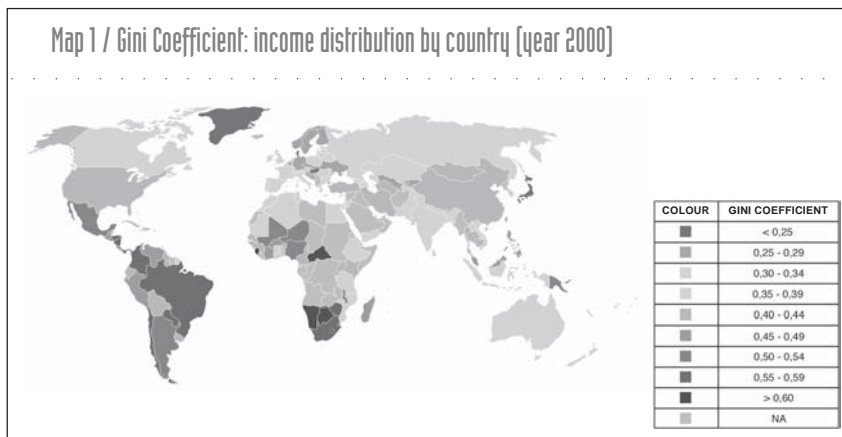
13 See Pintos and Biagioni (2005). Decentralisation of the central power implies self-governing local capacity, which nonetheless needs to be ensured by actions by both the central and local authorities, to avoid the process resulting in wasting or misusing resources and local capacities, especially when local management is not effectively autonomous.

3. Social cohesion at local and regional levels in Europe and Latin America

3.1. Social cohesion public policies at local and regional levels

The first approach to social cohesion public policies and programmes in the European Union and Latin America, two areas in the world that are so different from one another in terms of development, would lead us to think, at first, that there is no common or convergent starting point from which to carry out a comparative analysis of territorial realities which are so different and even sometimes asymmetrical. These differences may be summarized in several ways. A very simple way is to compare income distribution levels. The Gini coefficient data clearly illustrates these differences through its "political geography" in Map 1 below. The Gini coefficient rates European countries with the highest equitable distribution of income in the world, whilst it rates Latin- American countries as the lowest.

Map 1 / Gini Coefficient: income distribution by country (year 2000)

COLOUR	GINI COEFFICIENT
	< 0,25
	0,25 - 0,29
	0,30 - 0,34
	0,35 - 0,39
	0,40 - 0,44
	0,45 - 0,49
	0,50 - 0,54
	0,55 - 0,59
	> 0,60
	NA

Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gini_coefficient>

3

Though the overall gap between these two areas of the world is evident, further disparities appear, and vary in degree, at all significant levels of development. Nonetheless, it may be said that social cohesion policies of the cities and towns contemplated in the areas of this study, all appear to stem from a common interest in combating social exclusion. Without this interest, local governments and the civil society actors would not have reached agreements on the implementation of development policies which aim to create jobs, resorting to mechanisms of social and solidarity economics (Île de France Area, Metropolitan Nantes Area, Rosario); which foster social banking and institutional support of micro-enterprises (Mexico City, Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Bogotá, Île de France, Stuttgart); which implement social insertion programmes (Saint-Gilles) to train people so as to improve their own vocational and computer skills (Bremen, São Paulo, Lyon). The same applies to the field of social integration and inclusion policies at public decision level, by means of a participative budget (Porto Alegre, Saint-Denis, Buenos Aires, Rosario, Quito, Montevideo); to design gender oriented work training programmes (Escazú, Barcelona, Consell Comarcal de l'Alt Empordà); to design children oriented programmes for the construction of citizenship (Rosario) or to create programmes for the urban mobility and inclusion for the handicapped (Stuttgart, Emilia-Romagna).

Social cohesion and its basic dimensions (belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition, legitimacy, and equality) are conditions required for the holistic development of a democratic society. Constructing and strengthening such a society is a collective task than cannot be delegated to, or form part of, another cause which is not this one.

Towns and cities displaying considerably different development levels, such as those in European and Latin American in this study, carry out public policies which articulate economic and social matters through varied and holistic programmes that not

only fight material poverty, but also fight the lack and breaking of social links which identify individuals to their local territory.

Locally encourage efforts to redefine general or national agendas promoting social cohesion is a complex process which involves a great deal of different political, economic, social and cultural conditions, particularly when the local policy is an innovative one. However, as long as solid institutional bases are built in the field of local management, the possibility of having effects on the definition of general or national policies in the social context becomes more feasible.

Generally speaking, the differences and similarities between social cohesion policies (at the conceptual, instrumental and operative levels) in Europe and Latin America are influenced by the institutional order and the economic development framework they take place in.

It is widely known that European communities enjoy a more equitable distribution of income than Latin American communities; they have comprehensive social cohesion policies, relatively more consolidated democratic governance structures, wider social protection networks and relatively abundant financial resources. All of this results in problems of different kinds. Far from being homoegeneous, European communities evidence significant differences in terms of their resources, citizen participation and social exclusion levels, etc. Nonetheless, in most cases the social cohesion policies of European communities are circumscribed within general development strategies (at national and community levels), in a way that the combination of local, regional, national and community incentives contributes to the European integration process, and at the same time, the social cohesion institutional mechanisms objectively result in agreements at different levels of territorial development.

The reality of Latin American communities is different. There is no regional process that merges development policies. It would be impossible to document a single national policy that goes together with a territorial development one.[14] However, social cohesion local policies shown in certain communities in the Latin-American Southern Cone (Rosario, São Paulo, Porto Alegre) have obtained very interesting results in terms of local governance and social inclusion that have been recognized as effective, in spite of the various limitations they have struggled with.

Among the reasons that explain the relative efficiency of these community policies, we find the agglomeration economies that are typical of the cities: all of them concentrate top demographic and industrial-business centres for their corresponding regional and even national economic systems.

They are all urban centres presenting important physical and institutional infrastructure that are essential for economic development. As a matter of fact, within the Latin-American context, the economic and social progress of communities is usually closely related to its demographic weight, its institutional capacity and its social capital resources. Below, the case of the Argentine city of Rosario illustrates this (Chart 1).

Text Box 1 / Strategic importance of cities: the case of the city of Rosario

Rosario and its area of influence constitute an important industrial and commercial region in Argentina. The region is located in the most highly productive strip of land in the country, which spreads from La Plata to Rosario. Rosario is the core of the urban conglomeration known as the Great Rosario Metropolitan Area. Its surface area is 582 km^2 and, according to the *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos* (National Statistics and Census Institute) it has a population of 1.069.293.

The province of Santa Fé, with 3 million inhabitants and a gross product of 23 thousand million dollars is one of richest areas in the country. The city accounts for over half the Province's Gross Product at the metropolitan level, and represents slightly less than 5% of the Gross National Product. Its geographical location, its natural surroundings and port have historically favoured its development.

The Greater Rosario Metropolitan Area concentrates 42% of the factories, accounts for 53% of the employment in the sector and 62% of the province's production. In this way, it is an industrial, commercial and financial centre located at the very core of the most productive agricultural and cattle breeding region in the country, known as the *Pampa Húmeda* (Humid Pampa). Due to its geographical situation, Rosario appears to be the future strategic centre for the bio-oceanic connection which will link the state of Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil) on the Atlantic Ocean coasts, with the Valparaíso region (Chile), on the Pacific coast. Thus, the Greater Rosario *hinterland* is a communications neuralgic spot within the MERCOSUR countries, conveniently located on the commercial routes and is a service provider centre.

The city authorities believe that Rosario and its area of influence are undergoing a historical turning point which may compensate it for the frustrating years it endured in terms of social and economic development. A number of original features are now starting to play a key role, such as: the new MERCOSUR perspectives and the city's privileged geographical location, singular and large-sized infrastructure works projects which are grounded on the region and lead it to become the "MERCOSUR gateway". And last but not least, "the local actors' willingness to achieve agreements and define common goals".

Sources: http://www.rosario.gov.ar/sitio/caracteristicas/aspectos1.jsp and Rosario Strategic Plan, 1998.

Differences and similarities between European and Latin-American localities also arise in terms of the social cohesion concepts they all apply to their respective social cohesion policies. Thus, it is worth remembering that:

> The idea of local development is built on a local definition, involving more than a mere geographical area. It also involves historical implications; it involves cultural aspects and the traditions of a group of people who live in a certain territory (Russo 1997, quoted by Stocchiero et al. 2001).

The social cohesion concept originates in the processes that aim to strengthen the social links both in European and in Latin American localities. Despite the fact that every local entity vindicates the basic element(s) of the concept, when comparing the operative definitions taken from sample cities and regions on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, we find that social cohesion has a concrete meaning only when it refers to specific territorial situations and contexts (Chart 2). Such definitions may agree in terms of concepts, although the programmes and policies for their implementation depend on the existing priorities and resources of each locality.

European and Latin American communities claim that solidarity, participative democracy, citizenship, and equal opportunities are dimensions that can only be built by creating synergies between the local interests that interact and incentives of the protagonists involved to defend local interests and preferences, rather than on contemplating opinions.[15] Nonetheless we need to stress that there are certain Latin American communities where, due to the fact that they do not fully grasp the meaning and implications of a social cohesion public policy, they simply transfer the European definition and apply it to the local context.[16] Evidently, such procedure can only produce artificial and non-sustainable results.

The social cohesion concept is actually meaningful when the content agrees with effective processes, rather than when statements are pronounced or opinions given at public gatherings before communities.

Chart 2 / Elements included in a general definition of social cohesion

Locality	Social cohesion primary elements
Nantes Metropole	Solidarity, participative democracy and social and solidarity economics
Ayuntamiento de Barcelona	Deepening the participative and citizenship process
L'Alt Empordà	*"Social cohesion includes a number of local policies and activities with the purpose of ensuring and fostering equal opportunities and situations for all citizens, regardless of their economic background, gender and/ or social and geographical origins".* (**Maria Rosa Guixé Valls**, Social Services Technical Manager, Consell Comarcal de l' Alt Empordà).
Jette, Bruxelles Capitale	*"Wishing for social cohesion is wishing to create links between individuals and groups of individuals. This interconnection is, above all, a process that takes place by individuals being close to one another and it is circumscribed within the inhabitants life and within our communities' lives as well: living together and community life are things that naturally arise and are deepened in our neighbourhoods and cities".* (**Anne-Françoise Nicolay**, Echevinat de la Citoyenneté).
Saint-Gilles, Bruxelles Capitale	Legal equality; participative democracy; strengthening the abilities of the vulnerable groups; sense of belonging and community awareness; cultural diversity and dialogue; taking the political life to citizens; integrating immigrants. (Plan Communal de Développement, juin 2004)
Bremen	"Social cohesion is understood as the community's constant developing process in terms of shared values and challenges and equal opportunities, where the local entities and private institutions play a key role and undertake commitments and responsibilities". (**Brigitte Kleinen**, **Dr. Manfred Klenke**, **Miguel Romero**, **Claire Klindt**, URB-AL Nº 13 *"Towns and Information society"* Network Coordinators).

▶▶

German Cities	*"Everybody agrees with the fact that societies which struggle for solidarity and equality must act, according to their possibilities and resources, in order to promote inclusion programmes and to offer support at community level. Solidarity in a city assumes that all citizens of every district contribute to the development of their surroundings and get involved in community life. This is the only way for individuals to feel identified with their cities and to feel reassured that they live in an integrated society".* (**Heidede Becker**, **Thomas Franke**, **Rolf-Peter Löhr**, **Verena Rösner**, *"Socially Integrative City Programme- An Encouraging Three-Year Appraisal".* Deutsches Institut für Urbanistik, 2003).
São Paulo	*"Social justice, tolerance, cultural diversity, social inclusion of the poor, relative improvement of social conditions, citizen participation, etc".* (**Sonia Draibe**). *"Social cohesion refers to the ideal of a fairer society, a more equal, plural and democratic one. The concept assumes all citizens fully enjoy their citizenship, they exercise their rights and comply with their civic obligations."* (**Sara Garcia Martins**, Secretary of International Relations, São Paulo City Council).
Porto Alegre	Cultural Diversity and tolerance. Citizen's participation. Building citizenship by including vulnerable groups. Respecting differences. Expanding income and employment possibilities. Access to education, health, food, a decent job, housing, quality of life and citizenship. Legal equality. Exercising individual and human rights, etc. (Prefeitura Municipal De Porto Alegre, Gabinete Do Prefeito, Secretaria do Planejamento Municipal. *Mapa da Inclusão e Exclusão Social de Porto Alegre. Edição Revisada. 2004*).
Rosario	*"The construction of citizenship starts from implementing integrated public policies which encourage social cohesion and decent living conditions for citizens".* (**María del Huerto Romero**). *"The concept of social cohesion is understood as building a city for everybody, a city with no exclusions. A*

	city that is not socially fragmented in terms of geography, one that creates integrating public spaces" (**Alberto Kleiner**, Executive Coordinator of the *"Rosario Suma Project"*, Programa URB-AL. **María Florencia Sbarra**, Planning Office, Rosario City Council).
Bogotá	Creating the conditions for the effective, progressive and sustainable exercise of integral human rights. Creating and redistributing wealth; recognizing the generation gaps and ethnic, cultural, gender, skill and opportunities differences; the State should primarily aim at quality of life. Within this perspective, the public administration needs to be of broad scope and participative, and society will get involved in the fight to combat poverty, understanding all citizens share this responsibility. (Social, Economic and public works development plan for Bogotá D.C. 2004-2008 *"Bogota is not indifferent" a social commitment against poverty and exclusion*).
Buenos Aires	"The social cohesion concept that inspires the social policies of the Buenos Aires City Government implies combining strategies to articulate universal approaches as in the health and educational fields, with policies that aim to help the most vulnerable groups to enable them to exercise their rights as citizens" (**Mayki Gorosito**, General Director of Internacional Relations, Buenos Aires City Council).
Quito	Sustainable human development to create equality and inclusion, to widen and to make opportunities universal and to constantly improve the quality of life of the entire population, with the purpose of achieving wellbeing, full self-satisfaction and a harmonic community life. (*Plan for the 2005-2009 Administration*).

Source: We created the following chart based on official documents by the cities and the contributions of local government officials who were asked to complete questionnaires designed for and applied in this study.

As to institutions, European communities are in a more advantageous situation when compared to those in Latin-America, since its social cohesion institutions are typical of the European welfare State, and they play a strategic role in the regional integration process.[17] Territorial entities in the European Union hold learning heritages, institutional capacities, social capitals, local, regional and community resources to strengthen their social cohesion strategies and networks, to implement preventive and compensation policies concerning the exclusion processes, to ensure the continuation of high-priority social programmes and to prevent the local governments from undermining the substantial community objectives.

While this institutional scaffolding is being built, the national itineraries themselves are successfully interacting with the European integration process.

Some Latin American countries managed to develop a welfare state which has suffered the side effects of macroeconomic reforms, apart from multiple structural and political limitations, political clientelism, social and political stagnancy, social inequality, volatility, fiscal and financial fragility, lack of consensus, and intermittent and abandoned social policies. All of these factors contribute to making highly unfavourable conditions with which to foment cooperation and social synergy of any kind. As an expert once put it:

> "Long-term unemployment periods of time, long-lasting high inequality rates and the prevailing poverty and penury in most parts of Latin America have exerted a damaging influence on social cohesion and have contributed to high and constantly growing violence levels. [And] Liberal economic policies not only contributed to the breaking of enduring social relations (though fragile relations, at times), but also such breaking had extremely negative economic effects" (Stiglitz 2003).

Another important difference lies in the integration process, which, unlike the European process, has seen slow progress in Latin America and little of it. Except for the experience in Central America, the regional integration projects are recent, and they are also limited in terms of their scope and effective results. A further feature has to do with their geopolitical or sub-regional spread, which makes it impossible to strictly speak about the Latin American integration process, but about its various processes.

In spite of this, we need to admit that processes of democratization, decentralisation and even "municipalism" of the central authority have, in the last fifteen to twenty years, evidenced positive effects in Latin American local communities. Among them, the construction of citizenship and democratic governance have been favoured by more opportunities to participate in the decision making processes of communities..

As a matter of fact, with the lack of decentralisation observed in most Latin American countries, where localities take up new responsibilities with material, financial and institutional resources, expanding citizens' participation becomes deeply significant (Godínez 2006). The Porto Alegre and Rosario experiences, whose social cohesion policies have gone beyond municipal governance, prove it is possible, with few available resources, to promote development policies at local level that can also have an impact on social cohesion. Chart 2 accounts for the main distinctive traits of the Rosario experience. The next chapter of our study will further develop this experience.

Text Box 2 / Social Cohesion in the Rosario City Council

In recent years, the Rosario City Council became a social cohesion model for the Latin American region, thanks to the actions implemented by the people of Rosario, with the objective of fostering and attaining a sense of belonging, social inclusion, and participation, acknowledgement of differences and legitimacy of institutions.

The city of Rosario evidenced a large number of associations, diversity in terms of the sense of belonging, as well as varied interests. In spite of this, the social cohesion programme was designed based on a strategic objective: "to deepen the construction of citizenship by firstly implementing integrated public policies which promote social cohesion and a decent life for all citizens".

In order to achieve such a goal, the inhabitants of Rosario managed to reconcile the interests of different sectors of society with the purpose of designing a long-term development plan which was grounded on strategic guidelines, programmes and projects that could create an institutional network or "urban and social development and support network which could bring together the different management arenas".

Thus, as a result of local consensus, the citizens of Rosario vindicated their local autonomy implementing policies with the objective of solving immediate problems, although they did so with a long-term integral development perspective that aimed at achieving results.

Development policies in Rosario, materialized in Rosario's Strategic Plan (which include fostering local and regional economic activity and the creation of employment, modernising the State, citizen's participation, preserving the urban environment, fighting for social inclusion and promoting cultural, scientific and technological progress) has gone beyond local management and has strongly influenced the creation of a general development plan called the Rosario Strategic Metropolitan Plan.

Sources: Bifarello (1999), Romero (2006), Tamburrini (2003) and Rosario Strategic Metropolitan Plan. (Plan Estratégico Metropolitano Rosario) (www.pem.org.ar)

We also come across differences and similarities in terms of the programmes and mechanisms used to carry out social cohesion policies. At a formal level, all communities enjoy political, administrative and financial autonomy, according to the provisions under most municipal, national or federal codes which rule over communities. It is important for local authorities to have a certain amount of autonomy which enables them to implement social cohesion strategies in their institutional administration, as resources can only be efficiently applied in that way.

However, at this level, there are significant differences between European and Latin American local governments. European governments at community level, apart from almost always evidencing a higher degree of autonomy, rely on a larger number of institutional resources (availability of technical teams and qualified officers, among other equally important resources). Unlike them, Latin American governments have formal autonomy[18], although in practice, its effective exercise is often stopped or hindered by one or more of the following factors: local institutional shortfalls, corruption, communities that fail to hold local authorities accountable for their actions or lack of them, protracted budgeting processes (due to scarcity of resources or political stalemates between local and central government), among others.

This comparison may lead us to conclude that local policies which form part of a common, integral, democratic and decentralised development framework, can pave the way to social cohesion strategies. Such is the framework that best describes the situation of European localities. The equivalent framework for Latin America is, however, characterized by: scarce resources, recurrent economic crises, structural fractures in its economic model and limitations at both political and institutional levels, which all tend to inhibit and postpone the consolidation of sustainable local development. In spite of all this, certain opportunities have arisen for citizen participation, evidencing that there is great potential available to make up for, and even partly revert, these problems.

3.2. Local and regional policies which influence basic vectors of social cohesion: similarities and differences

The development context evidently determines the content and scope of local social policies. Latin American communities started to implement such policies more systematically during the nineties and, some of them even started in the eighties. Therefore, we may conclude that, generally speaking, local governments took up social agendas and programmes while the region was undergoing a democratization process, a structural reform and decentralisation - which has in fact, evolved in the last two decades.

Local governments' agendas and programmes were defined according to extremely specific community needs in terms of governance, participation, the fight against poverty, exclusion and inequality, assistance for highly vulnerable groups, construction of citizenship. In all cases they coexisted with social welfare programmes designed and implemented by national governments. However, there is a substantial difference between these two kinds of programmes which, in most cases operate separately without any coordination whatsoever. Social welfare programmes of national governments nearly always combat specific situations of extreme poverty through financial aid alone, rarely than involving other programmes for long-term socioeconomic development. Thus, their impact on social cohesion's main vectors is weak and hard to sustain. Unlike national policies, community agendas and the programmes which reflect them usually respond to priorities that were set by the community itself, including a strong idiosyncratic content, they tend to operate and be implemented in a transverse manner in respect to public policies.[19]

Differences between European and Latin American localities are evident. Upon comparing them we find the European

institutional and development framework is, in most cases, more favourable towards the development of local public policies which can have an impact on basic vectors of social cohesion. Within a social framework where the fundamental needs are relatively satisfied, social cohesion strategies face other priorities and, consequently social cohesion local agendas and programmes will encounter different challenges. Apart form basic local protection, in the last two decades European national governments have executed new systems against social exclusion which result in a wider coverage and level of social investment. Additionally, the European Union directly undertook responsibilities against social exclusion through its cohesion policies, which include a wide range of community tools (and their respective resources).[20] In this way, in the European Union, social cohesion local strategies exist within a national and supra-national framework which is generally reflected in a great deal of financial aid and programmes. In spite of the latter being decided and set from outside, their impact is far from being irrelevant to the community. Latin American localities carry out their social cohesion programmes within a substantially different general framework. These programmes are grounded on structural backgrounds that involve scarce fiscal resources in all countries and national social policies that are far from being developed at the institutional level - and this is still true when those policies aim to combat poverty. Let us admit then Székely's (2006)[21] definition of "institutional policy".

According to this source, the degree of institutionalization of Latin American social policies may be established by analysing ten basic criteria. Chart 3 provides details on such criteria and ranks countries in terms of their degree of fulfilment of the above mentioned 10 criteria. Out of 18 countries studied, only Brazil and Mexico fully meet these minimum institutional requirements concerning social policies of national governments. Argentina and Costa Rica follow, having fulfilled 8 out of the ten criteria

required. As to the remaining countries, they all evidence low degrees of institutionalization in the field of public policy, since they only meet an average of 4 to 6 of the above mentioned criteria.

Chart 3 / Institutionalization levels of Social Policies in Latin America

País	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Brasil	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
México	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Argentina	X	X	X		X	X	X		X	X
Costa Rica		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Colombia		X	X		X	X			X	X
Guatemala		X	X	X	X	X				X
Honduras		X	X	X	X	X				X
Paraguay	X	X	X	X	X					X
Perú			X	X	X	X	X			X
Nicaragua		X	X		X	X				X
Uruguay	X	X	X		X	X				X
Bolivia			X	X	X	X				X
Chile		X			X	X			X	X
Panamá	X		X		X	X				X
Ecuador	X		X		X					X
El Salvador		X	X		X					X
R. Dominicana			X		X	X				X
Venezuela			X		X	X				X

1: The existence of a Ministry whose primary goal is combating poverty. **2**: Setting specific goals within a National Plan or Programme. **3**: Defining and adopting indicators in order to assess the fulfilment of objectives. **4**: A legal framework that sets every actor's responsibilities, powers and authority. **5**: Budget to exercise such powers. **6**: Explicit coordinating mechanisms in and among government bodies. **7**: Social control and citizen participation and assistance instances. **8**: The existence of rules to operate such programmes and actions. **9**: Building beneficiary registers. **10**: A legal framework to regulate the behaviour and performance of government employees.

Source: Székely (2006).

Only seven countries have a ministry that focuses on fighting poverty, the region's most serious problem. Again, only seven countries (although not the very same countries referred to above) count on a legal framework which establishes the actors' responsibilities and powers. Five countries –which represent less than one third of the sample– rely on citizen-controlled social policies, only two of them have programme operation rules, and six of them have built beneficiary registers.

Upon comparing local and regional policies which influence basic vectors of social cohesion in the European Union and Latin America, we need to contemplate the following differences in terms of contexts. Contexts evidently influence and determine, in different ways, the strategies' scope and even its content with regard to the community's social agenda in every region. The environment where communities design and carry out their development strategies matters, and we also need to acknowledge the importance of designing complementary actions with centralized sectorial entities when we aim at achieving institutions that favour social cohesion.

In order to carry put this study some of the main elements in the European and Latin-American policies were identified, the design and implementation of which explicitly deal with one or several social cohesion basic vectors. This information is in no way exhaustive, it was selected form the direct analysis of the development plans of 14 European and 12 Latin-American localities (including the replies by experts and municipal heads of programmes who were specially consulted). Apart from the above mentioned sample, different studies[22] on other 14 European and 26 Latin-American cases were also taken into account. Chart 4 identifies these 66 entities which constitute the study's "empirical-territorial paradigm". As we may see, the referred sample covers rather a representative scope of territorial entities: regional, metropolitan cities and municipalities (large, medium-sized and small, including some rural council districts/municipalities).

Chart 4 / Local and regional entities in the European Union and Latin America referred to in the study

European Union		Latin America	
Country	**Locality**	**Country**	**Locality**
Germany	Hanseatic City of Bremen * Stuttgart * Wedding, District (Berlin) Hamburg	**Argentina**	Rosario City Council* City of Buenos Aires* Córdoba City Rafaela City Council Palpalá City Council Bahía Blanca City Council (Province of Buenos Aires)
Austria	State of Corinthia Tirol Region	**Brazil**	São Paulo City Council* Porto Alegre City* São Paulo's ABC region North Eastern City Councils Porto Alegre City Council
Belgium	Comuna de Jette (Bruxelles Capitale)* Comuna de Saint-Gilles (Bruxelles Capitale)*		
		Chile	Region of Araucania Communities of Ranquil Rancagua City Council Province of Loa (Antofagasta)
Spain	Barcelona City Council* Barcelona City (City Hall)* Consell Comarcal de L'alt Empordà* Autonomous community of Cataluña* Figueres* Region of Madrid	**Colombia**	Bogotá Town Hall* Department of Antioquia Medellín City Bucaramanga City Pensilvania City Council San Gil City Council (Santander) Aracataca City Council (Magdalena Province)
Finland	District of Vuosaari (Helsinski)	**Costa Rica**	Escazú City Council*
France	Region of Nantes Metropole* Region of Île de France* Saint-Denis City*	**Ecuador**	Metropolitan Town Hall Quito Pimampiro City Council (Imbabura Province)
		El Salvador	Nejapa Town Hall (San Salvador)*
Greece	Ática Region	**Mexico**	Mexico City* Querétaro City Council* The state of Jalisco The State of Chihuahua
Holland	Deventer City		
Ireland	Ferry County	**Nicaragua**	León Municipal Town Hall*
Italy	Emilia-Romagna Region* Rome* Spanish Quarter (Naples) Bolonia City	**Paraguay**	Fram District (Department of Itapúa)
		Peru	Lima City Council Ilo City Council Department of Cajamarca Municipal District of Villa El Salvador
Portugal	Porto		
The United Kingdom	North Tyneside (Northumberland county) City of Edinburgh	**Uruguay**	Montevideo Municipal Government*
		Venezuela	Sucre Town Hall*

* Social cohesion experiences in these localities were directly analysed by the present study.

In each locality there are one or more public policy programs with incidence on social cohesion, but given the great load of information their analysis implies, the selection of a representative example from each one of them was opted for. Some important similarities and differences arise from the examination of said information.

On the similarities side, it is observed that upon the processes of economic restructuring and globalization, local governments justify their role adopting strategic functions of combat and compensation of the systemic disturbances generated by such transformations. This position taken by the local governments is converted into specific programs and policies, frequently transversally applied, whose common denominator is the combat of social exclusion in the light of an innovative conception: social exclusion is conceived, implicitly, as a cumulative process of disadvantages, or as a spiral of disadvantages, in order to use Paugman's analogy (1996).

It is an approach with strong practical implications: the "excluded" are no longer perceived as a more or less homogenous group, as it usually occurs with the welfare policies of central governments; moreover, the situations of exclusion cease to be defined from that narrow traditional definition based solely on their income comparison, in order to register in a dynamic and multidimensional perspective. The European and Latin American communities considered here seem to coincide; each in their own way and particular circumstances, in that social exclusion is an inherent risk of the economic organization in a globalized world which democratic governments must combat. It is clear that social exclusion is considered, in practice, as a wider and more complex phenomenon than poverty and lack of material resources. Therefore, the measures and programs carried out on a local scale tend to stretch the horizon of those policies centred exclusively on incomes –a factor which could prevent individuals from fall–

3

ing below the poverty line, or help rescue them in order to relocate them statistically above it- widening the scope in order to give answers to the varied, but also specific problems which weaken social relationships in each community and produce social fragmentation.

Beyond the strong contextual differences, the comparative examination of public policies which influence the basic vectors of social cohesion, show that local governments in the European Union and Latin America are both putting measures into practice which directly commit themselves with citizens in the search of new ways of governance through partnerships, institutional-strengthening mechanisms of the civil society, and growth of social capital.

Following these coincidental, basic and general events, the comparisons of social cohesion policies of European and Latin American localities show a set of differences which, as may be seen below, are not just programmatic differences, but express the structural and institutional characteristics of every regional set itself. Below, some of the characteristic traits of these policies are summarized, in the form of relatively perfected cases.

In the Latin American case, the following general traits are observed:

i) With the exception of certain programs in some communities of the Southern Cone, the local policies which influence social cohesion still tend to manifest a more corrective rather than preventive nature. Undoubtedly, this is explained in general terms by the situation of social emergency which predominates in the sectors excluded in most of the Latin American communities.

ii) The policies of the communities are in many cases overwhelmed by the need to attend to problems derived from extreme poverty.

This fact frequently introduces a direction in the programs, which leads them to combat a problem at the first signs of it. This usually provides temporary relief, but weakens public action at the structural roots of the problems.

iii) As in the two preceding traits, and with very few exceptions, local policies which influence vectors of social cohesion tend to excessively address needs rather than create capabilities.

iv) The experience of social cohesion programs that have been successful in terms of citizen participation (such as those of Rosario, Porto Alegre, Quito, Buenos Aires, which have come to involve the society in some processes of decision-making), have more possibilities of creating conditions for integral development and local democratic governance because they create dynamic and organic ties between the institutions and individuals.

v) Most of the policies and programs which influence cohesion vectors drag widespread defects in all aspects of public policy in the Latin American region. As a general rule they lack mechanisms of evaluation and measurement of impact, which, among other things, cause practical management and sustainability problems in the results obtained.

As to the European case, the following tendencies are highlighted:

i) In this group of communities, the public policies which influence social cohesion are over determined by the existence of high unemployment rates, a problem which constitutes a structural trait in the European community, and in particular, long-term unemployment.

ii) Another problem which strongly gravitates towards the design and execution of these policies, concerns the growing emigration

of marginal groups from other regions towards the European communities, which supposes a series of challenges as to integration and identity for the communities.

iii) The characteristic of these policies is the mixture of measures of a corrective nature with those of a preventive order of the situations which generate social exclusion.

iv) The policies of social inclusion are not depleted in the focalized combat of poverty, but rather complement each other with a series of transversal measures which include education, health, and professional formation, the effective access of the citizens to public services, the attention and incorporation of the handicapped, among others which are equally specific.

v) Social cohesion policies generally tend to take a positive direction towards the encouragement of local partnerships between public administrations, companies and diverse civil and community organizations.

vi) Most local policies and programs which influence the basic local vectors of social cohesion tend to foster capacity-building rather than respond to the needs of people.

Apart from the contextual and ranking definitions, it is a fact that social cohesion is registered in the agenda of local and regional governments in the European Union and Latin America. And what is more important, in all relevant cases where it has been incorporated as an explicit objective, social cohesion tends to occupy a pivotal position in all matters dealing with local public policy. At least four great sectorial areas may be identified as horizontal connection points where local policies are committed to social cohesion: **i)** local economic development and employment; **ii)** access to public and basic services; **iii)** citizenship construction; and **iv)** territorial cohesion. Directly or indirectly, there are coincidences in all of them, tending towards the generation of

sustainable inclusion dynamics, legitimacy, acknowledgement, equality, participation and a sense of belonging of individuals or groups comprising society.

3.3. Local economic development and employment for social inclusion

Apart from any conclusions drawn from the circumstances and specific level of socio-economic development of a certain locality, the first public policy response of the European and Latin American communities seems to consist of the search for social integration of individuals through employment. It is known that employment depends on a variety of actions: the creation of basic infrastructures, sound corporate development, innovation, education, a qualified labour force, financing, and others. It is also known that the legal authorities and the effective capacities of the government's local and regional entities in these matters, apart from being differentiated, are limited in general terms. Be as it may, the preoccupation of employment is a predominant issue on government agendas of local and a regional administration which is where it is first tackled.

Such preoccupation is not by chance, as Latin America and the European Union have relatively high levels of unemployment, though these levels may tend to differ from one another in the long term, as each are determined by a completely different set of development circumstances.[23] The unemployment problem and its negative effects on social cohesion particularly affect the juvenile population, which in both regions faces a shortage of decent work opportunities and pay, which generates high levels of social and economic uncertainty. Although we are dealing with a very generalized phenomenon in the world, deep-rooted in the mutations of productive order associated to globalization, the base information shows that in both the European Union as in Latin America, the youth population has twice as many possibilities of being unemployed in comparison to adults (chart 5). In Europe, 26 out of 100 unemployed are aged below 25; this proportion is increased to 45 for every 100 in Latin America.

Chart 5 / Situation of youth employment: a comparative perspective

Variable	World		Latin America and the Caribbean		Developed economies and the European Union	
	1995	**2005**	**1995**	**2005**	**1995**	**2005**
Youth population (thousands)	1.203.228	1.158.010	95.303	105.468	126.434	124.404
Youth work force (thousands)	602.188	633.255	53.738	57.149	76.740	64.501
Percentage of total population which are in the legal age for working	26.3	25.0	30.0	26.9	17.2	15.7
Percentage of workforce: Total Men Women	58.9 67.2 50.1	54.7 63.0 45.9	56.4 70.4 42.3	54.2 63.8 44.5	53.2 56.9 50.1	51.8 54.0 49.6
Youth employment / juvenile population	51.6	47.3	48.3	45.2	45.4	45.0
Youth employment (thousands)	527.886	547.976	40.016	47.053	57.459	56.020
Total Youth unemployment (thousands)	74.302	84.546	8.722	9.495	10.281	8.481
Percentage of total population which are in the legal age for working	26.3	25.0	30.0	26.9	17.2	15.7
Total percentage of unemployment	46.1	43.7	49.5	44.7	29.7	26.3
Youth unemployment / adult unemployment	2.8	3.0	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.3

Source: OIT (2006), charts 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6 y 2.7.

The individual and social costs of unemployment are well known. Within an analytical perspective committed to social cohesion, unemployment does not only make reference to the lack of income for those excluded from the labour market, but to a situation which prevents their productive role in society, which hurts their human dignity, which withdraws their economic and fundamental social rights. It deprives them, in short, of a series of attributes needed for the full exercise of their social rights as a citizen. In this sense, and paraphrasing an ECLAC (2007) proposal as to poverty, being excluded from the labour market represents an extremely fragile socio-economic condition at the same time as a deprivation of citizenship, as it refers to the lack of having fundamental social rights and participation in development. In the particular case of the youth population, there is vast empirical evidence to illustrate the typical path followed by those whose first experience in the labour market is the long-term unemployment: in the best of cases they will find a badly paid job for the rest of their working lives (Gregg and Tominey 2004). Unemployment costs in general, and especially youth unemployment, are numerous for society, and restrict development.

Local and regional development programs headed towards employment tend to compensate these socio-economic distortions, whose origin may be the economic decline of the territory, a crisis at its productive base, or the strategic management of local development. In this sense, the programs are usually headed towards the correction and compensation of the territory's economic disadvantages, or the valuing of its potentials. A common trait in all these experiences is the display of mechanisms for social coordination, which give rise to several forms of local partnerships around which horizontal and vertical strategic networks are constructed. (Chart 3).24 In several cases one outcome has been the creation of institutions of sectorial or regional scope at the service of concrete local development objectives: incubation of companies, support services, productive articulation, training and other programs to boost employment.

In most cases, the development strategies are endogenous. The area of intervention and the degree of the locality's material progress determine both the character as well as the scope of these strategies, but the comparative examination of cases reveals a preferred tendency to face local development problems with initiatives that directly influence the generation of income and employment. The numerous initiatives examined can be grouped into three large sets. In the first set we can find the actions carried out in rural or urban communities in order to diversify their economic activity, improve their standard of living and reduce their degree of vulnerability. Apart from the enormous territorial differences, lines of action of this type are found in localities such as the rural province of Loa (Chile), the peripheral suburb of Ilo (Peru) or the urban district of Wedding (Berlin).

The second set comprises interventions designed to strengthen the base and corporate capacity of the localities. The specific lines of action that may be classified within this set are strongly linked to the economic structure of the localities and their options for change and specialization. Through this way of proceeding, communities seek to boost the development of certain corporate sectors in order to generate jobs, requiring high or low job qualifications. Examples like the case of Nantes Metropole, which counts with professional assistance programs for the development of enterprises can be shown; like the Emilia-Romagna Region, whose policies on this issue have the peculiarity of focusing on gender; the León City Council, in Nicaragua, which by means of a government-university partnership enables the successful creation of enterprises; the Querétaro City Council, in Mexico, with administrative simplification programs for the creation of companies and corporate linking centres enabling the development and strengthening of the private productive sector; or the Prefectura de São Paulo, with its social inclusion strategy which consists of programmes to recover the city's productive life.

Text Box 3 / Local development and employment: Two experiences of social coordination

Palpalá City Council

The experience of this locality of 50 thousand inhabitants situated in northern Argentina represents a response from the municipal authorities to the social clash produced by the privatization of the state company Altos Hornos Zapla (AHZ), which employed a third of the local workforce. The key to the strategy was to channel the compensations paid by AHZ towards the creation of around one hundred small and medium-sized enterprises with the participation of the municipal government, private corporations, local educational institutions and community groups. Through this, a substantial step towards the creation of an alternative economic base for the locality was taken, preventing social distortions experienced by other communities subjected to similar economic processes. The results from this experience can illustrate how a local economy can be restructured, as it overcame a situation of mass unemployment and scarce growth opportunities. At the same time, it is recognized that these results gave rise to a new style of local government as the public authority turned into an active promoter of the process of territorial development, which has also given rise to a considerable updating in its administrative practices. This case analysis shows, lastly, the great importance of social networks, which in Palpalá were historically woven around the old steel works trade union, extending itself later horizontally to other sectors of the community (Fiszbein y Lowden1999).

The City of Hamburg

This metropolis in the north of Germany has strong social contrasts. Being one of the richest cities in Europe, its unemployment rate is over 13%, equivalent to almost one hundred thousand people. More than half of the unemployed are youths or in early adulthood. Hamburg's labour market and its conurbation have been affected in the last years by the great structural mutations of world production. Its productive sectors (industry, building, transport) take on a smaller number of workers than it did 20 years ago. In this context, the service industry appears as a labour alternative for people with the appropriate profiles. In order to facilitate the adaptation to new working realities, the "Pact for Labour" was installed in 1996, which links employee organizations and workers to chambers of commerce and crafts, all under the local government's banner. Principally focused on the combat of youth unemployment, programme that help school dropouts to be professional assisted in their insertion to the labour market, as well as the fostering of qualifications for the unemployed. It also supports those who wish to establish themselves independently, especially women. The later creation of a Foundation for technology and innovation allows these actions to be complemented with specialized assistance in order for small and medium enterprises to create jobs and training "with a future". The Hamburg experience is considered successful, as it focused on improvements and education, respect for the environment and innovation, the creation of companies and labour policies, all within a broad framework of social agreement which originated from the need to face the threats of social disintegration and break-up resulting from global economic restructuring. This local network is linked vertically to the support given by the federal government and the European Union.
(Polítique regional-Inforegio, <http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/projects/stories/details.cfm>)

The third group has a wider field of definition, as it includes planning and management strategies for the territory's economic and material development. They consist on programs directed towards improving territorial competitiveness as a whole, to develop and intensify the productive articulations, to favour innovation and the capacity for management and financing of local economic units. They are generally policies registered under a general development strategy which involves all the productive sectors. Examples of this type of policy are found in regions such as Île de France, in cities like Saint-Denis, in the federate state of Bremen, in the region of Bruxelles-Capitale and in the Rosario City Council, among other territorial entities that might also be cited as an example. In some cases, generally in localities with agglomeration economies, there are relatively advanced efforts of collective learning in which the Universities and local research centres carry out a relevant role in valuing territorial projects.

In all the cases the purpose is for the interventions to have an impact creating stable and paid jobs, based on the sustainable development of the local economy. This is demonstrated in two very different examples which have been examined, that of the agricultural and tourist city of San Gil, in the department of Santander, Colombia, on the one hand, and the industrial city of North Tyneside, in Northumberland, United Kingdom on the other. In the first case, through the promotion of nearly 200 cooperatives comprising nearly 250 thousand members, and the second through a wide range of projects related to the formation of urban infrastructure, local society to restructure material and organizational resources to improve general job perspectives, especially between the youth and vulnerable and the excluded.

The comparative analysis of the different initiatives of local development shows that they invariable stem from projects rooted in each territory's own trajectory. It also shows that local agents (governmental, civil, trade union) are the primary factors

that trigger collective dynamics and leaderships, which are later translated into interventions and specific public programs. The experiences examined offer an authentic myriad of policies, instruments and particular measures which are defined, and which colour code at least four general intervention zones, whose relative importance may not be established beforehand, and must therefore be pondered case by case. Chart 6 identifies these zones and shows the instruments and type of public policy found most frequently in the localities considered in the case study.

Clearly the content, specific objectives and scope of these instruments of public policy all depend on, the development circumstances, the priorities, the strategies, and the effective availability of resources afforded by, each territory. But what constitutes a common trait is their implementation, is that it favours a wider and improved use of endogenous resources in the localities, incorporating not only productive agents, but also social and institutional agents in the definition of development strategies. In all cases the training and qualification of human resources in emphasized according to the above.

Chart 6 / Scope and main instruments used in territorial labour and development policies

Thematic intervention scope	Type of instruments
Jobs and training	• Labour and corporate formation programs. • Job (Recruitment) Centres. • Youth, women and vulnerable group employment • Labour reinsertion programs • Business Incubators • Support services for production and commerce • Modernization of the labour market • Incentives regarding the investment in human capital
Financing and access to loans	• Investment funds • Social banking • Specialized finance programs • Micro credit for small and medium enterprises • Micro-loans for self-employment • Non-subsidized productive financing instruments: subordinated debts, initial capital, venture capital

▶▶

3

Promotion of the local productive system	• Territorial information systems for local development • Technological and market information • The promotion of productive links • Encouragement and promotion of sub contracting schemes • Strengthening of economic relationships between leading companies and SMEs (small and medium-sized enterprises) • Functional links between the local productive system, universities and technological research centres • Industrial and technological parks • Corporate counselling and support services
Coordination and institutional support	• Construction of spaces and coordination mechanisms between social and economic agents • Committees and Councils of local and regional development • Redesigning and constructor of institutions for employment and development • Support between institutions and agencies from different territorial levels • Territorial coordination of the performance of NGOs and international cooperation entities

It must be noted that this set of instruments link the localities' economic and social spheres in several ways. This transversal mixture of public policy instruments seems to be an appropriate mechanism for the creation of sustainable development platforms in territories with different levels of unemployment, of social exclusion and economic activity. The fact that the localities with such different capabilities such as those of the federal state of Bremen in Germany, and the Leon City Council in Nicaragua should both coincide in aim to restructure material and organizational resources for territorial development and employment, is significant.

. . . .

All the help and resources which a company situated in Cataluña may dispose of, whichever its activity, are comprised in the CIDEM (www.cidem.com). It is the Centre for Corporate Innovation and Development, which is under the authority of the Department of Labour and Industry of the Generalitat de Cataluña, whose mission is to enhance the Catalan corporate network and to strengthen its competitiveness unto the challenges it must face. It includes all the programs, subsidies and financing of the Generalitat de Cataluña, the Spanish State and the European Union.

The CIDEM offers direct support for the companies through products and services leading to the improvement of their competitive positioning in the different environments of activity (products destined to improve the management of innovation, the logistics, the quality, the incorporation of IT technologies, as well as good general corporate management). The best example are the different networks, such as the Technological Assessment Centres, or the IDEM Information Points, which articulate several organisms and agencies throughout the territory, creating a diverse quality offer in order to coordinate efforts and respond to the needs of the corporate network. The SME (Small and Medium-sized Enterprise) Consolidation and Competitiveness Plan for 2006, the incentives program for the creation of jobs related to new corporate investment projects, the Genesis program or the technological diffusion programs are to be singled out among the available resources. Likewise, the database of subsidies and financial aid (FISUB), which contains all the programs, subsidies and financing with more than 200 entries which are updated on a daily basis. In it, the companies may find help in order to finance own or third party resources, whether in the form of partners or capital for their projects.

The focus and tools of the programmes designed for the creation of employment and income is always converted into strategies that strengthen the local business community. This leads to the recognition of the strategic role of MYPES (Spanish acronym for: micro and small enterprises) in the territorial development. While they constitute one of the most dynamic sources of territorial self-employment and third party employment, the MYPES type of enterprise is a privileged object of local development poli-

cies. In practically all cases, the adoption of support programmes is verified, up to the installation of entities specialized in the creation, the promotion and the consolidation of these types of companies. There is a broad range of specific strategies. These includes several financial instruments, preferably in the form of social banking and micro loans, as is shown, among other possible examples, in the region of Île de France, the federate state of Baden-Württemberg and its capital Stuttgart, the Emilia-Romagna region, the metropolitan cities of Mexico and Buenos Aires, the São Paulo City Council, the Rosario City Council or the municipalities of El Salvador. It also includes a range of instruments to assist the competitive insertion of MYPES type of enterprises in production chains whose nuclei is constituted by medium and large enterprises, internal or external to the territory, as is the case of strategies like those implemented in the Mexican state of Chihuahua and Jalisco. In some, these strategies comprise multifaceted programmes through which the development and the productivity of the corporate base is supported in several planes, from management up to technological innovation and the formation of strategic alliances. An example of an advanced case is that of Cataluña and its Corporate Development Innovation Centre (chart 4).

3.4. Latin American examples of the universal adoption of essential public services within a context of structural deficiencies

The fundamental public services (SPF) are a significant instrument of social cohesion in the territorial environment. It is so significant because the services channelled through them are at every individual's reach and are also offered homogeneously. Services in education, health care, fresh drinking water, energy, transport and communications are all essential items in any political agenda on the citizen's quality of life, democratic governance, and the fight against the dynamics of social exclusion.

There is a huge contrast in this field on either side of the Atlantic. Rather than dwelling further on the contrast, it is convenient to refer to some basic data of Latin America's underdevelopment. According to ECLAC (2006) forecasts, 40.6% of the population in Latin America was in a situation of poverty in 2005, whilst 16,8% was not only poor, but was in a situation of extreme poverty or indigence. The total number of poor Latin Americans amounted to 213 million people, out of which 88 million were indigent. It is well known that poverty and extreme poverty are frequently associated with patterns reflecting deficiencies in the access to, and the lack of effective support by, the SFP, and this is illustrated in two public services such as health and education, the span of which is indispensable for individuals to feel and actually be a part of the community.[25]

There has been an increase in student registrations in primary schools in the last three lustrums in every Latin American country. The rate of registration in primary education is 95% or more in most countries, and it has also grown considerably at secondary and further education levels. However, there are serious problems in dropout levels, repetition of school years and the quality of education. Less than half of the children who start primary school finish it, just the same as most of those who begin secondary school. The evaluations of the Latin American education systems indicate that one of the main structural weaknesses is the repetition of school years, which is amongst the highest in the world. More than 40% of students repeat the first school year; the average rate of repetition is 30% for each scholastic year. The high desertion and repetition rates bring about an average five-year schooling index in Latin America.[26] When the dropout and repetition rates are investigated, it can be seen that around 90% of children from wealthier classes complete the fifth year of schooling, as opposed to an average of 60% of children from the poorer classes. A similar case is seen in secondary school.

The above, pattern of inequality in itself, is followed by another serious problem: the quality of the education. In this aspect, the Latin American situation has indicators showing the existence of a wide division regarding the developed world's standards, and therefore the European Union's. In the different international data comparing education performances of students with different education levels, the Latin American countries included in the samples (which are, as a general rule, those which have developed furthest, relatively speaking, such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, México, Colombia) are ranked among the lowest.[27] But these globally deficient performances are not characteristic of all society, as there are marked differences depending on the socioeconomic spheres the students belong to. There is evidence that the performance of students from elite private schools, to which only a small proportion of the school age population attends, are much superior to those of students from state schools.[28] Furthermore, elite private schools surpass state schools in all the key aspects of education: more class hours, better trained teachers and very higher salaries, more and better infrastructure and equipment. As stated by an expert in the field:

Primary and secondary education systems in Latin America are strongly segmented according to the persons' socioeconomic status, the poorest being relegated to the state system, while the rich and most of the middle class go to private schools. As a result, there is a deeply segmented system, in which the poor receive a clearly inferior education compared to the rich. A disproportionate number of those who repeat school years and who dropout are poor. Even when the poor remain at school, they tend to learn less.

In these conditions, the education system of Latin American countries does not fulfil the expectations of equal opportunities and social change that is expected of it. In terms of social inclusion, it can also be said, that in many fundamental ways, the very system prolongs situations of ine-

quality which gives rise to a nuclei of highly skilled work-ers providing new grounds on which to further the inequali-ties in the labour market.[29]

Serious inequality problems can also be found in Latin America in the area of health care. Just like in education, most countries achieve improvements in general areas over the last couple of years. But here we also find that the data analysis separa-ted into socioeconomic level, region, gender and age, shows the existence of strong differences in vital aspects such as access, cove-rage and quality. Nearly half the Latin American population (45%) does not have social security coverage in health care. Out of eve-ry 50 births, eight are still being assisted by non-specialized per-sonnel.[30] The infant mortality rate is still high: 25.6 every thou-sand live births, compared to 9,2 in Europe, and 6.8 in North Ame-rica.[31] The situation is worsened if the influence of factors outside the health systems related to the deficient access to other SPF are considered, such as non-availability of fresh drinking water at home (nearly 130 million Latin American's do not have this), the lack of a sewage system (around a third of the population does not have one).

The problem of service in health care sectors affects the population differently. Those sectors with higher incomes have access to public and private specialized services. In those sectors with lower incomes, the urban poor generally have greater access to health services compared to those in the rural areas. Ethnic groups also present specific problems of health care due to mono-linguals, the high illiteracy rates they suffer, racial discrimination and little political representation. In terms of health care, vulner-able social groups which comprise the elderly, the handicapped and adolescents, and still to a large extent, the female population, all register a higher rate of illness in the region. According the ECLAC (2006) "the problem of accessibility seems to be the main problem facing Latin American countries in terms of health care".

The deficits of access to the SPF exemplified by the cases on education and health, show that there are authentic "selection circuits" in operation in Latin America, determined by the initial distribution of economic resources and materials of each social group. The social exclusion effects derived by these "selection circuits" are far from being reduced by the public policy of central governments. The lack of response to compensate these inequalities can be seen as additional challenges for the sub national and local governments in the field of the SPF and whose attention is already characterized by, in most cases, multiple shortcomings and needs of all types.[32]

Text Box 5 / Unconventional actions of health care in European communities

The Bolonia City Council, Italy

A collaboration agreement between the local public health authorities, the hospital authorities, two welfare and charity institutions, trade union organizations and pensioner's federations, allowed for the improvement and reorganization of the network of welfare and health services. The objective was to reduce the treatment carried out in hospitals whenever they were susceptible to be carried out directly at the homes of those elderly dependent citizens. The coordination of several home care services arose from this Project, as well as family aid, neighbourhood help initiatives, all organized through a case by case management approach.

The region of Tirol, Austria

In response to the growing demand of mobile medical attention in the rural area, the region's health and social services established a partnership which joined local authorities, doctors, the Red Cross, and members of the community interested in social work. This initiative led to the structure of a formal organization, and to the establishment of a multipurpose focal contact point through which the limited medical assistance resources could be coordinated and developed. The measures adopted included alternative solutions of self-help and support to non professional volunteers.

Source: Fondation européenne pour l'amélioration des conditions de et de travail (2003)

In a framework of restrictions suffered in general by governmental local entities, the efficiency of the problems derived from the lack of universal access to the SPF are a direct function of the material and financial capacities of each entity, and, even more importantly, of the quality of its institutions, particularly in the subject of representation, participation and management innovation. The cases of efficient responses from local Latin American governments detected in order to face these types of problems nearly always refer to the implementation of unconventional measures under very strict and tangible terms.33 Furthermore, the unconventional actions as to health, arising from cooperation and social coordination agreements with the authorities, are also frequent in European localities (Text Box 5).

Indeed, in the past few years, several Latin American localities witnessed the emergence of a series of innovative school management programmes focused on expanding education coverage and improving its quality. Both initiatives look for their objectives outside the traditional public system –their beneficiaries are the children and youngsters of poor strata of population– they depend on the provision of services by the private sector, and are promoted by subnational and local authorities. Colombian departments and municipalities have been very active in this regard and have adopted diverse modalities of "purchase of places in private schools" in order to meet the educational demand. The most important cases are registered in the departments of Antioquia and Bolívar and in the cities of Medellín, Cartagena and Manizales (text box 6).

All in all, the most outstanding experience could be the so-called "Concession Schools" in Bogotá, considered as an example of a new model of school organization financed out of public resources, different from the traditional model of state school as – at least in terms of design– it overcomes the limitations of the said model and of the demand subsidy programmes.[34] To the effects of

implementing a plan for the expansion of a quality educational offer in the poor areas of the city, the local government evaluated the experiences available in the country. The programme was developed after evaluating both the state traditional model and the alternative coverage expansion programmes for low income levels in the nineties, particularly the direct grant programmes to students and the purchase of places in private institutions. The state and private offer evidenced three limitations that ought to be overcome:

i) Demand subsidy programmes set out standards for the supplies in order to assure quality control of the participating institutions. However, they did not take into account the assessment of the results as a means to preserve the programme, thus giving rise to quality problems.

ii) Subsidy programmes face serious continuity issues due to normal changes in local governments and municipalities as well as for financing reasons.

iii) As regards to the state system, the expansion of the offer through traditional methods posed clear disadvantages: how can new teachers respond to the programme objectives with an Education Department having such a limited institutional capacity to govern?

The analysis of these three aspects gave rise to the Concession Schools idea, conceived as a means to capitalize the management of private institutions and to guarantee a quality education - even within the frame of the public sector.

Text Box 6 / "Quota Programmes" in private schools in five localities in Colombia

In Antioquia, the Education Department contracts educational services from private institutions, especially religious, and pays a fee per each child on the basis of an educational packet containing the standard supplies which control the quality of the participating institutions. Around 130 thousand children were included in this scheme between 1996 and 1998. During the last years, due to budgetary problems in the department, the number of beneficiaries has decreased.

In Bolivar, as from 1998, the Education Department contracted with NGOs, peasant and teachers associations, to provide the education for nearly 70 thousand children in poverty areas. The Education Department pays 240 dollars per child a year, including food, texts and educational material.

In Medellín, the *Coverage Expansion/ Quality Enhancement* programme started in 1996. The municipality contracts with private schools and pays according to the number of children enrolled, based on an education packet equivalent to 240 dollars per child per year. The contract sets out the standards of infrastructure, staff and teachers' profile, with particular regard to their training in specific areas of the curriculum. Compared to the traditional state education, this coverage expansion strategy has a lower cost and a higher quality, as shown in the improved rates of attendance.

In Cartagena, as from 1997, and following Antioquia's approach, the municipality contracts with private schools to provide the coverage expansion in the depressed areas of the city. In some specific cases, the programme has also contracted with state schools, through their family associations. Schools are paid a fee and Chancellors receive a bonus for each additional student enrolled. Nearly 20 thousand students benefit from this programme.

In 1998 in **Manizales**, the city reached an agreement with the private sector for the administration of three state schools for approximately 1,800 students. The programme was suspended temporarily in the year 2000 due to budgetary problems, but was re-established in 2001.

These initiatives undertaken by departmental or municipal governments for the extension of places by contracting with private schools attempt to promptly and flexibly respond to social pressures demanding better coverage and enhanced quality, particularly in the less privileged social sectors. Nevertheless, most of them have been affected by the budgetary problems of the financing sub-national entities, as such problems have increased due to national economic difficulties.

Source: Villa y Duarte (2002).

The administration of 51 new educational institutions is awarded by the programme through a call for bids to those private schools who have obtained in the last five years high-level or very high-level results in the examination of the Colombian Institute for the Promotion of Higher Education (ICFES examination).[35] The purpose is to transfer the educational management capacity of institutions who have proved effective in the outlying and peripheral areas of the city where the strong educational demand is not met. The concession contract has a term of fifteen years in order to provide the stability of the pedagogical project, and with the purpose of making the project attractive to the concessionaries. Concessionaires are bound by the contract to provide preschool, basic (primary and secondary) and middle formal educational services in a specific facility to children of poor strata according to their family income. As the project is not only aimed at expanding education coverage but at improving its quality as well, the concessionaire needs to achieve high scores in academic tests, and may in no case obtain low scores for two consecutive years. The concessionaire has school management autonomy, in particular with regard to the hiring of teachers and principals; the only parameter established by the District is that employment must meet the legal regulations, and that the payment of salaries and services must be guaranteed. The school facilities are built in areas of 10,000m2 minimum, accommodating 800 to 1,200 students, with a first class infrastructure, appropriate space and lighting characteristics; twenty four classrooms, a toy library, a science laboratory, two art rooms, three IT rooms, a library and a multipurpose sports ground. Total average cost of each school is 2,5 million dollars, including the site acquisition , construction and equipment. High quality construction and equipment standards are intended to ensure a proper environment to dignify and raise the expectations of the children and the community.

In 2000 –first year of operation– 22 of the 51 schools projected by the programme started to operate, each with capacity to

include an average of 880 full time students, equivalent to 5% of the state education offer in Bogotá. The concessionaire receives a 475 dollars payment per child per year, 21% less than the 595 dollars unitary cost in the state schools of Bogotá (which, in addition, only offer half-school days). The educational packet included the cost of personnel, educational material, public services, surveillance, hygiene and a daily light refreshment for each child. The only requisite for students to be admitted by the concessionaire is that they must come from the lowest socioeconomic strata and must live near the school. The Project has a total budget of 294 million dollars –1999– to be executed in 15 years, the future enforcement of which is guaranteed by law. Annually, it represents 6% of the current budget of the Education Department, and is financed with ordinary resources of the District of Bogotá.

Each concession school is part of a strategy of integral offer of opportunities that entails coordinating with other social development programmes of the Capital District. The Administrative Department of Social Welfare of the District built a kindergarten facility on a site adjacent to the school. So, the complete cycle from preschool to middle education is gathered and articulated around the unified Institutional Educational Project, hence guaranteeing education continuity and coherence. In short, the "Concession Schools" programme proves to be remarkable in comparison with the traditional state education: full-time school day, complete educational cycle from preschool to middle education, private management of human and financial resources, high quality infrastructure, equipment and staff, systematic evaluation of results with consequences and budget stability originated in financing through future enforcements.

In the area of health care, it is worth mentioning the experiences of the District of Fram in the Paraguayan Department of Itapúa, and of the Lima City Council, Peru, among others. The main objective of the first mentioned experience is to implement

an alternative health care model in the district, so as to guarantee the quality and equality of the health care to the population.

Health care in the small rural locality of Fram was under the sole responsibility of the Health Centre, characterized by a centralized administration model, deficit of personnel, supplies and drugs; short hours of service and no citizen participation. This situation generated a high infant-maternal mortality rate. Given that health services are not free in Paraguay, only 15% of the District population was covered by Social Security (Social Security Institute).

The idea of making a change to improve the health conditions of population came from the professionals of the Health Centre themselves, as well as from community leaders. Based on this idea, and with the financing of the non governmental organization "Resources and Information Development Center" (CIRD), and of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), as well as with the support of the Departmental Secretariat of Health, the Health Region and the Ministry of Public Health, it was conducted a census on social and health issues and a diagnosis of morbidity and mortality in the community. The results of this study were discussed with the community with the support of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO) and the Ministry of Public Health.

The Health Local Plan was thus created as a decentralized programme catering for the needs of the community. Then, a Communitarian Insurance scheme known as "the essential services scheme" was implemented. All the inhabitants of the District of Fram have access to the said scheme, including those who do not contribute to the Local Health Council. It was also created an additional scheme of health services with a maximum cost per family group of 2,50 dollars per month and with no restrictions to the number of beneficiaries. This insurance model, together with

the beneficiaries' voluntary donations, assured the flow of resources necessary to enhance health care, thus increasing the population confidence in the Health Centre services. Consequently, beneficiaries clearly understood that community insurance payments, together with their voluntary contributions would be translated into better services. Later, in addition to community contributions, there were the fiscal contributions from local, departmental and national institutions which enabled the construction of an operating room and the purchase and maintenance of an ambulance. A Social Pharmacy offering low cost drugs was founded as a part of this new model of health services. Furthermore, it was created a socio-sanitary network of women in charge of promoting good health practices in the community.

The results of this initiative are outstanding: an increase of 74% and 100% in prenatal controls and institutional births respectively, vaccination of the whole child population, infant mortality rates equivalent to 50% of the country average, an increase of 90% in paediatric controls, 75% of women in fertile age take a Pap smear and an increase of 35% in the use of the Family Planning Service.

Due to the success achieved, 35 municipalities of Paraguay have replicated the model. It is believed that the key to the success of this programme lies in the way of organizing and promoting the participation of the community in the search for solutions to health problems, replacing a centralized and distant model by a decentralized one, giving users a sense of involvement and ownership. It is a model of creation and strengthening of the social capital to the benefit of the health of the entire community.[36]

Another alternative model of territorial based health care services is the "Solidarity Hospital" of the Lima City Council. This Project is oriented towards the provision of services to the more vulnerable sectors of Lima population. Boosted by the local government, the idea was born in 2003 as an alternative to the relationship between the lack of resources characterizing health

institutions and the growing demand for services from the poorest sectors of the metropolitan area of the Peruvian capital. Its objectives are, on the one hand, to raise an updated city epidemiological profile, and on the other hand, to provide quality services using minimum State resources and self-financing, on the basis of strategic alliances with professionals and third parties, presenting a wide and efficient offer at accessible prices.

The strong demand for services arisen by the Project, together with the variety, quality and low price of the offer favoured the prompt financial equilibrium of the Project. It has very low operational costs and a flexible administration. Here are some of its characteristic traits:

- Mobile infrastructure, converting obsolete buses, platforms, trailers, refrigerators and containers into mobile medical service units: surgeries, common rooms, dentist clinics, operation rooms, and modules which together comprise a mobile clinic or hospital.

- Novel alternative if compared to the traditional infrastructure and maintenance schemes of a health service entity, with costs beyond the reach of the municipality.

- Accessible equipment based on a strategic alliance with medical professionals and third parties who provide it assuming the risk, care and maintenance of the equipment, reducing the fixed costs.

- Innovative functioning: a conventional hospital provides its services in a specific place, while the Solidarity Hospital provides medical attention wherever demanded, giving way to the slogan "we take the clinic or hospital to you".

- Modular mobile design: the mobile clinic or hospital is comprised by a series of modules duly implemented and easy to move, favouring the management of the service supply and demand.

Based on this model, the Lima City Council implemented the Solidarity System (Sisol), having at present 20 Hospitals in the most needy communities of the city (Comas, Independencia, San Juan Lurigancho, Manchay, Villa El Salvador, Surquillo, Chorrillos, Cercado de Lima, Chosica and others). In its first three years of existence, the system has provided more than 3 million medical attentions in the lowest income areas of metropolitan Lima, including specialized surgical treatment with technologically advanced equipment (excimer laser, magnetic resonance, tomographies, hyperbaric cameras). Information and evaluations available regarding this innovative health system show a high acceptance among the community and highlight its self-financing character, the regulating effect it had produced on the medical services of the capital city, its capacity of incorporating obsolete goods for social purposes, and its power to convene the private sector for it to join the social health projects.[37]

3.5. Territorial cohesion. From Latin American urban segregation to integrating a European urban space: the public transport case

Development is a process of unequal manifestations and results. It is distinguished by the disparity and difference between nations, regions, territories, activity sectors and economic and social agents. Contrarily to the tendencies towards convergence and uniformity which are taken for granted in certain development academic and political versions, the theoretic and empirical research, as well as the historical experience itself, show that inequality is inherent to the economic and social process. It is not about a provisional or transitory condition of the process of development, but about a state which tends to reproduce every one of its cycles permanently. In this sense there are no intrinsically poor and underdeveloped regions and localities within countries, but rather regions and localities of poor, underemployed, unemployed, marginalized and excluded people in the framework of social and economic relations which tend to polarize progress,

wealth, income, well-being and power, distributing them territorially. The disparity among regions and localities (the same as the disparities within them) instead of responding to a sequential order of development stages at Rostow's style, is organized in an order of complementarities and oppositions structured as a coherent and hierarchical spatial set. Consequently, development reproduces inequalities and societies require exogenous actions in order to appease the disparity and to level –in several ways and degrees– "the playing field" wherein the different social agents participate in the territorial development.

Tendency to inequality is one of the main "faults" attributable to the market economy, under the mechanisms of which the institutional order of the nations has historically opposed different compensatory measures destined to reduce the various disparities. We all know that the case of the member countries of the European Union is the most advantageous, vast and multidimensional as to the display of active cohesion policies in the territorial field. As it is also well-known, here there is another strong counterpoint regarding the Latin American experience.

Chart 7 / Total and urban population per regions in 2000 and projections to 2030

Region	2000		2030	
	Total population (milions)	Urban percentage	Total population (milions)	Urban percentage
Asia	3683	37	4877	53
Africa	784	38	1406	55
Europe	729	75	691	83
Latin America	519	75	726	83
North America	310	77	372	84

Source: O'Meara Sheehan (2001)

Europe and Latin America are regions of an eminently urban character. Three fourths of their respective populations are currently settled in cities, and the projections for the next three decades anticipate similar paths indicating that this proportion will increase by nearly ten percentage points (text box 7) towards the end of the first third of the 21st century. This entails a series of problems and opportunities for both regions, the nature and magnitude of which, of course, differ in many senses in the cities on one side and the other of the Atlantic, due to the general circumstances of their respective development levels.

In Latin American cities, this situation occurs in the midst of a wide and complex process of decentralization with varied objectives that change from country to country, although there are some motivations in common (for example, to improve the provision of services and infrastructure in the territories in order to enhance their competitiveness and growth capacity). It is known that decentralisation has faced multiple problems in Latin America, which have turned it into an extremely deficient process (Godínez 2006). In this context, the decentralized management of government affairs faces countless difficulties in metropolitan areas. These problems are evidenced in a great variety of areas that are key to the local development and social well-being in metropolitan areas: transport management (which has a bearing on population's access to jobs and services), impact management (which affects hydrographic and atmospheric basins that exceed the jurisdiction of local governments), housing (which in most cases registers an accumulated deficit), urban equipment (which is as a rule precarious and shows a marked spatial concentration), irregular settlements, and a long additional list of urban management issues.

The same happens in the framework of deep mutations in Latin American urban structure. The region has fifty cities with a million or more inhabitants (seven times more than in 1950 and twice as much as in 1975). Four of them are part of the ten most

inhabited cities in the world: São Paulo (17,5 million), Mexico City (16,7 million), Buenos Aires (12,6 million) and Rio de Janeiro (10,6 million). In turn, Bogotá, Lima and Santiago de Chile have populations of over 5 million people, and many others exceed 3 million, (Belo Horizonte, Salvador de Bahía, Fortaleza, Porto Alegre and Recife in Brazil, Caracas in Venezuela, Monterrey and Guadalajara in Mexico). There is also a great number of intermediate size cities (from one hundred thousand to one million inhabitants), displaying a remarkable demographic and economic dynamism in the last decades. Almost all the large cities in Latin America occupy territories surpassing the jurisdictional limits of their own municipalities; consequently the operation of their labour and services markets involves the territorial jurisdiction of several municipalities - and in some cases of more than one state or province. The labour and services market of Mexico City extends over municipalities situated in two states besides the Federal District; the economy of Buenos Aires covers the territory of the autonomous City of Buenos Aires (3 million inhabitants) and of other 32 municipalities in the Province of Buenos Aires (9 million inhabitants).[38]

Likewise, the spatial traditional structure of large Latin American cities changed significantly and gave way to a series of new tendencies, all of them intensified and in some cases directly brought about by the economic development model established since the middle eighties.[39] The often discontinuous peripheral suburban growth extended the urbanized area creating vast spaces that force the extension of infrastructure networks, rise the transaction costs of the economy, of population's displacement and of maintenance of public services. On the other hand, an emptying of old residential, industrial and services areas is observed, as well as the departure from the traditional centres of storage and interchange.[40]

Rupture of the traditional structure of Latin American cities was translated into spatial segregation. As the urban land mar-

kets operation was characterized by the increase of prices, the poor segments of society are excluded from those areas of the city better fitted in terms of infrastructure, equipment and services. Gradually, the areas into which the poor sectors - a social majority - are consigned, apart from having fewer services are usually distant from work centres. Negative effects of this situation on the social cohesion of cities are numerous.

The socially differentiated availability and quality of the basic services infrastructure have a direct impact on the population's quality of life. In the preceding section, reference was made to some effects that the lack of a sewage system infrastructure has on people's health. Road infrastructure deficiencies are less documented but not least important for the life quality of urban citizens, as such deficiencies make journeys longer and limit the access to jobs and urban services. Infrastructure deficiencies also represent a limitation to the sustained development of the local economy.

Urban expansion, together with the establishment of new recreation, commercial and peripheral productive centres and the formation of closed neighbourhoods for those more economically powerful social sectors are factors that, on the one hand, favoured a larger social mixture of the Latin American cities while, on the other hand, they also intensified the distance and isolation dynamics between social groups which ceased to share meeting and interaction spaces. These tendencies reinforce social exclusion patterns evidenced both in the terms of income and in the access to the benefits of urban development. In the opinion of experts (Dammert 2001), all of this contributes to the growth and reproduction of certain "social pathologies" which have been observed for some years in Latin American cities.

Similarly, the urban reality of the European Union has also been subject to a varied set of pressures: mobility and social

tensions, immigration, corporate globalization, a certain entanglement of powers and public policies determined by the intensification of the integration process. Despite the actual presence of tendencies towards the expansion and dislocation of cities, the European urban space seems to be marked –at least under the perspective of the international comparative analysis– by a majority will for the addition of interests and representation, for social mobilizations and for reinforcing regional identities in a supra national framework which is generally fully assumed. According to the formulation of Le Galès (2003):

> European cities are a relatively robust category of "urban worlds" not submitted to the mere dictates of the market [...] Inside, groups and institutions move in search of new models of integration, of governance, of organization principles, of rules of behaviour that help them adapt and preserve their own identity.

Such a deployment in the European cities has the territorial communitarian policy as a background, which has kept on strengthening ever since the first approval of the European Regional Development Funds (ERDF) in 1975. This is a key policy in the European construction which has incorporated a significant volume of the Union's resources with the explicit objective of correcting market imbalances. In general, territorial units have leveraged the occasion to become relevant economic and political actors at a European level, to create diverse networks whereby they may channel their relationships and their capacity of influence and –equally important– to begin institutional transformations and learning processes which have been essential to enhance their government and management capacities. In this general course of action, the policies of urban equipment and development of territorial infrastructures have played a substantial role. One strategic dimension in this regard is connected to the conditions of mobility and access to transport services in the cities, where

many teachings in the area of public policies and good practices in terms of equity and social integration may be extracted from the European experience.

Similar conditions of access to transport services for everybody, including the cost and safety of the journey, is a policy with a wide connotation of territorial equity (as it does not discriminate between neighbourhoods and localities) and social equity (as it provides equal terms for all the population groups). One of the most worrying aspects of a society where individuals' mobility is highly dependent on cars (as in nearly all Latin American cities), is the exclusion arising from the physical and social isolation of important segments of the population. Here, the said access is an element of economic efficiency that also enables the less privileged to increase their opportunities of access to work and to a series of basic services (BID 2003).

Improving the quality of urban transport is an element for territorial order and cohesion. Several individuals depend exclusively on public transport; therefore the provision of these services is key to raise their opportunities. As cities grow in size, there is an increase in transport costs in terms of time and money. In large Latin American cities, the poorest population tends to concentrate in the most inaccessible and distant areas, far from the cities where houses are available at a lower cost, as a general rule without proper public services including public transport. This service is increasingly provided by private operators in very precarious and unsafe conditions, and with relatively high prices.[41]

Transport and urban mobility experience in the European cities provides a set of useful teachings for the design of territorial cohesion and integration policies.[42]

In Madrid, population dispersion has implied that the centre of the city has lost inhabitants in favour of metropolitan munici-

palities, which in turn led to important changes in the criteria for transportation demand, with a tendency to a greater number of increasingly longer journeys. In 1986, the Madrid Regional Transport Consortium was created (CRTM), a public entity that has assumed, in practice, all the public transport duties, formerly held by the various local and regional governments. The voluntary union of municipalities and the assignment of their powers to one single entity have been the key in making Madrid the leader in quota of public transport, representing 54% of all the region motorized trips, predominantly in the interior of the city (66%) and in radial journeys (52%). The transport and mobility policy of the Region of Madrid has combined three key elements:

i) An integrated system of fares, services and administrative framework where the transport ticket plays a key role, and may be used in all the means of transport and is valid throughout the whole region.

ii) Improvement-extension of infrastructures: commuter trains, subway lines and innovative services such as the high-occupancy vehicle lane or transport interchangers.

iii) Several incentives for the companies to renew their fleets, introducing more comfortable and less polluting vehicles.

The result has been a clear change of tendency in the number of travelers using public transport, with a demand that passed from an annual total of 951 million trips in 1985 to 1.486 million in the year 2000. Two decades after the implementation of these reforms, the system is deemed to be compromised in the mid term by the "suburbanization" process, which is making public transport less competitive and more expensive than the private vehicle in the metropolitan area.

The city of Edinburgh, with an important and active tourist and cultural industry, apart from being the financial and administrative centre of Scotland, developed the strategy "New Transport Initiative" in 1991. Below are its main components:

i) Reinforcement of the public transport structures with new buses, an express subway and new train services.

ii) Enhancement of highway network.

iii) Control of urban traffic and surface parking in the centre of town, and traffic limitation in residential areas.

iv) Implementation of some innovative measures: car-less neighbourhoods, corporate transport plans, awareness campaigns, and others.

Results indicate a positive growth tendency in public transport within a totally "deregulated" market, with little control capacity by the municipality. There are also financing problems, especially in terms of ensuring the quality of services and improving infrastructures. The company *Transport Initiatives Edinburgh Ltd*., was established in order to solve these implementation deficiencies, owned by the City Council although managed by the private sector. The company is responsible for the provision, development and management of the main projects, as well as for guaranteeing public acceptance, the implementation and operation of the collection programmes for use of the road network.

Madrid seems to have the highest degree of public transport coordination of the two cases reviewed, even though it lacks centralized competences to control the unsustainable tendency of the new urban developments. It must develop demand management support measures in less dense areas. Edinburgh, in turn, holds the great advantage of having direct competence over the use of land and transport, but has little control over fares and services. Likewise, it emphasizes the management of the space devoted to highways, land use control and, in the future, the collection for use of the road network.

The German city of Stuttgart holds one of the most efficient urban transport systems in Europe.[43] The suburban public

services combine a rapid train, an urban railway and a bus. These three systems have been unified since 1978 in the Stuttgart Transport Authority (VVS). At first the German Railway (DB) and the Stuttgarter Strassenbahn AG (trolley) allied in order to unify fares. Since 1993, the Regional Transport also includes several private bus companies. Currently, the VVS network comprises eight regional railway lines, six rapid train lines, nine urban railways and two trolley lines besides a special urban train for mass events, 42 urban and 10 regional buses, 7 (urban) and 13 (regional) night bus lines running on weekends, as well as a rack railway and a cable railway. The SSB lines alone transport 500 thousand passengers per day. Rapid trains and urban railways systems have been developed with the help of the *Land* and the Federal Government in order to meet the transport demands of this region. A long-term strategy and high investments are required for the deployment of this system. Some of their main characteristics are:

i) Different route with regard to private circulation.

ii) Design of stations with elevated platforms.

iii) Unitary equipment of stations according to a defined standard.

iv) Extensive information provided to passengers.

v) Generalized priority of urban railway in the signalling facilities.

vi) Modern and comfortable vehicles.

vii) Control of the system through a computerized switchgear.

The system is characterized by its punctuality, quickness, easy access, safety and hygiene. These traits persuade the suburban passenger about the advantages of this public transport, as shown by the fact that only half the users are captive riders, that is, true dependants on this means of transport. The other half must actively take the decision of giving up private means of transport. Information given to passengers constitutes an important nexus between client and manager. Currently, all stops have a "basic equipment": a board with a route map, a summarized table of fares,

a ticket vending machine, a map of the surroundings and transport companies information. In 1993, three stations were equipped with a dynamic passenger information system (DFI). Since 1997, the DFI is being installed in many other stops. This system enables passengers to obtain updated information regarding next trains, lines and destinations, number of wagons, the stopping point on the platform, and the time left to destination. Transport efficiency and mobility are a priority to this German city which is fully immersed in its public policies, as evidenced by the VVS development and by its will to sponsor prospective studies on the matter, such as the "Mobilist" project (text box 7).

3

Text Box 7 / "Mobilist" Project

"Mobilist" is a prospective project on sustainable social mobility compatible with the economic growth of Stuttgart city and its region of influence. It is a research in the field of telecommunications applied to transport, with the objective of generating clear and intelligible information on the traffic current situation and the alternatives of transport, both for planning and regulation purposes. This project is expected to contribute to the creation of new jobs related to urban mobility, services technologies and telecommunications. In total, 44 entities take part in Mobilist including several companies, a number of research institutes, transport companies, chambers, associations and municipalities. The capital city of the federal state of Baden Württemberg has involved several departments in the following packages of activities of the project:

- Traffic prediction
- Management of parking lots
- Control systems based on modelling
- Telework
- Virtual administrative activity
- Territorial planning

The Mobilist research project intends to help guarantee mobility through an optimum use of all transport varieties and institutions. Together with the reduction of the travelling times, it also aims at limiting the negative effects of traffic on the ecologic system. Mobilist underscores the importance of cooperation with similar projects from other urban regions, therefore it is also a research project focused on the exchange of experience and know-how with other regions.

3

The conclusion of the cases reviewed is clear: urban transport management calls for an integral and systemic approach that may not be independent from other sector policies. It also requires the satisfaction of some operational and organizational criteria, necessary for the formulation of public policies efficient in the matter. The existence of an administrative body in charge of coordinating the different transport competences, is one of them. Coordination of the actions related with transport and land use with the planning processes and urban management is another. Other, is the promotion of sustainable means of transport (public transport and non motorized means) in order to reduce environmental, social and economic costs. Finally, there is another one that consists on designing integrated packages of transport measures mutually reinforced to generate synergies and enhance the effectiveness of its implementation.

These experiences show that, in terms of social and territorial cohesion, the efficiency of public policies of transport and urban mobility calls for coordinated interventions regarding infrastructures, equipment, technological innovations, regulation, competition between operators and the supervision of the conditions in which the services are rendered. Transport and mobility public policies are an effective tool for territorial order and integration, and it is imperative that they serve as a means to encourage the different social actors to act in the long term. This demands the existence of a clear leadership from local authorities, as well as the capacity to enter into political and social agreements ensuring the necessary resources for the time required for the development of the projects. Local leadership must be capable of integrating all actors and of coordinating actions with other territorial entities. Another conclusion is the need to integrate services, that asks for a planning entity with competence over all the means of transport, with a bearing on to the order of land use. The establishment of a common fare system to bring down the cost of longer trips in public transport represents another useful finding.

The development of public transport systems entails significant amounts of investment. In the financial conditions of the generally precarious local Latin American entities, it is imperative to design flexible formulas where the user absorbs part of the costs and private enterprises and the government collaborate in the search for solutions with the maximum social and environmental benefits. On the other hand, the liberalization of public transport with lax regulations –as experienced for years in various service segments of most Latin American cities– may activate the sector on the short term, but at the cost of producing negative environmental and social effects in the long run. The system improvement calls for citizen participation, but private enterprises need to be involved in the rendering of metropolitan transport services, in the design of its networks and in its urban integration.

All the above implies abandoning a series of practices and ideas which are deeply rooted in Latin American cities, for example: that using a car is an irrefutable sign of your social status; that public transport is a means of transport exclusively for the poor; that the solutions provided by public and private sectors are irreconcilable; that the public transport and mobility problems are only resolved with new infrastructural investments, without considering the importance of the efficient management of the resources available.

3.6. Citizenship, participation, and social cohesion: towards democratic governance within the different territories

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) indicates that in order to create democratic governance conditions it is not enough to have an effective institutional system acting based on good governance rules. It also requires an effective promotion of citizen participation as regards decisions affecting them. This includes electoral participation, community participation

(considered supportive intervention in public issues) and civil society participation to supervise the government and provide alternatives for political participation (PNUD 2004).

In the social cohesion perspective, the foregoing implies the participation of sectors which have traditionally been excluded from the institutional mechanisms of dialogue, consultation, negotiation and fair distribution. Thus, it also implies acknowledgment and respect for relevant social differences and peculiarities in several aspects of the social and individual life (cultural, ethnical, religious, concerning gender, age, etc.). The exercise of one's citizenship through participation implies a reinforcement of the sense of belonging of individuals, and is consequently a mechanism to fight rejection and isolation which are typical social exclusion situations.

In this regard, it is maintained that social cohesion is eroded when ignorance of diversity and rejection of difference reduce the sense of belonging and discourage participation (Jenson 1998). For this reason, social integration and participation domestic policies focus on strengthening coexistence links within a framework of perceptions, interests, preferences and multiple differences amongst individuals and social groups. The idea is not to eliminate the differences nor to aim at homogeneity, but to build citizenship based on acknowledging and respecting diversity.

Social integration and participation policies of vulnerable groups from the sample of localities considered in the study, lead to a large series of programmes with very specific aims and objectives: the participative budget general system (Porto Alegre, Saint-Denis, Buenos Aires, Quito, Montevideo) and focused on gender and youth (Rosario); programmes for women empowerment through job training (Escazú, Diputación de Barcelona, Consell Comarcal de l'Alt Empordà); teaching citizenship to children (Rosario), urban accessibility and inclusion of disabled people

(Stuttgart, São Paulo), job training and inclusion of disabled people (Emilia-Romagna Region and Nantes Metropole), amongst others.

The most well-known of these programmes is maybe the Participative Budget Programme. It is carried out through a series of participative meetings in which regional demands, city priorities, criteria for the application of funds and the local government investment programme are defined. Each one of these stages contains mechanisms which enables information to circulate amongst the government political authorities, the experts and professionals thereof and citizens.[44]

Text Box 8 / Implementation of Participative Budget in Porto Alegre

In Porto Alegre, pursuant to article Nº 116, paragraph 1 of the Local Government Organic Act, *"Participation by the community from the regions of the Municipality is guaranteed in the elaboration, definition and execution stages of the pluriannual plan, the budgetary guidelines and the annual budget"*. Such participation begins with a series of preparatory meetings at the same time that the representatives of the community organizations and Government officials agree on the issues to be dealt with in two main meetings, called "rounds", to be held in each region.

In the first round the local government employees submit a detailed report on the execution of the investment plan of the previous year, the level of progress of the investment plan of the current year and the expected level of resources to be used for investments of the local government during the following year. Citizens define the priorities of each region and of each subject matter and choose their representatives. After the first round a series of meetings are held, prior to carrying out the second round, where the citizens' representatives fix general priorities and establish a priority order. Once the amount of available resources for investments during the following year is known, a round of negotiations and agreements starts concerning priorities and demands. In the event no agreements are reached, during the second round a vote is carried out to adopt resolutions regarding the disputed issues. During

▶▶

▶▶

the second round the representatives of the regions and of the subject matters of the plenary meetings are chosen for the Budget and Government Plan Local Council (Consejo Municipal del Plan del Gobierno y del Presupuesto-CM-PGM). Investment priorities are also decided and the Regional and Thematic Delegate Forum is created (FD-RT), which guarantees the circulation of information between delegates and the regions, monitor the development of the projects being carried out, receive new demands and communicate them to the CM-PGM.

When the thematic and regional meetings are concluded, and the FD-RT and CM-PGP are created, the final budget draft is prepared. Firstly, the Secretariats and other entities of the Executive discuss the works to be carried out, their economic cost and technical feasibility, during the meetings. With this information, the delegates discuss this with the citizens whilst the Executive prepares a budget proposal. The Investment Plan is prepared based on three criteria: the lack of services or infrastructure, the population in the region and regional priorities. Upon consideration and discussion of these criteria with the population the investment plan for each region is drafted, upon the proposal of the thematic organizations and the Local Government. This is then sent to the CM-PGM for its approval. After the Budget is approved by the CM-PGM, the Executive sends the proposal to the Discussion Council of the City Council. This Council and the Executive analyse the budget figures and any changes to be introduced, and a new negotiation process is established in which the global structure which was prepared based on citizen participation is usually respected.

Source: Municipal Prefecture of Porto Alegre

This mechanism of democratic participation was originated in Porto Alegre and was subsequently adopted by several cities throughout the world. The pioneering experience of Porto Alegre is a clear example of how dilemmas and distributive conflicts associated to the use and distribution of scarce public resources can be collectively resolved through the participation of the people (text box 8).

Same as in Porto Alegre, the cities of Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Quito, Rosario and Saint-Denis, amongst other localities considered in the study, have established the right of the people to active participation in the establishment of priorities and priority orders of their respective domestic public budgets. Such participation is regulated by the legal regulations of each locality: and although these regulations are subject to the respective constitutional systems, their legal and institutional value is unquestionable.[45] Based on this mechanism of people participation and inclusion, several European and Latin American localities have set up programmes for social integration of vulnerable groups.

Such is the case, e.g. of the programme of the Local Government of Rosario called "Youth Participative Budget" which arose from a concern regarding the lack of participation of the young people in the city where the concept of breaking away from solidarity values is gradually increasing and they feel the stigma of the lack of acknowledgment of their possibilities and social and institutional spaces to influence in decision making processes in the locality (Romero 2006). Through this programme an innovating process was introduced to include a segment of society which is traditionally not offered participation at the time of adopting decisions concerning public politics, particularly within territorial contexts of low human development.

The empowerment of women is another mechanism that contributes to build social cohesion and renewal of the spirit of belonging in the localities. Acknowledgment by society of the situation of exclusion and discrimination suffered by women (half of the world's population) as regards labour, economic, legal, political and social matters is expressed in the official documents and regulations of almost all the countries. However, in practice, injustice, physical and psychological violence, rejection, underestimation, intolerance and exploitation suffered by the majority of the female population throughout the world still exist under different guises.

Local governments in Europe and Latin America have adopted several initiatives to fight this inadmissible situation promoting in different ways full social integration of women in the public areas of the community.[46] In this way, the programmes such as the "Presupuesto Participativo y Ciudadanía Activa de las Mujeres" (Participative Budget and Active Citizenship of Women) of the Rosario City Council, not only aim at contributing to overcome social and cultural obstacles which restrict the rights of women but also at strengthening the institutional order of communities including this important social group in the process of decision-making.

The parity proportionality of gender in the election of the members of the Participative Councils of the District was included in the Participative Budget in accordance with the "Plan de Igualdad de Oportunidades para Mujeres y Varones" (Plan of Equal Opportunities for Women and Men) of Rosario. Since 2004 there has been a very active campaign to encourage, through different ways, the participation of women in decision making processes with respect to budget matters.[47] If we bear in mind that the attendance of women to the meetings has been a hundred per cent, there are grounds to say that this incorporation of women in the Participative Budget has been successful.

As regards the inclusion of women in work life, the Escazú City Council set up a Job Intermediation Program that, through a Cooperation Agreement with the Ministry of Work and Social Welfare, takes shape in the "Centro de Servicio de Apoyo a la Empresariedad de las Mujeres" (Support Service Centre for Women Entrepreneurs), that develops lines of work in support of productive initiatives of women.[48] The Council of Barcelona, the city of Saint-Denis, the District of Escazú, the Rosario City Council and the Montevideo Municipal Government are also very active in the construction of local capacities in favour of the effective insertion of women in work life.

The program "Femmes actives" of the city of Saint-Denis provides activities of promotion (computing training, enhancement of capacities) and advisory services to find a job for women with difficulties in labour insertion. Through the Escola de la Dona, the Council of Barcelona plans to ensure the comprehensive training of women in order to foster their personal, professional and civic development.[49]

Through the "Programa de agricultura urbana como política pública de inclusión social" (Program of urban agriculture as public policy of social inclusion), the Rosario City Council promotes the social integration of men and women in vulnerable family groups, by means of participative and solidary ways of production, manufacture, marketing and consumption of healthy food, using ecological techniques. The program is intended for the family, community and market consumption. The promotion of social enterprises with gender equality is part of the substantial aspects of this local strategy of the government that is directed to the population excluded from the work market and creates solidary networks of production and consumption of food (Romero 2006). The Montevideo Municipal Government set up the "Programa Comuna Mujer" (Women Centres Program), which stemmed from the proposals brought forward by women of Montevideo in the framework of the creation of the five year plan of the decentralised governments of Montevideo. "Comuna Mujer" are neighbourhood centres organized as spaces of social participation, personal development and encounter. They are co-managed by a District Committee of women that implements the plan of action and control of services, with the support of the social decentralisation teams and in coordination with the local governments. The Women Committee of the City Hall is in charge of the political and institutional direction of the program. "Comuna Mujer" has a free legal service that provides advisory service and legal assistance to women in every stage of the judicial process; they also count with social and psychological assistance and self-help groups for women vic-

tims of domestic violence, for pregnant teenagers and unemployed women. Micro-loan services for productive and work projects and housing improvement have been installed in some of these local centres (HABITAT 2000).

Child population has also been the focus of specialized attention on the part of local governments in terms of social cohesion policies. Regarding this issue, the experience in the Rosario City Council is very interesting: by means of the creation of "Consejos de Niños" (Children Councils) by decentralised District and groups of "Niños Proyectistas" (Designer Children) for urban planning, the local government brings the children closer to institutions through programmes that promote their integration to community life. According to a specialist, this project is "not about *governing for the children, but governing with the children*, creating institutional and recreational spaces that ensure the right to be heard and to participate actively in democratic life and the transformation of the city" (Romero 2006).

Local policies of social integration and participation of the vulnerable groups certainly include strategies for the insertion of physically or mentally handicapped persons. This is the particular case of several European regions and cities. In the Emilia-Romagna region, the regional government has launched job training and school inclusion programmes as well as centres for special care and healthy development. In this same line of activity, programmes for professional insertion and healthcare and education centres are sponsored in the Nantes region. The city of Stuttgart has programmes to improve urban and transportation access to physically handicapped persons.

Text box 9 / Three local experiences of community participation

Management and preservation of forests and grasslands in the Pimampiro Canton, Imbabura province, Ecuador. This experience started in 2001 and brings together the efforts of the municipality and the technical and financial contributions of national and international organizations. The community executes the resources directly. The "Fundación Nueva América" was created to make this project feasible. It is formed by families of the canton that receive a compensation in return for the preservation of 638 hectares of forests and grasslands, that they own. The mechanism was created by the municipality and is nurtured with resources originated from 20% of the water rates and a seed capital provided by the FIA (Foundation for Agrarian Innovation) cooperation agency through the "Corporación Ecuatoriana para el Desarrollo" (Ecuadorian Corporation for Development) and the Community Forest Project.

Community participation for transparency and efficiency in the Aracataca City Council, in the department of Magdalena, Colombia. This experience, which started in 2001 and is strongly supported by the mayor, is based on the promotion of the community participation and seeking consensus in order to make local public management more transparent and effective. In the middle of very difficult political conditions, the impacts of this experience on local governance have been very positive as they encourage a turn in the priorities of the municipal government and improve the mechanisms for rendering of accounts and the relationship with the organised civil society.

Favouring the organization of the people in order to improve the government in Bahía Blanca, province of Buenos Aires, Argentina. The Bahia Blanca City Council improved the coordination of its social programmes by encouraging the participation of the community, strengthening the organizations of civil society and the participative allocation of the budget. This was accomplished incorporating the community's priorities, encouraging the management capacity of the leaders of the civil organizations regarding social projects and attaining consensus between the municipal government and the community in relation to public investments. This process includes a system of evaluation and monitoring. The experience is based on one of the programmes of the Strategic Plan of Bahía Blanca, drawn up by the municipal government since 1997. The experience is directed from the municipality, although it counts with a high participation of social sector organizations (over 600 according to a census), and the technical assistance of the "Universidad Nacional del Sur" and the "Centro Nacional de Organizaciones de la Comunidad (CENOC) for the execution of the programmes.

The programmes of social inclusion of vulnerable groups of the local and regional governments of the European Union and Latin America show that the attainment of this objective of the programme of public policies cannot be trusted solely to a particular public agency. All these experiences show horizontal relationships between different stages of the local public administration and the civil society.

From a more general perspective, the experience of participation of the community of the various localities shows that such participation, when effective, materializes in every relevant dimension of the local public life: decision making, supervision, control and execution of policies that affect the individuals and the community. The lesson from these experiences seems to be the same everywhere: when the citizens are taken into account, they participate actively in collective matters. Thus, the projects undertaken at a local level tend to be more sustainable, they are legitimate, they are operated in a more transparent way and create social capital. Text box 9 shows some examples in this regard in very diverse subject matters and geographical territories: the management and protection of natural resources of a forestry community of Ecuador, the municipal management of a small city in a province of Colombia, the social connection with the process of allocation of resources in an Argentinean urban municipality.

International experience suggests that the search of a type of community participation and democratic governance in a geographical territory has more than one answer. Said answer depends on the way that the local governments, the organizations and the very communities commit themselves to the search of more effective and efficient models of inclusion. It is evident that said models are strongly determined by the historical, political, institutional and socioeconomic characteristics of each locality.

However, in the local entities of the Latin American area, except for some exceptional cases, the lack of mature and conso-

lidated structures of community participation and democratic governance, incomplete structures or dislocations between the political-administrative realities and the social and economic needs of the territory is noticed. In this sense, the experience of the European localities –but also of the Latin American entities that have been successful in this area– shows that the construction of these strategies requires a progressive formation of the social capital together with a complex creation of horizontal and vertical networks between the public and private parties that act in the territory. It is possible to derive from these experiences some basic conditions for its construction.[50]

The first one is that the construction of the territorial governance requires that the specific objective of public policy (creation of economies of scale, supply of basic public services, allocation of resources) and the process (voicing opinions, transparency, rendering of accounts) are not developed separately, as two different issues. The search for political legitimacy and voice is decisive in the processes of democratic governance of the territory.

Another condition is to establish cooperative mechanisms between the territorial agents, in order to enable the progressive formation of the social capital, thus establishing a more rational functionality in the existing systems of governance and participation. Said mechanisms materialize in the creation of horizontal and vertical networks between the public and private agents that operate in the territory (including the external agents). Usually, in the process of institutionalization of these mechanisms there is a maturity cycle that is determined by each local circumstance.

It should also be taken into account that the mechanisms for the participation of the community and democratic governance do not flow in a legal and institutional void, therefore in the beginning they are frequently based on the formal and informal systems that exist in the geographical territory. Usually this is a prior

step to the codification of forms of participation and governance which are more mature and long-lasting.

In any case, the mechanisms to be adopted to enable the communication with the territorial agents and to join the action networks, are often supplemented by the introduction of the appropriate financial and management schemes to encourage cooperation and the establishment of collective procedures for decision making.

Which is the lesson provided by the international experience, and in the first place, the local communities in the European Union, on the operative factors of democratic governance and community participation? The comparative analysis of cases carried out by Lefèvre (2006) contributes with some clues to answer this question.[51] This author brings up three basic issues that have to be resolved **(i)** the identity of the territory; **(ii)** the responsibility of the actions of the local government; and **(iii)** the legitimacy of the actions of public authorities. These three issues are related to each other, and, therefore, so are the conclusions which derive from their execution.

The subject of the identity consists in the active promotion of the areas of the locality as reference territories for the inhabitants, in order to encourage the sense of belonging and identity. The responsibility issue refers to the local government's activities and policies which must be communicated to and discussed with the citizens, whose questions and concerns should be answered. Usually this issue is addressed by the use of some instruments, such as mandatory public hearings or the creation of councils of social agents and popular representatives. Finally, the legitimacy is the result of three complementary elements: political, functional and social legitimacy. Political legitimacy is the final form of legality, in the sense that, in theory, it grants indisputable power to require individual and collective actions in the name of general

interest or an accepted collective interest. In general terms, this is carried out through the creation of public institutions, in this case, the constitution of a territorial authority. Functional and social legitimacy perform an essential task in that process, by legalizing the institution on the basis of its functional necessity (the need to produce good practices, good public policies) and its social need (the territory is considered relevant as a space of identity, belonging and social interaction). These three dimensions of legitimacy are essential for the construction of strong forms of local governance. In turn, these forms are essential for the construction of the inclusion of the different social agents, thus favouring their participation.

3.7. A note on decentralisation, fiscal policy and institutional capacity of Latin American territorial entities

The reasons and scope of the decentralisation process that occurred in the Latin American countries in the last two decades are very varied. This explains why every country adopted different forms. Nevertheless, there are certain common characteristics in the process, as being in every case inherent to political democratization and to the economic reforms which came about after the eighties. The dominant trend of decentralisation consists in transferring functions and resources to the municipalities, aiming at the regional instances of government in a small group of countries. Another characteristic in common is that such redistribution took place in a frame of very pronounced regional and territorial disparities with a social background of inequity and exclusion.

The great majority of the Latin American municipalities are financially fragile and depend to a large extent on resources transferred from the central government. However, they all have their own fiscal policy which is generally applied to local services and infrastructure. In general, their collection rate is low. In Chile,

Peru, Uruguay and the countries in Central America, the central government controls over 90% of the total taxation. A greater decentralisation in tax collection can be observed in federal countries, but the part of the municipal governments is still very small. For instance, in Brazil and Mexico, these governmental units gather less than 5% of the total; while intermediate governments have a greater taxation capacity. In this aspect, the Brazilian case is more impressive because subnational governments are in charge of 30% of the collection due to the authority they have for the collection of the value added tax (Cetrángolo 2006). Finally, natural resources are usually managed by national agencies, but not in Argentina, where the provincial governments keep 90% of the income generated by said resources.[52]

The fact is that the transfer of functions carried out over the last few years in relation to decentralisation was accompanied in every country by a parallel transfer of financial resources, but said transfer was almost always not enough. In many countries, the municipalities are authorized to apply for loans to round out their financial needs (although with a series of restrictions). Larger municipalities, which are usually the ones in the most important cities, have the capacity to obtain loans from international agencies like the World Bank or the Inter American Development Bank. The reality is that the financial resources of the majority of the Latin American municipalities in general are still limited.

In practice, this set of trends limits the effective institutional and political autonomy of the Latin American local governments, and consequently their actual capacity to implement public policies for economic and social development. The fact that very few local governments escape from this general rule comes as no surprise, and much less considering that it is the case of the governments of cities in which practices for the participation of the community and democratic governance have been instituted

progressively during these years, like in Belo Horizonte, Montevideo, Bogota, Rosario and many others.

Nowadays –with few exceptions, like the Chilean provinces– all the levels of the sub-national government count with authorities elected by the vote of the citizens. Electoral systems are very diverse and determine the nature of the local government. In almost every case, the legislative and executive power are elected separately and the mandates of the local authorities are short (an average of three years' cycles) and often with no possibility of being re-elected. This is a factor that restricts the execution of local programmes of structural scope or long term. In addition the low qualification of the regular human resources is a problem which worsens as the size of the municipality decreases. However, the most important problem is in the level of the middle management, that should ensure the continuity of the local management, but whose jobs are almost always linked to the political interests of the mayor.

It is within this situation of light and shadows that Latin American local entities are operating their long and difficult transition to a regime of decentralised, democratic, and participative governance, which aims at development and social cohesion. The consolidation of this movement, even its probable acceleration, depends on the action of the internal agents. But while it is still in process, the exchange and cooperation with other decentralised agents will be of enormous benefit.

Notes

14 See the relevant national reports by the UNDP regarding human development in the Latin American countries, which evidence that without any exception, regional segregation prevails in all of them. Refer to Godínez (2004 a) to learn about his analysis of this Project in the Central American region.

15 The local governments' development plans analysed for this study always included participation, democracy, social justice and inclusion as the principles that rule the local institutional order.

16 Such is the case of, for instance, the Querétaro City Council in Mexico, or the Sucre Town Hall, Estado Portuguesa, Venezuela.

17 The European integration process is grounded on institutional measures specifically designed to foster social cohesion, and they are carried out by, for instance, the Structural Funds, Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee European Fund, among others.

18 This characteristic is still absent in some cases, such as as in Escazú, Costa Rica, which is one of the localities analysed under this study.

19 The transversal approach usually arises due to needs caused by the local governments' scarcity of resources, although it is also a consequence of certain closeness to the communities' social reality.

20 Upon inventorying some of the European Union's social exclusion policies, excluding initiatives by the European Social Forum, Subirats and Burgué (2006) programmes and networks were identified in the following fields: poverty (four between 1974 and 2006: Poverty I, II, III Against exclusion); work exclusion (two between 1989 and 1996: ERGO I y II); immigration (six between 1991 and 2006: RIMET, ELAINE,Community Programme against racism, Year against Racism, European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, Vienna, Actions Against Discrimination); community health (eight between 1988 and 2000: HELIOS I; II y III, HADYNET, TIDE, TELEMTICS System, Programme against Drugs, AIDS Prevention Programme); the elderly (three between 1991 and 2000: Community Programme for the elderly, TIDE TELEMATICS).

21 According to this author, institutional policies are those which comply with the following four conditions: "i) originate in political and social agreements that respond to specific problems, ii) set clear goals and objectives which can assess their achievement thanks to instruments available to them; iii) establish specific rights and obligations for each one of the relevant actors and iv) have behavioural rules and norms".

22 ECLAC (2001); World Bank (2006); Fiszbein and Lowden (1999); Fundación Europea (1998 and 2003); Llorens, Alburquerque and del Castillo (2002); Soto Hardiman and Lapeyre (2004);

23 Indeed, whilst the rate of open unemployment in the Latin American region rose from 5% to 9.1% between 1990 and 2005 (ECLAC 2007), the European Union's (EU 15) fluctuated around 8% in that same period, with a slow, but firm decreasing trend in recent years, which explains the change in unemployment levels from 8.8% at the beginning of the last decade of the twentieth century to one of 7.4% in 2005 (OCDE 2006). In this same fifteen-year lapse, the rates of unemployment in Japan and the United States went from 4.7% and 4.2% respectively, to 4.2% and 4.5%. This means that the unemployment level in the European Union persistently surpasses by two thirds that of the other two countries.

24 The term "local partnership" makes allusion to a mechanism of social cooperation that has developed under a great diversity of practices in equally diverse geographical and socio-economic contexts. It is usually the result of specific sectorial initiatives around which different forms of participation between the public sector, civil society organizations, the association sector and other organisms of local interest are formed.

25 The considerations on health and education are strongly based on Kliksberg (2002); the data comes from that same source, although they were updated with the last available figures ECLAC (2006) and UN (2005a).

26 In the Central American countries (except Costa Rica and Panama) and Brazil, this index is in fact, less than five years; in the most advanced countries regarding this matter (Chile, Argentina, Uruguay) it is not above 9 years.

27 Among others, see the work on the quality of education in Colombia by Vásquez (2000) and in Mexico by Muñoz Izquierdo (2005).

28 See Schiefielbein's (1995) the pioneering research on Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic.

29 Puryear (1997), cited by Kliksberg (2002). Aninat's work (1998) proves this thesis for the case of Chile, one of the Latin American countries that achieved the greatest economic and social progress in recent last years. In this country, the performance levels differ greatly between municipal schools (with a 57% school attendance level), private schools subsidized by the State, and non subsidized private schools (or elite) to which only 8% of the school population attends. An example: the performance in maths and language in elite private schools exceeds 30% to that of the municipal schools.

30 In some countries this rate reaches 59% (Guatemala), 48% (Bolivia) and 41% (Peru). On the other extreme, only Chile and Ecuador achieve 100% coverage in births assisted by specialized personnel.

31 Some countries show rates under this average: Chile (7.9, a rate which is also under the average European rate), Costa Rica (10.4), Uruguay (13), Argentina (14.8) and Venezuela (17.3)

32 Among such responses is in the first place, the decentralisation of some SPF previously controlled by the central authorities. Among them figure several national cases, more specifically, education and health. This document does not deal with the problem of the deficit decentralisation of Latin American countries, a process on which there is a great mass of empirical research and a very broad academic and political debate. For a recount of the terms of this debate and the tendencies of said research see, among other references, Godínez (2004 and 2006).

33 It must be noted that however efficient it may be, the sub national and municipal governments have various limits in Latin America. At least when it comes to education and health, their contribution to an integral and long lasting solution to the problems cannot be detached from the central government's policies, as well as the restrictions (or stimuli) they produce.

34 All information regarding this programme comes from Villa y Duarte (2002).

35 The ICFES examination is a State examination carried out in the last grade of the secondary education cycle. The potential bidders are the 201 institutions with the best ICFES scores. (61, very high level; 140, high level).

36 This Project integrates the bank of Experiences in Innovation in Latin America and the Caribbean, an initiative organized by ECLAC with support from the W. K. Kellogg foundation. For more information about the Community Health programme of Fram, you can contact at: <centrosa@itacom.com.py>.

37 Information and data updating of the "Solidarity Hospital" project were gathered from a direct research in El Comercio and Correo newspapers of Lima and in the web page of the municipality: <www.munlima.gob.pe>

38 This is the phenomenon of metropolization, very well-known by experts, seen in cities of various sizes in Latin America. The 2000 population census in Brazil, detected 40 cases where the economy and urban services coverage went beyond the jurisdictional area of a municipality. In this group there were cities of all sizes, from the conurbation of Londrina in the State of Paraná (700,000 inhabitants) to the Metropolitan region of São Paulo. See the study.

39 For an analysis of the territorial consequences of this development model in Mesoamerican countries, see Godínez (2004).

40 For a broader analysis of these tendencies see Rojas (2006), as these observations are supported thereby.

41 The income and expense survey data corresponding to Latin American families, indicate that transport expenses represent, depending on the country, 20% to 40% of the family budget.

42 Development of this subject is based on the analysis of cases carried out by Monzón (2006).

43 The information was extracted from the web site of Stuttgart, capital city of the Federal State of Baden Württemberg: <www.stuttgart.de>

44 See *"Presupuesto Participativo. La experiencia de Porto Alegre"*, <http://www.presupuestoparticipativo.com/Docs/ExpPortoAlegre.htm>.

45 See "Ville de Saint-Denis", www.ville-saint-denis.fr; Proyecto Participación Ciudadana en la Vigilancia de Presupuestos Públicos de Municipalidades Andinas (2004); Tamburrini (2004); "Quito hacia el Bicentenario",<http://www.quito.gov.ec/plan_bicentenario/indbicentenario.htm>; y "El presupuesto participativo en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires", <http://www.prespuestoparticipativo.com7Docs/ArtRoy.htt>.

46 Pursuant to the conclusions of a thematic seminary, "local policies should help build protective societies, where the community does not have to lean on women for the support it cannot provide for itself, guaranteeing them, at the same time, physical integrity, participation in political power and enjoyment of public space" URB-AL Info (2005).

47 Awareness workshops, training with a gender perspective to the council members elected in the Participative Budget, communication strategies to strengthen the presence of women in public areas, among others. See Romero (2006).

48 This program has an added feature in the Instituto de Formación Municipal Escazuceño (Municipal Training Institute of Escazú), of the district of Escazú, whose purpose is to offer a training option to the population that helps improve the labour profile in accordance with the market requirements. The Institute's activity benefits men and women which are part of the program of job intermediation, and it has expanded to all the members of the community, municipal officers and women entrepreneurs that are part of the "Centro Regional de Servicios de Apoyo Empresarial para Mujeres" (Regional Centre of Business Support Services for Women). See Escazú City Council / URB-AL, "Centro Regional de Servicios de Apoyo Empresarial" (Regional Center of Business Support Services). <http://www.centromujeresemprendedoras.org/presentacion.shtml>.

49 The main objectives of this program are: i) Training for personal development, better quality of life, creativity and self-esteem; ii) Thorough and quality education that enhances thought and culture; iii) Political and social training to strengthen the participation of women in all areas; iv) Training for the benefit of employment, advancement of initiatives and women autonomy in the labour market. See website: <www.diba.es>.

50 In each territorial context, these general conditions necessarily observe idiosyncratic adjustments and adaptations.

51 This author's analysis is specifically applied to metropolitan environments, but it's possible to project its general lines to other local environments.

52 In Bolivia this issue has generated a critical situation between the provinces that produce gas (Santa Cruz and Tarija) and the central State.

IV. European Union-Latin America decentralised cooperation and social cohesion

This chapter examines the importance of bi-regional decentralised cooperation in the strengthening of local and regional policies of social cohesion of some of the local governments mentioned in the previous chapter. To that end, the experiences developed within the framework of the thematic networks of the programme of decentralised cooperation between local communities of the European Union and Latin America, URB-AL are examined.[53]

4.1. Experiences in bi-regional decentralised cooperation in the field of social cohesion

Social cohesion is one of the main objectives around which the relations between the European Union and Latin America are implemented at present. It is thus reaffirmed by the Heads of State and Government of both regions in the summits of Rio de Janeiro of 1999, Madrid of 2002, Guadalajara of 2004 and Vienna of 2006. In the final declaration of this last meeting, the heads of state and government stated:

> We stress that social cohesion, which constitutes the foundation of more inclusive societies, remains a shared goal and a key priority of our bi-regional strategic partnership. The promotion of social cohesion is intended to build more inclusive societies by giving everyone the chance to have access to fundamental rights and employment, to enjoy the benefits of economic growth with equity and social justice, and thereby play a full role in society. We will continue to give social cohesion a high priority in our bi-

regional cooperation and assistance programs such as EurosociAL and will also continue to promote exchanges of experiences between our countries and regions (Vienna Declaration 2006).

In the framework of this political commitment, the programmes of bi-regional decentralisation cooperation have been both innovative and pioneering. They aim to contribute to the construction of inclusive societies in an explicit way through initiatives purposely designed to exert influence on the strengthening of institutional capacities and competences of the territorial authorities.

Decentralised cooperation is defined by the European Commission as "a new approach in cooperation relationships that seeks to establish direct relationships with local representative bodies and to stimulate their own capacities for designing and implementing development initiatives with the direct participation of the groups of population involved, taking into account their interests and points of view on development".[54]

In this general framework the programme of decentralised cooperation between local communities of the EU and LA, know as URB-AL (phases I from 1995 to 2000 and II from 2001 to 2006) has played an important role in the promotion and strengthening of social cohesion (text box 10). The URB-AL Programme stresses the cooperation between cities, especially –although not exclusively– between intermediate cities. Cities are identified as the main territorial protagonists of the most important economic, social and political processes of Europe and Latin America. In accordance with an evaluation report, few existing programmes are as appropriate as URB-AL to achieve these objectives" (URB-AL Phase II 2006).

Decentralised cooperation deviates from the traditional models of international cooperation. Unlike the traditional mod-

els, its initiatives and interventions are supported by a series of basic principles, namely: shared responsibility, active participation and the consensus of the territorial actors; complementarities between the different political and social agents; decentralised management, also including the delegation of financial management responsibility, to the closest level of the actors involved, and the adoption of a process-methodology that enables to place decentralised cooperation within its very term (Virapatarin 2004).

Text box 10 / URB-AL Programme (1995-2006)

The European Commission created this programme with the purpose of setting off a decentralised approach of cooperation, open to the participation of the local communities of the EU and Latin America. Its specific objective was the development of direct and long-lasting relationships between communities to enable partnership in search of specific solutions to the challenges of the modern town. URB-AL is implemented through three types of instruments: the thematic networks identified below and type A and type B joint projects. A thematic network is formed by a group of partners willing to work together on a certain urban subject. It can be defined on three coordinates: **1)** it is a bridge between local communities willing to work together; **2)** it is the context of participation and activities of the partners; **3)** it is the "scenario" where exchange, reflection and common experience are organised. Members of a network who are wishing to jointly explore a specific aspect of its themes in greater depth and work in joint projects. The aim of joint projects is to further implement the exchanges of experiences developed in the networks, agreeing on concrete solutions to the problems and the means to apply them to the field. There are two types of joint projects: type A and type B projects. The objective of type A projects is to **exchange** information and experiences, as well as disseminate good practices. The objective of type B projects is **to turn** the results of exchanges of the previous experiences into tangible outputs.

▶▶

Thematic networks of URB-AL

Phase I of URB-AL (1995-2000)

Some projects of the phase are still in progress

Nº 1 "Drugs and Towns" Coordinated by Santiago de Chile, Chile

Nº 2 "Conservation of historic urban contexts" Coordinated by the Province of Vicenza, Italy

Nº 3 "Democracy in towns" Coordinated by the City of Issy-les-Moulineaux, France

Nº 4 "Town as a promoter of economic development" Coordinated by the Madrid City Council, Spain

Nº 5 "Urban social policies" Coordinated by the Montevideo Municipal Government, Uruguay

Nº 6 "Urban environment" Coordinated by the City Council of Malaga, Spain

Nº 7 "Management and control of urbanization" Coordinated by the Rosario City Council, Argentina

Nº 8 "Control of urban mobility" Coordinated by Stuttgart, Capital City, State of Baden Wurttemberg, Germany

Phase II of URB-AL (2001-2006)

Even though the call for the presentation of projects for the participation in the networks ended in April 2006, the selected projects are in progress.

Nº 9 "Local finance and participative budget" Coordinated by the Porto Alegre City Council, Brazil

Nº 10 "The fight against urban poverty" Coordinated by the São Paulo City Council, Brazil

Nº12 "Promoting the role of women in local decision-making bodies" Coordinated by the Council of Barcelona, Spain

Nº 13 "Towns and Information Society" Coordinated by the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen, Germany

Nº 14 "Citizens' safety in towns" Coordinated by the Illustrious Valparaiso City Council, Chile

Source: Programme URB-AL http://ec.europa.eu/comm/europeaid/projects/urbal/faq/faq_es.pdf

Over a decade after being launched, both phases of the URB-AL experience register a number of achievements. Among these, without a doubt, is having shown, in an objective way, some of the main factors that limit the operation of this cooperation model in the bi-regional context, the same that shall be taken into account in the future in a possible new round of this programme: decentralisation deficit, lack of coherence between national and local priorities, scarce effective autonomy of many local authorities, deficiencies of technical professional teams in the local governments, local institutional weakness, shortage of financial resources, low levels of community participation and political representation. Although these problems are not exclusive to Latin American territorial authorities, it is clear that their frequency and intensity are disproportionately greater than in their European counterparts.

The following question was asked in the questionnaire applied in the framework of study to several experts and officers in charge of cooperation programmes in Latin American and European localities: *what limitations has your locality confronted in the coordination/participation of decentralised cooperation projects?* The most relevant answers are transcribed below.

i) "The obstacle represented by different work schedules in force in different latitudes; the rotation of professionals and politicians, that has entailed the disruption of the development of different proceedings; the objectives are too ambitious for the shortness of the project. Other weaknesses considered have been the local policies that, in many cases, are subordinated to national and regional policies, which set limits on the implementation of the activities of the project. Furthermore, for such reason, in some cases, political priorities have not coincided with the projects' objectives."[55]

ii) "In some countries in which decentralised cooperation is implemented, local authorities are not autonomous to enter into partnership and collaboration agreements and therefore an agreement with the national authorities is needed. But national programmes or the effective priorities of the national governments not always coincide with local priorities and needs."[56]

iii) "Not only the budget is a crucial obstacle; the coordination of projects can also be a problem. This is because even when there is an available budget the coordination of these types of projects depends also on an officer that has to coordinate all the activities on a voluntary basis at the same time he/she performs the regular duties of his/her job."[57]

iv) "Limitations corresponding to the federal division of the country; legislative and decision dependency, and backing of the central authorities for the decentralised cooperation; political changes in the city's administration, and the corresponding changes of priorities and strategies."[58]

v) "However, there are some difficulties, like the scarcity of direct financial channels available to the municipalities on the part of international agencies, in addition to the difficulties frequently faced for allocating international resources to finance municipal projects."[59]

vi) "Lack of experience in the International Affairs Unit to develop projects. Little knowledge on the part of the municipal government in regard to what is offered in terms of international cooperation, since cooperation is considered synonymous of financing."[60]

vii) "Moderate political support to the technical team; lack of resources for institutional management, lack of com-

mand of a second language, lack of steady connection to Internet."[61]

viii) "We haven't known limitations with respect to coordination/ participation of decentralised cooperation projects, since in every case the work was considered successful regarding the participation of the different actors and the visibility of said actors and the social impact they have."[62]

Beyond such limitations, the fact is that the initiatives of decentralised cooperation have been almost always a valuable supplementary factor to the efforts carried out by the local and regional agencies to strengthen their capacities, especially in areas that are so critical for the community, like social cohesion. Here there is another substantial difference with respect to traditional cooperation. This "supplementary dimension" of decentralised cooperation is far from being of a material or financial nature; its nature is intangible and it is shown in the demonstration effects that it produces between the local authorities that develop cooperation relationships, and in the synergies generated by these, which strengthen territorial factors (which include and involve in multiple ways the six basic vectors of social cohesion).

4.1.1. Identification and characterization of certain significant experiences of the URB-AL programme in the field of social cohesion

In accordance with the information available from a sample of 12 localities in the European Union and 12 in Latin America that have had a very active and relevant participation in the thematic networks of the URB-AL programme,[63] the decentralised cooperation already counts with an important degree of institutionalization in the local and regional administrations. The legal and regulatory areas give legal force to decentralised coope-

ration in the majority of cases by including it in the framework of the institutional mechanisms related to development and social cohesion under different forms (national law, codes, municipal regulations, administrative provisions, autonomous or regional competences and decisions, organizational provisions, local plans of development).

The participation of these communities in "type A" joint projects encouraged, in a first phase, the interrelation, knowledge and exchange of experiences and good practices, capable of strengthening the capacities of the local institutionality in thematics related in a direct or indirect way to social cohesion. Later on, the participation of the communities in "type B" projects —product of the most successful experiences of the previous phase– were able to consolidate in the agenda of bi-regional decentralised cooperation, a strategic approach of eminent social nature committed to fight all forms of exclusion, and the construction of citizenship and democratic governance.

A project directly related to one of the basic vectors of social cohesion (participation) is the creation of networks made up with local observatories on participative democracy.[64] Their purpose is to measure and assess the development and quality of the participative experiences at municipal level, and to express an opinion on the interventions for its continuous improvement, looking for a greater participation of the citizens in the government of urban localities. Both for the coordinating and the associated communities (and even for those that are outside core localities), this project opened a public space for identification, visibility and discussion on several local problems generated by the lack of participation of the community and social exclusion, but also for strategies and policies to confront them in the territorial base of society. This project of decentralised cooperation constitutes a platform of information for models, good practices and experiences in community participation. In addition to the observatory of the Bar-

celona City Council, other observatories have been created in Saint-Denis, the city of Buenos Aires and the municipalities of Porto Alegre and São Paulo.

Another basic vector of social cohesion, the inclusion, is a subject around which the project coordinated by the Montevideo Municipal Government on "Ciudades y ciudadanos/as por la inclusión social" (Cities and citizens in favour of social inclusion) is articulated.[65] Its aim is to contribute to the knowledge and comprehension of the dialectics between social inclusion and exclusion in the perspective of the local public policies. For this purpose, the "Observatory on Social Inclusion" has been set up, in which relevant and updated information is processed, ordered and disseminated, for the use of the different actors involved in this area of intervention. Observatories on social inclusion have been created in the communities of Saint-Denis, the City Councils of Barcelona, Porto Alegre, São Paulo and Buenos Aires.

In fact, bi-regional decentralised cooperation has also generated projects with purposes which have repercussions in more than one vector of social cohesion. The two preceding vectors plus the vectors of belonging and equality are implicit in projects like the one coordinated by the of Odense City Council and implemented in Escazú, Costa Rica.[66] Of regional Central American nature, its goal is multidimensional: to promote and develop the citizenship capacity of women and at the same time to strengthen the institutional capacity of the local governments in all aspects of the exercise and respect of women's human rights, and local development with gender equity. While creating a "Centro Regional de Servicios de Apoyo Empresarial para Mujeres" (Women's Business Support Services Regional Centre) the Escazú City Council established a concrete mechanism of inclusion of a social sector subject of discrimination –if not of open exclusion– in the productive life of the towns, and in the Latin American towns in particular. With that it has also contributed to vindicate in the social

and institutional life of the towns the expectations, self-esteem and quality of life of women.[67] With this project of decentralised cooperation, the Escazú City Council has entered in a non-traditional area of intervention in a large number of municipalities of Costa Rica and Latin America. This project shows positive signs in the implementation of gender strategies that strengthen the local civil society.

The project coordinated by São Paulo which consists on creating "Centros Locales de Ciudadanía de las Mujeres como Defensoras de la Igualdad" (Women Defending Equality Local Citizen Centres) in neighbourhoods where the conditions of life are more uncertain and have deficiencies and needs of basic public services is also in the area of creation of citizenship with a gender approach (Urb-Info, first semester 2005). One of its goals consists in strengthening local public authority in order to implement policies of equality and autonomy for women, expanding the spectrum of territorial negotiators capable of legitimating said policy. Another goal is to train local public officials and female groups of popular sectors in order to optimize women assistance services. It is a question of developing the capacity of citizen action of women and strengthening their leadership and negotiation potential. In this sense, the centres links local action with the network of organizations, NGOs, associations, groups and forums that work around gender equality.

All these interventions show that there are complementarities between autonomous actions, or endogenous actions, if preferred, of local development and initiatives of decentralised cooperation that gradually build connections between issues essentially related with the construction of the conditions of social cohesion. In other words, social cohesion is an "objective space of belonging" for the deployment of interventions of decentralised cooperation between localities.

Within the framework of the URB-AL programme this space was exploited to design and execute projects which efficiency invariably involved high levels of political commitment and community participation. This, as other experiences of bi-regional decentralised cooperation (as the ones executed by some European regional authorities, like the Council of Barcelona in different Latin American sub-regions), has been possible thanks to the advance of democratization in local life, but this progress, in turn, has also been fostered and strengthened in some degree by the projects of decentralised cooperation. In this model of cooperation there is an implied dialectic that already in itself constitutes a suitable environment for the set up of concrete and specific actions in favour of social cohesion: "the strategies for the mobilization of the local actors are organized and defined on the basis of a strong political will of the municipalities to travel on roads of participative and binding management with the demands of the citizens and social sectors. Therefore, they require decisions from the local Executive to gather the demands and social proposals, but also to generate participation areas in which the plurality of actors of the civilian society with capacity to act in joint projects, of international or local level, is recognized" (URB-AL Info 2004).

4.1.2. Are there any perfected or ideal practices operating in the field of social cohesion?

Decentralised cooperation is a paradigm which field of action is local reality. It is known beforehand that each local society is formed by a unique and different set of physical capacities, perceptions, ideas and institutions. In the era of globalization, decentralised cooperation has been a positive factor of exchange of experiences and good practices of local governance, contributing to build a semantic field in common around social cohesion and democratic governance as sine qua non conditions to contribute with solutions to problems that are common but have originated in different contexts and therefore they appear in ways and intensities proper to each particular situation.

If there is something that is clearly shown by the experience gathered in over fifteen years of bi-regional decentralised cooperation, is that the successful local cases in connection with local governance and social cohesion are not "exportable" and, therefore, they cannot be automatically transplanted to other territorial contexts. Due to the intrinsic complexity of each social reality, decentralised cooperation enables an authentic mutual transfer of experiences and "ways of doing" things that helps build, display and consolidate capacities and local procedures that have an incidence in the endogenous factors of democratic governance and social cohesion of each community.

A well known example of this original transfer model of local experiences is the dissemination of the system of a participative budged originated in Porto Alegre. It has already been shown how this scheme of community participation works in general terms, as well as its great potential of generating conditions for social cohesion in the territorial base of society. It is worth mentioning now that over 200 cities in the world have implemented it, in several opportunities through the decentralised cooperation, becoming almost always a factor of support and promotion of the democratization and social inclusion processes of the communities. Beyond the ways taken in each case by the system, it triggers active forms of community participation, mechanisms of social control of the governments, acknowledgment of the interests of individuals and groups in situations of vulnerability and discrimination, legitimacy of the institutional order and the creation of suitable conditions for socially inclusive development.

Villa El Salvador, in the outskirts of Lima, Peru, illustrates another case equally exemplary, but, as it will be seen next, is subject to very different characteristics. Text box 11 outlines the more distinctive and original aspects. It is a rich participative experience in which the inhabitants –mostly rural families that came from the Peruvian highland– were called to be the central actors of solutions to collective problems. Thanks to the density of its associative network, the inhabitants of Villa El Salvador built "a city out of nothing, with hundreds of kilometres of water and light systems, motorways, schools, markets, agricultural zone, and even an industrial park, also obtained with the effort of the small manufacturers of the area".[68]

Text box 11 / Villa El Salvador, an advanced social experience

Around 50 thousand poor people, lacking in resources, founded Villa El Salvador in 1971 on a sandy area in the outskirts of Lima. Over the years, others joined the original residents, bringing the number, which is estimated, to over 300 thousand people towards the beginning of the nineties. The experience of this community is considered exceptional in several senses. The urban design of Villa El Salvador is completely different to the traditional model resulting from the "villas miseria" (shanty towns). They formed a set of 1,300 blocks with 110 residential groups. Each group has its own centre, with community installations and spaces for sports, culture and social events. This design is in the line with the characteristics of a community organization based on active participation. Starting with delegates per block and residential groups, almost 4 thousand organizational units were established to organise and solve the businesses of the community. Most inhabitants participate in this structure. The effort to build a community, based on voluntary work, transformed around 1990 into 50 thousand housing units, almost three million square meters of compacted surface roads, 60 community installations, 64 teaching centres y 32 public libraries. In addition there were 41 units of comprehensive health services, education and nutritional recovery, community health centres, a network of drug-stores and an internal road structure with four main routes and seven transversal avenues. Half a million trees were also planted. Although the people still remained poor and had severe occupational problems, the social achievements were surprising. The illiteracy rate dropped from 5.8% to 3.5%, enrolment in primary education increased to 98% and in secondary education was over 90%, all these figures being above the Peruvian national average. The community launched vaccination campaigns that reached all the population. The community's actions of preventive health care and pregnancy control resulted in a strong reduction in the child mortality rate, dropping to 67 per thousand (compared to a national average of 95 per thousand). Significant progress was also made in the water, sewer and electricity utilities, and community equipment and services.

In Villa El Salvador the core problems that cause poverty were not solved. These problems are related to factors that go completely beyond this community experience and are part of the general problems of the country. However, there was significant progress made compared to other poor-stricken populations and a society of very particular profile was created. Invisible and silent factors that act in the deepest parts of the social network played a continuous positive role. The permanent promotion of forms of cooperation, mutual trust between organized actors, the existence of a constructive and creative community civil behaviour, guiding values, the movement of one's own culture, the strengthening of personal, family and collective identity and self-esteem, should be mentioned amongst them. All these elements were stimulated by the truly participative model adopted by the community.

Source: Kliksberg (2000)

One of the most important lessons of this experience is the formation of social capital by means of weaving an ample and stable associative network that, since the beginning, covered very varied dimensions of the community life. Zapata (1996) and Kliksberg (2000) mention how the producers joined to purchase supplies as a group and searched jointly for machinery; how over a hundred clubs of mothers were created and developed, which in turn created and managed 264 soup kitchens and 150 programmes of a "glass of milk" for the children; how finally youth community organizations spread, fostering the creation of hundreds of artistic, cultural and sports groups, public libraries and different social activities. The achievements of Villa El Salvador stem from the participative capacity of the community. Having been built from scratch forged a strong identity on its inhabitants, and boosted their individual and collective self-esteem. It is frequently stated that the community construction of Villa El Salvador, which was carried out in very adverse conditions, would be unthinkable in the absence of certain basic values. The existence of a broad sense of self-management and participation in the community is worth mentioning, for these are the values which were fully ratified in 1984, when Villa El Salvador legally became a City Council.[69]

When the city council was created and its autonomous municipal government was elected, Villa El Salvador decided to deepen its development plan incorporating an international dimension to its experience. This became the first phase with the incorporation to the "Federación Mundial de Ciudades Unidas" (World Federation of United Cities) and to the European programme of peripheral cities, that created town-twinnings whose actions of cooperation triggered the exchange of experiences related to some priorities of their development plan, like water management and treatment (with Reze-les-Nantes, France) and culture, social integration and identity (Santa Coloma de Gramenet, Barcelona). In turn, Villa El Salvador shared its organizational and participative management experiences with the European cities.[70] In a second

phase the community joined several networks of the URB-AL Programme in which the community contributed its experience in the promotion of small and middle sized industry, among other fields, at the same time that the other towns associated to the networks contributed by introducing their management methods and other dimensions of their community action in the subject matter of development to the authorities and civil actors of this Peruvian community.[71]

These examples, among several more that could be cited, show how the existence of certain perfected procedures (or "virtuous") have been generated after a phase of over fifteen years of bi-regional decentralised cooperation as a result of interrelation and exchange of experiences between European and Latin American local authorities. Among others, perhaps the most important and maybe more transcendental is that decentralised cooperation can be a driver of processes that are dormant or in progress in the communities as a result of their own economic, social, political and cultural dynamics. They are processes presenting, in each case, different degrees of maturity, that at times cannot be easily extended, but have a common characteristic: they are always a laboratory of advanced social forms that tend, beyond their definition or sectorial belonging, to improve the quality of collective life in a perspective committed to democratic governance and the spreading of social cohesion conditions. In every successful case –as Porto Alegre and Villa El Salvador cases are, each one in its own way– bi-regional decentralised cooperation has given rise to interventions that have had a direct influence on the consolidation of processes with the previously described characteristics.

In the same perspective of analysis, the cases mentioned directly in this section, like the rest of the cases considered over the course of this study, show that, at least on a local scale, social cohesion is based on the will for cooperation of individuals to achieve collective goals. Born out of dynamics that are specific to

each community, these will subsequently extends to cooperation projects in other communities around programmes and projects that involve –in multiple ways and many times in a micro-sectorial scale– valuing the sense of belonging and inclusion of citizens, their active participation, tolerance, equal opportunities, legi–timacy of public and private institutions, human rights and democratic governance.

4.1.3. What does the experience suggests for future decentralised cooperation actions in terms of social cohesion?

Experiences in bi-regional decentralised cooperation show, in a wide variety of cases, the strategic importance of participation in the interventions that demonstrate results consistent with the objectives being sought, that generate visible actions and which have a direct impact on the community.

The same experience also shows that decentralised cooperation projects in which the agents of local governments are the only ones who act do not ensure that the transfer of knowledge and good practices produce long-lasting actions that benefit the local population. Some experiences of decentralised cooperation demonstrate that, failing said participation, the goodwill and political commitment stated in the bi-regional summits of heads of state and government are not enough to fight political clientelism, corruption and the risk of governments' keeping the benefits of decentralisation to themselves (including international cooperation). This problem, still very extended in Latin American territorial authorities, annuls the impact that the interventions of decentralised cooperation may have on local development, as with the town-twinning between Jojutla (Mexico) and Jette (Belgium) where projects for the treatment of organic wastes failed:

"It is true that the Commune of Jette invested a lot of time and energy in a project carried out together with the Jojutla City Council (Mexico), but we had to admit that we were soon disappointed. As a matter of fact, the associative team

was exemplary (Pueblo de Morelos Team) and it taught us lots of things about community participation. But with respect to the Jojutla City Council, which we were supposed to support from the institutional point of view, we never achieved a constructive dialogue. The concern of the decision makers for transparency was limited, and in view of the corruption of the major we decided to cancel the project. Anyway this experience was constructive for our community that learnt not to rely on promises alone. We benefited from this lesson to re-launch a new project with a Moroccan commune. In this case, the results of the associated project are eloquent. I would also like to add that the Mexican ambassador and the consul in Belgium fully supported the project, but unfortunately this did not make things move forward."[72]

In the same way, many Latin American communities live a process of "reinvention" each time new local authorities are elected, an event which normally occurs in very short cycles (every three years on average). This structural situation, joined to the lack of technical and administrative qualifications of team members, hinders the continuity of the projects and the accumulation of institutional learning in the local administrations. This problem is very well identified in the different evaluations available on bioregional decentralised cooperation and must be taken into account when formulating strategies for future cycles.

The training of the officers is something essential. However, the complementarity offered by decentralised cooperation will only be effective when it is placed in a strategy of local development. Otherwise, the officers will be able to continue participating in the networks to exchange experiences, but if in the local environment the conditions to implement that learning into actions are non-existent, the decentralised cooperation will not be able to fulfil its role as a mechanism that facilitates local development policies and social cohesion.

4.2. The impact of decentralised cooperation for social cohesion in local and regional areas: the Rosario City Council case

The experience of the Rosario City Council is perhaps one of the best examples that show that bi-regional decentralised cooperation is an effective instrument to complement the efforts of the local and regional governments to strengthen social cohesion. This case is also a good example of the relevance and potential which decentralised cooperation has, as it promotes the institutional support of the local administrations in terms of social cohesion. As it will be shown below, the case of Rosario is also exemplary as to the role of the transfer of experiences and the reciprocity that characterizes this approach of cooperation.

The Argentine Rosario City Council, located in the province of Santa Fé, has built an institutional structure in accordance with the development and social cohesion strategies whose influence already transcends the boundaries of local management. This has contributed to the design of both joint development strategies in the area of urban continuity of the Metropolitan Region of Greater Rosario [73] (Metropolitan Strategic Plan for Rosario Region), as well as the development of greater strategies in the area of decentralised cooperation between cities (Coordination of URB-AL Network N° 7, "Management and control of Urbanization").

In the middle of the nineties, authorities from Rosario belonging to the public and private sector began the implementation of the Rosario Strategic Plan (PER) with the objective of making Rosario, a city "supported by work and creation, with opportunities for life and progress for all its inhabitants, that recovers its river and constitutes a point of integration and encounter in MERCOSUR".[74]

| I. City of work | **Programme I "Restructuring and development of the port system"**
PROJECTS
• Restructuring of the Port of Rosario
• Logistics Zone (ZAL)
Programme II "Rosario in the bioceanic corridor"
PROJECTS
• Rosario-Victoria Bridge
• Rosario-Cordoba Highway
• Rosario-Venado Tuerto Regional Highway
Programme III "Parana-Paraguay Hydrovía"
(river hinterland access)
PROJECTS
• Dredging and marking of the Santa Fe-Rosario segment, Rosario-Federal Capital City
• Dredging and marking of the Corumba-Santa Fe segment
Programme IV "Reactivation of the International Airport of Rosario"
PROJECTS
• Management and concession of the Airport's Operation
Programme V "Improvement of the road, railroad and access system of Greater Rosario"
PROJECTS
• Management of the metropolitan road system and accesses to the city
• Restructuring of the regional railroad freight system
Programme VI "PyMEs en marcha" (Small and Medium Sized Companies on the move)
PROJECTS
• Companies' Centre and Business Office
• Rosario Exporta (Rosario Exports)
• Sistema Integral de Promoción y Apoyo a las Micro y Pequeñas Empresas (SIPAMYP) (SME Comprehensive Promotion and Support)
• Promotion and regulation of sites for productive activities
Programme VII "Food Production Centre"
PROJECTS
• Feria Internacional del Alimento Rosario (FIAR) (International Food Fair)
• Quality and food safety
• Protection and fostering fruit and market garden activities
Programme VIII "Generating job opportunities and work skills competences"
PROJECTS
• Comprehensive Employment Service.
• Council of Training and Professional Education of Rosario and its region
• University-Business Plan |
| II. The City of opportunities | **PROGRAMME I "Urban quality"**
PROJECTS
• Environmental Master Plan
• New system of public transport and urban mobility
• Urban/regional system of green areas
• Metropolitan system for overall treatment of waste |

▶▶

PROGRAMME II "Building citizenship"
PROJECTS
• Overall action plan in informal settlements
• "Crecer" Centers (Centres for children)
• City of Children
• Institutional networks

PROGRAMME III "Municipal local autonomy, moder-nisation and decentralisation"
PROJECTS
• Municipal autonomy
• Municipal decentralisation
• Plan of quality and efficient management
• New instruments of community participation

PROGRAMME IV "Model in public health"
PROJECTS
• New Emergency Hospital "Dr. Clemente Alvarez" (HECA)
• Conditioning of the Centro de Especialidades Médicas Ambulato-rias (CEMA)(Outpatient Centre for Medical Specialties)
• Conditioning of the Unit of Oncohematology and Bone marrow transplant
• Coordination of the regional health system
• Comprehensive plan for prevention and education in health care

PROGRAMME V "Rosario educational city"
PROJECTS
• Training of trainers for EGB and Polimodal
(Primary and Technical School)
• Regional education observatory
• School and community

III. City of integration

PROGRAMME I "Metropolitan Rosario"
PROJECTS
• Metropolitan Coordination unit
• Regional Agency for Development

PROGRAMME II "A Mercocity par excellence"
PROJECTS
• Institute for Interdisciplinary Studies of the MERCOSUR
• Rosario, Capital of the Hidrovía (river hinterland access)

PROGRAMME III "Place of encounter"
PROJECTS
• Tourism management system of the city
• Management of the territorial image

IV. City of the river

PROGRAMME I "Opening the city to the river"
PROJECTS
• Scalabrini Ortiz Park
• North Port and Scalabrini Ortiz Housing Project
• Hotel Facility Unit IV and Park of the Communities
• Park of Spain (north extension)
• Flag Park

PROGRAMME II "Articulating the port area with the city"
PROJECTS
• University Centre of Rosario

	• Recovery and revitalization of the southern ravine • Southern Regional Park (Doctor Carlos Sylvestre Begnis) **PROGRAMME III "Enjoying and taking care with the river"** **PROJECTS** • Regional Park of Rosario-Victoria bridge head • Alto Delta Regional Park • Protecting the ecosystem of the river and its shores • Execution of the Sewage Treatment Plant
V. La ciudad de la creación	**PROGRAMME I "Rosario and creative geography"** **PROJECTS** • Music Stadium. • Creation and Design Week • Urban Music Festival of Rosario • Organization of Neighbourhood Events and Celebrations. • Dissemination of consolidated cultural activities • Conservation of Urban and Architectural Heritage **PROGRAMME II "Promoting cultural enterprises"** **PROJECTS** • Cultural Agency • Book Fair Rosario • Record Label • Creation of university careers related to design **PROGRAMME III "Standard of Technology and Innovation"** **PROJECTS** • Technology Park • Regional System of Scientific and Technological Development

Source: PER (1998)

Agents gathered the experience from two sources in order to design the PER (Rosario Strategic Plan), one resulting from the institutional memory of local development and one resulting from the "ways of doing" things of foreign communities in connection with development and social cohesion.[75] The PER was drawn up with the aim to strengthen the institutional bases for the sustainable development of the city after a long process of diagnosis and identification of problems and the analysis of the possible lines of strategic action. For that purpose, the creation of synergies between the key factors that take part in the processes of endogenous development was regarded as necessary (institutional density, structures of urban development, learning, resources and innovations, social networks).

Text box 12 / UNPD: Good practices of the city of Rosario

i) Creation of institutional spaces that guarantee children the right to be heard in order to participate actively in democratic life and the transformation of the city. Children hold a privileged position in the appropriation of the public space through the project *"La Ciudad de los Niños"* (The City of the Children).

ii) Development of comprehensive social policies that promote the exercise of citizenship through strategies of inclusion, integration, participation, improvement of quality of life and gender equality (Plan of equal opportunities between men and women, Programmes on AIDS Prevention Programmes and women preventive health, *"Crecer"* Programme).

iii) Restoration of cultural values of several public spaces and development of cultural and artistic promotion.

iv) Democratisation of urban space, increasing its appreciation as public space, through initiatives for the overall improvement of neighbourhoods (Rosario Habitat, Programme of Urban Agriculture).

v) Promotion of local productive development and creation of genuine employment through the Development Agency.

vi) Modernisation of public management and associated management through the creation of a Strategic Plan and a programme of management decentralisation.

vii) In connection with good government, the most outstanding is the integrated health system with increasing complexity, that covers the needs of the citizen from the admission into a neighbourhood's primary healthcare centre to a high complexity operation in a public hospital. According to the Pan American Health Organisation this model of public health is an example for the rest of the Latin American cities.

Source: UNPD (2004)

The issues of the PER are formed by five strategic lines of intervention: economic-productive, socio-institutional, physical-environmental, regional centrality and international projection. These five lines of strategic action interweave and interact in a transversal axis (chart 8).

A very relevant aspect of this experience is the Rosario one, like other Latin American cities, it suffered –and to a great extent continues suffering– the ravages of a big economic, political and social crisis in the last years of the past century and the first years of this century. However-and this is very significant-, the people of Rosario have managed to consolidate institutions, strengthen citizenship by exercising citizenship, and create bases of comprehensive development based on practices whose success has been recognised by the United Nations Program for Development (text box 12).

The reference axis of the different programmes that are part of the PER, was no other than the determination of the social agents to strengthen citizenship. A determination that in the city, according to specialists, dates back to at least the 1980's decade, when important participative experiences occurred that counted with the promotion of some areas of the municipal management (Bifarello 2004). It is considered that said experiences (some produced in authentic micro-spaces), as partial as they may seem today, are the basis of the subsequent comprehensive proposals of participation. The contribution of these pioneering experiences nowadays is usually recognised on three different scales:

i) On a neighbourhood scale: the multiple instances of community participation that enabled the construction of the model of public health of the City Council, with a strong axis in primary healthcare assistance and in health as quality of life, rather than as absence of sickness; micro-planning workshops that made it possible to determine where to channel resources for the neighbourhoods in a joint way with the residents (the participative budget programme in the city came into effect in 2002); programmes on environmental education in schools and neighbourhood groups, participative workshops in the area of social housing and habitat, programmes on social development designed and managed jointly with the organisations of the civil society.

ii) On a district scale: Workshops on Urban Development, that enabled the discussion of the most important urban projects in each district; Councils of Children, in the framework of "La Ciudad de los Niños" programme, to ensure that the voice of the children in the city's projects would be heard.

iii) On a city scale: the least community-minded and the most institutional hallmark of the Rosario Strategic Plan.

The previous experiences in community participation were fundamental for the creation of the network of social relation-ships and connections between neighbours and local institutions on which the process that lead to the adoption of the PER is based. Likewise, these experiences opened the path to a new way of un-derstanding the problems and needs of citizens. Along these lines, the implementation of the PER can be seen as an institutional mechanism that made possible the visibility of the territory, in its complexity, while, at the same time making the claims and needs of social sectors known, which would otherwise have remained "invisible", that is to say, excluded.

Two projects show the sense of cohesion and fight against social exclusion based on the community in Rosario. The first one is called "La Ciudad de los Niños" and it is an authentic project of formation of social capital with which –as it has already been men-tioned– is not about "governing the children" but "governing with the children", by incorporating them to the planning and design of the city. The project has created two large institutional spaces that guarantee this population segment the right to be heard and to participate actively in democratic life and the transformation of the city: the Council of Children by decentralised District and groups of "Niños Proyectistas para la planificación urbana" (De-signer Children for urban planning).[76] The second is the "Progra-ma Crecer" that coordinates interventions of direct assistance and promotion of human development in the city. It is implemented in

neighbourhoods and was conceived as a mechanism to fight exclusion. There are 33 centres dotted around neighbourhoods of the city and their work is organized around nutritional, pedagogical, self-production, recreational and psychomotor stimulation programmes. The centres operate as a forum for socialization and shelter that seeks the comprehensive development of girls and boys from two to five years old; promote "sharing habit" and participation in family relations and prevention of violence; and foster and strengthen different forms of organization in the community.[77]

For the purposes of this study, Rosario's experience is important because it is a vivid example of feedback between plans of local development, social policies and decentralised cooperation. The interaction of these three dimensions runs parallel to the international projection of the city, which materializes in its active participation in different networks of decentralised cooperation, such as: the International Network of Educating Cities (Rosario is the network's headquarter for Latin America), the Ibero-American Centre for Urban Strategic Development (CIDEU), United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG), United Cities against Poverty (CUCP), Forum of Local Authorities for Social Inclusion (FAL) and in different projects under the URB-AL Programme.

As part of the strategic plan of local development, the transformation of the city included a redefinition of its international role. Even though the Rosario City Council had, since 1992, within its institutional structure a Department of International Relations, in the mid-nineties, the city started a series of actions in the field abroad. This strategy was put at the service of the needs of local development and opened a window of opportunities that have been very fruitful for the city. Its active insertion in the world of decentralised cooperation allowed Rosario to compare and share its own transformation experiences with other localities, in this way be enriched by incorporating new practices and "ways of doing things", exactly as, on its part, its international counterparts were able to do.

Nº 1 "Drugs and the City"		Full Partner
Nº 4 "The city as a promoter	Phase I	
of economic development"	1995-2000	Full Partner
Nº 5 "Urban social policies"		Full Partner
Nº 6 "Urban environment"		Full Partner
Nº 7 "Management and control of urbanization"		**Coordinator**
Nº 9 "Local finance and	Phase II	
participative budget"	2001-2006	Full Partner
Nº 10 "Fight against urban poverty"		Full Partner
Nº 12 "Promoting the role of women		
in local decision-making bodies"		Full Partner
Nº 13 "Town and media community"		Full Partner
Nº 14 "Citizen's safety in town"		Full Partner

JOINT PROJECTS TYPES A and B

Institutional strengthening ties between		
cities of LA and the EU	Network 4	Full Partner
Cities as promoters of exchange		
between Pymes of LA and the EU	Network 4	Full Partner
Promotion of health: an instrument		
of active citizenship	Network 5	Full Partner
Employment and active citizenship of women	Network 5	Full Partner
Everybody's health: from theory to practice	Network 5	Full Partner
"Centros locais de cidadania das mulheres		
como defensores da igualdade"	Network 5 type B	Full Partner
Urban social policies: a proposal		
for the social integration in central areas	Network 5 type B	Full Partner
Boulevards. Routes of Health	Network 5 type B	Full Partner
Observatory on the urban environment	Network 6 type B	Full Partner

SUMA - An urban solution		
rom an alternative look	**Network 7 type B**	**Coordinator**
"O acesso ao solo e a habitação social em		
cidades grandes de regiões metropolitanas		
da América Latina e Europa"	Network 7 type A	Full Partner
Stratégies de transformation des		
sites portuaires délaissés, interfaces		
et intermédiaires entre la ville et le port	Network 7 type A	Full Partner
Instruments of redistribution of the urban income	Network 7 type A	Full Partner
System of information for urban management	Network 7	Full Partner
Participative strategies with gender perspective		
of social and work placement for women	Network 12	Type A
Coordinator Intercontinental observatory		
on local policies of employment for women EALNET	Network 12 type A	Full Partner
Civic and safe cities	Network 14 type A	Full Partner
Consolidation of the local governments		
in citizen's safety. Practical training	Network 14 type A	Full Partner

Source: Romero (2006) and Centre of Documentation of the URB-AL Programme <www.centrourbal.com>

4

In barely one decade, Rosario was converted into an important reference in the world of local decentralised cooperation. Its participation in this field is reflected in the information contained in chart 9 that summarizes its active presence in the different thematic networks and joint projects under the URB-AL programme.

As it can be observed, the city of Rosario has been very dynamic in its network and joint projects whose themes coincide with the priorities and strategic plan of development of the city: public health, social inclusion, urban planning, construction of citizenship, economic development. Here there is an explicit and clear feedback channel between this plan, local policies of development and decentralised cooperation.

The coordination of the "Management and control of urbanization" network (which was in force between 1999 and 2003)[78] was a task that was tightly related to the first strategic line of the city: the City of Work, whose programmes and projects are focused on improving the urban structure of the city in order to optimize local resources for development. The main purpose of the network was to favour an in-depth reflection of the different experiences carried out in the European Union and in Latin America in connection with management and control of urban development in the light of the demands and needs of contemporary society. In spite of its short duration, this experience allowed the city of Rosario to be informed about the practices and experiences in other communities, as well as to make known its own practices and experiences, strengthen the links with cities and municipalities of Latin America and the European Union, to project itself at an international level as a city holder of lessons on urban development and strengthen its capacities of local management.

Type B joint projects contributed to support the programmes of social cohesion of the city due their direct impact on the creation of public property, for while type A projects involve

only the local manager with knowledge of good practices, type B projects can generate tangible benefits by means of creation of wealth and skills that contribute to induce social changes that are potentially significant for the life of the community.

The Rosario City Council coordinates the type B joint project "Rosario Suma", whose design is related to the solution of a very specific social and urban problem (the rehabilitation of a building adjacent to a park for public recreation), but has broader objectives which relate directly to the long term strategy of the city regarding the construction of long-lasting conditions of coexistence and social cohesion (text box 13).

Text box 13 / An urban solution from an alternative perspective

The Rosario Suma project is circumscribed in multi-sector perspective strategies of urban planning, social inclusion and territorial interaction that channel the conversion of depressed and abandoned sectors, contributing to improve the quality of life and environmental conditions of the cities. The project's areas of intervention are focused on the following activities:

a) Intervention in abandoned and unconnected public spaces in each one of the associated municipalities, in a comprehensive methodological approach.

b) Creation of a method for urban regeneration of degraded and unconnected areas that enables the exchange of experiences and makes possible the intervention in the associated localities.

c) Conversion of the area of the Hipólito Yrigoyen Park in the city of Rosario by means of investing in infrastructure and restoring the buildings of historical value.

d) Design of a route of Urban Passengers Transport which links the Hipólito Yrigoyen Park to public areas and the river shoreline area of the city.

e) Planning around the Hipólito Yrigoyen Park through instruments that include a policy of urban revaluation, public-private concerted action, experiences and expertise of the cities associated to the project.

f) Creation of a focal point for social commitment and community contact by means of a cultural exchange between partner cities and the coordinator city, based on the development of a wide range of activities.

▶▶

The grounds have an approximate area of 17 hectares. Six hectares have been developed in the first stage of the project. To carry out the totality of the works, the Rosario City Council announced nine calls for bidding, five public and four private. The construction work started on June 23 2005, with the demolition of the structures existing in block 35 of the grounds, in order to build the *"Centro de Iniciación Deportiva"* (CID) (Centre of Introduction to Sports). This building includes three football fields, changing rooms, administrative offices and a Room of Multiple Uses for cultural events. A multipurpose court (for Handball, Volleyball and Basketball) shall be built on the outside, complementing the sports complex. In addition, works for the irrigation system of the complete park are being executed, adult tree species were also planted in the sector and creepers planted in the perimeter's fences of the football fields in order to give continuity to the greeness of the park. Concrete seats, light fittings and waste bins shall be placed, as equipment; a children´s play area is also planned in the park's sector in the block on Alem street between Gálvez and Virasoro.

Source: Rosario Suma http://www.rosario.gov.ar/sitio/rrii/rosario_suma/suma1.jsp

It is clear that not only the building is the important part of this project, the cost of which represents two thirds of the budget, but the double effect expected from its execution. On the one hand, the project has repercussions on the density of the intra-community relations because it is an experience of social learning that will be obtained through the collective creation of "a methodology of urban regeneration of the abandoned and unconnected areas, in public areas of social integration and territorial articulation". On the other hand, the rehabilitation of a building of such material and symbolic importance (and the associated creation of urban equipment) is something that benefits directly those who live and work in it and in its surrounding area, and not only because it increases the value of cultural property and the surroundings, but because of the direct improvements that it produces in the living conditions of certain social groups.

Rosario's experience of over a decade of active participation in the programmes of decentralised cooperation, and very especially, in European Union-Latin American programmes of bi-regional nature, renders a very favourable net outcome for the city and for its external negotiators. In practice, decentralised

cooperation has been a lever of support for the city's own project of economic and social development. Through the former, the local public administration and varied social and community actors have carried out fruitful exchanges of experiences, ideas, practices, "ways of doing things" in strategic thematics in the field of social cohesion of the city with peers from other European and Latin American localities.

The coordination of Network 7 of URB-AL (and the participation in several of its joint projects) provided the city with a platform on which to contrast their own experiences and third party experiences on urbanization management and control, enabling a better understanding of these problems by considering them from a perspective of different capacities of intervention. The active participation of Rosario in projects of the URB-AL programme provided the city with a very dynamic and long-lasting network of relationships with different groups of localities in both continents. In particular, Rosario contributed to the consolidation of alliances with local communities within the same boundaries of a regional integration system as its own, such as: the MERCOSUR. One of the innovative elements generated due to its active participation in European-Latin American decentralised cooperation projects is that several and varied areas of local management came into contact with their foreign counterparts, producing in many cases very positive "demonstration effects". In the case of Rosario it is no exaggeration to say that international cooperation is no longer an exclusive ground to the area of international relations, like it still frequently happens in some localities in Europe and Latin America.

The performance of decentralised cooperation in almost all areas of local management as a product of the participation of Rosario in ten thematic networks and multiple joint projects is a factor that contributes, without a doubt, to strengthen the capacities and the interaction of the local institutional network. As ex-

plained in chapter II of this document, such articulation is a necessary condition for the deployment of local policies of social cohesion, that by definition, operate and are executed in a transversal framework of interactions, citizenship and community participation.

But perhaps the most important lesson to be learned from Rosario's experience is that it shows that the effects and impacts of decentralised cooperation on the basic vectors of social cohesion of a certain community are potentially positive and sustainable provided the existence of real dynamics of development, participation and democratic governance in the community.

4.3. Decentralised Cooperation and Social Cohesion: the different implications of this relationship on the European and Latin American local societies

The experience of communities included in this study indicates that decentralised cooperation has not merely contributed to "defining thematic leaderships that promise a specialised guideline in horizontal and decentralised cooperation" between local bodies of the European Union and Latin America (URB-AL Phase II 2006). It also clearly suggests that it has contributed to improving the institutional capacities of local bodies to different extents on both sides of the Atlantic, through learning processes that help them design strategies to fight social exclusion, and to enhance civic participation, equality, recognition, legitimacy and sense of belonging.

Participation in decentralised cooperation joint thematic networks and projects implies -for Latin American localities much more than for European ones- support of their respective decentralisation and development processes. Besides, it provides direct contact with alternative institutional participation experiences and mechanisms, democratic governance, design and implementation

of local development and social cohesion public policies. This unfinished process widens spaces for the autonomy exercise of territorial organisations (including, of course, local governments) facing the forces of habit that hinder or delay decentralisation and full display of the dynamics of local development.

In an international context in which transnational regimes have opened new horizons in categories that coordinate with local interests (trade and investment, environment, security, human rights, participative democracy), communities have an increased opportunity of resorting to different international mechanisms in order to enhance local development. According to Keating (1999),

> "The formulation of public policy is increasingly a matter of complex networks that cannot be appropriately harboured within political institutions, and that exceed the public-private division as well as international borders. It is increasingly important for politicians and civil servants to be capable of acting in different environments and being able to link powers, resources and opportunities around them. This, in itself, does not imply that regions become more important. Numerous territorial and sector interests seek to express themselves in the international arena."

The participation of local communities in decentralised cooperation experiences contributes –both in the local and international fronts–, to the decentralisation of the State and to the promo–tion of endogenous development processes. It also has multiplying effects in the urban and regional contiguity of each community, as demonstrated in the case of Rosario.[79]

Likewise, cooperation experiences of various Latin American communities run parallel to the configuration of institutional structures with a higher capacity to resist the onslaughts of one of the most pernicious traditions for the sustainability of local deve-

lopment and social cohesion programmes: changes of governments, which even belonging to the same party, usually and traditionally mean the complete breaking-off with, and neglect of the previous administration's programmes and strategies. Ensuring the continuity and effectiveness of efficient local development and social cohesion programmes and strategies is a complex task that implies, simultaneously, high rates of social participation and institutional capacities higher than average for Latin America. This is shown in cities that have carried out original programmes in the fight against social exclusion, with successful experiences in the area of decentralised cooperation like Sao Paulo and Porto Alegre, in Brazil. The sustainability of these processes is a role of the local society's dynamics and arrangements and not of international cooperation; but the contribution of the latter is far from being unimportant, as shown not only in those Latin American localities which have been more active –particularly the big cities of the Southern Cone– but also in a whole myriad of intermediate and small localities of the Andean region and the Central American isthmus.

Measuring the impact of projects and interventions over social cohesion is not an easy task, due to the fact that the effects of decentralised cooperation are of a qualitative nature, and their durability depends on the actions that territorial organisations carry out in order to sustain their own development processes.

It is often said that Latin American communities have obtained more benefits from bi-regional relationships of decentralised cooperation than European ones. It is so stated, for example, in the mid-term assessment document of the URB-AL programme. This is due to differences in institutional and financial capacities, as well as to an inequality in the development level which, in general terms exists between both regions. However, European communities have also learned various lessons from this relationship. According to a person responsible for the German Cities Associa-

tion, cooperation networks constituted between European and Latin American communities "are communities of experiences and learning that lead to mutual development. Therefore [it is doubtful] that German [or European] cities are only bearers of knowledge. In their interrelation, cities cannot remain unchanged by the influences and experiences of others, since these naturally lead to comparisons, to putting one's own positions and references into perspective, and to reflect on one's self development and that of our cities. Nowadays, no one can seriously take into consideration the idea that we can be self-sufficient and solve problems without the help of others. Far from it, reality shows evidence that solutions emerge through the exchange of experiences and of knowledge of others. Likewise, cities' networks promote inter-cultural abilities and help cities to confront transformations brought by globalisation in a more effective manner."[80]

Notes

53 The decision of organizing this chapter upon experiences of the URB-AL Programme is justified by its importance and specific nature in the field of cooperation relationships between European and Latin American local authorities. It is also justified for a practical reason: the availability of information about its different projects, much more abundant, detailed and accessible than other programmes of bi-regional cooperation that also evidence important experiences in the field of social cohesion.

54 *"Decentralised Cooperation. Objectives and Methods"*, European Commission (1992), cited by Romero (2004). In some European communities and nations, like Belgium and Germany, the decentralised cooperation is placed in the category of "North-South cooperation". In Germany it is also called Municipal Cooperation for Development. In Italy it is known as "decentred cooperation"; and according to an expert's explanation: "In Italy we adopted the expression 'decentred' to indicate the cooperation promoted by the regions and local authorities, while the expression "decentralised cooperation" is used by the European Commission and by different countries to indicate any form of cooperation for development carried out by authorities other than the national governments or international and community institutions". Gildo Baraldi, Director of the *"Osservatorio Interregionale Cooperazione Sviluppo"*, Rome, answer and comments to the questionnaire submitted for this locality in the framework of the present study.

55 Maria Rosa Guixé Valls, Techincal Director of Social Services, Consell Comarcal de l'Alt Empordà. URB-AL Project Coordinator "La mujer inmigrada. Igualdad, participación y liderazgo en el ámbito local".

56 Gildo Baraldi, Director of the Osservatorio Interregionale Cooperazione Sviluppo, Rome, Italy.

57 Brigitte Kleinen, Manfred Klenke, Miguel Romero, Claire Klindt. Coordinators of the URB-AL Network N° 13 "Ciudad y sociedad de la información". Bremen. Author's translation.

58 Sônia Miriam Draibe, Assistant Professor of Economics of the UNICAMP, Brazil. Main Researcher at the Centre of Studies of Public Policies. General Secretary of the Brazilian Association of Political Science.

59 Sara Garcia Martins, City Hall Secretary of International Relations of the Sao Paulo City Council, Technical Assistant of the URB-AL Network N°10 "Lucha contra la pobreza urbana". Author's translation.

60 Daniela Calderón Uribe, Analyst of International Agencies, International Affaire Unit of the Queretaro City Council, Coordinator of URB-AL joint project (R10-A18-04) "Formación de personal de municipios para utilizar los programas de cooperación internacional como herramienta de combate a la pobreza en sus proyectos locales".

61 Rubén Alí Gozaine, Counsel of Projects, Sucre City Council, State of Portuguesa, Venezuela. Project Coordinator R4-P6-02 "Crear Modelos de Gestión Turística de Agroindustria Artesanal en los Municipios".

62 Alberto Kleiner, Executive Coordinator of the Rosario Suma Project, URB-AL Programme. María Florencia Sbarra, Planning Secretariat, of the Rosario City Council .

63 In Annex 3 this information is summarized and ordered.

64 "Observatorios locales de la democracia participativa" (R3-B1-04), coordinated by the Barcelona City Council.

65 "Cities and Citizens in favour of Social Inclusion" (R10-B1-05). This project is executed in the framework of the Network Nº 10 of URN-AL, "The fight against urban poverty", whose objective is to execute and disseminate, by means of the exchange of experiences, the lessons learned in the type A project "Methodologies and tools for the creation of Observatories on Social Inclusion in the Towns" (coordinated by the City of Saint-Denis).

66 "Centro Regional Potenciador para Mujeres Emprendedoras y Trabajadoras" (R5-B5-03).

67 See Escazú City Council / URB-AL (s. f.), (2006 a) and (2006 b).

68 This is the way that Michel Azcueta, who was in several occasions Major of Villa El Salvador, describes the experience, cited by Kliksberg (2000).

69 Based on national and international cooperation, for many years now, the Villa El Salvador City Council counts with a computing system that facilitates the community participation: through this means, the Municipal Council broadcasts its meetings in closed circuit and the inhabitants are able to interact with the authorities through terminals installed in several points of the Villa.

70 See Azcueta (2004). With respect to this point, the same author also adds that "(...) the exchange of specific experiences was achieved, not only between authorities but also between the citizens themselves (...), women, young people and small businessmen of Villa El Salvador and other European cities. Thanks to the relationship with Villa El Salvador, three cities in France, Spain and Holland (Amstelveen) started a relationship between themselves, going so far as to exchanging their own experiences in Europe, apart from relationships of cooperation".

71 Such was the specific case of its participation in the 14 network ("Towns as promoters of economic development"). Villa El Salvador also participated in networks 9 ("Participative Budget") and 10 ("Fight against poverty").

72 Anne-Françoise Nicolay, Echevinat de la Citoyenneté, of the Jette Commune, Brusels region-Belgium Capital, in her answer to the questionnaire submitted for that locality. Mrs. Nicolay was in charge of the Jojutla-Jette project.

4

73 The metropolitan region of Greater Rosario comprises the following cities: Capitán Bermudez, Fray Luis Beltrán, Funes, Granadero Baigorria, Perez, Puerto San Martín, Rosario, San Lorenzo, Villa Gobernador Galvez. At the same time, the city of Rosario has a strategic localization and role in the Metropolitan Region, in the central region of Argentina (Cordoba-Santa Fe) and in the framework of MERCOSUR.

74 Rosario Strategic Plan (1998)

75 In August 1995 the city of Rosario joined the CIDEU (Ibero-American Centre for Strategic Urban Development), with headquarters in the city of Barcelona, as a full member. The first studies aiming to promote a Strategic Plan in Rosario started thereafter, following the successful experiences carried out in other European and Latin American cities (PER, 1998).

76 The project includes programmes of education on the city as a space of coexistence and counts with the participation of families, schools, civilian and community groups. Among these programmes are those on exercise of rights, road education, public space's defence, autonomy and free movement, participative democracy, liberty of speech.

77 Fernández (2004) examines in depth the characteristics of these projects of social cohesion in the city of Rosario.

78 150 cities (90 from LA and 60 from de EU) of 31 countries, 13 of the European Union and 18 y of Latin America, as well as 19 observer cities, participated in the network.

79 Remember how, in this city, municipal policies are exerting an influence at a metropolitan level, while their impact at national and sub-regional levels neither go unnoticed.

80 "Kommunale Partnerschaften sind Lern- und Erfahrungsgemeinschaften, die auf Gegenseitigkeit beruhen. Ich bezweifle, dass deutsche Städte immer nur Gebende in den Städtepartnerschaften waren. Begegnung bleibt nicht ohne Folgen. Sie zwingt zum Vergleich, relativiert eigene Positionen bzw. Verfahrensansätze und regt Denkprozesse an. Heute kann sich niemand mehr hinstellen und ernsthaft behaupten, er habe die allein seligmachende Lösung für ein Problem. Lösungsansätze entstehen durch Erfahrungsaustausch und durch das Lernen voneinander. Partnerschaften fördern die interkulturelle Kompetenz der Beteiligten und helfen den Städten, mit der Globalisierung zurechtzukommen". Interview mit Christian Ude zum Thema "Städtepartnerschaften" für das Online-Angebot des Goethe-Instituts, Juli 2005 <http://www.staedtetag.de/10/presseecke/zitatensammlung/zusatzfenster4.html>

V. Conclusions and recommendations

Due to the wave of economical and institutional reforms of the 20th century's last two decades, central governments substantially reduced their responsibilities over regional development. Facing this, regions and localities had to assume new roles as regards economical and social development. This, in turn, opened spaces for the participation of multiple local actors, that is, the "community". The range of such actors has increased and includes, apart from sub-national governments, community, civic, economical, trade-union and sector organisations which cover a wide thematic spectrum (gender, youth, minorities, environment, vulnerable groups, health, children, labour, protection, security, urban problems, human rights, etc.). From the territorial point of view, the "hard" piece of information of the process is that this varied group of actors and their associations became key agents of the localities' economical and social development. This fact is found in the base of what some specialists have called the "community's return" to public political agendas in the majority of nations.

The above happened while the forces of globalisation lead to changes and innovations that in many ways were necessary in order to renew the economical dynamism of the world and its countries, but at the same time they also imposed –and still do– high costs for numerous communities and groups. Within this setting - and given the redefinition of the central government's role- the gap between individuals and groups that for various reasons are excluded from the rest of society appears like a problem that increasingly threatens the cohesion of democratic nations. Can communities contribute to closing that gap and providing the "social glue", the organisational resources and alternative ideas required for it?

Based on the experiences reviewed in previous pages, the answer can only be affirmative, however also cautious. It is clear that communities have little capacity to act outside the bounds of constituted power structures and globalisation forces. But the experience gained in the last two and a half decades shows that they have huge potential to open new roads in the route of democratic governance and social progress. The condition to trigger that potential is to conceive communities not as a mere heap of problems fatally caused by market forces, but as an essential part of the solutions. For some experts, even, the full restoration of the role of communities as regards development is seen as a prerequisite for the advancement of democracy, of citizens and of social cohesion in the 21st century.[81]

From this perspective, a central problem is posed: the empowerment of individuals and communities in order to fight the forces of exclusion, in an appropriate framework for the display of citizenship and the constitution of social capital. In order to explain the analytical and practical implications of this problem, it will be useful to specify its terms and its concatenations under the light of the issues presented in this document.

For individuals and communities, "empowerment" means, in short, to be capable of redirecting power flows to new causes. This presupposes an active exercise in citizenship, which in essence means that citizens have to commit their own will and that of their organizations to a political debate and contribute to social action. The objective is to strengthen the links, information, cooperation, mutual trust and shared values of community networks. In other words, it is about increasing communities' social capital collective heritage, and thus, the capacity of individuals, their organisations and local institutions to promote programmes and projects containing and turning the dynamics of economical and social distancing. In this respect, the fight against social exclusion in countries' territorial base appears almost naturally under

another perspective, away from centralised policies' conventional approaches. In practice, social exclusion is no longer only a matter of lack of economic and material resources, but it also becomes a problem of lack of access to employment, health, quality education, civil societies, community life and decision making processes. The problem of social exclusion moves then from the sphere of inequality in the distribution of income –where it is traditionally placed– to the inequality in the distribution of power. Enough evidence sustains that larger concentrations of power almost always go in hand with serious social cohesion deficiencies.

Therefore, the question of enormous significance is: How do communities generate social cohesion? On the basis of the experience of local communities in Europe and Latin America considered in this document, following are a few proposals to answering this question. In accordance with one of the main goals of the document -to explore the impact of bi-regional decentralised cooperation in social cohesion's local policies- such proposals are formulated from the particular perspective of the construction of community's capacities. Table number 10 shows an outline of problems, action lines and typical mechanisms of such a construction.[82] The outline is organised around four major areas, within which different strategies and local policies, and bi-regional decentralised cooperation projects related with social cohesion are classified.

The first area is the capacity of communities' civic-political commitment it is probably the most elementary condition, but also the most challenging as regards construction of capacities for the community's social cohesion. The intention is to create basic conditions for effective democratic governance, generating the necessary incentive for citizens to fully assume their condition, starting with the compliance of three indispensable functions of every democratic order: electoral, civic and those related with the observance of law. In the sample of European and Latin American localities considered in this study, there is no significant frequency of

specific programmes, or of strategic or action lines of public policies addressed specifically to the construction of capacities in this area. The same may be said about the thematic-sector content of bi-regional decentralised cooperation programmes that were reviewed (except projects such as Network 3 of URB-AL, "Democracy in town"). It must be pointed out however, that underlying concerns and needs in this area are implicit in those projects and programmes, much more numerous, grouped in the second area. This, indeed, does not mean that there are no needs or intervention opportunities in this sphere, which otherwise is crucial in the double path of social cohesion and democratic governance. A relevant work line to explore from the decentralised cooperation perspective, concerns the capacity of local public bodies to enforce law and democracy in general and in special areas (tax liabilities, compliance with regulations, health and environmental laws, to name just a few as examples). Likewise, the promotion of specific experience exchange projects on the compliance with civil duties in a wide range of local life is also relevant.

Chart 10 / Community capacity-building: A basic outline of problems, strategic guidelines and public policy mechanisms

Global description of the problem	Illustrative evidence of the problem	The problem from democratic governance's perspective	Ideal image of good citizenship practice	Key strategic public policy's response	Illustration of public policy's typical mechanisms
Lack of formal political commitment and as regards basic civic obligations	Low rate of electoral participation, reluctance to assume civil and social obligations	Encourage citizens to comply with their basic electoral and legal basic obligations	Willingness to unrestrictedly comply with the law and civic obligations	Mechanisms of promotion of political-electoral participation and strengthening of institutional capacity for law enforcement	Start-up of operations of innovative mechanisms (such as postal and electronic voting systems) that ensure higher compliance of citizens' responsibilities
Lack of capacity to commit with democratic institutions due to social exclusion	Big differences in capacity and opportunities originated in socio-economical factors	Provide citizens with the necessary conditions for their full integration, starting with their insertion in the labour market	Commitment, awareness and capacity of timely participation	Creation of a vast network of opportunities of control and building of citizen capacities	Initiatives of participation in, and control of public policy actions; citizens' participation support programmes

144

Global description of the problem	Illustrative evidence of the problem	The problem from democratic governance's perspective	Ideal image of good citizenship practice	Key strategic public policy's response	Illustration of public policy's typical mechanisms
Lack of basic infrastructure to make community life effective	Shortage of public and meeting spaces, poor quality of physical infrastructure	Support the needs and the strengthening of citizenship	Expression of needs of public infrastructure, revealing community's preferences	Development and adaptation of public infrastructure and equipment	Youth, community, cultural, sports, coexistence centres, support of civil groups, development of participation and social interaction schemes
Need of supporting individuals in order for them to become full members of society	Continuous evidence of widening or enlargement of social distancing dynamics	Stop and reverse processes and tendencies that deteriorate the quality of social life	The excluded are incorporated to norms and opportunities of the majority	Abolish social exclusion through specific and *ad hoc* policies	Training programmes for human capital and for making social, cultural, labour rights and opportunities, universal

NOTE: This diagram is merely illustrative and the cases presented have no further intention than offering general examples, thus able to embrace a whole myriad of specific situations of the capacity building process typical of local communities.

The second great area of the scheme has more ambitious objectives. They may be summarised as follows: to establish a more participative, active and committed citizenship. It means dismantling the barriers to citizen participation generated by social exclusion and lack of opportunities. Actions carried out around this area are based on the assumption that citizens have the capacity of committing to decision-making processes and of becoming involved in community's activities if they are given the appropriate environment and incentives. The review of local policies (Annexes I and II) considered in the sample of localities of one side and the other of the Atlantic shows that there is a widespread concern regarding this area. This concern is, indeed, shown in the participative budget programmes adopted by many localities (Porto Alegre, Buenos Aires, Rosario, Saint-Denis), but also in Querétaro City Council's "Citizenship Programme", in Quito's "Public Management System", in Barcelona's Council's "Equality Plan" or in

Stuttgart's "Active citizenship" amongst others. In turn, decentralised cooperation projects also reflect the significance that local entities assign to these issues. Such is the case of cities grouped in networks number 3 of URB-AL ("Democracy in town"), number 13 ("Towns and Information Society") or number 5 ("Urban Social Policies"), which are mentioned only as examples.

The third great area is re-oriented from the establishment of citizen participation opportunities to the establishment of a basic infrastructure for the community's progress and development. [83] In order for participation to take place, individuals need to count with means and conditions that foster the perception of living, in effect, in a community. Such is the objective of local programmes like "Ação família -Viver em comunidade", of the Sao Paulo City Council, "Urban Mobility", of Stuttgart, "Citizen Participation and Coordination for Social Development", of the town hall of Najapa (San Salvador) or "Youth Consultative Committee" of Saint-Denis. Amongst many other decentralised cooperation projects that may be placed in this line are: "Urbanisation Management and Control" (of URB-AL's network 7), "Conservation of Urban Historical Contexts" (network 2), "New models of Urban Development incorporated by the Appreciation of Environmental Heritage" (network 6).

The following and last great area is a key one in the capacity building of the community's social cohesion. It is about enabling socially excluded individuals and groups as community members in the widest sense: knowing and sharing their values, generating a genuine sense of belonging. This means the provision of a varied series of specific supports addressed to also specific individuals and groups. The final objective is to offer opportunities and options to members of the community that otherwise they might not have. That is how some local programmes such as "Minimum Income" of Sao Paulo, "Comprehensive Attention for Social Inclusion of the Homeless", of Bogotá, "Education Quality Promotion",

of the Council of Barcelona or "Labour Insertion" and "Help for the Disabled" of Nantes, France, define their purposes. Bi-regional decentralised cooperation has, in this general area, various projects of a very specific subject matter; amongst them are the following, as examples: "Global Employment Policies at local level" (network 5 of URB-AL), "Young Women Local/International Council" (network 12), "Fight Against Urban Poverty" (network 10), or common projects (both type "A") "LIDERAL-Pilot Intercontinental Observatory of Women's Leadership in the Local Sphere" and "Extreme Poverty and Famine: Participative Solutions from Local Governments".

The range of problems associated with the lack of social cohesion –or being more encouraging, with its attainment– is wide, apart from being related to multiple complexities. The international experience offers enough evidences of the fact that the most successful social cohesion strategies are those that in each of their phases (from diagnosis, to design, up to execution and assessment) assume such complexity. This is expressed in the transectoral definition and the thematic horizontality that usually sets such strategies apart from others. Experiences such as the ones reviewed in this document, which correspond to the community area of local and regional organisations, are often considered as having a limited scope. However, actual facts show that their input may be of great importance and that they can have an influence in the effective improvement of the life of socially excluded individuals and groups and, as a consequence, in quality of social life as a whole. Bearing in mind the enormous contextual differences of each particular experience and of their respective thematic and sector applications, there are at least three common aspects that should be made explicit in order for them to be taken into account for a likely new round of bi-regional decentralised cooperation projects in the subject.

The first aspect is that practically all these experiences involve a strategic mobilisation of non-conventional social capital forms. They are intangible factors of social action that are triggered through the participation of individuals and groups searching for solutions to common problems. A shared characteristic of these experiences is the involvement of cooperation mechanisms between diverse actors (an expression of local partnership) that enable community capacity building that are highly functional for social cohesion.

The second aspect concerns the display of original forms of organisation, untied from preconceived patterns but always based on the community's organised participation. The implications –in terms of organisation– of this second aspect are multiple and coincide in general with those considered by Kliksberg (1998) in his comparative analysis of participation practices. From the perspective of democratic governance and social cohesion, the main implication is the advantage that citizens' and community participation means, in front of hierarchic and patronage schemes that are typical of closed and centralised systems.

The third aspect concerns a dimension that is underlying strategies of social capital mobilisation and citizens' participation. It is the existence of a set of shared values over which not only social action was built, but that is also a consensus platform within the frame of the community. As shown in this study's second chapter, this dimension is exactly the one to which Sociologist Durkheim referred in the theoretic-analytical considerations that gave birth to the concept of social cohesion. This same dimension is the base of the sense of belonging vector emphasised by contemporary theorists of social cohesion.

It is advised that in a future round of bi-regional decentralised cooperation these three aspects are explicitly taken into account, and indeed, that the possible range of projects in the four

great areas of community capacities' building identified for social cohesion is broadened. In this sense, the experience accumulated by a relatively small number of European and Latin American local entities that have been very active in this sphere of transatlantic cooperation relationships, should be useful in order to constitute sub-regional bastions from which to start a projects' geographical broadening strategy, including new territorial actors, particularly in Middle America and Northern Europe.

It is also recommended that in an equally explicit way, the exchange of experiences on the significance and impact of regional integration processes on social cohesion is incorporated in the next round of bi-regional decentralised cooperation. This seems much more relevant in a context in which general mechanisms of globalisation are superimposed over the functioning of different regional integration processes. It is particularly important for Latin American localities to know the way in which, in the European integration process, social cohesion acquired a strategic significance as a way of moderating the consequences of markets' unification. It is a fact that as the areas affected by integration and the number and heterogeneity of integrated countries and territories increased, the need of making social cohesion policies widespread was strengthened in order to ensure minimum degrees of equity, participation and commitment of actors participating in the process. The achievements and failures of this strategy are a source of potentially very valuable lessons for Latin American local entities.

Other relevant issues, whose incorporation is recommended in the creation of a future bi-regional decentralised cooperation agenda as regards social cohesion, include the management of trans-border relationships and problems caused by the increase in international migration flows. Both in Europe and in Latin America, trans-border communities face very dynamic socio-economical processes, though determined by very different forces within

the frame of institutional and bi-national contexts that are equally dynamic. In many cases, however, the incidence of massive flows of immigrants poses similar security, human rights protection, integration, identity, cultural diversity and other problems, which establish the possibility of potentially very productive exchange and cooperation.

Last, and with no pretensions of having established any thematic precedence order, the next round of decentralised cooperation between localities of the European Union and Latin America will have to include two new issues: the role of local public finances in the maintenance of social cohesion community policies and the creation of a unified system of comparable indicators of social cohesion in local and regional entities of Latin America.[84]

Notes

81 See Taylor (2003) and Carter and Stokes (2002).

82 The outline is widely based on Stoker and Bottom (2003).

83 Note that in this particular context, the term "community" has a more social than territorial or political-administrative connotation.

84 See in this respect the works of Cetrángolo (2006) and Feres (2006).

Sources Consulted and References

Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional (Spanish Agency for International Cooperation), SGPEPD-SECI (2005), *Herramienta para la elaboración de los Documentos de Estrategia País (DEP) de la Cooperación Española.*

Alarcón. J. (2006), *Gestión de la Cooperación Descentralizada. Apoderamiento de las mujeres trabajadoras en el municipio de Escazú, Costa Rica*, Observa, No.1, Agency of the EU-LA Observatory on Decentralised Cooperation.

Alburquerque, F. (2000), *Identidad y Territorio*, Local Development Network, Chile, <http://www.redel.cl/documentos/paco.html>

Alcaldía de Bogotá (Bogota's City Hall), *Plan de Desarrollo Económico, Social y de Obras Públicas para Bogotá D.C. 2004-2008 Bogotá Sin Indiferencia, Un Compromiso Social Contra la Pobreza y la Exclusión*, <http://www.bogota.gov.co/galeria/Acuerdo%20119.pdf>

Alcaldía Metropolitana de Quito, Comisión de Género y Equidad Social, Secretaria Social (Metropolitan City Hall of Quito, Gender and Social Equality Comission, Social Secretariat, <http://www.quito.gov.ec/ciudades_incluyentes/documentos.htm >

_____,Quito hacia el Bicentenario, <http://www.quito.gov.ec/plan_bicentenario/indbicentenario.htm>

Alcaldía Municipal de León (Town Hall of Leon), Proyecto UNI-León, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Nicaragua, <http://www.ibiblio.org/taft/cedros/espanol/newsletter/n4/leon.html>

A

Aldecoa, F. Et. al. (1999), *Paradiplomacy in Action. The Foreign Relations of Subnational Governments*, Frank Cass Edit., London.

Aninat, E. (1998), "Addressing equity issues in policymaking: principles and lessons from the Chilean experience", Conferences on economic policy and equality, IMF, Wsahington, DC, June 8 and 9.

Association de la Ville et des Communes de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale, *Bonnes Pratiques*, <http://www.avcb.be/mati/int/coop/c_bp_fr.htm>

Association pour le Droit à l'Initiative Economique (ADIE), *Etude sur le cadre réglementaire du microcrédit et du travail indépendant en Allemagne*, <http://www.adie.org/presse/etudesdispo.php>

Ayuntamiento de Barcelona (2004) (Barcelona City Council), *Pla municipal per a la inclusió social*. Barcelona Inclusiva 2005-2010.

_____ (2005), *Metodología y herramientas para la creación de Observatorios de inclusión social en las ciudades*, Local report on the project, URB-AL.

_____, *Observatorio Internacional de la Democracia Participativa*, <http://www.bcn-entitats.org/oidp/prova/castella/h_que.php>

_____, *Plan director de cooperación internacional y solidaridad 2006-2008*.

Azcueta, M. (2004), *"La cooperación descentralizada y los actores locales"*, Godínez and Romero (publishers), *Tejiendo lazos entre territorios. La cooperación descentralizada local Unión Europea-América Latina*, Godínez Z, et. al., Municipalidad de Valparaíso (Town Hall of Valparaíso), Diputació de Barcelona (Barcelona City Council), URB-AL Europe Aid Cooperation Office.

Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo (1998) (Inter.-American Development Bank), *Descentralización en Colombia. Nuevos Desafíos*, Economic and Sector Studies Series, <http://www.iadb.org/regions/re3/codes1.htm>

_____(2002), *Estrategia de desarrollo subnacional*, Sector Strategy and Policy Series, Sustainable Development Departament, SOC-124, Washington DC.

Barbosa de Oliveira, C. A. (2003), *Políticas de combate à pobreza no município de São Paulo. Construção de capacidades de gestão do conhecimento urbano na América Latina e Caribe*, São Paulo.

Becker et. al. (2003), *Socially Integrative City Programme - An Encouraging Three-Year Appraisal*, Deutsches Institut für Urbanistik, <http://www.difu.de/publikationen/>

Berger-Smith, R. (2000), *Social Cohesion as an Aspect of the Quality of Societies: Concept and Measurement*, EuReporting Working Paper n° 14, Centre for Survey Research and Methodology (ZUMA), Social Indicators Department, Mannheim.

Bernard, P. (2000), *Social Cohesion: A Dialectical Critique of a Quasi-Concept?*, Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate, Department of Canadian Heritage, Ref. SRA-491, Québec.

Bifarello, M. (1999), *Ciudad futura: nuevas modalidades en planificación y gestión de ciudades*, Rosario, <http://www.pem.org.ar/biblioteca/articulos/Bifarello_Monica-La_dimension_social_en_el_PER.pdf>

_____(2004), *"Una ciudad participativa y eficaz", Experiencia Rosario, Políticas para la gobernabilidad*, PNUD, Gobierno de la Municipalidad de Rosario (Rosario City Council), <http://www.rosario.gov.ar/sitio/rrii/archivos/libro_exp_ros.pdf>

Boutmans, E. (2000), *La Qualité dans la Solidarité. Partenariat pour le développement durable*, Secrétaire d'Etat à la Coopération Belge au Développement, Note Politique, <http://www.avcb.be/mati/int/coop/boutmans.pdf>

Bundesministerium für Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (2000), *Konzept für die entwicklungspolitische Zusammenarbeit mit den Ländern Lateinamerikas*,

_____, *Die Akteure der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit in Deutschland*, <www.bmz.de>

Cardona R. R. (2000), *Los Gobiernos Locales y la Descentralización del Estado en Centroamérica*, Diputación de Barcelona (Barcelona City Council), Xarxa de Municipis.

Carter. A. and G. Stokes, publishers, (2002), *Democratic Theory Today*, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Centro Iberoamericano de Desarrollo Estratégico Urbano (CIDEU) (Ibero-American Center for Strategic Urban Development), *Líneas financieras para el apoyo y fortalecimiento a la micro y pequeña empresa de Bogotá*, <http://www.cideu.org/site/content.php?id=1551>

_____, *Organización y gestión del Vivero de Empresas Municipal de León, Nicaragua*, <http://www.cideu.org/site/content.php?id=1564>

CEPAL (2001), Aghón, G., F. Alburquerque and P. Cortés (publishers), *Desarrollo económico local y descentralización en América Latina: un análisis comparativo*, LC/L.1549, Santiago de Chile.

_____(2006), *Panorama social de América Latina*, LC/G.2288-P, Santiago de Chile.

154

_____ (2007), *Cohesión Social. Inclusión y sentido de pertenencia en América Latina y el caribe*, CEPAL, AECI y SEGIB, Santiago de Chile.

Cetrángolo, O. *Búsqueda de cohesión social y sostenibilidad fiscal en los proceso de descentralización*, International Seminar on Social Cohesion in Latin America and the Caribbean: An Urgent Revision of Some Dimensions, CEPAL and Government of the Republic of Panama, Panama City, September 7 and 8.

Cités Unies de France (1995), *Les actions internacionales des villes en matiere économique*, <www.citesunies.org>

_____(2003), *L'organisation locale de la coopé-ration décentralisée*, <www.citesunies.org>

Consejo de Europa (2000), *Strategy for Social Cohesion and Quality of Life*, <http://www.social.coe.int/en/cohesion/strategy/CDCS/docstrat.htm>

_____(2001), *Promoting the Policy Debate on Social Cohesion from a Policy Perspective*, Trends in Social Cohesion No. 1, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg.

_____(2004), *Revised Strategy for Social Cohesión*, (CDCS, 10).

Consell Comarcal de L'Alt Empordà (2004), *Catàleg de Serveis*. Serveis personals.

Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), *North/South Cooperation: the actions of Europe's local governments associations*, <www.ccre.org>

Cuarta Cumbre Unión Europea-América Latina y Caribe (2006) (4th Summit European Union, Latin America and the Caribbean), *Vienna Declaration*, <http://ec.europa.eu/comm/world/lac-vienna/docs/declaration_es.pdf>

Dahrendorf, R. et al. (1995), *Report on Wealth Creation and Social Cohesion in a Free Society*, Commission on Wealth Creation and Social Cohesion, London.

Dammert, L. (2001), *"Construyendo ciudades inseguras: terror y violencia en Argentina"*, EURE, n° 27.

Deutscher Städtetag (2005), *Interview mit Christian Ude zum Thema "Städtepartnerschaften" für das Online-Angebot des Goethe-Instituts*, <http://www.staedtetag.de/10/presseecke/zitatensammlung/zusatzfenster4.html>

_____(2006), *What German Cities expect from Europe*, <http://www.staedtetag.de/>

Diputación de Barcelona (2006) (Barcelona City Council), *Promoción de las mujeres en las instancias de decisión locales. Ciudades construidas por mujeres y hombres*, Final document, Red URB-AL nº 12.

_____, *Buenas Prácticas de Ciudadanía Activa de las Mujeres*, Documents URB-AL, No. 12, <http://www.diba.cat/urbal12/castellano.htm>

_____, *II Pla d'igualtat de gènere 2005-2007*, <http://www.diba.es/francescabonnemaison/adjunts/plaigualtat0507.pdf>

_____, Oficina de Cooperación al Desarrollo (Development Cooperation Office), <http://www.diba.es/ri/cd/cdir/cd2001.asp>

_____, *Pla Estratègic Metropolità de Barcelona*, <http://www.diba.es/promoeco/estrategies/f022.asp>

Draibe, S. M. (2004), "*Virtudes y límites de la Cooperación Descentralizada en pro de la Cohesión Social y del Combate a la Pobreza: reflexiones y recomendaciones", Tejiendo lazos entre territorios. La cooperación descentralizada local Unión Europea-América Latina*, Godínez Z, et. al., Municipalidad de Valparaíso (Valparaíso City Council), Diputació de Barcelona (Barcelona City Council), URB-AL Europe Aid Cooperation Office.

_____(2005), *Cooperación descentralizada y reducción de la pobreza*, Yearbook, EU-LA Observatory on Decentralised Cooperation, Diputación de Barcelona (Barcelona City Council).

Durand, L. D. (2005), *El Plan Estratégico Metropolitano Región Rosario (PEM): una estrategia de desarrollo local*, Tenth International Conference of the CLAD (Latin American Center for Development Administration) on State and Public Administration Reform, Santiago de Chile, <www.mimdes.gob.pe/clad/documentos/durand.pdf>

EMPLENET <www.emplenet.org>

Escazú City Council (s. f. 1), http://www.escazu.or.cr/Principal/tabid/70/Default.aspx

_____ (s. f. 2), *Centro Regional de Servicios de Apoyo Empresaria*l, <www.centromujeresemprendedoras.org/presentacion.shtml>

_____ (s. f. 3), *Ley No. 7794 Código Municipal*, <http://www.escazu.or.cr/Municipalidad/ConcejoMunicipal/BibliotecaVirtual/tabid/103/Default.aspx>

E

Escazú City Council, European Commission (2006), *Consultoras de Empleo*, Joint Project URB-AL/R5-B5-03: Centro Regional Potenciador para Mujeres Emprendedoras y Trabajadoras, San José.

_____ (2006), Políticas Públicas y Derechos Económicos de las Mujeres. Experiencias concretas en el nivel local, Joint Project URB-AL/R5-B5-03: Centro Regional Potenciador para Mujeres Emprendedoras y Trabajadoras, San José, <http://centromujeresemprendedoras.org/pdf/Sistematizacion-Memoria.pdf>

European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (1998), *Local Partnerships: A Successful Strategy for Social Cohesion?*, <http://www.eurofound.ie/publications/EF9805>

Feres, J. C. (2006), *Hacia un sistema de indicadores de cohesión social en América Latina*, Advance of the project, CEPAL, Encuentro Internacional de Redes EuroSocial (International Meeting of EuroSocial Networks), Cartagena de Indias, June 26-29.

Fernández, M. C. (2004), "Con Los Niños, Para Todos", *Experiencia Rosario, Políticas para la gobernabilidad*, PNUD, Rosario City Council.

Ferroni, M. (2005), "Cohesión social en América Latina: la dimensión de las finanzas públicas", Diálogo político internacional sobre democracia y cohesión social en América Latina y Europa, InWert, BMZ y BID, Berlin, January 21.

Foschiatto et al. (2006), *Políticas municipales de microcrédito. Un instrumento para la dinamización de los sistemas productivos locales, Estudios de caso en América Latina*, Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, Cooperación Italiana (Economic Comisión for Latin America and the Caribbean, Italian Cooperation), Santiago de Chile.

Freie Hansestadt Bremen (2004), *InnoVision 2010 Bremen's Innovation Programme*, Published by the Senator (Ministry) for Economic Affairs and Ports of the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen, <http://www.bigbremen.de/de/tp_news_einzeln?sv[id]=17490>

_____, Der Technologiepark Bremen, <http://www.technologiepark-bremen.de/de/tp_start>

Fundación Europea para el mejoramiento de las condiciones de vida y el trabajo (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions) (2003), *Insertion sociale*. Partenariats locaux avec la société civile, Chaiers de la Fondation, n° 3, December, Dublin.

_____ (1998), *Le partenariat local: une stratégie réussie pour la cohesión sociale?*, Dublín.

Fundación Hábitat Colombia (2005), Concurso Latinoamericano y del Caribe para la Transferencia de Buenas Prácticas, Departamento Administrativo de Bienestar Social (Administrative Department of Social Welfare), <http://www.bienestarbogota.gov.co/modulos/contenido/default.asp?idmodulo=145>

Government of El Salvador / DEMUCA, *Proyectos en Ejecución en El Salvador / Fortalecimiento Institucional de los Municipios del Golfo de Fonseca*, Fundación para el Desarrollo Local y el Fortalecimiento Municipal e Institucional de Centro América y el Caribe, <www.demuca.or.cr>

Government of El Salvador, *Programa Red Solidaria*, <http://www.redsolidaria.gob.sv/>

Government of the Rosario City Council, *Programa Rosario Innova* <http://www.rosario.gov.ar/sitio/caracteristicas/innovatec_1.jsp>

G

Government of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, *Presupuesto participativo*, <http://www.prespuestoparticipativo.com7Docs/ArtRoy.htt>

Godínez Zúñiga, V. M. (2004), *Manifestaciones territoriales del nuevo estilo de desarrollo en la región norte de América Latina*, LC/MEX/L.591, CEPAL, Mexico.

_____(2004a), *"Economía Política de la Cooperación Descentralizada: algunas consideraciones desde América Latina", Tejiendo lazos entre territorios. La cooperación descentralizada local Unión Europea-América Latina*, Godínez Z, et. al., Municipalidad de Valparaíso (Valparaíso City Council), Diputació de Barcelona (Barcelona City Council), URB-AL Europe Aid Cooperation Office.

_____(2006), *"Gobiernos locales, gobernabilidad y cooperación descentralizada: propuestas de discusión a partir del caso Latinoamericano"*, First Annual Conference of the EU-LA Observatory on Decentralised Local Cooperation, Montevideo, March 28-30.

Gregg, P. and E. Tominey (2004), *"The way from youth employment"*, Centre for Market and Public Organization, Departament of Economy, University of Bristol.

Guénaire, M. (2001), *Panaroma des services d'intéret économique général contribuant a la cohésion sociale et territoriale en quelques pays d'Europe*, <http://socialcohesion.org/FR/frrapport1.htm>

Hopenhayn, M. (2006), *Cohesión social: una perspectiva en elaboración*, International Seminar on Social Cohesion in Latin America and the Caribbean: An Urgent Revision of Some Dimensions, CEPAL, Government of Panama.

Intendencia Municipal de Montevideo (2004) (Montevideo Municipal Government), *Metodologías y herramientas para la creación de observatorios de inclusión social en las ciudades*, Observatorio Montevideo de Inclusión Social, Final Report on the project, URB-AL Red 10.

_____, *Creación de Unidades de Producción Cooperativas para asalariados rurales y desocupados del Departamento de Montevideo.*

Jeannotte, M. S. (2000), *Social Cohesion around the World: An International Comparison of Definitions and Issues*, Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate, Department of Canadian Heritage, Ref. SRA-309, Québec.

Jeannotte, M. S. et al. (2002), *Buying In or Dropping Out: The Public Policy Implications of Social Cohesion Research*, Canadian Policy Research Networks Inc., Ref. SRA-631-e, Ottawa.

Jenson, J. (1998), *Mapping Social Cohesion: The State of Canadian Research*, Canadian Policy Research Networks Inc., Ottawa.

Keating, M. (1999), "Regions and International Affaires: Motives, Opportunities and Strategies", en Aldecoa, F., M. Keating (editors), *Paradiplomacy in Action. The Foreign Relations of Subnational Governments*, Frank Cass Edit., Londres.

Kliksberg, B. (2000), *Capital social y cultura: Claves olvidadas del desarrollo*, Intal Information material, Inter-American Development Bank, Document 7.

_____(1998),"Seis tesis no convencionales sobre participación", *Instituciones y Desarrollo*, Red de Gobernabilidad y Desarrollo Institucional (Network of Governability and Institutional Development), PNUD, New York.

L

Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart (2005), *Armut in Suttgart*, Sozialamt, <www.stuttgart.de>

Lavis, J. N. y G. Stoddart (1999), *Social Cohesion and Health*, Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate, Department of Canadian Heritage, Ref. SRA-507, Ottawa.

Le Gales, P. (2003), *Le retour des villes européennes. Sociétés urbaines,mondialisation, gouvernment et gouvernance*, Press de Sciences Po, París.

Lefevre, Ch. (2006), "Gobernabilidad democrática de las áreas metropolitanas. Experiencias y lecciones internacionales para las ciudades latinoamericanas", in Rojas et al., publishers, (2006).

Llorens J. L., F. Albuquerque y J. del Castillo (2002), *"Estudio de casos de desarrollo económico local en América Latina"*, IADB, Sustainable Development Department, Good Practices Series, Washington DC.

M

Madoery, O. (2005), *El valor de la Política de Desarrollo Local*, Metropolitan Strategic Plan, Rosario Region (Library), <www.pem.org.ar/biblioteca/articulos/Madoery_Oscar-El_valor_de_la_politica_de_desarrollo_local.pdf>

Ministry of Economy of Baden-Württemberg, <http://www.foerderportal.newcome.de/finanzierung/Foerderprogramme/index.php?oid=24430&cat=14151&lvl=804&Order=Name&Sort=ASC>

MONEX Mikrofinanzierung Baden - Württemberg e. V., *Kapital für kleine Unternehmen*, <http://www.monex-bw.de/>

Monzón, A. (2006), "Gestión del transporte metropolitano", in Rojas et al., publishers, (2006).

Muñoz Izquierdo, C. (2005), "Análisis de los resultados de México en el PISA-2003: una oportunidad para las políticas públicas", *Perfiles latinoamericanos*, n°26, FLACSO Mexico.

O Heara Sheehman, M. (2001), *City Limits. Putting the Breaks of Sprawl*, Worldwatch Institute, Washington DC.

OCDE (2006), *OECD in figures. Statistics of the members countries*, París.

OIT, Inter-American Research and Documentation Center on Vocational Training (CINTERFOR), Observatorio de Experiencias, Brasil, <http://www.ilo.org/public/spanish/region/ampro/cinterfor/temas/youth/exp/observa/bra/trabalho.htm>

ONU (2005), *Informe sobre la situación social en el mundo*, <www.un.org>

_____(2006), *Tendencias mundiales del empleo juvenil*, Geneva.

_____(2005a), *Objetivos de desarrollo del milenio, Una mirada desde América Latina y el Caribe*, Santiago de Chile.

Paugman, S. (1996), "La construction d un paradigme", in S. Paugman (director), *L exclusión*, La Découverte, París.

Pintos, F. et al. (2005), *Los desafíos institucionales de los gobiernos locales en América Latina*, Yearbook, EU - LA Observatory on Decentralised Cooperation, Diputación de Barcelona (Barcelona City Council).

PNUD (2004), "Agenda on local governance in Latin America", Project Knowledge fair to strengthen local government in Latin America, Colombia.

_____(2005), *Índice sobre Desarrollo Humano*.

PNUD / Government of the Rosario City Council (2004), *Experiencia Rosario. Políticas para la gobernabilidad*, <http://www.rosario.gov.ar/sitio/rrii/archivos/libro_exp_ros.pdf>

Polanyi, K. (1994), *El sustento del hombre*, Mondadori Library, Harry W. Pearson Edition , Barcelona.

_____(2003), *La Gran Transformación (1944)*, Stiglitz, J. (Pról.), FCE, 2nd Edition, Mexico.

Prefeitura Municipal Porto Alegre (2004), *Mapa da Inclusão e Exclusão Social de Porto Alegre*, Gabinete Do Prefeito, Secretaria do Planejamento Municipal, Edição Revisada.

_____, *Observatório Urbano para Inclusão Social*, Rede Nº 10 Urb-Al, Luta contra a pobreza urbana.

_____,*Presupuesto Participativo*, <http://www.presupuestoparticipativo.com/Docs/ExpPortoAlegre.htm>

_____, *Seminario de lanzamiento de la Red URB-AL no. 9 Finanzas locales y presupuesto participativo*, Base Document.

Proyecto Participación Ciudadana en la Vigilancia de Presupuestos Públicos de Municipalidades Andinas. Manual para líderes ciudadanos y autoridades locales, November 2004, Lima.

Puyear, J. (1997), *La educación en América latina: problemas y desafíos*, PREAL, Washington, DC.

Putnam (1993), R, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Tradictions in Modern Italy*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J.

Region de Bruxelles Capitale (2005), L*a promotion du déve-loppement humain durable et de la solidarité. Coopération au développement, les communes bruxelloises en action*, <www.avcb-vsgb.be/fr/mati/int/coop/c_art_fr.htm>

Région de Île de France, <http://www.iledefrance.fr>

_____(2006), *Économie sociale et solidaire*, Direction de la Communication de la Région Ile-de-France.

_____, *Coopération Région Ile-de-France- Ré-gion Métropolitaine de Santiago du Chili*, Direction des Affaires Inter-nationales, France, <http://www.iledefrance.fr/data/info/63384.pdf>

Región Metropolitana de Nantes (Nantes Metropolitan Region), <www.nantesmetropole.fr>

Regione Emilia-Romagna (2004), *Poverta' ed esclusione sociale. Il reddito minimo d'inserimento. Possibili linee di intervento per l'Emilia-Romagna*, Assessorato alle Politiche Sociali, Immigra-zione, Progetto Giovanni Cooperazione internazionale, <http://www.emiliaromagnasociale.it/wcm/emiliaromagnasociale/home/poverta/poverta03.pdf>

_____, *Política para personas con discapa-cidades*, <http://www.regione.emilia-romagna.it/wcm/ERMES/Canali/lavoro/lavoro/inserimento_disabili.htm />

_____, *Programma Regionale per l' Impren-ditoria Femminile*. Ministero della Attività Produttive, <http://www.ermesimprese.it/wcm/imprenditoriafemminile/>

Riveros, H. (2004), "Las condiciones de gobernabilidad de la ex-periencia Rosario", *Experiencia Rosario, Políticas para la go-bernabilidad*, PNUD, Government of the Rosario City Council, <http://www.rosario.gov.ar/sitio/rrii/archivos/libro_exp_ros.pdf>

Rodrik, D. (2000), *Institutions for high-quality growth: what they are and how to acquire them*, National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper Series, Cambridge, <www.nber.org/papers/w7540>

Rojas, E., (2006), "Las regions metropolitanas de América Latina. Problemas e gobierno y desarrollo", in Rojas et al., publishers, (2006).

Rojas, E., J. R. Cuadrad-Roura and J. M. Fernández Guell, publishers, (2006), *Gobernar las metrópolis*, IADB, Washington DC.

Romero, M. del H. (2004), "Una aproximación contextual y conceptual a la Cooperación Descentralizada", *Tejiendo lazos entre territorios. La cooperación descentralizada local Unión Europea-América Latina*, Godínez Z, et. al., Municipalidad de Valparaíso (Valparaíso City Council), Diputació de Barcelona (Barcelona City Council), URB-AL Europe Aid Cooperation Office.

_____ (2006), *Políticas locales de cohesión social y territorial. La experiencia de la ciudad de Rosario*, Rosario.

Rosario City Council (1998), *Plan Estratégico Rosario*, <www.pem.org.ar>

_____, *Rosario Suma*, <http://www.rosario.gov.ar/sitio/rrii/rosario_suma/suma1.jsp>

Russo, M. (1997), *Relazioni tra imprese e sviluppo locale*, Economia e politica industriale, n. 93, Franco Angeli, Milano.

Saint-Gilles (2004), *Plan Communal de Développement*, <http://www.stgilles.irisnet.be/publications/publications.php?publication_id=2>

Saint-Gilles, Region de Bruxelles Capitale, <http://www.stgilles.irisnet.be/accueil/accueil.php>

San Salvador / Fondo de Inversión Social para el Desarrollo Local (FISDL) (Social Investment Fund for Local Development), <http://www.fisdl.gob.sv/main.html>

São Paulo. Prefeitura Municipal. <http://portal.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/secretarias/trabalho/sp_confia/0001> <http://portal.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/secretarias/trabalho/capacitacao_ocupacional/0001>

SCI (1998), *The Initiative on Defining, Monitoring and Measuring Social Capital. Overview and Program Description*, Social Capital Initiative Working Paper n°1, World Bank, Washington D.C.

Schiefelbein, E. (1995), "La reforma tributaria en América Latina y el caribe un programa de acción", DREALC Bulletin, n° 37, Santiago de Chile.

Sheleff, L. (1997), *Social Cohesion y Legal Cohesion: A critique of Weber, Durkheim y Marx*, Radopi, Amsterdam.

Soto Hardiman, P. and F. Lapeyre (2004), "Les jeunes et l'exclusion dans les quartiers défavorisés : approches politiques dans six villes d'Europe ", *Tendance de la cohésion sociale*, no 9, Conseil de l'Europe, Strasbourg.

Stanley, D. (1997), *The Economic Consequences of Social Cohesion, Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate*, Department of Canadian Heritage, Ref. SRA-302, Ottawa.

Stocchiero, A. et al. (2000), *La cooperazione internazionale dei comuni italiani*, Ricerca CeSPI.

Stoker, G. Y K. A. Bottom (2003), "Community Capacity Building: Notes for a Talk given to MAV Conference", Lorne, July 25-27.

Stuart, A. M. (2004), "Regionalismo e democracia: o surgimento da dimensão subnacional na União Européia", *A dimensão sub-*

nacional e as relações internacionais, Tullo Vigevani et. al. Editora da Universidade do Sagrado Coração. São Paulo.

Székely, M. (2006), *Midiendo la institucionalidad de la Política Social en América Latina*, Presentation at the Subregional Meeting of the Poverty and Social Protection Network, Inter-American Development Bank, Bogota.

Tagliaventi et al. (2005), *Crescere in Emilia-Romagna. Primo rapporto sui servizi e sulla condizione dell'infanzia e dell'adolescenza*, Servizio politiche familiari, infanzia e adolescenza, Regione Emilia-Romagna, Bologna, <http://www.emiliaromagnasociale.it/wcm/ emiliaromagnasociale/home/documentazione/CrescereInEmiliaRomagna/ 1capitolo_pp01_62.pdf />

Tamburrini, M. C. (2004), "Una ciudad con calidad de vida. Inclusión social y espacio público", *Experiencia Rosario, Políticas para la gobernabilidad*, PNUD and Government of the Rosario City Council, <http://www.rosario.gov.ar/sitio/rrii/archivos/ libro_exp_ros.pdf>

Taylor, M. (2003), *Public Policy in the Community*, Palgrave & Macmillan, Basingstoke.

UN Habitat (2004), *Estrategia de Inclusión Social de São Paulo*, Best Practices of Latin America and the Caribbean, Dubai, <http:/ /habitat.aq.upm.es/bpal/onu04/bp1381.html>

_____ (2000), *Programa Comuna Mujer-Comisión de la Mujer (Uruguay)*, Good Practices, Latin America and the Caribbean, <http://habitat.aq.upm.es/bpal/onu00/bp998.html>

_____(2000), *Descentralización en Montevideo: Intendencia Municipal de Montevideo (Uruguay)*, Good Practices, Latin America and the Caribbean. <http://habitat.aq.upm.es/bpal/onu00/ bp096.html>

_____ (2000), *Sistema local para el desarrollo sostenible de Zacatecoluca (El Salvador)*, Good Practices, Latin America and the Caribbean, <http://habitat.aq.upm.es/bpal/onu00/bp509.html>

_____ (2002), *El Sistema de Gestión Participativa de la Municipalidad de Quito*, Good Practices, Latin America and the Caribbean, <http://habitat.aq.upm.es/bpal/onu02/bp262.html>

URB-AL <http://ec.europa.eu/comm/europeaid/projects/urbal/faq/faq_es.pdf>

_____ / Red Tematica N° 10, *Luta contra a pobreza urbana*, Base Document, 2002, São Paulo.

_____ / Red Tematica N° 13, *Ciudad y la Sociedad de la Información*, Base Document, 2003, Bremen.

_____ / Red Tematica N° 8, *Control de la movilidad urbana*, Base Document 2000, Stuttgart.

_____ fase II (2006), *Evaluación Intermedia del Programa URB-AL FASE II (2001-2005)*, Summary Report, Final version, (EUROPEAID/116548/C/SV), <http://ec.europa.eu/comm/europeaid/projects/urbal/program/mid_term_evaluation_programme.pdf>

URB-AL INFO (2004a), *Conferencia sobre partenariado local entre la Unión Europea y América Latina: "Balance y perspectivas de la cooperación descentralizada entre colectividades locales de la Unión Europea y América Latina en el terreno de las políticas urbanas", Base Document, Municipalidad de Valparaíso (Valparaíso City Council) , Diputació de Barcelona (Barcelona City Council) (Xarxa de Municipis)*, Special edition, March.

_____ (2004b), *Balance y perspectivas de la cooperación descentralizada entre colectividades locales de la Unión Euro-*

pea y de América latina en el terreno de las políticas urbanas, Special edition, April.

_____ (2005a), *São Paulo: "Centros locales de Ciudadanía de las Mujeres como Defensoras de la Igualdad"*, N° 21, first semester.

_____ (2005b), *Intendencia Municipal de Montevideo: "Ciudades y Ciudadanos por la Inclusión Social"*, N° 22, second semester.

_____ (2005c), *Tercer seminario anual de la Red 12 "Las mujeres en las instancias de decisión locales"*, Montevideo, 2005, No.22, second semester.

_____, Centro de Documentación, <www.centrorbal.com>

V Vasquez, C., (2000), Calidad de la educación básica primaria en Colombia", *Perfiles latinoamericanos*, n° 17, FLACSO Mexico.

Veenhoven, R. (1996), Happy Life-Expectance: *A Comprehensive Measure of Quality-of-life in Nations*, Social Indicators Research, n° 39.

Villa and Duarte, M. (2002), *Los colegios de concesión en Bogotá, Colombia: una experiencia innovadora de gestión escolar,* IADB, Political Dialogues, Washington DC.

Ville de Saint-Denis, <www.ville-saint-denis.fr>

Ville de Saint-Denis / URB-AL (2004), *Etude locale pour la mise en place d'un Observatoire de l'Inclusion Sociale à Saint-Denis.*

Ville de Saint-Denis, Ville de Barcelone, Fonds Andalou des Municipalites pour la Solidarite Internationale (2004), *Etude pour la mise en place d'observatoires de l'inclusion sociale, Projet URB-AL.*

Virapatarin, M. (2004), "Estado de situación de la cooperación descentralizada: análisis comparativo de la oferta y las perspectivas", *Tejiendo lazos entre territorios. La cooperación descentralizada local Unión Europea-América Latina*, Godínez Z, et. al., Municipalidad de Valparaíso (Valparaíso City Council), Diputació de Barcelona (Barcelona City Council), URB-AL Europe Aid Cooperation Office.

Vranken, J. (2001), *No social cohesion without social exclusion?*, Eurex, Lecture 4. <http://shiva.uniurb.it/EUREX/syllabus/lecture5/Lecture5-Vranken.pdf>

Wooley, F. (1998), *Social Cohesion and voluntary activities: making connections, Conference on the state of living standards and the quality of life in Canada*, Center for the Study of Living, Ottawa.

Zapata, A. V., (1996), *La comunidad de Villa El Salvador 1971-1996*, DESCO, Lima.

W
Z

Questionnaires answered

1. Alberto Kleiner, Executive Coordinator of Rosario Suma Project, URB-AL Program. María Florencia Sbarra, Planning Secretariat, Rosario City Council. <fsbarra0@rosario.gov.ar>

2. Ángela Escallón, Coordinator of Cooperation for Development of the Bogota City Council.

3. Anne-Françoise Nicolay, Echevinat de la Citoyenneté, de la Comuna de Jette, Región Bruselas-Capital, Bélgica. <afnicolay@jette.irisnet.be>

4. Brigitte Kleinen, Dr. Manfred Klenke, Miguel Romero, Claire Klindt. Coordinators of URB-AL Network N° 13 "Ciudad y sociedad de la información". Bremen. <staff3@whitebalance.de>

5. Daniela Calderón Uribe, Analyst of International Agencies, Unit of International Affairs of the Queretaro City Council, Coordinator of URB-AL joint project (R10-A18-04) "Formación de personal de municipios para utilizar los programas de cooperación internacional como herramienta de combate a la pobreza en sus proyectos locales". <Daniela.Calderon@municipiodequeretaro.gob.mx>

6. Dr. Gildo Baraldi, Director of Osservatorio Interregionale sulla Cooperazione allo Sviluppo, Rome, Italy. <oics@oics.it>

7. Lic. Mayki Gorosito, General Director of International Relations of the Government of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires. <smina@buenosaires.gov.ar>

8. Maria Rosa Guixé Valls, Tecnhical Director of Social Services, Consell Comarcal de l' Alt Empordà. URB-AL Project Coordinator "La mujer inmigrada. Igualdad, participación y liderazgo en el ámbito local". <ssocials.ccae@ddgi.es>

9. Rubén Alí Gozaine, Counsel of Projects, Sucre Town Hall, State of Portuguesa, Venezuela. R4-P6-02 Project Coordinator "Crear Modelos de Gestión Turística de Agroindustria Artesanal en los Municipios". <rubnal@yahoo.com>

10. Sara Garcia Martins, City Hall Secretary of International Relations of the São Paulo City Council, Technical Assistant of URB-AL Network N°10 "Lucha contra la pobreza urbana". <saramartins@PREFEITURA.SP.GOV.BR>

11. Sônia Miriam Draibe, Assistant Professor of Economics at UNI-CAMP, Brazil. Main Researcher at the Centre of Studies of Public Policies. General Secretary of the Brazilian Association of Political Science. <smdraibe@uol.com.br>