“THE CITY AGENCIES WORKING PAPERS”

Methodologies, approaches, potentialities and perspective
The city agencies working papers

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Methodologies, approaches, potentialities and perspectives

City Agencies are arenas for debate, to listen to citizens, to dialogue, participate but also present and translate collective requests, activating urban commons. They feed local debate, and they are places where citizens can inquire about life in the cities and urban change, inquiring about ongoing policies, plans and projects, and put suggestions forward. Between 2017 and 2019 the EUCANET partnership has promoted a wide and open reflection on the role, scope and missions of City Agencies, involving researchers, scholars, practitioners and professionals from all over Europe.

This e-book provides insights on the ongoing debate, presenting the diverse and multifaceted emerging perspectives, and exploring potential research directions for the future.

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Abstract

The article discusses a new model of participatory governance in Lisbon by providing theoretical reflection and empirical knowledge from the action of two urban agencies: the “Centre of Urban Information of Lisbon” (CIUL) and the “Municipal Offices in Support of Neighbourhoods in Need of Priority Intervention” (Gabips). While the CIUL has provided civil society with information about and space for debate on urban policies, the Gabips have supported urban regeneration in priority areas with the participation of local agents. The CIUL and the Gabips are framed within the political agenda of the Municipality of Lisbon to foster a new relationship between the local government and civil society, which has resulted in new channels and opportunities for citizen participation. Both agencies, however, also point to different stances on citizen participation that are worth analysing. While the CIUL can be understood in light of the literature on the constitution and global spreading of the Urban Centers, the Gabips represent genuine evidence of locally based participatory governance. Insights from the text allow for reflection on the design of a new model of participatory governance based on the creation of political and administrative conditions to allow the CIUL and the Gabips to connect and maximise their functions.

Key-words: Urban Center; participatory governance; CIUL; Gabip; Lisbon

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Introduction

Citizenry trust towards democratic representatives and institutions has massively decreased worldwide (Foster and Magdoff 2009). Although some scholars have pointed at the cyclical crises of representative democracies as inherent to democracy itself (Crozier et al. 1975), discontent grows as global financial transactions seem to overwhelm the political system (Woods 2006). While the dominance of the global market questions the role of the State, the financial crisis erupted in the end of 2008 proved that the impacts of socioeconomic inequalities have been especially harsh forsome democracies (Balbona and Begega 2015).

Against the risk of contagion from the financial crisis, countries in the peripheral Eurozone were forced to adopt austerity measures supported by the bailouts of international lenders, such as the International Monetary Fund and the European Union. In Southern European countries, austerity aimed at ensuring the international competitiveness of weak national economies within the global market. However, their implementation decreased the perception of popular sovereignty and aggravated the critical outlook of citizenry trust towards political representatives and institutions (Lapavitsas 2012). Against this backdrop, attempts to provide citizens with tools and spaces for active engagement in public decision-making have been promoted worldwide. Scientific debate on the inclusion of social actors in policy networks dates back to the 1960s and 1970s (Hill and Hupe 2002). More recently, scholars have been extremely sensitive about the new courses of democracy and, accordingly, have discussed thresholds, layers, and challenges of new patterns of governance (Fung and Wright 2003). Along with this literature, the conceptualisation of citizen participation has allowed to understand the means through which those who do not have a voice in standard decision-making can be provided with the concrete opportunity to influence final decisions. Lessons learned from Arnstein’s milestone contribution (1971) make clear that different institutional designs of citizen participation drive to different ways of distributing power and control over decision-making.

In the last decades, civil society has been invited to participate in a wide range of policy fields, such as urban planning, health, social care, education, etc. (Smith 2009; Gaventa and Barret 2010). The creation of new spaces for the incorporation of citizens’ voices has pursued the aim of sharing decisions on matters of public concern while attending to the needs of enhanced governance (Fung and Wright 2003). Considering the potential for innovating democratic governance and recovering trust between citizens and institutions, participatory practices have been praised by international and transnational agencies as well (EU 2001; OECD 2001; UNDESA 2008).

Guidelines and reports produced by international and transnational agencies in the last years suggest the emergence of a common urban agenda that encourages the engagement of citizens in the
decision-making. As exemplified by the European Charter of Local Self-Government (COE 1985) “[t]he right of citizens to participate in the conduct of public affairs is one of the democratic principles that are shared by all member States of the Council of Europe. This right shall be exercised by assemblies of citizens, referendums or any other form of direct citizen participation where it is permitted by statute.” The recent issuance of the New Urban Agenda (Habitat III) and the European Urban Agenda in 2016 confirm that cities are expected to experiment new forms of local, interconnected, and multi-level innovation in policymaking with place and people based approaches. The leading role of cities in the adoption and dissemination of “democratic innovations” necessarily recalls broader considerations on the process of global urbanisation (McFarlane and Söderström 2017). Cities host more than 50% of the world’s population and produce more than 70% of the GDP. Their strategic role in the regulation of the global financial system makes cities – not without controversy – the outposts of new social, economic and political processes and experiments. However, concerns arise as trends of “localist” approaches may decrease the potential of transformation brought about by participatory practices at large (Bailey & Pill, 2011). Some scholars argue that the dominance of a romanticized view of local communities is often paired by risks of neutralization of the social conflicts and depoliticization of emerging struggles (Mintrom 2017). The potential connections between the CIUL and the Gabips allow to explore the extent to which degrees of citizen engagement promoted in urban policymaking and spatial distribution of urban agencies can favour (or hinder) citizen participation. Accordingly, the text argues that the example of Lisbon provokes how the adoption of new configurations of urban agencies in local contexts can foster new models of participatory governance. 

The Portuguese socio-political context and the expansion of citizen participation

After the establishment of the parliamentary democracy in 1974, and subsequent opening of the national economy to the market, Portugal faced a global financial crisis that can be dependent on either public authorities or private entities, as well as rely on mixed models of management. Secondly, the ethos that the functions displayed with citizens aligns with what Monardo advocates as UCs as the “megaphone" of the Municipality, which promote local government-led initiatives and programmes; UCs as the “antenna” of civil society, which favour the capture of inputs and information from citizens; and UCs as the “arenas” of debate among different actors, including institutional and grassroots fronts. Areas can rely on face-to-face and online tools to provide far-reaching access to the public addressed by the UC and ensure that the interaction produces consistent outputs for urban governance (personal interview of the author in December 2017). Thirdly, Falanga and Nunes argue (ibidem) that UCs can engage either the general public or select the groups to be involved in their initiatives. Finally, UCs are distinguished according to the scale of action, namely the city centre and peri-urban areas. While scientific literature on UCs is extraordinarily scarce, with this conceptual framework in mind, the article reflects upon the UC of Lisbon, the Centro de Informação Urbana de Lisboa (hereafter: CIUL), and the potential connections that it could promote forward with other urban agencies in the city. In particular, light is shed on the Gabips, which are decentralised offices of the Municipality of Lisbon in support to urban regeneration in priority areas. The socio-territorial characteristics of Lisbon and the challenges that both CIUL and Gabips unfold in the city could be considerably increased through the establishment of a system of citizen participation that interconnects the city centre with priority areas. The potential connections between the CIUL and the Gabips allow to explore the extent to which degrees of citizen engagement promoted in urban policymaking and spatial distribution of urban agencies can favour (or hinder) citizen participation. Accordingly, the text argues that the example of Lisbon provokes how the adoption of new configurations of urban agencies in local contexts can foster new models of participatory governance.

Insights from the CIUL and the Gabips are shared as part of the research that is being conducted within the EU-funded project ROCK “Regeneration and Optimization of Cultural heritage in creative and Knowledge cities”, which aims to promote citizen participation and regeneration in neighbourhoods affected by critical urban issues. The article first provides an outline of the Portuguese socio-political context, with focus on Lisbon; secondly, it describes the main functions of the CIUL and the main goals of the Gabips constituted in priority areas; lastly, the paper reflects on the potential connections between the two agencies towards a new model of participatory governance.

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that led to the creation of regional administrative bodies appointed by the national government (Ruivo et al. 2011). More recently, as the massive deindustrialization of the country weakened the performance in the international economics, the State has been increasingly pressurized to retreat from the regulation of the national market (Bollbona and Begega 2015). During the recent global financial crisis started in the end of 2008, Portugal was requested by the European Union to advance with structural reforms in the State to counteract inflation and ensure the international competitiveness within the global market (Lapavitsas2012). Amongst the implementation of the austerity package between 2011 and 2014, the New Urban Lease Act Law 6/2006 pursued goals of rationalization and efficiency to restructure local administrations and balance rights and obligations of property owners and tenants (Teles 2016). However, the austerity measures also caused the spread of socioeconomic retrenchment that aggravated the already negative outlook of citizenry trust towards political representatives and institutions (OECD 2015; Falanga, 2018a).

The last three years have seen a fast economic growth in the country, pushed forward by the expansionary agenda of the national government, which is led by the Socialist Party in coalition with the Communist party and the Left Block since 2015 and in opposition to the austerity politics (Falanga 2018b). By zooming in on Lisbon, the local council aimed to counteract some of the critical effects of the austerity measures in the city with an agenda that put citizen participation as a key pillar of urban governance. The mayor of the city and leader of the leftist coalition between the socialist party and the movement “Citizens for Lisbon” included the participatory budget in the municipal plan, in addition to other initiatives of public deliberation and consultation. The reform of the local administration in 20108 and the adjustments imposed during the years of austerity did not interrupt the public commitment with citizen participation.

After a pivotal process in 2007, the city hosted the first participatory budget implemented on a municipal scale by a European capital city in 2008 (Cabaneses 2009). The participatory budget provided citizens with power to deliberate over public measures on a dedicated share of the municipal budget (around 1%). Along with the participatory budget, the local council initiated the BIPZIP programme, acronym of ‘priority areas and neighbourhoods’, in 2011. The programme relies on the identification of the areas and neighbourhoods that deserve special public action, which is the basis for the action of GABIPs as described below.

### Connecting urban agencies

The Municipality of Lisbon has placed citizen participation as one of the northern stars of its model of governance. This choice takes on a special relevance due to the socio-political and socioeconomic features of Lisbon and metropolitan area, which hosts around 3 million inhabitants, corresponding to about a quarter of the Portuguese population, and 25% of national enterprises. The metropolitan area also hosts 30% of national enterprises, and contributes to more than 36% to the national GDP. While about 500 thousand people live in the city, and more than one million people circulate daily for work, the exponential growth of the tourism industry and related investment of capital in new economic activities, real estate and housing are radically transforming urban indicators. In this context, urban agencies can play a key role in fostering a new model of participatory governance. Although the city hosts several initiatives of this kind, the lack of connections among urban agencies emerges as an issue to be more thoroughly addressed. The institution of the CIUL, and the issuance of the BIPZIP Chart and its tools, are proof of the opening up of different channels of citizen participation that barely speak to each other.

The CIUL

The Municipality of Lisbon instituted the Centreof Urban Information of Lisbon (CIUL) in 2005. The CIUL was created by the Department of Planning, Land-Use, and Urban Rehabilitation to provide civil society with an open space for public consultation of urban planning documents. The CIUL was established in a building close to the historical centre, and its combined space of 1200 m² hosts a scale model of the city of Lisbon; an open space for students; and an auditorium.

In 2014, the Department aimed to reinforce the role of the CIUL by encouraging the dissemination of knowledge on urban policie-
The pursuit of new partnerships with local agents was paired by the strengthening of outreach initiatives and public events. In addition, new partnerships with universities and research institutes are expected to foster the opportunity to provide the CIUL with scientific knowledge, while students and researchers take advantage of the official documents that are made available by the CIUL. The ongoing shift in the CIUL governance is expected to improve public access to the CIUL, but not only. The UC of Lisbon seems to invest in the merging of two functions: on the one hand, it keeps working as a “megaphone” of the Municipality; on the other, it is oriented to becoming an “antenna” of civil society.

10. The survey for public consultation was provided both online and in meetings. While most of the identified areas were confirmed, public consultation helped identify additional areas that had not been considered.

The Gabips

In 2010, the Department of Local Housing and Development of the Municipality of Lisbon promoted the mapping of the so-called priority areas in Lisbon, comprising a wide array of neighbourhoods characterised by critical issues. The identification of 67 priority areas was run through the extensive analysis of socioeconomic, infrastructural, and environmental data, which were confirmed in 2010 via an online survey to local NGOs and via public consultation with citizens 10. Accordingly, the issuance of the “BIPZIP Chart” mapped the 67 priority areas throughout the urban context and classified them into four typologies: municipal (=29); historical (=13); AUGI (=7); other/Mix (=18).

The BIPZIP programme, the Community Base Local Development network (DLBC) also adopts the BIPZIP Chart to implement actions that are consistent with the local development strategy of the Municipality (Municipal deliberation 748/CML/2014). The network consists of members from the municipality and local partners, such as NGOs, cooperatives, enterprises, foundations, etc 12.

The promotion of urban regeneration initiatives in priority areas by the DLBC and through the BIPZIP programme, as well as the local, national and international funding (e.g. QREN, Urbact, Europe 2020), have required adequate mechanisms of support and monitoring. From 2011 onwards, the Department took forward the configuration of decentralised municipal offices settled in some of the priority areas: Padre Cruz, Boavista, Almirante Reis, Ex-SAAL and self-building, AUGI, and Alto do Eira. These offices are called “Gabips” and are expected to provide necessary support to the 67 priority areas (Municipal deliberation 714/CML/2014). As extensively described in the Attachment, the legal framework of the BIPZIP enshrines the engagement of both public and private local partners as the most effective response to the challenges for socio-territorial cohesion (Municipal deliberation 361/2016) 13. Gabips open to new forms of transparent negotiation among local agents driving values, main goals, and tools of action, as advocated by the political councillor of local housing and development 14. In other words, the Gabips can be considered as new “arenas” of participatory governance in those localities. The structure of the six Gabips comprises a committee appointed by the municipality to coordinate the plan of activities; a network of public services provided by the Municipality and other governmental bodies, such as the Territorial Intervention Units (UITs) 15; an executive committee that includes coordinators and members of the network of public services, as well as parish governments and local associations to monitor initiatives in the area and ensure broad dissemination of information; and an overseeing committee composed of the executive committee, members of the municipality and other local partners, including parish governments.

Which connections for a model of participatory governance?

The shift in the model of governance of the CIUL raises significant potentialities for the promotion of citizen participation in Lisbon. New initiatives promoted with the universities and urban agents aim to ensure that citizens have access to relevant information on public decision-making. Notwithstanding that, scholars corroborate that when the interaction between local authorities and citizens is unidirectional (the “megaphone” function), participation hardly influences decision-making. Likewise, the more recent promotion of public enquiries and hearings (the “antenna” function) is necessary but not sufficient condition to promote inclusive participation. Compared to other initiatives of citizen engagement promoted by the local council, such as the participatory budget and the BIPZIP,
the CIUL and the Gabips own a dedicated head quarters for their initiatives. In other words, unlike other participatory processes in Lisbon, these agencies are identifiable and accessible spaces from where public agents can promote a wider range of activities. CIUL agenda is likely to be maximised by its centrality in the city, as the organisation of public meetings and the irradiation of outreach events from the head quarters out increasingly relies on the construction of a stronger local network. The Gabips have provided a different stance on citizen participation in Lisbon, since they are officially required to enable locals and residents with the necessary tools and knowledge to actively participate in the governance of priority areas. Accordingly, the six Gabips have contributed to the mission of the BIPZIP Programme and the DLBC to regenerate areas that are characterised by critical urban issues. However, efforts, successes, and obstacles of the Gabips are barely known in the city. Despite the great challenges posed by the model of participatory governance, the “arenas” implemented in priority areas seem to hardly reach the mainstream channels of information and dissemination. The lack of connections between the two urban agencies emerges as a critical absence in the model of local governance. The construction of a model of participatory governance is aimed to integrate disperse public investment in this field of practice. The model is an abstraction that should be further explored with local authorities, as well as nurtured with future investigation by scholars.

The CIUL and Gabips work in a dedicated headquarters for their initiatives. In contrast to other participatory processes in Lisbon, these agencies are identifiable and accessible spaces where public agents can promote a wider range of activities. CIUL’s agenda is likely maximized by its centrality in the city, as the organization of public meetings and outreach events from the headquarters increasingly relies on the construction of a stronger local network. The Gabips have provided a different stance on citizen participation in Lisbon, since they are officially required to enable locals and residents with the necessary tools and knowledge to actively participate in the governance of priority areas. Accordingly, the six Gabips have contributed to the mission of the BIPZIP Programme and the DLBC to regenerate areas that are characterized by critical urban issues. However, efforts, successes, and obstacles of the Gabips are barely known in the city. Despite the great challenges posed by the model of participatory governance, the “arenas” implemented in priority areas seem to hardly reach the mainstream channels of information and dissemination. The lack of connections between the two urban agencies emerges as a critical absence in the model of local governance. The construction of a model of participatory governance is aimed to integrate disperse public investment in this field of practice. The model is an abstraction that should be further explored with local authorities, as well as nurtured with future investigation by scholars.

The proposed model of participatory governance in Lisbon
Source: author’s own work

The model foresees the political and administrative convergence of CIUL and Gabips as institutional headquarters of citizen participation. The design of new connections between both should rely on the will and capacity to make the two Departments converge on common grounds for local development and regeneration, and capitalize on the experience in citizen participation gained from city centre and priority areas. Considering the different models of governance, agendas, and purposes of the two urban agencies, participatory governance should create the conditions to take full advantage of current practices by cross-scaling the expertise and the experiences carried out by the CIUL and the Gabips. The integration of the three functions discussed above – the “megaphone” and the “antenna” by the CIUL, and the “arena” by the Gabips – should be based on the need for a more comprehensive framework of citizen participation in the city of Lisbon. By fostering functional bridges that connect central and priority areas, the CIUL could use its headquarters to give greater visibility to and share knowledge with the “arenas” created in the priority areas. This convergence could help improve the participatory role of the CIULand, in turn, Gabips could take advantage of the opportunity to bring their practices to the city centre. Consistent with goals of socio-territorial cohesion, this convergence should help Gabips to better disseminate good practices of urban regeneration by activating initiatives of mutual learning with other participatory initiatives, as well as among them.

Bearing in mind the political commitment of the local council to put citizen participation as a key pillar of urban governance, and acknowledging the diversity of local initiatives that aim to engage citizens beyond the practices described above, should bring about broader reflection on challenges and opportunities on the model of participatory governance. In addition, the constitution of this model should not underestimate the existence or emergence of alternative spaces of deliberation between grassroots and institutional agents. Such spaces should be created and/or contested out of any compulsory inclusion (or even co-optation) in the proposed model. On the contrary, the model should provide support to the claims and contradictions manifested within, and be instrumental – whenever needed or required – to their wider expression.
References


Attachment

Padre Cruz
The requalification of the neighbourhood Padre Cruz under the programme “partnerships for urban regeneration – critical neighbourhoods” funded by the National Strategic Reference Framework 2007-2013 (hereafter QREN) in 2009, was to be managed by the municipal office Gapur. However, the need for greater articulation with municipal departments and enterprises, and the engagement of parish governments, residents and local partners led to its substitution by the Gabip (Municipal deliberation 118/P/2010). The Gabip in this neighbourhood consists of members of the municipality and municipal enterprises; the executive committee is made up of members of the Gabip, parish government, and residents’ association; the steering committee of local and academic partners, and political representatives from the local council.

Alto da Eira
This area of the city hosts two 13-floor buildings built in 1973 by the municipal enterprise EPUL to rehouse people living in shanty settlements, each with about 230 residents. In 2008, a comprehensive study on the decay of the buildings, which was led by the National Laboratory of Civil Engineering (LNEC), rejected the proposal to demolish them. In 2012, the study was approved via inquiry of local residents and resulted into the solution of staged rehabilitation. This Gabip was created to take the rehabilitation forward with the participation of governmental and non-governmental agents, including the residents’ association (Municipal deliberation 599/CM/2012).

Boavista
The neighbourhood of Boavista was built in the 1940s to rehouse people living in shanty settlements and currently houses around four thousand residents. In 2010, the programme “Eco-neighbourhoods”, funded by QREN from 2011 to 2013, aimed to reinforce environmental sustainability, regeneration of public spaces and buildings, societal innovation, and job creation. The Gabip was created in order to implement the programme with the inputs from locals and residents (Municipal deliberation 51/P/2011). While this Gabip consists of members from municipal services, the executive committee is mandated to ensure formal connections with the parish governments and local associations. The steering committee, which gathers political councillors and public bodies, monitors the development of the programme.

Almirante Reis (and ex Mouraria)
The programme for the neighbourhood Mouraria “the cities within the city”, funded by QREN and the European Regional Development Funds from 2009 to 2012 for urban regeneration in historical centre neighbourhoods, aimed at confronting critical issues (e.g. spreading social exclusion, degradation of buildings and public space, ageing phenomena, socioeconomic issues, and illicit trades in the neighbourhood). The promotion of cultural heritage, economic activities, intercultural initiatives, and public space regeneration further included the creation of the municipal innovation hub in the neighbourhood. This Gabip consisted of members of the municipality; the executive committee included parish governments and NGOs; and the steering committee comprised social partners of the programme (Municipal deliberation 81/P/2011). The Gabip was substituted by the Gabip Almirante Reis in 2016 (Municipal deliberation 370/2016), which is settled in the same district of the city, and includes members of the Municipality, Parish government, and the Foundation Aga Khan Portugal. This Gabip aims at developing initiatives for more social justice and inclusion by promoting projects that aim to solve social cleavages in this area of the city.

AUGI
AUGI is the acronym of Urban Areas with Illegal Genesis (National Law 91/95). AUGI settlements in Lisbon were identified through Municipal deliberation 1330/CM/2008, and later included in the BIPZIP Chart. The Municipal Master Plan established tools for their reconversion, and the Gabip was created to ensure connections between the Municipality, parish governments, and residents (Municipal deliberation 141/P/2011). This Gabip is managed by the department for urban planning and rehabilitation of the Municipality, and the steering committee consists of municipal agents and local associations.

Ex-SAAL and self-building
In 1974, the “Mobile Service for Local Support” programme (hereafter SAAL) was launched by the national government, in the aftermath of the Carnation Revolution that led to the collapse of the dictatorial regime in the country. The SAAL aimed at providing local communities living in precarious housing conditions with the necessary technical support to (re)build neighbourhoods. The SAAL was funded through the Housing Stimulation Funding (Fundo de Fomento da Habitação - FHF) until 1976. Prior to SAAL, self-building experiments had been conducted in Lisbon, namely the PRODAC-Norte and PRODAC-Sul. This Gabip was instituted for the five ex-SAAL neighbourhoods - Horizonte, Portugal Nova, Fonsecas e Colchado, Cooperatives do Beato – and the PRODAC Norte and Sül (Municipal deliberation 18/P/2013) to facilitate the process of property regularisation, as most of the housing cooperatives have been disbanded, and several residents have moved away. The Gabip promotes public maintenance of these neighbourhoods and monitors initiatives of urban regeneration. This Gabip is composed of members from the BIPZIP and Local Housing Programme of the Municipality. Executive committees exist in each one of the neighbourhoods, and are comprised of members of the Gabip, Parish governments, and local associations. Finally, the steering committee also includes local partners.
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